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REPORT  
OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS  
OF WOMEN

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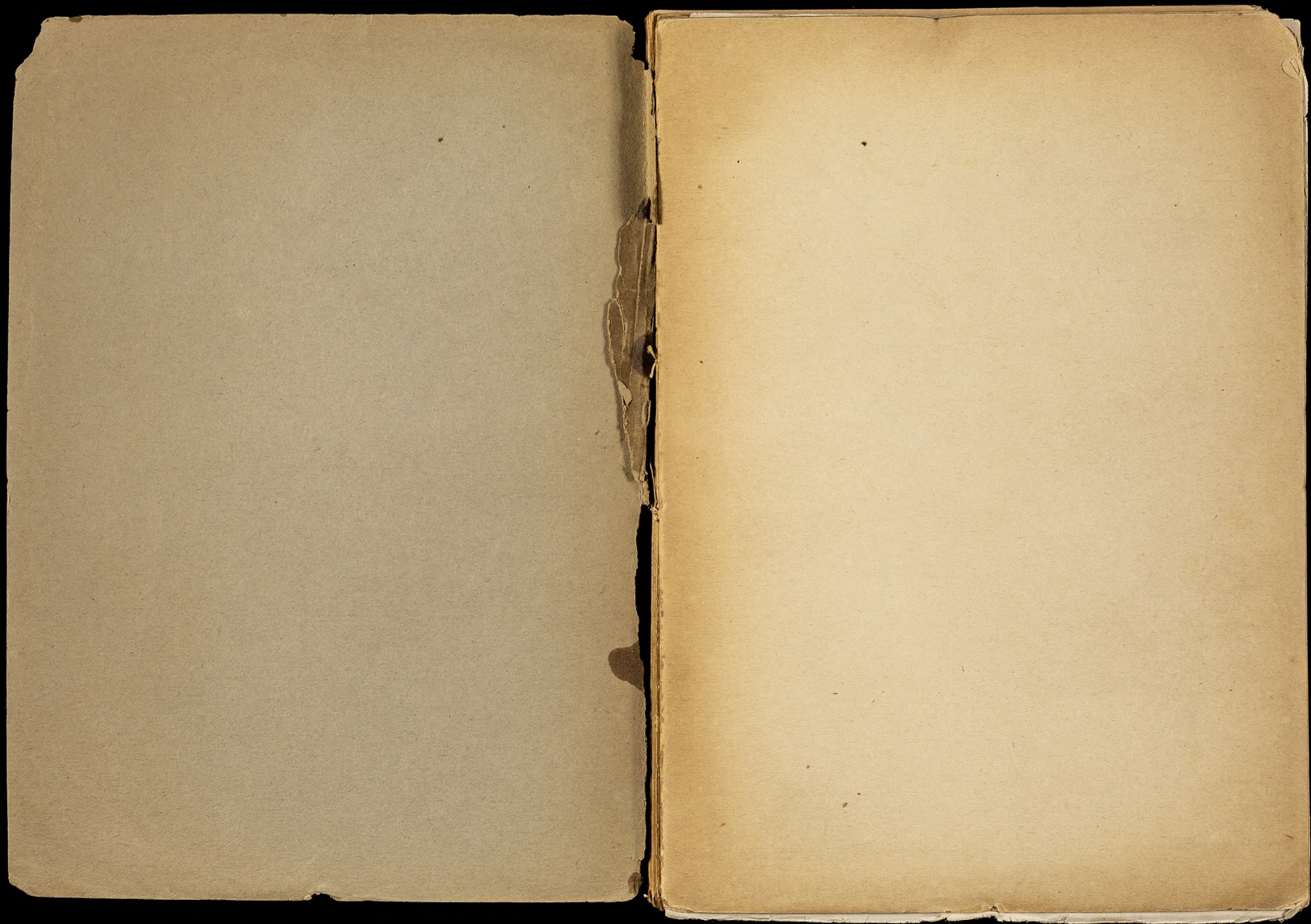
ZURICH  
MAY 12 TO 17, 1919

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM  
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

PRICE: 5 FRANCS (SWISS).







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Bertha von Suttner

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## PREFACE

The history that lies back of the International Congress of Women at Zurich is more or less completely recounted in the proceedings of the Congress itself and especially in the reports of the National Sections. Nevertheless it may be a convenience if the main facts are given here.

### **The Hague Congress.**

The biennial meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was to have been held in Berlin in 1915, but when the war caused the abandonment of this plan Dr. Jacobs, president of the Dutch branch, wrote to the other societies in the Alliance urging the importance of the women of all countries holding a meeting and Chrystal Macmillan, one of the Alliance secretaries, also wrote suggesting a plan which might be adopted if the Alliance itself were unwilling to call the meeting. This led to a little gathering to discuss the suggestion. Four Belgian, five British and four German women met with Dutch women in Holland in February 1915 and worked out a plan.

Amid many difficulties a Dutch Committee, formed for the purpose, issued the call to the Congress and prepared its organisation. Jane Addams was asked to preside and accepted.

The Congress met. There were present 1136 women from 12 countries. The larger part were Dutch but there would have been many more from abroad but for the war time difficulties of travel and the opposition of governments such as kept all British delegates at home with the exception of three who were already outside of the country.

The Hague Congress effected a permanent organisation, under the name of *International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace*, to organise international support for the Resolutions and to arrange a Congress of Women to be held at the same time and place as the peace conference of the Powers. Among the officers



of the I.C. W.P.P. were Jane Addams, Chairman, Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland) Vice-Chairman, and Chrystal Macmillan, (Great-Britain) Secretary.

The Hague Congress passed a series of resolutions (reprinted on page 280) demanding the enfranchisement of women and laying down an international programme which has proved to be a landmark in the development and popularisation of advanced international ideas.

The Congress also sent a deputation to the governments of Europe and the United States urging this programme upon their attention and endeavouring to bring about a conference of neutral governments for continuous mediation, as proposed by Julia Grace Wales of the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. The Report of this delegation is printed page 469 of the present volume.

The report of the Hague Congress made a volume of over 300 pages, which contains the proceedings and addresses, resolutions, messages and greetings received and a history of the genesis of the meeting. (This report which contains English, French and German text, may be ordered from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Geneva, Switzerland, for 2 frs. including postage).

#### 1915-1919.

An international office was established at Amsterdam, and an organ *Internationaal* was issued as follows: Vol. I, 1916 (six numbers), Vol. II, 1917 (three numbers), Vol. III., 1918 (four numbers), Vol. IV., 1919 (one number).

From this can be learned some of the experiences of an international organisation in time of war and some of the difficulties of arranging an international meeting under such conditions.

Members of our organisation succeeded in bringing off several international meetings of an informal and partial character, including one among the Scandinavian Sections at Stockholm, December, 1916 and two at Berne, April 14-19, 1918 and February 1919. (See pages 433 and 437 of this volume).

#### The Zurich Congress.

When, in November 1918, the Armistice was arranged it became necessary to begin at once to plan the Congress agreed on at the Hague. For some time it was uncertain where the offi-

cial peace conference would meet and when the choice fell upon France it became necessary to give up the idea of holding an international Congress of women at the same place as the official peace congress. It was at first proposed to meet in Holland, but after various plans as to place and time the Congress was called for May 12th at Zurich. The Swiss Committee did everything possible in the short time at their disposal and from the fifth to the twelfth of May members of the international Board of Officers, including Jane Addams, Dr. Jacobs and Chrystal Macmillan, were busy with the arrangements.

Preliminary committees were appointed, a programme and rules of order were prepared for submission to the Congress and resolutions considered. The latter were divided into three groups according as they dealt with political questions (Committee I); matters affecting the status of women (Committee II); questions of Education, etc. (Committee III). The committee appointed for each of these three groups of Resolutions, was instructed to consider its subject from the following points of view: *a*) as suggestions for the peace treaty, *b*) as suggestions for the League of Nations when constituted, *c*) as suggestions to be referred to the National Sections for consideration.

The Political Committee later divided into two: Committee I A to present resolutions on the basis of *acceptance* of the covenant of the League of Nations as planned at Paris, as a starting point for further advance: and Committee I B to present resolutions on the basis of *refusal* to welcome a League of Nations unless it contained certain principles not incorporated in the Paris covenant and unless it admitted all nations on the same terms.

The history of the Congress will be found in full in this volume.

#### Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The main lines of the organisation created at the Hague in 1915 remain unaltered although at Zurich the name of the organisation was changed to the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, a constitution adopted, the headquarters moved from Amsterdam to Geneva (as the seat of the League of Nations) and a new Secretary-Treasurer appointed.



The International Office is eager to give information or assistance and invites cooperation in all efforts to « further peace, internationalism and the freedom of women ». Its organ « *Pax et Libertas* » beginning with January 1920, appears ten times a year with six regular numbers in alternate months and four special supplements. The subscription is five Swiss francs a year with a special reduction to the same number of marks or crowns for members in countries with depreciated currencies.

Membership in the League is of two sorts :

1. Membership in a National Section, the conditions of which are fixed by each National Section for itself ;

2. Associate Membership, which gives a direct relation to the international office at Geneva, and which is conditioned on adherence to the objects of the League and payment of 25 Swiss francs annually. This gives a right to receive free all the publications of the League, including the Report of the Zurich Congress, and to attend any congress of the League, held during the time of membership, as a visitor without vote, and is open to men and women.

The books and periodicals of the Geneva Office Library are available by post or otherwise free of charge (except for postage) to all persons interested.

#### Acknowledgements.

Thanks for work in the preparation of this report are cordially offered to Chrystal Macmillan, C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Eleanor M. Moore, Marguerite Gobat, and other helpers. The regrettable delay in its appearance has been due partly to the complications inherent in the preparation of such a report, partly to the fact that the Secretary's time was necessarily largely given to other work, and in very large measure to printer's delays.

Emily BALCH  
Secretary - Treasurer

## INTRODUCTION

L'histoire du développement antérieur du Congrès international de femmes se trouve, plus ou moins complet, dans les procès verbaux du Congrès lui-même, avant tout dans les rapports des sections nationales. Néanmoins il peut être utile d'avoir les faits principaux résumés ici.

#### Congrès de la Haye.

L'assemblée biennale de l'Alliance internationale pour le Suffrage des femmes devait se tenir à Berlin, en 1915. Ce projet ayant été abandonné à cause de la guerre, D<sup>e</sup> Aletta Jacobs, présidente de la branche hollandaise, écrivit aux autres sociétés de l'Alliance, insistant sur l'importance de réunir les femmes de tous les pays et Chrystal Macmillan, une des secrétaires de l'Alliance, fit une communication dans le même sens et suggérait un projet pour le cas où l'Alliance ne convoquerait pas de Congrès. Ceci aboutit à une petite réunion aux fins de discuter cette proposition. Quatre Belges, cinq Anglaises et quatre Allemandes se joignirent, en février 1915, à des Hollandaises et élaborèrent un plan.

Un comité hollandais fut formé et, au milieu de toutes espèces de difficultés, lança l'appel pour le Congrès et prépara ses rouages. Jane Addams avait accepté de le présider.

Le Congrès se réunit. De douze pays différents, 1136 femmes y assistèrent, pour la plupart des Hollandaises. Mais il faut dire que la participation du dehors aurait été bien plus forte, n'eussent été les difficultés de voyage en temps de guerre et l'opposition des gouvernements, dont, pour n'en citer qu'un, celui de la Grande-Bretagne empêcha les déléguées de partir. Trois d'entre elles, qui se trouvaient déjà hors du pays, purent seules prendre part au Congrès.

Le Congrès de La Haye eut, comme premier résultat, la création d'un organe permanent: le *Comité international de femmes pour une Paix Permanente*, dont la mission consistait à mettre à



exécution les résolutions votées au Congrès et à arranger un Congrès international de femmes en même temps et dans la même ville que la Conférence des Puissances chargée de négocier les conditions du traité de paix. Le Bureau se composait entre autres de Jane Addams, présidente, D<sup>e</sup> Aletta Jacobs, vice-présidente, et Chrystal Macmillan, secrétaire.

Le Congrès de La Haye vota une série de résolutions (voir page 327 et suivantes) qui concernent le vote des femmes et établissent un programme international très significatif pour le développement et la vulgarisation des idées internationales avancées.

Le Congrès envoyait aussi une députation aux gouvernements d'Europe et des Etats-Unis, afin d'attirer leur attention sur ce programme et de faire aboutir le projet d'une Conférence de médiation permanente des gouvernements neutres, projet proposé par Julia Grace Wales, de l'Université de Wisconsin, U. S. A. On trouvera à la page 473 le mémoire de cette délégation.

Le rapport du Congrès de la Haye forme un volume de plus de 300 pages, contenant les procès verbaux des séances, les discours, les résolutions, les messages reçus, ainsi que la genèse de cette réunion. (Ce rapport contenant des textes anglais, français et allemand est en vente au Bureau de la Ligue internationale de Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, Genève, au prix de 2 francs, port compris.)

#### 1915—1919.

Un Bureau international fut établi à Amsterdam, avec un organe, *l'Internationaal*, publié comme suit: Vol. I, 1916 (six numéros), Vol. II, 1917 (trois numéros), Vol. III, 1918 (quatre numéros), Vol IV, 1919 (un numéro). La lecture de ce journal donne une idée des expériences d'une entreprise internationale en temps de guerre et des difficultés en de telles circonstances, d'arranger une réunion internationale.

A diverses reprises, durant la guerre, des membres de notre association purent organiser des Conférences internationales d'un caractère restreint, entre autres, une de membres scandinaves, à Stockholm, en décembre 1916 et deux à Berne, du 14 au 19 avril 1918, et en février 1919. Ces réunions sont mentionnées aux pages 433 et 437.

#### Le Congrès de Zurich.

En novembre 1918, lorsque l'armistice fut signé, le moment était venu de se mettre aux préparatifs du Congrès décidé à La Haye. Le choix de l'endroit où aurait lieu la Conférence étant tombé sur la France, il fallut renoncer à l'idée de réunir un congrès international de femmes dans la même ville que la Conférence officielle de la Paix. La Hollande fut proposée d'abord, puis après différents projets, le Congrès fut convoqué pour le 12 mai, à Zurich. Le comité suisse travailla de son mieux durant le laps de temps assez court qui restait, et du 5 au 12 mai, des membres du Bureau international, y compris Jane Addams, Dr Jacobs et Chrystal Macmillan, s'occupèrent des arrangements.

Des Comités provisoires furent nommés, un programme et un règlement préparés pour être soumis au Congrès. Des résolutions furent examinées, celles-ci divisées en trois groupes: Comité I, pour les questions politiques; Comité II, pour les affaires concernant la condition des femmes; Comité III, pour l'éducation, etc. Chaque Comité de ces trois groupes de résolutions avait la mission de traiter le sujet proposé d'après les points de vue suivants: *a*) comme suggestions pour le traité de paix, *b*) comme suggestions pour la Société des Nations lorsqu'elle sera constituée, *c*) comme suggestions à être remises aux sections pour y être examinées.

Dans la suite, le Comité politique se divisa en deux: Le Comité I A qui aurait à présenter des résolutions sur la base de *l'acceptation* du traité pour une Société des Nations, tel qu'il était établi à Paris, comme point de départ; et le Comité I B pour présenter des résolutions sur la base du *refus* d'accepter une Société des Nations, à moins qu'elle ne contienne certains principes non incorporés dans le traité de Paris et à moins qu'elle n'admette toutes les nations aux mêmes conditions.

L'histoire du Congrès de Zurich se trouve en entier dans ce volume.

#### La Ligue internationale de femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté.

Dans ses grandes lignes, l'organisation créée à la Haye en 1915 est restée la même, quoique, à Zurich, son nom ait été changé en celui de Ligue internationale de femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, qu'une constitution lui ait été donnée et que le



quartier général en ait été transféré d'Amsterdam à Genève, siège désigné de la Société des Nations, et qu'une nouvelle secrétaire-trésorière eût été nommée.

Ce bureau international demande la collaboration de toute personne s'intéressant à la paix, à l'internationalisme et à la liberté des femmes et se charge de donner des renseignements et de prêter son appui dans ce but. Son organe PAX ET LIBERTAS (10 numéros par an), paraît depuis le mois de janvier 1920, tous les deux mois, et aura annuellement quatre suppléments consacrés à des sujets spéciaux. Le prix d'abonnement à cette publication est de cinq francs suisses, avec une réduction spéciale — le même prix en marks et en couronnes — pour les membres des pays qui souffrent d'une baisse du change.

La Ligue a deux sortes de membres :

1. On peut appartenir à la Ligue comme membre d'une section nationale, les conditions étant fixées par chaque section.

2. On peut appartenir à la Ligue comme membre associé, relié directement au Bureau de Genève, en souscrivant aux buts de la Ligue, avec une cotisation de 25 francs suisses par an. Les membres associés ont droit à toutes les publications de la Ligue, y compris le Rapport de Zurich, et peuvent assister aux congrès de la Ligue, comme auditeurs, sans droit de vote. Les hommes aussi bien que les femmes peuvent être membres associés.

Les livres et les périodiques de la bibliothèque du Bureau de Genève sont prêtés, sans autres frais que ceux de port, à toute personne qui en fait la demande.

J'adresse mes remerciements les plus chaleureux à Chrystal Macmillan, Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann, Eleanor M. Moore, Marguerite Gobat et aux autres collaboratrices qui ont aidé à l'élaboration de ce rapport. J'espérais pouvoir le faire paraître il y a quelques mois déjà. Ce regrettable retard est dû en partie aux complications inhérentes à la préparation d'un tel ouvrage, en partie au fait que le temps et les efforts de la secrétaire ont dû être consacrés aussi à d'autres travaux, et dans une très large mesure aux lenteurs de l'impression.

Emily BALCH,  
Secrétaire-Trésorière.

## VORWORT

Die Vorgeschichte des internationalen Frauenkongresses in Zürich ist mehr oder weniger vollständig in diesem Bande zu finden, besonders in den Berichten der nationalen Zweige. Immerhin mag es dienlich sein, dieselbe in grossen Zügen hier wiederzugeben.

### Der Haager-Kongress.

Die alle zwei Jahre stattfindende Zusammenkunft des internationalen Bundes für Frauenstimmrecht sollte, im Jahre 1915, in Berlin abgehalten werden. Als jedoch der Krieg diesem Plan ein Ende machte, richtete Dr. Jacobs, Vorsitzende des holländischen Zweiges, ein Schreiben an die anderen Vereine des Bundes, in dem sie auf die Wichtigkeit einer Zusammenkunft der Frauen aller Länder hinwies, ebenso Chrystal Macmillan, eine der Sekretärinnen des Bundes, die einen Plan vorschlug, im Fall dass der Bund selbst die Frauen nicht einberufen möchte. Dies führte zu einer kleinen Zusammenkunft, um diese Anregung zu besprechen. In Holland, im Februar 1915, kamen vier belgische, fünf britische und vier deutsche Frauen mit Holländerinnen zusammen und arbeiteten einen Plan aus. Ein für diesen Zweck gebildetes niederländisches Komitee brachte es unter vielen Schwierigkeiten fertig, den Kongress einzuberufen und dessen Organisation vorzubereiten. Jane Addams nahm die Einladung den Kongress zu präsidieren an.

Der Kongress fand statt, im Haag, 28. April - 1. Mai 1915. Elfhundertsechunddreissig Frauen aus zwölf verschiedenen Ländern waren zugegen, der grösste Teil davon Holländerinnen. Unzweifelhaft hätte eine grössere Anzahl von Frauen aus dem Ausland daran teilgenommen, hätten nicht die Kriegszustände und die Opposition der Regierungen das Reisen Vielen unmöglich gemacht: den britischen Delegierten, zum Beispiel, wurde die Erlaubnis verweigert; nur drei, die damals ausserhalb England waren, konnten zugegen sein.

Der Haagerkongress gründete eine ständige Organisation



unter dem Namen «Internationales Frauenkomitee für dauernden Frieden», um internationale Unterstützung für die Beschlüsse zu organisieren, und einen internationalen Frauenkongress einzuberufen zur gleichen Zeit und am gleichen Ort wie die Friedenskonferenz der Mächte. Unter den Mitgliedern des Vorstandes befanden sich Jane Addams als Vorsitzende, Dr. Aletta Jacobs als zweite Vorsitzende und Chrystal Macmillan als Schriftführerin.

Der Haagerkongress nahm eine Reihe von Beschlüssen an (auf Seite 376 wiedergegeben), welche die Freiheit der Frauen forderten und ein internationales Programm festlegten, das sich als ein Grenzstein in der Geschichte der Entwicklung und Verbreitung vorgeschrittener internationaler Ideen erwiesen hat.

Der Kongress sandte eine Deputation an die Regierungen Europas und der Vereinigten Staaten, um deren Aufmerksamkeit auf sein Programm zu lenken und zu versuchen, eine Konferenz der neutralen Staaten für ständige Vermittlung zu Stande zu bringen, wie sie von Julia Grace Wales von der Universität Wisconsin in den Vereinigten Staaten vorgeschlagen wurde. Der Bericht dieser Delegation ist auf Seite 477 dieses Bandes wiedergegeben.

Der Bericht des Haagerkongresses bildet einen Band von über 300 Seiten und enthält die Protokolle der Sitzungen, Ansprachen, Beschlüsse, erhaltene Botschaften und Begrüssungen, sowie die Entstehungsgeschichte des Kongresses. Dieser Bericht, der englischen, französischen und deutschen Text enthält, kann jederzeit bei der Internationalen Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit, Genf, Schweiz, für 2 Fr., inclusiv Porto, bezogen werden.

#### 1915-1919.

In Amsterdam wurde ein internationales Bureau errichtet und eine Zeitung «Internationaal» herausgegeben: Band I, 1916 (sechs Nummern), Band II, 1917 (drei Nummern), Band III, 1918 (vier Nummern), Band IV, 1919 (eine Nummer). Diese beleuchten die Erfahrungen einer internationalen Organisation in Kriegszeiten, sowie die Schwierigkeiten unter jenen Verhältnissen eine internationale Zusammenkunft zu veranstalten. Hier und da gelang es Mitgliedern unserer Organisation, internationale Ver-

sammlungen von informellem und beschränktem Charakter, unter anderen, in Stockholm, Dezember 1916 unter Skandinavischen Mitgliedern, in Bern 14-19 April 1918 und im Februar 1919 zusammenzurufen. Diese Zusammenkünfte sind in diesem Bande, Seite 433 und 437 erwähnt.

#### Der Zürcher Kongress.

Als im November 1918 der Waffenstillstand geschlossen war, musste der Plan zu dem im Haag beschlossenen internationalen Frauenkongress entworfen werden. Während einiger Zeit war es unbestimmt, wo die offizielle Friedenskonferenz tagen werde, und als Frankreich hierfür gewählt wurde, musste man es aufgeben, am selben Ort wie die offizielle Friedenskonferenz einen internationalen Frauenkongress abzuhalten. Zuerst wurde Holland vorgeschlagen, aber nach vielem Hin und Her über Ort und Zeit, wurde der Kongress für den 12. Mai 1919 in Zürich einberufen. Das Schweizerische Komitee tat alles, was in so kurzer Frist nur irgend möglich war, und vom 5. bis 12. Mai waren die Mitglieder des internationalen Vorstandes, Jane Addams, Dr. Jacobs und Chrystal Macmillan inbegriffen, mit den Vorbereitungen beschäftigt.

Vorläufige Ausschüsse wurden ernannt, das Programm und die Geschäftsordnung, die dem Kongress vorgelegt werden sollten, vorbereitet, Resolutionen wurden erwogen. Letztere wurden in drei Gruppen eingeteilt, je nachdem sie sich befassten: mit politischen Fragen (Komitee I); mit Angelegenheiten die Lage der Frauen betreffend (Komitee II); mit der Erziehung u. s. w. (Komitee III). Jede dieser drei Gruppen von Resolutionen sollte von folgenden Gesichtspunkten aus betrachtet werden: (a) als Vorschläge für die Friedensverhandlungen; (b) als Vorschläge für den Völkerbund, wenn er in Kraft getreten sein wird; (c) als Vorschläge, welche den nationalen Zweigen zur Erwägung unterbreitet werden sollen.

Das politische Komitee teilte sich später in zwei neue: Komitee IA um Resolutionen vorzuschlagen auf Grund der *Annahme* der Völkerbundssatzung wie in Paris geplant, als Ausgangspunkt zu weiteren Fortschritten; und Komitee IB um Resolutionen vorzuschlagen auf Grund der *Verweigerung* einen Völkerbund anzu-



nehmen, bis gewisse Grundsätze, die dem Pariser Vertrag nicht einverleibt sind, darin vertreten, und alle Nationen unter denselben Bedingungen in den Völkerbund aufgenommen werden.

Die Geschichte des Kongresses ist in diesem Bande vollständig enthalten.

#### **Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit.**

In den Hauptlinien bleibt die im Haag 1915 gegründete Organisation dieselbe, obgleich in Zürich ihr Name in denjenigen von *Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit* geändert, eine Verfassung ihr gegeben, das Hauptquartier von Amsterdam nach Genf, dem zukünftigen Sitz des Völkerbundes, verlegt, und eine neue Sekretärin ernannt wurde.

Das Genfer Bureau erteilt Auskunft über alle Bestrebungen auf dem Gebiet von «Frieden, Internationalismus und Freiheit der Frauen», und fordert zur Mitarbeit auf. Sein Organ «PAX ET LIBERTAS», am 1. Januar 1920 begonnen, erscheint zehn Mal jährlich, mit sechs regelmässigen Nummern, alle zwei Monate, und vier, besonderen Gegenständen gewidmeten Beilagen. Das Abonnement beträgt 5 Fr. (Schweiz. Währung) pro Jahr, und die gleiche Summe in Mark oder Kronen für Mitglieder der Länder mit herabgesetztem Kurs.

Die Mitgliedschaft der Liga kann auf zwei Arten erworben werden:

1. Mitgliedschaft eines Landeszweiges, dessen Bedingungen von jedem Landesweig festgesetzt werden.
2. Ausserordentliche Mitgliedschaft, die eine direkte Verbindung mit dem internationalen Bureau in Genf gibt, mit der Bedingung, den Zielen der Liga beizustimmen. Jahresbeitrag 25 Fr. (Schweiz. Währung). Dies gibt Anrecht auf alle Veröffentlichungen der Liga, den Zürcher Kongressbericht inbegriffen, und gewährt Zulass zu den Kongressen der Liga, als Gast ohne Stimmrecht. Die ausserordentliche Mitgliedschaft steht Männern wie Frauen offen.

Bücher und Zeitschriften der Bibliothek des Genfer Büreaus stehen allen Interessenten kostenlos (mit Ausnahme der Portospesen) zur Verfügung.

Für alle geleistete Hilfe bei der Zusammenstellung dieses Berichtes möchte ich Chrystal Macmillan, Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Eleanor M. Moore, Marguerite Gobat, und allen Mitarbeiterinnen meinen herzlichen Dank aussprechen. Die bedauerliche Verzögerung seines Erscheinens ist zum Teil den mit einer solchen Arbeit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten, zum Teil dem Umstand, dass die Zeit der Sekretärin notwendigerweise anderer Arbeit gewidmet werden musste, und in sehr grossem Masse den Verzögerungen der Druckerei zuzuschreiben.

Emily BALCH,  
Sekretärin.



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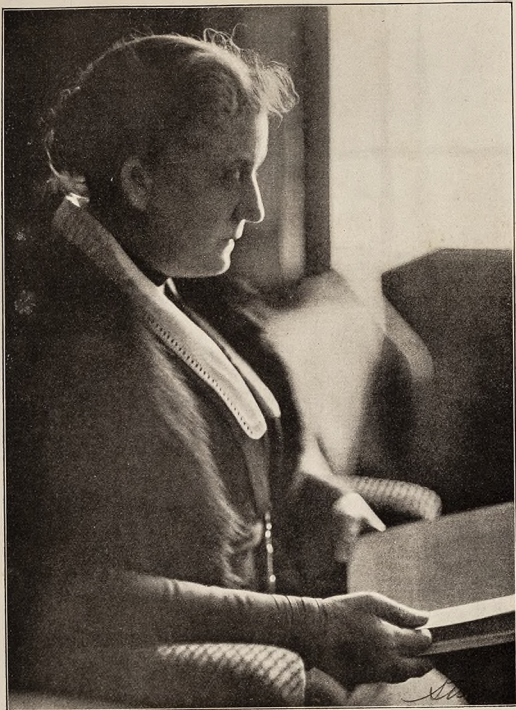


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Jane Addams

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

delivered by

Jane ADDAMS

During the long months since we met at the Hague in 1915, we have many times hoped that the day had arrived for this Congress of ours which was to be convened at the time and place of the official Peace Conference. Even after the armistice was signed and the Peace Commissioners had assembled in Paris, our Congress was necessarily delayed for weeks, until at last we are met here almost exactly four years since we parted in Holland, whither we had been called by Dr. Jacobs, that founder and pioneer of the Woman's International Committee for Permanent Peace.

Curiously enough, after our many delays we are at last met in the very week when the Conference in Paris has become enlarged beyond the membership of the allied and neutral nations and when, in a sense, the official Peace Conference as such has formally begun.

These four years from May 1915 to May 1919, so full of anguish and sorrow for all the world, have yet brought peculiar difficulties to the women assembled here as delegates to our second Congress. In every country these women have represented a small group which found itself opposed to the full tide of public opinion and of governmental action. And yet this very isolation, resulting in similar experiences, produced a certain fellowship between these scattered groups which has been made very clear to some of us during the past week. Since Monday, May 6, your International Board has been meeting with the executive committees, — the « five » as we long have called them, — from fourteen different nations belonging to the neu-



trials, to the Entente and the Central Powers. These committee members have from time to time recounted, merely by way of explanation in regard to incomplete records or absent delegates and with absolutely no trace of the martyr spirit, such similar experiences with governmental espionage and control as to demonstrate without doubt that the war methods are identical in all nations. At other moments we have had revelations of the strength of moral scruple, of the searchings of heart of those who were absolutely separated from each other by the artificial barriers of war. Without explanation or asseveration we discovered how like-minded we were when resolutions on the same thing, coming in from one country after another, were so similar in intent that the five sub-committees who sorted and combined and translated the material were often perplexed to decide which resolution most clearly expressed that which was common to them all.

Because many of the documents came so late, because it has been impossible to prepare for the Congress as in ordinary times when the methods of communication are all open, it has not been feasible to present a detailed agenda. The printed slip you already have is therefore a mere outline, all too meagre. But copies of the resolutions in French, German and English as finally reported by the sub-committees and passed upon by the Executive Committee as a whole, will be placed in the hands of every delegate at the opening of each morning session, that she may have before her the material for the day. In one sense these resolutions give a cross-cut section, — although in a business-like form, as it were — of the hopes maturing in many countries, including those so lately at war, for « permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained ». Everyone in this room knows that such a result can only be achieved by the sound thinking and co-operating goodwill of all peoples involved, and that it is for such an end that this Congress is convened: that we would fain pour into the approaching sessions all that we have learned and hoped through the poignant suffering of the past five years.

While we approach our share in the great task with a full sense of complicity in the common disaster of the great war,

may we not in all humility of spirit still claim that we essay the task free from any rancorous memories of wilful misunderstanding or distrust of so-called enemies; may we not predicate with absolute certainty that the Congress will be free from animosity or sense of estrangement, as we are also convinced that the women have been too close to the clarifying spirit of reality to indulge in any sentimentality or unconsidered statements.

But we hope, above all, that the delegates to this Congress, secure in their sense of goodwill and mutual understanding, will speak freely not only of their experiences and reactions during the fiery trial of war, but also of their hopes for the uncertain future which lies ahead of us, and of the methods which they advocate in the difficult period of social and industrial re-adjustment always following war. Some of our delegates represent nations in which revolution, with and without bloodshed, has already taken place, and we know that they stood against the use of armed force in such domestic crises as definitely as they stood against its use in international affairs. It is a matter of grave import, this role which the pacifist has already played in the revolutions in Bavaria, in Austria, in Hungary, and we are to be congratulated that, having so soon come together under the shadow of the great war itself, we have an opportunity to hear thus early of the courageous and intelligent action taken by our own groups in the widespread war after the war. May we « learn from life », to use Dante's great phrase, and also from each other, throughout this Congress which is now declared to be formally opened.



## DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE

prononcé par

Jane ADDAMS

Durant les longs mois écoulés depuis notre réunion à La Haye, en 1915, plus d'une fois l'espoir s'est levé pour nous que le jour approchait, où notre Congrès, qui devait se tenir en même temps et dans la même ville que la Conférence officielle de la Paix, pourrait avoir lieu. Mais, l'armistice signé, les négociations de paix furent entamées à Paris et notre Congrès était remis de semaine en semaine, jusqu'à ce jour. Enfin, nous nous retrouvons, presque exactement quatre ans après notre dispersion à La Haye, où nous avait convoquées Mme Aletta Jacobs, une des fondatrices et ouvrières de la première heure du Comité international de femmes pour une Paix permanente. C'est une coïncidence assez curieuse que, après tant de renvois, nous puissions nous réunir dans la même semaine, où la Conférence de Paris, élargie de tous les membres qui doivent y prendre part, commence son activité officielle.

Ces quatre années, de mai 1915 à mai 1919, pour tous si fertiles en angoisses et en chagrins, ont procuré aux femmes assemblées ici, pour notre deuxième Congrès, des difficultés d'un ordre particulier. Dans tous les pays, ces femmes représentaient un petit groupe opposé au torrent impétueux de l'opinion publique et à l'action du gouvernement. Cette situation, dont surgirent des expériences analogues un peu partout, a produit entre les groupes disséminés une camaraderie dont nous nous sommes rendu compte au cours de cette dernière semaine. Depuis le 6 mai, le Comité international a travaillé avec les sections nationales, appartenant à quatorze pays différents, neutres, alliés et centraux. Sans nulle intention de se

parer des palmes de martyr, mais simplement dans le but de compléter des rapports incomplets ou d'expliquer l'absence de quelques déléguées, les membres des sections ont échangé les expériences faites avec le service gouvernemental de contrôle et d'espionnage et démontré par là que partout les méthodes de guerre sont les mêmes. A certains moments aussi, nous eûmes l'impression très vive de la puissance qui se dégage de la conscience remuée jusqu'au fond par la catastrophe et des cœurs qui se cherchent au-dessus des barrières artificiellement élevées par la guerre. Sans qu'il fût besoin de grandes explications et protestations, nous avons pu constater combien nos esprits se rencontraient, lorsque surgissaient, de côtés différents, des résolutions si semblables d'intention et de contenu, que les cinq sous-commissions chargées d'examiner, de choisir, de traduire le matériel reçu par le Congrès, se trouvèrent à plus d'une reprise dans l'embarras pour décider lequel des projets présentés exprimait le plus clairement l'idée commune à tous.

Un ordre complet et détaillé n'a pu être établi, d'abord parce que la plupart des documents sont arrivés au dernier moment, ensuite parce qu'il fut impossible de préparer ce Congrès comme en temps ordinaire, alors que toutes les voies de communication sont ouvertes. Le programme que vous avez entre les mains n'est qu'une ébauche. Mais des exemplaires des résolutions en français, allemand et anglais, telles qu'elles ont été rédigées par les sous-commissions et acceptées en bloc par le Comité exécutif, seront distribués chaque matin, avant la séance, aux déléguées, qui se trouveront ainsi en possession du matériel nécessaire pour la journée. Quoique formulées en un style concis, ces résolutions donnent, dans les grandes lignes, une idée des vœux qui mûrissent dans bien des pays, les uns livrés il y a peu de mois encore à la guerre, pour « des institutions permanentes propres à rendre la justice et à maintenir la paix ». Chacune de nous doit bien se rendre compte que ce but sera atteint par le seul moyen du travail résultant d'une réflexion approfondie et précise et par la bonne volonté de tous les peuples réunis dans la coopération. C'est à ces fins que ce Congrès a été convoqué, et aucune de vous ne manquera à la mission d'y contribuer, au cours des sessions



qui vont s'ouvrir, par l'apport de ce qu'elle a appris et vu à travers les souffrances poignantes des cinq dernières années.

Nous entreprenons cette tâche avec la pleine conscience de notre responsabilité dans l'énorme désastre de notre époque. Ne pouvons-nous donc déclarer en toute humilité, que nous voulons essayer de nous libérer de toute rancune résultant de malentendus volontaires, de toute méfiance à l'égard de soi-disant ennemis ? Ne pouvons-nous proclamer que ce Congrès ne connaîtra ni hostilité ni le sentiment si pénible de scission entre d'anciens amis ? Et ne pouvons-nous prendre l'engagement que les femmes, ayant vu l'impitoyable réalité de trop près, ne se complairaient pas en de vaines phrases sentimentales ou en des considérations irréflechies ?

Avant tout, nous avons l'espoir que les déléguées de ce Congrès, assurées de la bonne volonté et de la compréhension réciproques, parleront librement, non seulement de leurs expériences et de leurs luttes durant l'épreuve du feu, mais aussi de leurs espérances pour un avenir rapproché et des moyens qu'elles proposent pour la reconstruction sociale et économique, à l'époque de difficulté qui succède à toute guerre. Quelques unes de nous viennent des pays dans lesquels la révolution, avec ou sans effusion de sang, a déjà eu lieu, et nous savons que, au cours de ces crises, elles se sont élevées aussi résolument contre l'emploi des moyens violents, que dans les conflits entre les nations.

Le rôle joué par les pacifistes dans les révolutions, en Bavière, en Autriche, en Hongrie, est un fait d'importance primordiale. Et nous devons nous estimer heureuses de la possibilité de nous réunir déjà, à un moment où le monde est encore hanté par le spectre de la guerre, pour entendre parler de l'activité courageuse et intelligente de nos groupes, au milieu des combats déchainés dans leurs pays respectifs.

Il faut, pour parler avec Dante, que « la vie nous enseigne à vivre », il faut que nous formions notre jugement au contact les unes des autres, au cours de ce Congrès, que je déclare présentement ouvert.

## ANSPRACHE DER VORSITZENDEN

Jane ADDAMS

Während der langen Monate, die verlossen sind, seitdem wir uns im Haag, im Jahre 1915, zusammenfanden, haben wir manchmal gehofft, dass der Tag dieses Kongresses, der zu gleicher Zeit und am gleichen Orte wie die offizielle Friedenskonferenz stattfinden sollte, gekommen sei. Obschon der Waffenstillstand unterzeichnet und die Friedenskonferenz in Paris bereits eröffnet war, musste unser Kongress infolge praktischer Schwierigkeiten um Wochen verschoben werden, bis auf den heutigen Tag. Und so finden wir uns wieder, genau vier Jahre nachdem wir in Holland auseinandergingen, wohin uns damals Dr. Aletta Jacobs, die Gründerin und Vorkämpferin unseres Internationalen Frauenausschusses für dauernden Frieden, einberufen hatte. Merkwürdig ist es, dass wir, trotz der vielen Verschiebungen, uns zuletzt doch noch in derselben Woche versammeln, wo die erweiterte Pariser Konferenz ihre offizielle Tätigkeit begonnen hat.

Diese von Kummer und Sorge so schwere Zeit, von Mai 1915 bis Mai 1919, habt den hier zu unserm zweiten Kongress versammelten Frauen ganz besonders grosse Schwierigkeiten gebracht. In jedem Lande vertraten diese Frauen eine kleine Gruppe, die dem mächtigen Strom der öffentlichen Meinung und dem Vorgehen der Regierung gegenüberstand. Doch gerade diese Lostrennung, dieses Alleinstehen, woraus dieselben Erfahrungen entsprangen, ergaben zwischen diesen zerstreuten Gruppen ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl, welches uns in den letzten Tagen zum vollen Bewusstsein gekommen ist. Seit dem 6. Mai ist unser internationaler Ausschuss mit den Landesausschüssen, den « Fünfern », wie wir sie nennen, aus 14 verschiedenen, den Neutralen, der Entente und den Zentralmächten angehörenden



Ländern, zusammengekommen. Diese Mitglieder haben, um unvollständige Berichte zu ergänzen, oder die Abwesenheit von Mitgliedern zu erklären, ohne jede Absicht, sich eine Märtyrerrolle anzueignen, ihre gemeinsamen Erfahrungen mit dem staatlichen Spionage- und Kontrolldienst ausgetauscht, um darzulegen, dass die Kriegsmethoden in allen Ländern dieselben sind. Ebenso offenbarte sich wieder die Macht der moralischen Forderungen unseres Gewissens und des Sehns und Suchens unserer Herzen, die so lange durch die künstlichen Schranken des Krieges getrennt waren. Ohne lange Erklärungen und Versicherungen entdeckten wir, wie verwandt unser Denken und Fühlen war, wenn Resolutionen über den gleichen Gegenstand aus den verschiedenen Ländern eintrafen, die in ihrer Absicht so gleich waren, dass die Arbeitsausschüsse, welche das Material zu ordnen, zusammenzustellen und zu übersetzen hatten, oft in Verlegenheit kamen, wenn sie entscheiden sollten, welche Resolution am klarsten wiedergab, was allen gemeinsam war.

Da viele Schriftstücke in der letzten Stunde eintrafen und da es nicht möglich gewesen war, den Kongress wie zu gewöhnlichen Zeiten, wo die Verkehrswege offen stehen, vorzubereiten, so waren wir nicht in der Lage, ein in allen Einzelheiten ausgearbeitetes Programm aufzustellen. Die Tagesordnung, die Sie in Händen haben, ist daher ganz unvollständig. Hingegen werden die Delegierten vor jeder Vormittagssitzung die Kopien der Resolutionen in deutscher, französischer und englischer Sprache erhalten, in der Fassung, wie sie zuletzt von den Subkommissionen angenommen und von dem Exekutivkomitee als Ganzes genehmigt worden sind. Auf diese Weise werden die Delegierten für jeden Tag den zu behandelnden Stoff vor sich haben. In gewissem Sinne geben diese Resolutionen — obschon in geschäftsmässiger Form — in grossen Zügen ein Bild von den Hoffnungen, die in vielen Ländern, von denen manche noch kürzlich Krieg führten, reifen, um « dauernde Einrichtungen zu schaffen, damit allen Gerechtigkeit widerfahren und der Friede aufrecht erhalten werde ». Jede von uns hier ist sich bewusst, dass dieses Ziel nur erreicht werden kann durch gesundes Denken, sowie durch den verei-

nigten guten Willen zu gemeinsamer Arbeit aller beteiligten Völker und dass dieser Kongress zu diesem Zwecke einberufen worden ist.

Da wir uns der grossen Aufgabe nähern mit dem vollen Bewusstsein unserer Schuld an dem allgemeinen ungeheuren Zusammenbruch, dürfen wir nicht in aller Demut erklären, dass wir diese Aufgabe zu erfüllen versuchen, frei von Groll über gewolltes Missverstehen, frei von Misstrauen gegenüber sogenannten Feinden? Dürfen wir nicht erklären, dass dieser Kongress frei sein wird von jeder Feindseligkeit oder Entfremdung, da wir alle überzeugt sind, dass den Frauen die unbarmherzige Wirklichkeit zu nahe getreten ist, als dass sie sich sentimental oder unüberlegten Phrasen hingeben werden?

Vor allem hegen wir die Hoffnung, dass die Delegierten dieses Kongresses, des guten Willens und des gegenseitigen Verstehens bewusst, frei und offen berichten werden, nicht nur von ihren Erfahrungen und ihren Kämpfen während der Feuerprobe des Krieges, sondern auch von ihren Hoffnungen für die ungewisse nächste Zukunft und den Mitteln und Wegen, die sie in der schwierigen Zeit sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Wiederaufbaues, die jedem Kriege folgt, vorschlagen. Einige unserer Delegierten kommen aus Ländern, in denen die Revolution mit und ohne Blutvergiessen bereits stattgefunden hat, und wir wissen, dass sie in solchen innern Krisen sich gegen den Gebrauch von Gewaltmitteln ebenso bestimmt aufgelehnt haben, wie bei internationalen Streitfragen. Von grösster Wichtigkeit ist die Rolle, welche die Pazifisten in den Revolutionen in Bayern, Oesterreich und Ungarn gespielt haben. Und wir können uns glücklich schätzen, dass wir so früh, noch unter dem Schatten des Krieges, die Gelegenheit haben, zusammenzukommen, um so bald von dem mutigen und weisen Vorgehen unserer eigenen Gruppen in den nach dem Krieg ausgebreiteten Kämpfen zu vernehmen. Lasst uns, um mit Dante zu sprechen, « vom Leben lernen », sowie von einander, durch diesen Kongress, den ich hiermit als eröffnet erkläre.



## BEGRUSSUNGSREDE

von

Clara RAGAZ

Frau Präsidentin,  
Verehrte Anwesende,

Mit Dank und Freude heisse ich Sie im Namen des Schweizerischen Frauenkomitees für dauernden Frieden in unserm Lande, im Namen des Zürcherischen Frauenkomitees für dauernden Frieden, in unserer Stadt, willkommen.

Es ist für unser Land und für unsere Stadt eine grosse Ehre, der Sammelpunkt sein zu dürfen jener Frauen, die inmitten der wildtragenden Leidenschaften des Krieges die Fahne der Menschheit und Menschlichkeit hochgehalten haben und die auch jetzt wieder zusammenkommen, um mitten in der Brandung politischer, nationaler und sozialer Kämpfe gemeinsame Grundlagen für einen künftigen Wiederaufbau oder, noch besser für einen neuen Aufbau des Lebens der Völker und der Menschen untereinander zu finden.

Es wird niemand unter uns wännen, dieser Kongress oder überhaupt ein Kongress sei imstande, entscheidend einzugreifen in die gewaltigen Geschehnisse, die sich ringsum abspielen oder vorbereiten. Es hat sich zu viel Schuld, Erbitterung, Unrecht angehäuft, als dass wir mit auch noch so ehrlich gemeinten Kongressbeschlüssen die Schuld tilgen, die Erbitterung besänftigen, das Unrecht gut machen könnten. Darum handelt es sich nicht bei uns.

Es wäre auch töricht, anzunehmen, wir fänden uns hier als lauter Gleichgesinnte zuzammen, die mit einem fest abgeschlossenen Programm vor die Welt treten und ihr gewissermassen die Lösung der Probleme bieten wollten. Weder der



Haager Frauenkongress, der vor vier Jahren zusammentrat und aus dem der heutige Kongress hervorgegangen ist, noch unser heutiger Kongress erhebt den Anspruch darauf, lauter Gleichgesinnte zu vereinigen. Weder jener Kongress noch der heutige wollen Gegensätze der Rasse, der Nationalität, der sozialpolitischen Ansichten verwischen oder gar leugnen. Wir sind hier Frauen, die verschieden denken in Bezug auf die Schuld der einzelnen Völker am Krieg, verschieden in Bezug auf die Zusammenhänge unserer wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse mit dem Krieg, ja auch verschieden in Bezug auf die Schuld der Frau am Krieg. Aber diese Verschiedenheit der Auffassung verhindert uns nicht, eine Gemeinsamkeit der Schuld in ihrem tiefsten Sinne, nach ihren tiefsten Ursachen anzuerkennen und im Bewusstsein dieser gemeinsamen Schuld zusammenzutreten, um in gemeinsamer Arbeit eine gemeinsame Lösung und Erlösung zu suchen.

Diesen Weg haben uns Sie, verehrte Frauen, gewiesen, die Sie vor vier Jahren im Haag zusammengekommen sind und die Sie seither in unermüdlicher Arbeit Wege der Lösung und Erlösung gesucht haben. Ihnen unsern Dank auszusprechen für das, was Sie getan haben, ist uns Bedürfnis. Wir wissen wohl nur zum Teil, mit was für Opfern Ihre Stellungnahme verbunden war. Namentlich die Frauen der kriegführenden Länder haben das Odium der mangelnden vaterländischen Gesinnung auf sich nehmen müssen und sind darum nicht nur in dieser, sondern auch in vielen andern, ihnen am Herzen liegenden Arbeiten gehemmt worden. Es wird aber der Tag kommen, ja bei Mancher ist er schon da, wo man erkennt, dass gerade diejenigen, die ihr Vaterland scheinbar « verraten » haben, ihm am treuesten gedient haben, dass überhaupt, wer ein treuer Diener seines Landes sein will, grosse, über das Vaterland hinausgehende Menschheitsziele im Auge haben muss.

Und wie man seinem Lande am besten dient, indem man das Streben nach seinem Wohl in die grössern Menschheitsziele einschliesst, so dient man auch der Frauensache am besten, indem man sich für Menschheitsziele einsetzt. Es ist eine grosse Streitfrage auch unter uns Frauen, ob das Frauenstimmrecht an sich eine Gewähr für die Verhinderung künftiger Kriege sei.

Aber wenn man darüber verschiedener Meinung sein kann, so scheint mir das Eine ganz unzweifelhaft, dass die Frau zu ihrem vollen Recht nur kommen kann in einem Staate oder in einem Gemeinschaftsleben, das nicht auf Gewalt, sondern auf Recht aufgebaut ist; denn wo Gewalt herrscht, wird sie immer den Kürzern ziehen.

So haben Sie, verehrte Frauen, als Sie damals im Haag miten in aller Zerrissenheit der Völker für eine neue, edlere Völkergemeinschaft eintraten, der Sache der Frau gedient, und wir sprechen Ihnen auch dafür unseren Dank aus.

Endlich möchten wir Ihnen aber auch danken für den Opfermut, den Sie wieder bewiesen haben, indem Sie die Mühsale und Gefahren der Reise auf sich genommen haben, um hieher zu kommen.

Kampf, Mühsal und Opfer werden die Marksteine sein auf unserem Wege aus der heutigen Not und Verwirrung heraus. Je mehr Bereitschaft dazu sich unter uns findet, desto näher dürfen wir uns dem Ziele wissen.

Es wird wohl jedes, je nach seiner Stellung und Umgebung, je nach seiner Landeszugehörigkeit oder seiner politischen Ueberzeugung, Kampf, Leiden und Opfer in einer andern Weise auf sich nehmen müssen.

Uns darüber klar zu werden, in welcher Weise jede von uns den Kampf auf sich zu nehmen hat, dazu sind wir heute zusammen gekommen.

Es werden die Meinungen auch heute unter uns weit auseinandergehen in Bezug auf Wege und Methoden; es wird auch Kampf unter uns geben. Aber ich glaube, nach der Art, wie wir uns bis jetzt zusammengefunden haben, dürfen wir darauf rechnen, dass dieser Kampf im Geiste gegenseitiger Liebe und Achtung geführt werde.

Möge es uns vergönnt sein, schon in der Art unseres Zusammenarbeitens etwas von dem zu verwirklichen, was wir erstreben, eine neue Einheit, nicht auf Grund farbloser Eintönigkeit, sondern auf Grund einer lebendigen und doch sich zu einem Ganzen zusammenschliessenden Vielgestaltigkeit. Möge es uns gelingen, hier im Kleinen zu verwirklichen, was im Grossen leider der Verwirklichung noch sehr fern zu sein scheint,



einen Völkerbund, an dem alle Nationen, die Grossen wie die Kleinen, die Sieger wie die Besiegten auf gleichem Boden miteinander arbeiten und möge dem zukünftigen Völkerbund beschieden sein, unter einer so weitherzigen und gütigen, einer so klarblickenden und sichern Leitung zu tagen, wie wir es heute dürfen.

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME

by

Clara RAGAZ

President and Ladies,

In the name of the Swiss Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, in the name of the Zurich Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, I joyfully and gratefully bid you welcome to our country and to our town. It is a great honour for our country and for our town to be permitted to be the gathering place of those women, who among the wildly raging passions of war upheld the banner of mankind and of humanity, and who are once more gathered together amid the surge of political, national and social struggles to find a common basis for a future reconstruction, or better still, for a building anew of the life of nations, and of the relations of men to one another.

No one among us will suppose that this Congress or any other congress could be in a position to bring very great influence to bear on the formidable events which are taking place or are in preparation around us. Too much guilt, bitterness and injustice have been accumulated for Congress resolutions, however well meant, to have the power to annul the guilt, soften the bitterness, right the wrong. That is not our aim. We would also be foolish to suppose that we who are gathered together pretend to be all of the same mind, or propose to appear before the world with a hard and fast programme and to offer it in some sort as the solution of the problem.

Neither the Hague Congress of Women, which met four years ago and from which the present Congress has grown, nor this present Congress, makes any claim of mustering people



all of the same way of thinking. Neither the former nor the present Congress has eliminated or denied differences of race, nationality, nor of social-political points of view. There are women who entertain different opinions as to the responsibility of different nations in this war, as to the connection of our economic conditions with the war, even concerning women's fault in the war. But this difference of outlook does not prevent us from recognising a common share of the responsibility in its deepest sense and in its deepest causes, nor from assembling here in the consciousness of our common responsibility in order to seek a common solution and a common deliverance through our united efforts.

Ladies, you pointed out the way for us when you met four years ago at the Hague and by your subsequent unceasing efforts to find this solution and deliverance. It is only fitting that we express our thanks for what you have done. We can only partly surmise what sacrifices were entailed in the stand you took. For the women of belligerent countries have brought upon themselves the odium of being considered lacking in their sense of patriotism and have been hindered thereby, not only in this but in many other branches of work dear to them. But the day will come — for many it is already here — when it will be recognized that the very ones who seemed to betray their country have served it most faithfully, and that in the end, whoever wishes truly to serve his country must keep in view the greater human aims which reach out beyond the mother country. And even as we serve our country best in so far as we strive for its welfare incorporated in the greater good of humanity, so do we also best serve the cause of women by serving all mankind. It is a debatable question even among us women, whether the enfranchisement of women will in itself be a weapon for the prevention of future wars. But even if we may hold different opinions on that head, it seems to me that one thing is undeniable, that is that woman can only come into her full inheritance in a state, or a community life, which is founded not on force but on justice, for where mere force dominates, the lesser part will always fall to her share.



Clara Ragaz



So when assembling at the Hague amid the strife of many nations, you took your stand for a new and nobler community of nations, you were also serving the Cause of Woman, and for that also we must tender you our thanks. And finally we wish to thank you for the courage to make sacrifices which you have once more shown, in risking the difficulties and dangers of the journey for the purpose of coming here. Struggle and sacrifice will be the milestones on our path out of the need and bewilderment of to-day. The more we are ready for these, the nearer shall we know ourselves to be to our goal. Each one of us, according to her position and surroundings, her nationality or her political convictions, will have a different kind of struggle, suffering and sacrifice to take upon herself. It is in order to decide in which way each of us can best serve the cause, that we have met together to-day. Our opinions will diverge very widely again, as to ways and methods, there will be strife among us also, but I believe from the spirit in which we have hitherto met together, that we can count upon this struggle being waged in a spirit of mutual love and respect. May it be given to us to realize through the very manner of our work together something of that new unity towards which we are reaching, a unity not based on a colourless monotony, but on a living and yet unified variety. May we succeed in creating in miniature — what unfortunately seems very far from realisation on a large scale — a League of Nations in which all Nations, the small with the great, the conquerors with the conquered, can work together on the same footing, and may it be the lot of the future League of Nations to meet under as great-hearted and kind, as clear-sighted and safe a guidance as we enjoy to-day.



## DISCOURS DE BIENVENUE

prononcé par

Clara RAGAZ

Madame la Présidente,  
Mesdames,

Avec reconnaissance et avec joie, je vous souhaite la bienvenue, dans notre pays et dans notre ville, au nom des Comités de femmes, suisse et zurichois, pour la Paix durable.

C'est un honneur pour notre pays et pour notre ville de pouvoir être le rendez-vous des femmes qui ont maintenu haut le drapeau de l'humanité, au milieu des passions sauvagement déchainées par la guerre, et qui, aujourd'hui encore, s'assemblent sous la tempête des luttes politiques nationales et sociales, afin de poser les bases communes d'une reconstruction future ou, mieux encore, afin de trouver ensemble une organisation nouvelle de la vie des peuples aussi bien que des hommes entre eux.

Personne d'entre nous ne saurait prétendre que ce Congrès, ou tout autre congrès, soit en mesure d'intervenir de façon décisive dans les événements formidables qui s'effectuent ou se préparent autour de nous. Trop de fautes, d'amertumes, d'injustices se sont accumulées, pour que nous puissions, en dépit de l'absolue loyauté de nos résolutions, abolir les fautes, calmer les amertumes, réparer les injustices. Ce ne sont point là nos intentions.

Il serait aussi insensé d'admettre, que nous toutes réunies ici, soyons du même avis et préparées à présenter au monde un programme arrêté, proposant, dans une certaine mesure, la solution du problème. Ni le Congrès des femmes à la Haye,

dont le Congrès actuel est issu, ni le Congrès d'aujourd'hui n'ont eu en vue de n'assembler que des opinions pareilles. Nous sommes des femmes qui pensons diversement, quant aux responsabilités des différents peuples dans la guerre, diversement quant aux rapports de notre état social avec la guerre, diversement aussi en ce qui concerne les responsabilités des femmes dans la guerre, mais ces divergences ne nous empêchent pas de reconnaître notre responsabilité commune — dans le sens le plus étendu de ce mot — et, conscientes de cette responsabilité, nous chercherons, dans un travail en commun, une commune solution.

Cette voie, vous nous l'avez enseignée, Mesdames, qui vous êtes assemblées à la Haye, il y a quatre ans, et qui dès lors, sans relâche, avez cherché la solution, la délivrance. Aussi nous nous sentons pressées de vous exprimer notre reconnaissance pour ce que vous avez accompli déjà. Nous nous doutons au prix de quels sacrifices vous avez réussi à prendre position. Vous, femmes des pays belligérants, vous avez eu à subir le reproche amer de manquer de patriotisme et avez été entravées de ce fait, non seulement dans cette activité, mais dans d'autres encore qui vous tenaient au cœur. Le jour viendra cependant, — il est déjà venu pour plusieurs — où l'on reconnaîtra que celles qui semblent avoir « trahi » leur patrie, sont précisément celles qui l'ont servie le plus loyalement et que, d'ailleurs, celui qui veut être un fidèle serviteur de son pays doit avoir les yeux fixés par delà les frontières de sa patrie, sur les grands buts de l'humanité.

Et, tout comme on sert mieux son pays en ne séparant pas les aspirations pour son bien de celles en vue des grands buts de l'humanité, ainsi on servira mieux la cause des femmes en l'assimilant à celle de l'humanité entière. La question de savoir si le droit de vote des femmes est une garantie contre les guerres futures est un gros sujet de discussion même entre nous femmes, mais si l'on peut être là-dessus d'avis différent, un fait me paraît certain, c'est que la femme n'obtiendra la plénitude de ses droits que dans un Etat ou dans une communauté édifée non sur la force, mais sur le droit. Car là où la force règne, la femme



sera toujours reléguée à l'arrière-plan. C'est ainsi, Mesdames, qu'en réclamant à la Haye, au milieu des peuples divisés, une nouvelle et plus noble communauté des peuples, vous avez servi la cause des femmes, et nous vous exprimons ici notre gratitude.

Nous voudrions enfin vous remercier du dévouement dont vous avez fait preuve en affrontant les fatigues et les dangers du voyage pour nous rejoindre.

La lutte, les peines et les sacrifices marqueront les étapes du chemin qui doit nous conduire hors de la misère et des troubles actuels. Plus il se trouvera de bon vouloir parmi nous, plus rapidement pourrons-nous espérer atteindre le but.

Chacune de nous, selon sa position et son entourage, selon sa nationalité ou son parti politique, aura son sacrifice à accomplir. C'est afin d'examiner de quelle manière chacune d'entre nous soutiendra la lutte, que nous sommes réunies aujourd'hui.

Les opinions, concernant les voies et les méthodes, pourront différer beaucoup, il y aura même des conflits entre nous, mais à en juger par le travail préliminaire accompli ensemble jusqu'ici, nous pouvons compter que ces conflits seront résolus dans un esprit de sympathie et d'estime réciproques.

Puissions-nous, par notre manière de collaborer, réaliser un point de notre idéal : une nouvelle unité fondée non point sur une monotonie incolore, mais sur une diversité vivante formant un tout. Puissions-nous être en petit ce qui paraît, hélas, encore loin de la réalisation en grand : une Ligue des peuples à laquelle toutes les nations, petites et grandes, les vainqueurs et les vaincus travaillent ensemble sur le même terrain. Et puisse la future Société des Nations siéger sous une direction aussi compréhensive et généreuse, aussi clairvoyante et sûre, que celle dont nous avons aujourd'hui le privilège.

## Organisation preceding the Congress

### International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace

#### BOARD OF OFFICERS

- Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.  
Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, van Aerssenstraat 46, The Hague,  
Holland.  
Chrystal Macmillan, 17 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh,  
Scotland.  
Rosa Manus, Plantage Parklaan 15, Amsterdam, Holland.  
Wilma Glücklich, Katona Jozsef-ut, Budapest V, Hungary.  
Emily Balch, 130 Prince Street, Jamaica Plain, Boston,  
Mass. U. S. A. (now. 19 Bd. Georges-Favon, Geneva.)  
Thora Daugaard, Rosenvej 3, Copenhagen, Denmark.  
Gabrielle Duchêne, 10, Avenue Tokio, Paris, France.  
Clara Ragaz-Nadig, Gloriastr. 68, Zurich, Switzerland.

#### MEMBERS

##### Australia

- Mrs. Septimus Harwood, M. A., Box 1134, G. P. O., Sydney,  
N. S. W. Appointed Delegate to the Congress after the  
War.  
Mrs. Edward H. Fryer, on the Executive of the Women's  
Non-Party Political Association, Brinswood, Hectorville,  
Adelaide.  
Miss N. Whittam, Mrs. J. P. Morice, Miss Hunabrook (all  
communications to be sent c/o Mrs. Fryer).



Eleanor M. Moore, 40 Evelina Road, Toorak, Melbourne,  
Victoria, International Secretary of the Sisterhood of  
International Peace and appointed delegate to the Con-  
gress after the War.  
Cecilia John, Guildhall, Melbourne.

**Austria**

Leopoldine Kulka, 32 Porzellangasse, Wien 8.  
Olga Misar, Fasangasse 49<sup>a</sup>, Wien III, Secretary.  
Rosa Mayreder, Schönburgstrasse 15, Wien IV.  
Yella Hertzka, Kaasgrabengasse 19, Wien.  
Else Beer-Angerer, Penzingerstr. 65, Wien XIII.

**Belgium**

Eugénie Hamer, 42, Rue Schul, Anvers.  
Marguerite Sarten, 12, Rue Simons, Anvers.

**Bulgaria**

Jenny Bojilowa-Patteff, Bourgas.  
Dr. M. Anghéloff, Rue Gladstone 17, Sofia.

**Canada**

Inez Perry, 5 Maitland Place, Toronto.

**Denmark**

Thora Daugaard, Rosenvej 3, Copenhagen.  
Clara Tybjerg, 9 Rosenvangets Side Allee, Copenhagen.  
Margit Heilesen, G. Kongevej 15a, Copenhagen B.  
Henriette Beenfeldt, Vodroslplads 6, Copenhagen.

**Finland**

Annie Furuhjelm, M. P., 14 Kasärngatan, Helsingfors.  
Jenny af Forselles, M. P., 8 Höghbergsgatan, Helsingfors.  
Tilma Hainari, 3, Johannesvägen, Helsingfors.  
Cely Mechelin, Helsingfors.

**France**

Gabrielle Duchêne, 10, Avenue Tokio, Paris.  
Jeanne Alexandre-Halbwachs, 3, Boulevard Arago, Paris.  
Miriam Reinhardt, 18, Rue Pierre Curie, Paris.  
Madeleine Rolland, 29, Avenue de l'Observatoire, Paris.  
Mme Morre Lambelin, 29, Rue Ampère, Saint-Germain-  
en-Laye.  
Suzanne Duchêne, 10, Avenue Tokio, Paris.

**Germany**

Dr. Anita Augspurg, Kaulbachstr. 12 Gths., München.  
Lida Gustava Heymann, Kaulbachstr. 12, Gths., München.  
Minna Cauer, Wormserstr. 5, Berlin W.  
Marie Wegner, Kaiser Wilhelmstr. 109, Breslau.  
Frida Perlen, Schottstr. 42, Stuttgart.

**Great Britain**

H. M. Swanwick, 26 Lawn Crescent, Kew Gardens, Surrey.  
Irene Cooper Willis, 99 Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath,  
London S. E. 3, and 14 Bedford Row, High Holborn,  
London W. C. 1.  
Catherine E. Marshall, 27 Catherina Street, Westminster,  
London S. W. 1.  
K. D. Courtney, 51 Morpeth Mansions, Westminster, Lon-  
don, S. W. 1.  
Margaret Bondfield, 8 Wilton Crescent, Wimbledon, Lon-  
don S. W. 19.  
National Committee: Women's International League, 14,  
Bedford Row.

**Greece**

Aug. P. Xanthakès, Pirée near Athens.

**Hungary**

Vilma Glücklich, Katona Jozsef-ut. 41, Budapest V.  
Rosika Schwimmer, Thökölyutca 46, Budapest.  
Flora von Perczel, Vilmos Csaszar utca, Budapest V.  
Klara Kozma, Budapest V, Katcha Jozsef utca 41.  
Paula Pogany, Budapest III, Zsigmondter 6.  
Adele Spady, Budapest V, Jozsef-Ter 9.



**Ireland**

Louie Bennett, Gayfield, Killiney, Co. Dublin.  
Maud Townshend, 12 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.  
Josephine Webb, 12 Brighton Square, Dublin.

**Italy**

Rosa Genoni, Via Kramer 6, Milano.  
A. Dobelli-Zampetti, Prof., Villino Celli, Via Nomentana  
96B, Roma.  
Adele Alziator, Corso Romano 112, Milano.

**Mexico**

Elena Towes, « Casa dei bambini », « Escolar de los  
Mayas » Itzimua, Merida, Yucatan.

**Netherlands**

C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, 94 Jacob Marisstraat, Amster-  
dam.  
Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, van Aerssenstr. 46, Den Haag.  
Rosa Manus, Plantage Parklaan 15, Amsterdam.  
W. van Itallie-v. Embden, Plantage, Leiden.  
W. van Wulfften Palthe-Broese v. Groenou, van Stolk-  
weg 35, Den Haag.  
National Committee: Heerengracht 627, Amsterdam.

**New Zealand**

Mrs. D'Arcy Hamilton, 32 Milton Road, Mount Eden,  
Auckland.  
Mrs. Marcus Jones, Hillsboro, Onehunga.

**Norway**

Dr. Emily Arnesen, Zoological Museum, Kristiania.  
Dr. Ellen Gleditsch, Incognito Terrasse 3b, Kristiania.  
Martha Larsen, S. Huseby, Sköien, pr. Kristiania.  
Valentine Dannevig, Lövenskjoldsgade 1 III, Kristiania.

**Poland**

M. Dulebianka, Lemberg, Selewela 5a, Galicien.  
Dr. Sofia Daszynska-Golinska, Kremerowska 10, Krakau.  
Helène d'Abancourt, Académie des Sciences, Krakau.  
Marie Siedtecka, c/o Mme d'Abancourt.  
Angélique Krzyzanowska, c/o Mme d'Abancourt.

**Sweden**

Mathilde Widegren, Sibyllegatan 59, Stockholm.  
Anna Lindhagen, Floragatan 15, Stockholm.  
Nina Andersson, Vesteras.

**Switzerland**

Dr. Gertrud Woker, Stampach bei Merligen, Thunersee.  
Clara Ragaz-Nadig, Gloriastr. 68, Zürich.  
Dr. Sophie Erismann, Plattenstr. 37, Zürich.  
M. A. Borga Mazzuchelli, Scuola Maggiore, Piazza Indi-  
pendenza 5, Lugano.  
Marguerite Gobat, 39, Avenue Ernest-Pictet, Genève.  
Clara Honegger, Tödistrasse 45, Zürich.

**U. S. A.**

Jeannette Rankin, Missoula, Montana.  
Lucia Ames Mead, 19 Euston St., Brookline, Mass.  
Florence Kelley, 289 Fourth Ave., New-York City.  
Mrs. Louis F. Post, 2513, 12th st., Washington D. C.  
Lilian D. Wald, 265 Henry st., New-York.

**Uruguay**

Carolina de Moreno, Montevideo.



**Programme**  
of the  
**International Congress of Women**

ARRANGED BY THE

**International Committee of Women  
for Permanent Peace**

— ZURICH, May 12—17, 1919 —

Headquarters: Glockenhaus, Sihlstrasse 33, Zurich 1

The International Congress of Women which met at the Hague in 1915 resolved that « an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of peace settlement after the war, for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference ».

In accordance with this plan the present Congress is meeting, although not at the place of the official Peace Conference.\*

**Monday May 12th 9.30—12 :** Business Meeting at the Glockenhaus.

1. Opening of Congress.
2. Appointment of Interpreters and Recording Secretaries.
3. Address of welcome by Clara Ragaz, chairman of Swiss Section.
4. Reply by Jane Addams, President of International Committee.

\* ) A rule similar to that adopted at our Hague Congress excluding from the scope of discussion the relative national responsibility for the war or the relative national conduct of the war is adopted for the present Congress.



5. Financial report by Emily Balch.
6. Envoys to Governments in 1915 : Report by Chrystal Macmillan.
7. Report of Credentials Committee and Roll Call.
8. Acceptance of Agenda.
9. Four years' work at headquarters : Dr. Aletta Jacobs.
10. Adoption of Rules of Order.
11. Appointments.

**Monday, 2.30—4.30 :** Business Meeting at the Glockenhaus.

12. Information.
13. Reports and Experiences from National Sections of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace.

**Monday, 8.15 p. m. :** First Public Meeting in the Aula of the University. Addresses by Jane Addams, L. Kulka, Gertrud Baer, Margaret Ashton, Marguerite Gobat, Dr. Knischewsky, Florence Kelley, R. van Wulfften Palthe, Rosa Genoni.

**Tuesday and Wednesday, 9.30—12 and 2.30—4.30 p. m. :** Business Meeting at the Glockenhaus.

14. Reports from National Committees. Continued.
15. Discussion of Resolutions to be submitted to the Official Peace Conference on terms of the Peace Treaty, including the League of Nations and a Woman's Charter.

**Tuesday, 8.15 p. m. :** Public Meeting at the Aula, University. Subject : Woman's Suffrage and Durable Peace. Addresses by Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, Yella Hertzka, Charlotte Despard, Elisabeth Waern-Bugge, Eleanor Moore, Louie Bennett, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Jeannette Rankin, Henni Forchhammer.

**Thursday, 9.30—12 and 2.30—4.30 p. m. :** Business Meeting at the Glockenhaus.

16. Roll-Call.
17. The rôle of the Pacifists in the revolutionary movements.

**Thursday, 8.15 p. m. :** Public Meeting in St. Peter's Church. Subject : Woman's Part in the League of Nations and other subjects. Addresses by Jane Addams, Lida Gustava Heymann, Else Beer-Angerer, Ethel Snowden, Mary Church Terrell.

**Friday, 9.30—12 and 2.30—4.30 p. m. :** Business Meeting at the Glockenhaus.

18. Education.
19. Future Work and Organisation of the International Committee.

**Friday, 8.15 p. m. :** Public Meeting in St. Peter's Church. Subject : Woman's Part in the Reconstruction of the World. Addresses by Jane Addams, Helena Swanwick, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Blanche Reverchon, Vida Goldstein, Louise Keilhau, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Andrée Jouve, Alice Thacher Post, Vilma Glücklich.

**Saturday, 9.30—12 and 2.30—4.30 p. m. :** Business Meeting at the Glockenhaus.

20. Future work and Organisation of the International Committee.
21. Recommendations to the National Sections.
22. Unfinished Business.
23. Close of Meeting.

## Entertainments

**Sunday, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 8.30**

Reception of the Delegates at the « Meise »  
organised by the I. W. C. P. P.

**Wednesday, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 6.30**

Excursion and supper at the Uetliberg

**Saturday, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 7.30**

Final banquet at the Tonhalle  
organised by the Zürich Organisation Committee.



# Programme

du

## Congrès International de Femmes

ORGANISÉ PAR LE

COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE FEMMES  
POUR UNE PAIX DURABLE

Bureau: Glockenhaus, Sihlstrasse 33  
ZURICH, du 12 au 17 Mai 1919

Le Congrès international des femmes de la Haye, 1915, a décidé qu'une réunion internationale de femmes aura lieu en même temps et au même endroit que la Conférence des Puissances qui, après la guerre, arrêtera les termes du traité de paix, ce afin de représenter à la dite Conférence des propositions pratiques.\*

**Lundi, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —12 :** Séance au Glockenhaus.

1. Ouverture du Congrès.
2. Nomination des traductrices et des secrétaires.
3. Discours de bienvenue par Clara Ragaz, présidente du Comité National Suisse.
4. Réponse de Jane Addams, Présidente du Comité International.
5. Rapport financier : Emily Balch.

\* Le Congrès adopte une règle semblable à celle observée à notre Congrès de la Haye, écartant les discussions relatives aux causes de la guerre actuelle, à la manière dont elle est conduite, à la responsabilité qui incombe aux belligérants respectifs.

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6. Députations aux Gouvernements en 1915 : Chrystal Macmillan.
7. Vérification des Mandats et Appel nominal.
8. Proposition de l'Ordre du jour.
9. Quatre années de travail au Comité Central : Dr. Aletta Jacobs.
10. Proposition du Règlement du Congrès.
11. Nominations.

**Lundi, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —4 $\frac{1}{2}$  :** Séance au Glockenhaus.

12. Informations.
13. Rapports des Sections Nationales du Comité International de Femmes pour une Paix durable.

**Lundi, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  soir :** Réunion publique à l'Aula de l'Université. Discours de Jane Addams, Leopoldine Kulka, Gertrud Baer, Margaret Ashton, Marguerite Gobat, Dr. Knischewsky, Florence Kelley, R. van Wulfften Palthe, Rosa Genoni.

**Mardi et Mercredi, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —12 et 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —4 $\frac{1}{2}$  :** Séances au Glockenhaus.

14. Rapport des Sections nationales (suite).
15. Propositions à la Conférence officielle de la Paix au sujet du traité de Paix, de la Ligue des Nations et des Droits de la Femme.

**Mardi soir, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  :** Réunion publique à l'Aula de l'Université. Sujet : « Le Suffrage Féminin et la Paix Durable ». Discours de Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, Yella Hertzka, Charlotte Despard, Elisabeth Waern-Bugge, Eleanor Moore, Louie Bennett, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Jeannette Rankin, Henni Forchhammer.

**Jeudi, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —12 et 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —4 $\frac{1}{2}$  :** Séances au Glockenhaus.

16. Appel nominal.
17. Le rôle des pacifistes dans le mouvement révolutionnaire.



**Jeudi soir, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$**  : Réunion publique à l'Eglise Saint-Pierre.  
Sujet : « Le rôle de la femme dans la Ligue des Nations », etc. Discours de Jane Addams, Lida Gustava Heymann, Else Beer-Angerer, Ethel Snowden, Mary Church Terrell.

**Vendredi, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —12 et 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —4 $\frac{1}{2}$**  : Séances au Glockenhaus.

18. Education.

19. Travail futur et Organisation du Comité International.

**Vendredi soir, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$**  : Réunion publique à l'Eglise Saint-Pierre,  
« Le rôle de la Femme dans la reconstruction du Monde ». Discours de Jane Addams, Helena M. Swanwick, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Blanche Reverchon, Vida Goldstein, Louise Keilhau, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Andrée Jouve, Alice Thacher Post, Vilma Glücklich.

**Samedi, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —12 et 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —4** : Séances au Glockenhaus.

20. Travail futur et organisation du Comité International.

21. Propositions aux Sections nationales.

22. Travaux non terminés.

23. Clôture.

### Réceptions et Excursions

**Dimanche 11 Mai, 8 h. 30**

Réception des Déléguées à la Meise

organisée par le Comité international pour une Paix durable.

**Mercredi 14 Mai, à 6 h. 30**

Excursion avec souper à l'Uetliberg

**Samedi 17 Mai, à 7 h. 30**

Banquet final à la Tonhalle

organisé par le Comité d'organisation zurichois

## Programm Internationaler Frauenkongress

VERANSTALTET VOM

Internationalen Frauenkomitee  
für dauernden Frieden

in ZÜRICH, 12 bis 17 Mai 1919  
im Glockenhaus, Sihlstrasse 33

Der internationale Frauenkongress vom Haag, hatte beschlossen : « Die Abhaltung eines internationalen Frauenkongress zur Zeit und am Ort der offiziellen Konferenz, welche die Friedensbedingungen nach dem Kriege festsetzen wird, zu sichern, um jener Konferenz praktische Vorschläge zu unterbreiten. »

In Uebereinstimmung mit diesem Beschluss ist der gegenwärtige Kongress einberufen worden, wenn auch nicht am gleichen Ort als die offizielle Friedenskonferenz. \*

**Montag, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —12 Uhr** : Sitzung im Glockenhaus.

1. Eröffnung des Kongresses.
2. Ernennung der Uebersetzerinnen und Schriftführerinnen.
3. Begrüssung durch Clara Ragaz, Präsidentin des Schweizerischen Nationalkomitees.

\* Für diesen Kongress wurde eine ähnliche Regel wie seinerzeit für den Haager Kongress aufgestellt ; nämlich dass die Diskussion sich nicht auf die Verantwortlichkeit der einzelnen Länder am Krieg sowie ihre Kriegführung erstrecken dürfe.



4. Antwort durch Jane Addams, Präsidentin des Internationalen Frauenkomitees.
5. Rechnungsbericht : Emily Balch.
6. Bericht über die Deputationen an die Regierungen 1915 : Chrystal Macmillan.
7. Bericht des Komitees zur Begutachtung der Vollmachten der Delegierten und Appell.
8. Abstimmung über die Tagesordnung.
9. Vier Jahre Arbeit im Zentralbureau : Dr. Aletta Jacobs.
10. Abstimmung über das Geschäftsreglement.
11. Ernennungen von Komitees.

**Montag, 2 ½—4 ¼ Uhr :** Sitzung im Glockenhaus.

12. Mitteilungen.

13. Berichte der Nationalkomitees des Internationalen Komitees für dauernden Frieden.

**Montag, abends 8 ¼ Uhr :** Aula der Universität. Eröffnungsversammlung : Ansprachen von Jane Addams, Leopoldine Kulka, Gertrud Baer, Margaret Ashton, Marguerite Gobat, Dr. Knischewsky, Florence Kelley, R. van Wulfften Palthe, Rosa Genoni.

**Dienstag und Mittwoch, 9 ½—12 und 2 ½—4 ¼ Uhr :** Sitzungen im Glockenhaus.

14. Berichte der Nationalkomitees. Fortsetzung.

15. Vorschläge für die offizielle Friedenskonferenz in Bezug auf den Friedensvertrag, den Völkerbund und die rechtliche Stellung der Frau.

**Dienstag, abends 8 ¼ Uhr :** Oeffentliche Versammlung in der Aula der Universität. Thema : « Frauenstimmrecht und dauernder Friede ». Ansprachen von Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Yella Hertzka, Charlotte Despard, Elisabeth Waern Bugge, Eleanor Moore, Louie Bennett, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Jeannette Rankin, Henni Forchhammer.

**Donnerstag, 9 ½—12 und 2 ½—4 ¼ Uhr :** Sitzungen im Glockenhaus.

16. Appell.

17. Die Rolle der Pazifisten in der revolutionären Bewegung.

**Donnerstag, abends 8 ¼ Uhr :** Oeffentliche Versammlung in der St. Peterskirche, Zürich, Thema : « Die Aufgabe der Frau im Völkerbund » Ansprachen von Jane Addams, Lida Gustava Heymann, Else Beer-Angerer, Ethel Snowden, Mary Church Terrell.

**Freitag, 9 ½—12 und 2 ½—4 ¼ Uhr :** Sitzungen im Glockenhaus.  
18. Erziehung.

19. Künftige Arbeit und Organisation des Internationalen Komitees.

**Freitag, abends 8 ¼ Uhr :** Oeffentliche Versammlung in der St. Peterskirche. Thema : « Der Anteil der Frau an dem künftigen Wiederaufbau ». Ansprachen von Jane Addams, Helena M. Swanwick, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Blanche Reverchon, Vida Goldstein, Louise Keilhau, Dr. Helene Stöcker, Andrée Jouve, Alice Thacher Post, Vilma Glücklich.

**Samstag, 9 ½—12 und 2 ½—4 ¼ Uhr :** Sitzungen im Glockenhaus.

20. Künftige Arbeit und Organisation des Internationalen Komitees.

21. Vorschläge für die Nationalsektionen.

22. Unerledigte Geschäfte.

23. Schluss.

## Gesellschaftliche Veranstaltungen

**Sonntag, 11. Mai, 8.30**

Begrüßungsabend im Zunfthaus zur Meise  
veranstaltet vom

Internationalen Frauenkomitee für dauernden Frieden.

**Mittwoch, 14. Mai, abends 6.30**

Ausflug mit Abendessen (Uetliberg)

**Samstag, 17. Mai, 7.30**

Schlussabend in der Tonhalle

Veranstaltet vom Zürcher Organisations Komitee.



## RULES OF ORDER.

### **I. Membership.**

The members of the Congress consist of the International Board of officers and the twenty-five delegates and ten alternates accredited from the countries who have national sections affiliated to the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace.

### **II. Voting and speaking.**

All members of the Congress have the right to speak. The Officers and delegates alone have the right to vote.

Visitors have the right to speak when they shall have been invited by the International Board.

### **III. Languages.**

At all meetings the languages shall be French, German and English.

### **IV. Name to be sent up in writing.**

A member who wishes to speak on any resolution or amendment shall send in writing to the Chairman her name and country.

### **V. Amendments to be sent up in writing.**

An amendment to a resolution shall be sent to the Chairman in writing signed by the mover and seconder. Each shall give the name of her country.

### **VI. Members to speak only from platform.**

Members shall speak only from the platform and in the order in which their names are received by the Chairman. If a member does not answer when she is called, she shall lose her turn.

### **VII. Time limit for speakers.**

Speakers, other than the movers and seconders of a resolution or amendment, shall not speak for more than five minutes; provided that when the Chairman shall have received in addition to the member who has the floor, the names of more than five members, asking to speak to the resolution or any of the amendments pending, no further speaker shall speak more than three minutes.

### **VIII. Limit to number of speeches**

A member shall not speak more than once on the same resolution or amendment; provided that the mover of a resolution shall have the right of reply before amendments are voted upon.



**IX. Amendments.**

Any number of amendments may be discussed at the same time. The most far reaching amendment shall be put to the vote first and so on until all the amendments are disposed of.

**X. Motion to close the debate and take the vote.**

At any time a member may move « to close the debate and take the vote ». This motion cannot be debated.

If it is seconded and carried, the Chairman, after having called on the mover of the resolution to reply, shall forthwith put to the vote all the amendments pending and the resolution.

**XI. Withdrawing a Motion.**

A resolution or amendment may be withdrawn by the mover with the consent of the seconder ; provided that such resolution or amendment may be re-introduced by another member.

**XII. New Resolutions and Reconsiderations.**

A resolution not printed on the programme may be considered, or any decision of the Congress reconsidered upon the recommendation of the International Board or upon a requisition to the Board signed by twenty members of the Congress including members from three different countries.

**XIII. Method of voting.**

The vote shall be taken by « ayes and nos » or by show of hands. If a vote is challenged it shall be retaken by a standing count.

**XIV. Amendment of Rules of Order.**

Any standing order may be temporarily set aside by a unanimous vote of the members. Such vote is to be taken without debate.

**RÈGLEMENT**

**1. Membres.**

Sont membres du Congrès : les membres du Comité international, 25 déléguées et 10 remplaçantes, nommées par les pays qui ont des sections nationales affiliées au Comité International de Femmes pour une Paix durable.

**2. Droit de vote et de discussion.**

Chaque membre du Congrès a le droit de prendre la parole. Seuls les membres du Comité et les déléguées ont le droit de vote. Les assistants ont le droit de parler, s'ils y ont été invités par le Comité international.

**3. Langues :**

Le français, l'allemand et l'anglais.

**4. Demander la parole par écrit.**

Un membre qui désire prendre la parole sur une résolution ou un amendement doit envoyer par écrit son nom et celui de son pays à la Présidente.

**5. Envoyer les amendements par écrit.**

Un amendement doit être envoyé à la Présidente par écrit et signé par celle qui le propose et celle qui le seconde. Chacune doit donner le nom de son pays.

**6. Les membres doivent monter à la tribune pour prendre la parole.**

Les membres doivent monter à la tribune dans l'ordre institué par la Présidente. Si un membre ne répond pas à l'appel, son tour est passé.

**7. Temps accordé à celles qui demandent la parole.**

Chaque personne ayant demandé la parole, excepté celles qui proposent une résolution ou un amendement, est limitée à parler cinq minutes. Toutefois, si plus de cinq membres ont été inscrits pour prendre la parole au sujet de la même résolution ou du même amendement, la Présidente a le droit de limiter la parole à trois minutes.

**8. Le droit d'avoir la parole.**

Un membre ne peut prendre la parole qu'une fois au sujet de la même résolution ou du même amendement ; mais celles qui ont proposé et secondé la motion ont le droit de répliquer avant que les amendements soient votés.



**9. Plusieurs amendements peuvent être discutés en même temps.**

L'amendement qui a la plus grande portée doit être voté le premier et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à ce que tous les amendements aient été discutés.

**10. Motion pour terminer la discussion et passer au vote.**

Chaque membre a le droit de proposer de terminer la discussion et de passer au vote. Cette proposition ne peut être discutée. Si cette proposition est secondée, la Présidente donne à celle qui a fait la proposition l'occasion de répondre, puis fait voter les amendements et la résolution. Si la proposition est rejetée, la discussion continuera.

**11. Rétracter une résolution.**

Une résolution ou un amendement peuvent être rétractés par celle qui l'a fait, d'accord avec celle qui l'a secondé; mais un autre membre a le droit de les réintroduire.

**12. Nouvelles résolutions et réintroduction.**

Une résolution qui ne se trouve pas sur le programme peut être mise en discussion, ou une décision du Congrès remise en discussion, sur la recommandation du Comité International ou sur une demande signée par vingt membres du Congrès appartenant à trois pays différents.

**13. Système de vote.**

Le vote se fera par « oui et non » ou à main levée; si un vote est mis en question, on votera par assis et levé.

**14. Amendement du règlement.**

Tous les articles du règlement peuvent être temporairement mis de côté par un vote unanime des membres. Ce vote se fera sans débat.

## GESCHÄFTSORDNUNG.

### I. Mitglieder.

Mitglieder des Kongresses sind der Internationale geschäftsführende Ausschuss, 25 Delegierte und 10 Stellvertreterinnen der nationalen Ausschüsse, welche dem Internationalen Frauenausschuss für dauernden Frieden angeschlossen sind.

### II. Diskussion.

Alle Mitglieder des Kongresses haben das Recht zu sprechen. Nur der geschäftsführende Ausschuss und die Delegierten haben Stimmrecht. Gäste sind nur auf Einladung des geschäftsführenden Ausschusses berechtigt, das Wort zu ergreifen.

### III. Verhandlungssprachen.

Die Verhandlungen werden in französischer, deutscher und englischer Sprache geführt.

### IV. Schriftliche Anmeldung zum Wort.

Wer zu einer Resolution oder einem Antrag das Wort ergreifen will, muss der Vorsitzenden Name und Heimatland schriftlich bekannt geben.

### V. Anträge.

Anträge zu Resolutionen müssen der Vorsitzenden schriftlich eingereicht werden. Sie sind vom Antragsteller und von derjenigen die ihn unterstützt zu unterzeichnen. Der Name des Landes ist hinzuzufügen.

### VI. Mitglieder können nur vom Podium aus sprechen.

und zwar in der Reihenfolge, wie sie bei der Vorsitzenden gemeldet werden. Mitglieder, die bei Aufruf ihres Namens nicht zur Stelle sind, gehen ihres Wortes verlustig.

### VII. Beschränkung der Redezeit.

Für Redner, ausgenommen Antragsteller und diejenige Person, die den Antrag unterstützt hat, ist die Redezeit auf 5 Minuten beschränkt. Sind bei der Vorsitzenden, ausser der Rednerin, mehr als 5 Namen gemeldet, ist die Redezeit für diese und die weiteren Redner auf 3 Minuten beschränkt.

### VIII. Redebeschränkung.

Ein Mitglied kann nur einmal zu jeder Resolution oder jedem Antrag das Wort ergreifen. Dem Antragsteller steht das Recht zu, zu antworten, bevor über einen Antrag abgestimmt wird.



**IX. Zusatz-Anträge.**

Ein beliebige Anzahl von Zusatzanträgen kann gleichzeitig diskutiert werden. Der weitgehendste gelangt zuerst zur Abstimmung.

**X. Anträge zur Geschäftsordnung.**

Anträge auf Schluss der Debatte und Abstimmung können jederzeit gestellt werden; sie stehen nicht zur Debatte. Sind die Anträge angenommen und unterstützt, erhält der Antragsteller das Schlusswort; dann erfolgt Abstimmung über Anträge und Resolution.

**XI. Anträge können zurückgezogen werden.**

Resolutionen oder Zusatzanträge können vom Antragsteller mit Einwilligung derjenigen Person, die sie unterstützt hat, zurückgezogen werden. Jedes Mitglied ist berechtigt, Resolution oder Zusatzantrag wieder einzubringen.

**XII. Neue Resolutionen und Wiederaufnahme abgelehnter oder angenommener Anträge.**

Eine Resolution, die nicht auf dem Programm vorgesehen ist, kann nur auf Anregung des geschäftsführenden Ausschusses auf die Tagesordnung kommen, oder wenn 20 Kongressmitglieder, welche drei verschiedenen Ländern angehören sollen, es beschliessen.

**XIII. Abstimmung.**

Abstimmung erfolgt durch «Ja» oder «Nein», oder durch Handaufheben; ist das Resultat zweifelhaft, durch Zählung der stehenden Mitglieder.

**XIV. Zusatzantrag zur Geschäftsordnung.**

Jede bestehende Geschäftsordnung kann zeitlich durch einstimmigen Beschluss der Mitglieder aufgehoben werden. Dieser Beschluss wird ohne Debatte angenommen.

**PROCEEDINGS  
COMPTE-RENDU**

**INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN  
ZURICH, MAY 12-17, 1919**

**Monday Morning Session, May 12 : 9.30 - 12.15**

**Opening of the Congress.**

*The President, Jane Addams*, opened the Congress by recalling that this Congress had been resolved upon at the previous Congress held at the Hague in April 1915 on the invitation of Dr. Jacobs. It had there been resolved to hold a second Congress in the same place and at the same time as the official Peace Conference. It had not been possible to have it in Paris, but it was being held at the same time as the peace negotiations going on in France. (For the President's address see pages 1, 4, 7.)

**Appointment of Secretaries and Interpreters.**

**Address of Welcome by the President of the Swiss National Section.**

*Clara Ragaz-Nadig* heartily welcomed the delegation to Switzerland in the name of her country and city. Her speech (printed on pages 11, 15, 18), was received with much applause.

**Reply by President.**

*Jane Addams* said she would not make a formal reply, but would call upon the Congress to rise and stand in silence in memory of those who had lost their lives in the war.

NOTE. — To each vote is appended a reference by number to the text as finally edited and embodied in the collected Resolutions of the Congress.



She said :

In harmony with our deep sense of the heavy losses that we all have suffered during the war, let us look upon this Congress as a solemn occasion, and do our work here in this spirit. Those present rose and stood in silence with bowed heads.

#### Financial Report.

*Emily Balch* gave a brief resumé of the finances of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace from the beginning. She said :

I will give the main facts in round sums and in terms of Dutch florins, normally worth about 2 francs, or in English money one shilling, eight pence. The accounts in full, as officially audited, are printed in our organ *Internationaal* and can be consulted by anyone who desires to do so.

The first year, May 1, 1915 to May 1, 1916, the receipts were something over 29,000 and the expenses something under 27,000. Of this sum the Congress cost 9,000, the Report of the Congress 5,000, the envoys sent to the various Governments 6,000. The office expenses in Amsterdam were about 4,700, beside 800 for furnishings. Our organ the *Internationaal* cost 450. The receipts were as follows : from fees and donations for the Congress 17,900; donations for the envoys' expenses 3,000; affiliations fees 100 ; sales of reports etc. 700, and so forth.

For the second year expenses were not quite 3,000, of which 660 went for the *Internationaal* and the rest for the office. Of the receipts for the year, amounting to not quite 3,500, over 3,000 came from donations to the general fund.

The third year, May 1, 1917 - May 1, 1918, receipts were 2,900 and the expenses 4,400, the year closing with a balance of under 1,400. The office expenses had been not quite 3,300. The *Internationaal* had cost 1141 and had brought in about 350 ; affiliation fees brought in about 120.

In the fourth year (last year up to May 1, 1919), receipts were 4,400 florins plus a donation of 1000 Marks left unrealized to wait for more favourable exchange. Expenses were not quite 4000, leaving a balance of 1800 florins and 1000 German Marks. The *Internationaal* cost 898 and brought in 339.

*Dr. Jacobs* inquired if anyone asked for fuller details. No one did so.

**Voted** to accept the finance report.

#### Report by the Envoys to the Governments commissioned by the Hague Congress of 1915.

*The President* explained about the peace delegations which were sent from our Hague Congress to the Governments of the different countries, and especially to the then neutral Governments, to urge them to hold a conference for continuous mediation. Two delegations were sent : one went to Holland, England, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland and later to the United States. The second went to Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia.

The report (« Manifesto ») issued in August 1915 by these envoys was then read.

(This manifesto will be found in full later in this report in English, French and German. The discussion of the proposal will be found in the Report of the Hague Conference, pages 169-176.)

**Voted** to accept the report of the envoys to the Governments.

#### Report of Credentials Committee, Roll Call.

*The President* explained that in each country there is a Committee of Five. These all together constitute the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace which has called this Congress and each in its own country has organized a National Section of our body. Each National Section is entitled to be represented at this Congress by its Committee of Five, by 20 delegates and 10 alternates, in addition to any members it may have among the international officers. For countries where it has been difficult to have an organisation of the I. C. W. P. P. representatives sent by organisations in sympathy with its programme will be considered as full delegates, but in countries where a National Section of the I. C. W. P. P. exists, only women delegated by it can be accepted as such, although women representing other similar organisations



are welcomed to the Congress, and are regarded as fraternal delegates.

*C. Ramondt-Hirschmann* reported, on behalf of the Credentials Committee, 91 delegates from 12 countries. The list of delegates as read was accepted, subject to later acceptance of delegates not yet arrived.

**Accepted.** There being no objection, the report of the Credentials Committee was accepted.

#### Rules of Order.

*The President* explained that during the week previous to the Congress officers and other members of the organisation had been conferring and preparing the work of the Congress. The rules of order as laid before the delegates had been thus prepared.

(For the Rules of Order see, English version p. 37, French version p. 39, German version p. 41.)

A *Delegate* challenged the practicability of a strict rule that a delegate might speak only once on a resolution. Another delegate thought it unpractical for speakers to be always obliged to come to the platform.

*Catherine Marshall* asked that speakers opposing a resolution should be allowed the same time as those speaking for it.

At the suggestion of *Thora Daugaard*, Denmark, supported by the Norwegian Section, *Dr. Emily Arnesen* moved that all resolutions should receive two readings before being voted upon, and that a board of experts be appointed for the service of the Congress.

*The President* said this proposal had been considered by the Committee, who concluded that it was in their opinion unnecessary.

The Danish and Norwegian delegates proposed that the Congress should not adopt this recommendation of the Committee, and that no resolution should be accepted until twice read and twice voted upon.

*Lida Gustava Heymann*, *Frida Perlen* and *Florence Kelley* vigorously opposed this proposal on the ground of time. *Christal Macmillan* opposed it as a general rule but thought that it might be desirable in especially important questions.

*Dr. Arnesen* withdrew her proposal, accepting *Christal Macmillan's* instead.

*Catherine Marshall* asked to have a rule for closing debate inserted.

*Dr. Augspurg* begged the Congress not to waste time in formulating rules to meet situations which in any case could not be fully foreseen. She advocated a free system, following the ordinary rules in general and deciding by vote how to proceed if difficulties arose.

*Lida Gustava Heymann* added that it should be felt that freedom meant responsibility and that all that was said should be as concrete as possible leaving aside everything unnecessary.

*C. Macmillan* supported *C. Marshall* and *Dr. Augspurg*.

**Voted**, unanimously, to accept the Rules of Order as presented.

#### Report of the Work of the International Headquarters 1915-1919.

*Jane Addams* presented *Dr. Jacobs* as the woman who had taken the burden of the work at the International Headquarters for four years.

*Dr. Jacobs* then gave a brief account of the activities of the Amsterdam Office and of the work of herself and *Rosa Manus*.

She said that unfortunately she could not give a complete report of what been done since the Congress at the Hague, as she had no material with her. She had not worked alone but had been splendidly helped by *Rosa Manus*. Unfortunately *Miss Manus* could not be with us today on account of the great difficulties of the journey.

The Amsterdam office had done the following things.



In the first place, as soon as possible after the Hague Congress, the report of the Congress was issued. This work was immensely helped by Chrystal Macmillan. She was in Holland at the time and was of the greatest assistance in getting through the mass of material. The reports were sent out to all National Sections, both those represented at the Congress and those who would have liked to be there but could not be. The reports were also sent to important persons who had played a role either in war or in peace. They were sent as well to all the Governments of the world.

*Dr. Jacobs* said that she had taken the greatest pleasure in the letters of appreciation that she had received from the most distant countries. The Government of Cuba, for instance, had expressed the greatest appreciation, and begged that a delegation of women might be sent to Cuba to organize the women there. That had been impossible, of course, but an answer had been sent asking for a list of prominent women in Cuba in order to send them all the material necessary for organization. Our letter was probably lost, for no answer was received in Holland. The Dutch office also received letters from Argentina, Peru, Japan, China and Mexico. By Mexico we were informed that the Government now gave women more freedom than formerly and the name of a woman with whom the office could correspond was furnished. This lady reported that she had founded a branch in Mexico, but afterward no further news was received. In South Africa it had unfortunately been impossible to form a section, as the women preferred to work together with the men. Great appreciation of our efforts had been expressed by the Prince of Siam.

The second piece of work of the office had been to keep in touch with the National Sections. To this end circulars had been sent out, in which letters coming in to the bureau had been printed, together with the answers returned by the bureau, and all the proposals suggested.

The third task of the office had been the publication of the *Internationaal*. The original intention had been to bring it out monthly, but there had not been enough material and the cost



of printing had been too great, so finally it appeared only quarterly. Later the office correspondence was also printed in this paper, as many of the circular letters were never received.

The fourth thing had been the collection of peace material from all countries. This was so arranged that it was easy to look it over and make use of it.

The chief difficulties that the office had had to contend with had been the following. A certain National Section would make a proposal and ask the Dutch office to carry it out. But the Dutch office had no authorization to act independently, so it was obliged to consult the National Sections. This naturally took a great deal of time and it often happened that the matter meanwhile lost all significance.

**Voted** to accept Dr. Jacobs' report.

#### **Agenda of the Congress.**

*C. Macmillan* explained that the Executive Committee, in preparing the work of the Congress, had had a large number of proposed resolutions to deal with. It had decided to divide these into three groups and refer them respectively to Committee I, a so-called political committee; Committee II, a committee on matters affecting women's status; and Committee III a committee on education and general social and ethical questions.

These three committees were to consider their material from three points of view according as it was to be laid before (1) the Peace Conference sitting in Paris, (2) the League of Nations, if one is realized; (3) our National Sections for their future national and international work.

After some discussion of how to proceed in the absence of adequate copies of the necessary documents, and after a statement by the Irish delegation that it was a separate representation and not a part of the British delegation, it was voted to accept the agenda proposed, with amendments safeguarding the Irish position, and accepting the multigraphed copies of resolutions submitted to the Congress as the authorized agenda in the absence of a printed set of resolutions in each language, which there had not been time to prepare.



The Zurich Congress in Session



#### Appointments.

The President asked each National Delegation to proceed to appoint four members as follows:

- (1) to give a brief account of the past work and future outlook in her country, at the afternoon session;
- (2) to speak at the Monday evening meeting;
- (3) to serve on the Press Committee under the chairmanship of Ella Wild;
- (4) to serve on the committee to consider the future work of the organisation which might develop out of this Congress.

For the Drafting and Translating Committee it was agreed to have six members, two for each language (French, German and English) selected by the International Board from nominations made, one each, by the National Sections.

#### Information and Arrangements.

Information was given as to mail, an excursion to the Uetliberg on Wednesday afternoon and the seating of delegations.

Adjourned at 12.15.

NOTE. — In the text of proceedings, all Resolutions appear as they were originally proposed and discussed. Upon adoption, a reference number is attached to each, giving its position in the complete Table of Resolutions. In some cases the Committee have used the power given them under Resolution XIV to revise the wording. This accounts for certain differences between the two versions.

#### Monday Afternoon Session, May 12, 2.30-5.15

##### Greetings.

Greetings were read from France from Gabrielle Duchêne, Alice Jouenne and Madeleine Keim; from Sweden from Ellen Key and Selma Lagerlöf; from Germany from Dr. Elisabeth Rotten and Minna Cauer; from Austria from Matilda Prager Holm of Vienna and the Sozial-Wirtschaftlicher Frauenbund of Graz; from Great Britain from Olive Schreiner and Lady Courtney.

A greeting was sent, on motion of Dr. Aletta Jacobs, to a great demonstration about to be held in the Albert Hall in London against the policy of starvation and for the raising of the blockade.

##### Reports of National Sections.

Reports were given as follows:

Austria :	Else Beer-Angerer.
Belgium :	Dr. Jacobs.
Canada :	Dr. Jacobs.
Denmark :	Clara Tybjerg,
Finland :	Dr. Jacobs.
Germany :	Lida Gustava Heymann.
Great Britain :	Helen Crawford.
Hungary :	Vilma Glücklich,
Ireland :	Louie Bennett.
British India :	Dr. Jacobs.
Italy :	Rosa Genoni.
Netherlands :	Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann.
Norway :	Martha Larsen.
Poland :	Dr. Jacobs.
Sweden :	Anna Kleman.

Committees were asked to meet after the session.

Adjourned, 5.15.



## Tuesday Morning Session, May 13, 9.30-12.40

### Greetings.

A Memorial from *Australia*, from the Sisterhood of International Peace of Melbourne, Victoria, was brought by *Eleanor M. Moore*. The memorial was worded as follows :

We, women citizens of the Australian Commonwealth, affirm our sympathy with thoughtful men and women everywhere who are earnestly seeking a way whereby at the close of the present war all nations may be led to consider the adoption of other means than armed force in the settlement of international differences. It is our desire that the enfranchised nation of Australia should be represented at the International Women's Congress to be held in furtherance of this ideal at The Hague, as soon as the present war ends ; and we subscribe our names as well-wishers to the cause, and supporters of the delegate who shall in person present this document, with names attached, at the said International Congress.

To this, 500 signatures of Australian women were attached. Everyone of these signatures was obtained while the country was still at war, and each was accompanied by a monetary contribution to the cause. The Memorial thus indicated a nucleus of genuine pacifist opinion.

Many other Australian organisations would have been glad to be represented at the Zurich Congress, but the great expense made it impossible. The most important event in Australia during the war had been that a referendum had been taken twice as to conscription. Women voted as well as men, and each time conscription was rejected. The women of Australia were hard workers, and took great interest in public questions.

On behalf of Argentine women, *Gertrud Sonklar* gave the following greeting :

Chères sœurs et camarades ! Permettez-moi, au nom de plusieurs membres du mouvement féministe de la République Argentine, que je connais, de vous transmettre leur message de sympathie, quoique je n'aie aucune mission officielle de le faire. Mais je puis en prendre la responsabilité, étant suffisamment au courant des opinions des membres argentins du mouvement féministe, surtout d'une des dirigeantes. Nous aussi nous voulons travailler aux mêmes fins que le Congrès, et nous avons déjà obtenu quelque résultat dans le domaine de l'égalité politique des femmes et du pacifisme. C'est dans cet esprit que, au nom de leurs fidèles camarades de la République Argentine, j'adresse un salut cordial aux déléguées ici présentes.

### Notices.

*The President* asked for certain additional nominations for speakers for the evening meeting of Tuesday. It had been feared that the programme of the preceding evening would be too long, but it had proved quite short.

Copies of the Covenant of the League of Nations, printed in the *Journal de Genève*, were offered to all the members of the Congress, and their attention was called to the fact that they might be needed in the day's discussion.

### Report of Political Committee I.

It was reported that as the discussion in the Political Committee proceeded it had become evident that there were two points of view, one favoring and the other opposing the acceptance of the proposed League of Nations Covenant proposed by the Paris Conference. It had therefore been agreed to subdivide the Committee into Committee A and Committee B and let each present its conclusions to the Conference. In addition to these two reports the British delegation, Committee C, had made various additional proposals amounting also to a fresh statement. All this matter would now be presented to the Congress.

*Lucia Ames Mead*, National Secretary of the Woman's Peace Party of the United States, presented



### Report of Committee A on Political Relations.

This consisted of a preamble and a series of resolutions. She limited herself to a discussion of the Covenant alone but said she shared the attitude of the Congress, and rejoiced in its joining with the British Labour Party and liberals everywhere in condemning the many features of the treaty which were unjust, imperialistic, and a severe handicap upon the Covenant. She felt that the Covenant was by far the best feature of the treaty, and marked a great advance in international cooperation. In its revised and much improved form, it contained within it the means for the redemption of the world from war and the power to remedy the grievous errors in the peace settlement. The little body of men who framed it would soon pass away from office and the great democratic forces of the world must take control and utilize its possibilities.

The world now faced disintegration, chaos and despair unless some League of Nations was established as the effective organ of a world that had now become organic. In any case, revolution was inevitable. The only question was, should it be a bloody or a peaceful one, by bullets or by ballots? The Covenant which, in its revised form, now made possible the admission presently of Germany and Russia into the Council of the League, which provided for withdrawal, for revision of treaties, and had made amendments far easier to obtain, contained within itself the possibility of immense growth. Each nation was now to become its brother's keeper and to call attention to friction and causes of trouble wherever they appeared.

Much harm was done by the use of false similes. The Covenant had been repeatedly referred to as « a house with bad foundations, doomed to fall ». But a house was a dead thing which could only decay and never grow. The Covenant, as President Wilson had well said, was « a vehicle of life ». It was a little child, born if you please of dissipated parents, with a bad inheritance, but capable with right nurture of becoming the saviour of the world. Those who absolutely condemned it had

no practicable alternative to offer. They would leave the world to flounder in despair while famine, hate and folly made the attainment of their ideal covenant still more remote.

She did not wish to insist upon the preamble prepared by Committee A, which evidently went further than the majority would sanction, and said her committee was glad to substitute for it the statement prepared by the British women of Committee C. But as to the resolutions proposing specific measures for the action of the first meeting of the League, Committee A would still retain them and would hope for their acceptance.

She thought that terms of peace should first be considered, and then the League of Nations.

The President held that the two subjects could not be separated.

The assembly did not accept this view.

Lucia Ames Mead said further that great changes had taken place in the world. Till now there had been no international organisation recognizing the unity of the world as a whole. She hoped that the League of Nations would fill this lack. She wished to say that she was willing to withdraw her proposal in case the League of Nations Resolution of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Committee B was also withdrawn. She hoped however that what was not included in the British Report (C) would be accepted.

The report presented by Political Committee A was as follows :

#### RESOLUTION ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace rejoices that at last, aroused by bitter experiences to the fatal danger of licensing might to pose as right, statesmen are undertaking to lay the foundations of a new world order, based on international cooperation, by means of a League of Nations.

At this critical moment, when the fate of millions is trembling in the balance, when famine, despair and chaos threaten a large part of the world, and the war-



wearied peoples are facing bankruptcy and crave immediate relief, we believe that women of broad vision will heartily respond to the moral summons to help make the Covenant of the League of Nations a vehicle of life. We believe that the present form of the Covenant, while leaving much to be desired, has within it great possibilities of growth, and, in this acute crisis, is the best available alternative to the old system of alliances, balance of power and war.

While striving as earnestly as possible for the attainment of an ideal world organisation, we believe that the peoples of the world should accept this Magna Carta which has been amended after public discussion, and which marks an enormous advance upon the previous anarchic relations existing between states.

We believe that this Congress should use its influence towards the development of this great new agency for a peaceful evolution in international relations, so that it may become a true Society of Nations.

**Positive Gains towards World Organisation provided by the Covenant.**

1. Obligations not to resort to war, and guaranteed cooperation to prevent aggressions. Preamble and Art. X.
2. The creation of a loose, international federation with freedom as to withdrawal and cessation of relationship.
3. The use of military force only in remote contingencies if preventive measures (which all nations are empowered to initiate) and arbitration or economic pressure, fail. Art. XII.
4. Reduction of armaments and provision to effect disarmament. Art. VIII.
5. Opposition to private manufacture of armaments and public knowledge of each nation's armaments. Art. VIII
6. Secret treaties to be void, all treaties to be registered and published. Art. XVIII.

7. Establishment of international headquarters. Art. VI.
8. Eligibility of women to all positions in the League. Art. VII.
9. Dependencies and backward nations under the protection of the League, with their « well being and development », « a sacred trust of civilisation ». Art. XXII and XXIII.
10. Freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce. Art. XXIII.
11. Control of traffic in women, children, and drugs. Art. XXIII.
12. Prevention and control of diseases, encouragement of the Red Cross. Art. XXIII and XXV.
13. Opportunities for larger scope of international bureaux, under which might come an indefinite number of useful agencies, which would aid all national organisations in education, economics and general welfare. Art. XXIV.

**Principles of Women included in the Covenant.**

We rejoice that the Covenant of the League of Nations has included the following principles which we advocated four years ago: economic pressure to prevent aggression, the reference of all future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation: disarmament: restriction of private manufacture of munitions; a court of international justice, and abolition of secret treaties.

**Disarmament.**

This Congress recommends to the League of Nations that at the earliest possible moment it provide for world disarmament. British, American, Irish and Italian proposal.

**Conscription.**

This Congress recommends to the League of Nations that it provide for universal abandonment of conscription.



**Liberty of Commerce.**

This Congress recommends that the Council of the League of Nations at its first session, in appointing a Commission on «freedom of transit» and «equitable treatment for the commerce of all states which are members of the League», should instruct it to consider and report on the initial steps to be taken toward ultimate, complete liberty of commerce. American and British proposal.

**Existing Treaties.**

This Congress recommends that all existing treaties be regarded as no longer binding, unless, within a year after the establishment of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, they are registered with the Secretary General, according to the requirements for future treaties set out in Article XVIII.

**Minority Vote.**

In the interests of representation of peoples rather than of governments, this Congress recommends that the Covenant of the League as soon as possible be amended, to the end that each one of the three representatives of a state in the Assembly shall vote independently, thus permitting representation of minorities.

**Aliens and Mandatories.**

This Congress recommends that each state which controls alien population shall be asked by the Assembly to render to the Mandatory Commission annual reports as to its stewardship similar to those required from Nations to whom special mandatories will be given. It also recommends that alien dependencies and small nationalities within any Government shall have the right to present directly documents and statements of their conditions and desires to the Council through the agency of the Secretary General. American proposal.

**Amnesty.**

This Congress recommends to all belligerent nations that, upon the signing and ratification of the Peace Treaty, amnesty be proclaimed to all who have been made prisoners for conscientious objections in regard to enforced military service.

**Rights of National Groups.**

This Congress recommends to the League of Nations the adoption of the principle of the right of self-disposal of national groups and the abolition of the subjection of any population to another. Recognising, however, that it is impossible to create everywhere nationally homogeneous communities and to avoid wholly the inclusion of alien groups within certain States, it urges that the League of Nations shall maintain the right of minority groups and individuals to religious and cultural liberty, making it possible for differences that have hitherto been grounds of dissension to become enrichments of the life of the state. American proposal.

**Free Transit and Trade.**

This Congress recognises that restrictions upon the freedom of transit and trade have been among the most fruitful causes of war, and it therefore recommends to the League of Nations (a) that its provision for «freedom of communications and transit» be extended to the internationalising of inter-oceanic water-ways: (b) that «equitable treatment for all commerce» be extended to provide equal trade opportunities for all nations in all dependencies and colonies: and that (c) ultimate free trade be recognised as necessary to permanent peace. American and British proposal.

**Amendment.**

This Congress urges the Peace Conference if possible, (or otherwise the League of Nations at its first session), to provide that amendments to the Covenant shall require the consent of not more than two-thirds of the members of the Council. American proposal.



*Ethel Snowden* presented

**Report of Political Committee B.**

**RESOLUTION ON 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, recognise the right of the victors to the spoils 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.

*Ethel Snowden* then said :

The Resolution condemns the peace terms because they depart from the principles laid down by the allied statesmen, and upon which this organisation is founded ; also the main principles of President Wilson's programme which was the chief inducement to the Central Powers to lay down their

arms. These were, in brief, the right of every nation to determine its own form of government, the abolition of secret diplomacy, the organisation of an effective society of nations, the safeguarding of private right against public might. Instead of this, both Japan and France secure all that they were promised in the treaties made in secret, as the price, in part, of their support. The Saar basin is to yield up in perpetuity all its coal to France. French customs, the French language, everything French is to be encouraged, and after fifteen years the people are to be asked whether they wish to be French or Germans. I would undertake to make any English county decide to join Ireland, or any Irish province decide to join England, if given fifteen years in which to do it. Silesia, Posen, West Prussia and the North East of Prussia are to go to Poland. Three districts formerly belonging to Germany have to go without their consent to Belgium. These examples are sufficient to show that the spirit of the present conquerors is the spirit of the conquerors of the past and the principles upon which we ought to build the future are violated every time. In Alsace-Lorraine surely the principle of self-determination should be applied. Refusal to submit to the people's decision shows lack of confidence in our own principles.

The financial clauses will provoke suffering enough to cause anarchy and ruin for generations. Germans have to pay five thousand million of British pounds, an incomprehensible sum which they cannot and ought not to pay. But this is by no means the worst feature. In the course of time even that sum might be paid by these impoverished people. I speak of the people, not of the government, which, with other governments, was the cause of this war. The new democratic government of Germany I am concerned with, and these people are to be told on May 21st 1921 what further they will have to pay. If you were in the position of being asked for all your income during the next two years, and after that you would have to do something more not explained, would you have the heart and courage to work and to produce in order that those who had enslaved you might take it from you ? The German army is to go, the navy also ; they are to have no submarines, no



military aeroplanes. That would be very well, but what of the allies? This is said to be the first step making towards complete disarmament. Does any person here from any one of the allied countries allow herself to be taken in by that? Certainly not the British delegation. In our budget we have proposed to spend four or five times more on our armaments than ever before, and if any British person were to suggest that this side of the Day of Judgment there should be one ship less in the British navy, he would be laughed out of court. There are no signs of disarmament in the United States. If there is disarmament on one side, it should be on the other side also. It would not have hurt the dignity of the allies to have said, « If you will get rid of your army, your navy, your military aeroplanes, we pledge ourselves to do the same. »

The capitalists and imperialists of the conquering countries are compelling German men and women to pay for their own miserable exploits. Already five million British labour voters have protested against this peace. Go home and refuse to support every man who has had anything to do with the making or supporting of this peace. Democracy by this peace has been brought into universal contempt. Idealism never received such a blow as it has received from those well-meaning statesmen who have not had the courage to do the right thing. If we can make good men and women once more believe their religion, and make it effective in the politics of the world, then there is some hope for permanent peace, but out of this treaty, nothing.

**Voted.** — The Resolution was seconded by *Jeanette Rankin* and carried unanimously. (A. II. 3.)

#### **Resolution telegraphed to Paris.**

**Voted.** — On motion of *Charlotte Despard* it was unanimously voted to telegraph the Resolution to the Powers in Paris. *Ethel Snowden* (Chairman), *Jeanette Rankin* and *Marguerite Gobat* were appointed a committee to attend to carrying out this vote.

A telegram was accordingly sent to Messrs. Lloyd George, Wilson, Clemenceau, Poincaré, Dutasta (secretary to the

Peace Conference), Orlando, Makino, Venizelos, Hymans (Belgium) and to the Spanish and Brazilian delegations at the Peace Conference, in which the resolution was quoted in full and the following further information appended :

« This resolution was moved by Mrs. Snowden (Gt. Britain) and seconded by Miss Jeannette Rankin (United States) and carried unanimously. The following countries were represented at the Congress : America, 25 delegates ; Australia, 1 ; Austria, 6 ; Denmark, 4 ; Germany, 25 ; Great Britain, 23 ; Holland, 4 ; Hungary, 2 ; Ireland, 3 ; Italy, 1 ; Norway, 5 ; Roumania, 1 ; Sweden, 11 ; Switzerland, 25. »

It was further agreed to send the same telegram to Gabrielle Duchêne (France) informing her of the action taken in sending it .

It was also proposed that it should be recommended to the National Sections to cable the resolution to their most politically influential committees or members asking them to make propaganda in the sense of the telegram, but this was not held to be matter on which a Congress vote was necessary.

*Emmeline Pethick Lawrence* moved the second Resolution of Committee B as follows :

#### **RESOLUTION ON THE BLOCKADE AND FAMINE**

This International Congress of women regards the tragic situation of wide-spread unemployment, famine and pestilence extending throughout great tracts of Central and Eastern Europe and through parts of Asia, as a profound disgrace to civilisation, and a challenge to all men and women who believe in the brotherhood of mankind and in the duties of world citizenship.

This Congress appeals to the Governments of all the Powers now assembled at the Peace Conference at Paris, and urges that the interallied organisation formed for purposes of war shall be developed into an international organisation for purposes of peace, and that immediate action shall be taken,

1. That the blockade shall be immediately lifted, in order that food and raw materials may be brought to the unemployed and starving peoples.



2. That all the resources of the world, food, raw materials, finance, transport, shall be organized immediately for the relief of the peoples from famine and pestilence, just in the same way that all the resources of the allied countries have been organised for the relief of the peoples from « the yoke of militarism », so that in this way a great demonstration be given that nations can co-operate and organise to save life as efficiently as they can co-operate and organise to destroy life.

3. That the lives of millions of starving children shall be saved, regardless of the financial cost. That, if there is an insufficiency either of food or of transport facilities to supply all demands, luxuries shall not be allowed transport from one country to another, until the necessities of life are supplied to all : and the people of every country shall be rationed, in order that all the starving shall be fed.

We believe that immediate international action carried out on this scale would not only do more than anything else to satisfy the conscience of humanity at the present moment, but would do more than anything else to heal the wounds of the world and bring about the reconciliation and union of the peoples.

*Emmeline Pethick Lawrence* then spoke as follows :

The desirability of doing something on the lines of these resolutions has been borne in upon me after some months of work in connection with the famine question in Europe. There still seems to be no clearly defined policy as to the methods to be taken to deal with the situation. The raising of the blockade, even if this is done, will not secure the establishment of normal conditions, and whatever system prevails, in this or other countries as regards either (1) Free Trade and open competition, (2) Imperial Preference, or (3) some form of Inter-allied Economic Control, the conditions created will have to be studied, and also the forces which are creating the conditions, the action of our own Government, of the trading firms, shipping companies etc., and further the political mo-

tives behind any action which may be taken on economic lines by the Supreme Economic Council or any other body acting under the League of Nations. An advisory body of international experts might furnish much information which would be useful for immediate purposes as throwing light on existing conditions. This information at present is very hard to get from any authentic source, and is much needed for purposes of publication. If the Committee further proceeded to make recommendations as to meeting the needs of the various countries, these might be of the greatest value in helping to formulate some policy on international reconstruction on the economic side, which it would be possible to take action on and to urge the Governments in each country to adopt.

In order to work on the lines of the above resolutions, and to prepare our minds for a policy on which we should be ready to urge the Governments to take immediate action, I suggest the calling together at Geneva by the Women's International Committee of an International Conference of experts on economic and political questions at an early date. These should be asked (1) to report on the economic conditions prevailing in their own countries, and (2) to consider the formation of a central International Committee for the study of economic problems, especially in relation to the famine, shortage of raw material, and industrial dislocation, and to act as an Advisory Council to the I. C. W. P. P. and other bodies which might wish to take part in the Conference.

1. The reports on economic conditions might cover,
  - (a) effects of war on economic conditions,
  - (b) effects of the blockade,
  - (c) effects on the health of the industrial population,
  - (d) shortage of raw material and the necessary means for re-establishing production and industry on a normal basis.
2. The formation of a Central International Committee of experts on economic questions, to act as an advisory body to the I. C. W. P. P. (and other bodies if desired), whose business it should be to consider reports on economic conditions from



all the countries concerned, and to make recommendations on economic reconstruction.

Advisory committees of experts might also be formed in connection with each National Branch of the I. C. W. P. P. (and other bodies if desired). The business of these Advisory Committees should be to collect information on economic conditions and study it, especially in relation to their own countries; to consider reports from other countries, and to give advice as to what action should be taken; and to publish and distribute information on international economic questions.

All important information should be sent to the Central Bureau at Geneva to be filed, summarised and circulated to the Advisory Committees and to the National Sections in each country — it should also be sent to each member of the Central International Committee of Economists.

The information collected to include:

Government reports on economic conditions

Press reports on economic conditions

Reports from the International Red Cross and other relief societies

Reports on any action taken by the Supreme Economic Council or any other bodies concerned with economic international conditions and policy.

*Elizabeth Waern-Bugge* seconded the Resolution.

*Rosa Genoni* said she was glad to support the Resolution. She said:

Italy has not suffered the blockade, but I see these pale thin women here. You can imagine with what happiness I have listened to the Resolution.

#### Report of Committee C.

The following suggested amended form of the Blockade and Famine Resolution was submitted by the British Delegation (Committee C).

#### AMENDED FORM OF RESOLUTION ON BLOCKADE AND FAMINE

This International Congress of Women regards the unemployment, famine and pestilence extending throughout Central and Eastern Europe and parts of Asia as a disgrace to civilisation, and urges the Governments of the Allied Powers, assembled in Paris, to develop for purposes of peace the international organisation now existing for purposes of war, and to take immediate action,

1. To raise the Blockade so that food and raw materials may be supplied to all the peoples, and transport be provided for necessities.

2. To cooperate internationally in the distribution of the resources of the nations in order that the world shortage of food and materials may be borne equally by all peoples.

We believe that only immediate international action of this kind can save humanity and bring about the permanent reconciliation and union of the peoples.

**Voted.** — After some discussion of the wording of the Resolution and of arrangements for telegraphing it, also, to Paris, both forms were referred to a Committee consisting of *Emmeline Pethick Lawrence* and *Margaret Ashton*, who were asked to confer and report a joint draft to a later meeting.

#### Notices.

Notice was given of a lecture by *Suzanne Ferrière* of the International Committee of the Red Cross, to be given to members of the Congress, Friday afternoon: also of the expected arrival, Tuesday afternoon, of a train load of German prisoners coming from France.



## Tuesday Afternoon Session, May 13, 2.30-5

Jane Addams asked Martha Larsen of Norway to take her seat on the platform with the Committee, saying that Mrs. Larsen had been one of the most active in the preparatory work of the Congress.

### RESOLUTION ON BLOCKADE AND FAMINE

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence and Margaret Ashton reported a text of the Blockade Resolution acceptable to both Committees B and C.

Voted unanimously to adopt this text as follows :

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

This congress urges the governments of all the powers assembled at the peace congress to develop the interallied organisation formed for purposes of war into an international organisation for purposes of peace, and that immediate action shall be taken,

1. That the blockade be immediately lifted.
2. That all resources of the world, food, raw materials, finance, transport, shall be organised immediately for the relief of the peoples from famine and pestilence.
3. That, if there is there an insufficiency either of food or of transport to supply all the demands, luxuries shall not be given transport from one country to another until the necessaries of life are supplied to all; and the people of every country shall be rationed in order that all the starving shall be fed.

We believe that only immediate international action of this kind can save humanity and bring about the permanent reconciliation and union of the peoples.

(A. I.)

### Telegram on Blockade.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Elizabeth Waern-Bugge and Rosa Genoni were appointed a committee to send the telegram to the same persons as the former telegram.

### Report of Political Committee B. (continued).

#### RESOLUTION ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Florence Kelley presented this resolution as follows :

This International Congress of Women records its satisfaction that the idea of a League of Nations, which at the time of our last Congress was regarded by the majority of people as impracticable, has now become almost universally accepted.

But it regrets that the Covenant of the League as at present drafted is not democratic, it is a League of Conquerors against the Conquered, it tacitly maintains the old discredited system of the balance of power, and whilst pretending to abolish secret diplomacy, it guarantees the fruits of the secret treaties, and it therefore will not achieve its declared purpose of saving the world from future wars. In order to win whole-hearted support from all men and women who to-day realise their world citizenship, the fundamental principle of a League of Nations must be that it is open on the same conditions to all nations who wish to unite with it.

Equally vital is the principle that there must be international disarmament by mutual agreement; since permanent peace can be ultimately secured only by complete disarmament (land, sea and air), by abolition of conscription in all countries, and by the safeguarding of the political and economic rights of all nations and races. Because the present draft of a Covenant of the League



of Nations in no way meets those requirements, the International Congress of Women makes the following recommendations :

**Constitution.**

The Constitution of the League of Nations should be drafted and adopted by elected delegates of *all* nations which desire to unite with the League. It must offer the possibility of easy amendment, according to the needs of the future.

**Programme.**

**A. Military.**

1. Abolition of the right to declare war,
2. Total international disarmament,
3. Total abolition of military conscription,
4. Prohibition of the manufacture of munitions of war.

**B. Law.**

Creation of a universal system of law to settle international legal questions, to deal with contentious subjects and prevent disputes by means of permanent courts of Conciliation, Arbitration and Justice.

**C. Politics.**

The absolute right of self-determination and self-government for all nations and national minorities as to their own citizenship and form of government, irrespective of whether in the world-war these nations were victors, vanquished or neutrals.

**D. Economic.**

The preparation of a plan of world economy :

1. For the production of goods according to the principle of satisfying the world's needs.
2. The production and distribution of the necessities of life at the smallest cost.
3. The exclusion of all private profit.

4. The exchange of the products of all countries by the fullest freedom of trade in raw materials and finished products.
5. The removal of all customs difficulties from the frontiers and complete freedom of communication and trade.
6. The adoption of a universal system of coinage, weights and measures and postage stamps.
7. The regulation of the conditions of labour of men and women, and the exclusion of all child labour below the age of 16 years.
8. The right to industrial self-government.

**E. Social.**

Abolition of the rule of any class, and the gradual transformation in all countries of the capitalistic system, by the introduction of equal opportunity for earning and education, so that cooperation in the life of individuals and peoples may take the place of competition, and mutual help replace combat. We affirm the rights of existence, free development and self-government for individuals and nations.

**F. Culture.**

International proposals for education by schools, press, literature and art, in the sense of ethical training in the principles of right, and the solidarity of all peoples and races.

We recommend the organization of education at the public expense,

1. To include exchange between countries of teachers and pupils,
2. The introduction of instruction in a universal language in the schools of all countries.
3. International agreement as to a minimum of compulsory education.



These are the principles which the Women's International Congress regards as fundamental for a League of Nations. We women, who are by nature creators and guardians of life, regard it as our duty in this moment of the world's history, after years of self-destruction, to undertake the establishment of a new world, to condemn in the most emphatic manner any attempt at reestablishing the principle of force, to recognize as the basis of future society the sacredness of life, and to proclaim the solidarity of humanity.

*Florence Kelley* then spoke in part as follows :

The main point of the resolution is to propose a basis for the League of Nations as we conceive it. It begins by referring to the fact that the covenant of the League of Nations as now written does not meet our wishes. It ought to be the foundation of the international life of the peoples in the future. But when it begins by excluding certain peoples it is impossible to work under it. In our resolution we have stated the points that to us women are essential to such a covenant, and we believe that they coincide with the fourteen points of President Wilson.

*Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann* supported the motion, and said :

In the Covenant as proposed we as women, above all things miss the sense of mutual confidence.

It is impossible to cooperate while distrusting one another. At present there are undoubtedly difficulties in the way of building up the needed trust but mankind has already overcome many difficulties. We women must seek to realize the ideal thing, and we must feel sure that by working together these difficulties too may be overcome, and not allow fear, doubt and distrust to stand in the way.

**Report of Political Committee C.** (continued).

*Dr. Ethel Williams* moved the British proposal, as follows :

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

This Congress records its belief that the further progress of humanity and further cooperation of the nations

can be ensured only when the unity of the human family is recognized in a League of Nations based upon a system representative of the peoples, upon which every nation is represented, which aims at international disarmament, which provides machinery for the administration of justice between nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and which sets up such an international organisation of trade and industry as shall open to all nations the markets of the world and its supply of raw material.

The Congress therefore expresses its satisfaction that the idea of a League of Nations, which at the time of its last meeting, in May 1915, was regarded by the majority of people as impracticable, has now become almost universally accepted.

Without committing itself to the support of the Covenant put forward by the Conference of Paris, it recognizes that this Covenant has laid down certain principles which are in accordance with those adopted by our Congress in May 1915, and which we can therefore unreservedly endorse.

These principles are :

- (1) The abandonment of the absolute sovereign rights of states.
- (2) The establishment of the rudiments of the machinery for arbitration and conciliation (Art. XII, XIII, XIV, XV).
- (3) The formulation of schemes for the reduction of armaments and for the restriction of the private manufacture of arms (Art. VIII and IX).
- (4) That Powers which administer countries inhabited by peoples « not yet able to stand by themselves » shall do so as « a sacred trust of civilisation » and that « securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League. »
- (5) The establishment of a permanent international Labour Bureau.



- (6) The granting of freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of all states members of the League.
- (7) The abolition of secret treaties.
- (8) The abrogation of obligations inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant.
- (9) Provision for the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.
- (10) The recognition that the League should be a powerful instrument in the furthering of constructive international cooperation.

The whole-hearted adoption of these principles by the nations of the world would be the longest step ever taken toward the establishment of permanent peace and towards international cooperation.

But the Covenant in its present form contains some provisions which are bound to stultify it, and omits others which are necessary to it as an instrument to secure the peace of the world. Therefore, notwithstanding the measure of support given by the present Covenant to the principles adopted by this Congress, we urge the following recommendations in order to carry out these principles fully.

**Recommendations :**

- (1) Membership of the League of Nations must be open to all self-governing states which express their desire to become members and their willingness to perform the duties of members, irrespective of the form of government which they may adopt.
- (2) The Council and Executive of the League must be democratically elected.
- (3) Conscription must be abolished in all countries ; there must be an equal proportionate degree of disarmament for all countries.

- (4) All territorial adjustments and matters of nationality should be decided in accordance with the principle of self-determination.
- (5) All peoples must have free access to raw materials and equal trading opportunities.
- (6) No mandatory system can be just or satisfactory while certain nations are excluded from the League.
- (7) It should be incumbent upon states acting as mandatories of the League to develop in the backward races under their guardianship the power of self-government and to confer it upon them at the earliest possible moment.

These recommendations, if given effect to, will increase the confidence and support accorded to the League by the nations of the world.

*Dr. Williams* said that she was entirely in agreement with *Mrs. Snowden's* resolution in its strictures upon the Peace Treaty, which, she recognised, violated the principles on which any lasting peace must be based. She recognised that the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was incorporated with the Peace Treaty, was also lacking in several fundamental principles which alone could make it effective ; notwithstanding this, she pleaded for the acceptance of the Covenant of the League, but with full recognition of its imperfections and a determination to devote ourselves to its reform. She asked the Congress to recognise and accept what was good in the Covenant and not to fling away the good with the bad. She pointed out that not all were socialists, and that in consequence the Congress could not be expected to accept a purely socialist programme. She believed that there was enough in the Covenant to allow us to unite in working for a better future.

*L. A. Mead* expressed the willingness of her Committee to accept the British proposal presented by *Dr. Williams* as a substitute for the main part of the Resolution of Committee A but pointed out that there were five points in the Resolution of Committee A not covered in the British draft. These points



were those dealing with (7) Liberty of Commerce, (8) Minority Vote, (9) Aliens and Mandatories, (12) Free Transit and Trade, (13) Amendments.

*Kathleen Courtney* moved that the Resolution of Committee B be taken as the basis of a discussion of our ideal and that the Proposal of Committee C be then taken as a basis for practical suggestions for amendment, to be made to the Paris Conference.

*Yella Hertzka* said: Sie werden alle schon aus dieser Diskussion ersehen, dass es sich hier vielleicht um die allerwichtigste Angelegenheit dieses Kongresses handelt, um eine heilige Angelegenheit. Bei der verschiedenen Auffassung, die immerhin durch das Uebersetzen und durch manchmal etwas zu rasches Sprechen hervorgerufen worden ist, wird es vielleicht doch gut sein, einmal ganz klar zu stellen, was eigentlich der grosse Unterschied in den Auffassungen der beiden Komitees ist.

Das Komitee A geht von der Anschauung aus, hier werde eine *League of Nations* gebildet, und das sei besser als nichts. Vielleicht können wir etwas daraus machen.

Das Komitee B geht von der Anschauung aus, hier werde eine *League of Nations* gebildet, die sei in ihrer jetzigen Form unmöglich, und wir wollen nichts damit zu tun haben.

Die britische Sektion sagt: hier ist ein Friedenskongress, dessen Aufgabe es ist, vor allem zu versuchen, die Menschen in ihren Anschauungen einander näher zu bringen.

Versuchen wir also, dass nebst diesem Vorschlage, den wir für allzu ideal halten, und dem Vorschlage, den wir für unmöglich halten, ein Vorschlag gebracht werde, der annehmbar ist.

Der letzte Vorschlag, derjenige von *Miss Courtney*, sagt: «Lasst uns einen idealen Vorschlag machen, ihn aber nicht absenden, sondern nur in unsere Länder zurückschicken». Dieser Vorschlag erscheint mir als das unmöglichste, was eine internationaler Kongress überhaupt tun kann.

Nun möchte ich Ihnen sagen: Ich komme aus einem sehr kleinen Land, aus Oesterreich, aber ich komme mit vielen

Erfahrungen, und ich komme vor allen Dingen mit diesen Erfahrungen: dass wir Frauen uns nicht mehr einlassen dürfen auf Kompromisse. Wir Frauen haben das Jahrzehnte hindurch getan. Sie Amerikanerinnen, die uns immer vorschwebt haben als das freiheitlichste Volk, wie lange warten Sie auf Ihr Stimmrecht! Sie haben successive gearbeitet, Sie haben wundervoll gearbeitet, wir blicken immer noch zu Ihnen auf. Aber lassen Sie sich von uns, die wir in einem halben Jahre Erfahrungen gemacht haben, die Sie uns doch als Tatsache gelten lassen müssen, lassen Sie sich von uns sagen: es gibt jetzt, in diesem historischen Moment, nur eine Möglichkeit: die Frauen haben zu verlangen, was die Ehre der Frauen erfordert. Die Frauen haben nicht mitzugehen in den Fussstapfen der Männer. Wir haben nicht Regierungen zu folgen. Wir haben Regierungen zu wählen, so wie sie uns für unsere ferne Zukunft vorschweben. Als oberstes Gesetz haben wir den Grundsatz aufzustellen, dass wir nicht auf gegenseitige Konkurrenz, sondern auf gegenseitige Hilfe hinzuwirken haben. Das ist der Grundsatz, der bei dem jetzt vorgeschlagenen Völkerbund ausgeschaltet ist.

Sonst wollte ich Ihnen nichts Anderes sagen als: In diesem denkwürdigen Moment brauchen wir uns gar nicht darum zu kümmern, ob vielleicht in Paris irgend wann, irgend einer von der Völkerbundskonferenz sagt: «Oh, diese Frauen sind lächerlich!» Das braucht uns nicht zu kümmern. Wir waren 1915 auch «lächerlich». Wir in Oesterreich waren auch lächerlich, wenn wir von Verständigungsfrieden sprachen. Man lachte über uns; aber 1917 lachte man nicht mehr. So wird es auch in dieser Sache gehen.

Ich wende mich dagegen, dass Sie den Vorschlag des Komitees B. einen idealen Vorschlag nennen, in der Meinung, er sei unausführbar. Es ist ein idealer Vorschlag, heute noch, nach Ihren Begriffen. Es muss aber der Rechtsvorschlag sein nach aller Menschen Begriffen.

*Leopoldine Kulka* agreed with *Yella Hertzka*.

*Catherine Fuller*:

There is the same difference between the League of Nations that we want and the one proposed at Versailles that there



is between our idea of a possible peace treaty and that now put forward. If this morning we most energetically repudiated the peace terms and telegraphed our view to Paris, we ought to have the courage now to repudiate the League of Nations too. We are not here to compromise. We are here to work. We ought to make out a plan for a League of Nations as we want it, and stand for that and work for that.

*Emily Balch* hoped that the Congress would state what points in the Covenant it approved and what it disapproved.

*Ellen Wilkinson* spoke of the two different tendencies everywhere — liberals always very mild and moderate in what they ask, and ready to compromise, and on the other hand young democrats afraid of nothing when it is a question of taking a stand for the new times. We women propose to take a stand for the new times, and shall not let ourselves be frightened by the old story that what is ideal is unpractical. We maintain that we shall be able to find the practical way to realize our ideal.

*Anita Augspurg*. Ich hoffe, dass die grosse Mehrheit der Versammlung der Ueberzeugung ist, wie es ja viele Vorrednerinnen vor mir ausgedrückt haben, dass wir nicht die Aufgabe haben, das gutzuheissen oder zu kritisieren, was die sogenannten praktischen Staatsmänner in Paris jetzt eben zu tun im Begriffe sind, sondern dass wir ganz unabhängig von deren Absichten und Möglichkeiten hier das feststellen, was die *Frauen* für recht und billig halten.

Die Vorschläge, die wir 1915 in den Beschlüssen vom Haag niedergelegt haben, unsere Präsidentin hat uns gestern Abend gesagt, dass sie als ein stark zerlesenes und also viel durchdachtes Exemplar in den Taschen Wilsons lange Zeit gewesen sind, und dass sie wohl die Grundlagen gebildet haben zu der Feststellung der 14 Punkte, die man jetzt in der ganzen Welt anerkennt.

Im Jahre 1915 hat man von unserem Kongress im Haag gesagt, wir hätten nichts zu Stande gebracht als unfruchtbare Redensarten. Diese unfruchtbaren Redensarten sind der Wegweiser geworden für die Handlungen und das Denken der

Welt. Wollen wir doch es als unsere Ehre betrachten, wenn es sein muss, auch wieder solche unfruchtbare Redensarten hier vorzubringen, wenn wir nur sicher sein können, dass diese unfruchtbaren Redensarten später wieder die Früchte für die Welt tragen.

Wir stehen hier vor der Möglichkeit, durch die Verabschiedung der Resolution A, beziehungsweise des britischen Vorschlags, im günstigen Falle zu bewirken, dass man unsere Zusätze oder Anträge berücksichtigt und einige Verbesserungen an der jetzt vorliegenden Verfassung des Völkerbundes vornimmt. Das wird aber wahrscheinlich die schlimme Folge nach sich ziehen, dass die Lebensdauer der Verfassung des Völkerbundes, die wir grundsätzlich als falsch betrachten, vielleicht verlängert wird. Lehnen wir dagegen diese Verfassung vollständig ab und erklären wir, der Völkerbund entspreche in keiner Weise dem, was Frauen und andere Idealisten dieser Welt für das Erstrebenswerte und Notwendige anerkennen, so erreichen wir durch unsere Kritik, dass zwar vielleicht die Schaffung des Völkerbundes um 4 oder 5 Jahre hinausgeschoben wird, dann aber können wir hoffen, dass eine Verfassung des Völkerbundes entstehen wird, die dem allgemeinen Ideal entspricht.

Ich stimme darin einer Vorrednerin bei, die sagt, es komme ganz wenig darauf an, was wir hier tun; die Staatsmänner werden doch nichts auf uns geben. Auch ich bin dieser Ueberzeugung. In Paris wird man nichts darauf geben, was wir hier beschliessen. Man wird die Entscheidung nicht abhängig sein lassen von unseren Entscheidungen. Aber, verehrte Versammlung, es hängt von der Entscheidung, die wir treffen, ab, ob wir in Zukunft das Zutrauen der Welt geniessen als eine Korporation, die hohe und neue und ideale Anschauungen für die Welt auszuarbeiten hat.

*The President* called attention to the short time left for the many who wished to speak, and said that a discussion of the ideal as compared with the practical might lead nowhere. She begged the speakers to keep to the concrete question before the Congress.

*Isabella O. Ford* urged the necessity of ideals in politics and



the need of educating men toward political idealism. We should avoid short cuts.

*Annabel Huth Jackson* said: We women believe above all else in democracy. If men have failed to do what they should have done for freedom it is because the old said to the young « Be cautious » and the young believed it because they had no courage. But we women will have courage and not admit that caution is what is necessary.

*Frida Perlen* said :

Warum ich Ihnen empfehle, die Resolution B anzunehmen, ist : weil ich an den Ausbruch des Krieges denke. Ich versetze mich zurück an den 4. August 1914. Damals habe ich gesehen, welcher Wahnsinn unter den Menschen meines Vaterlandes ausbrach, ich habe gesehen, dass die Leute verrückt wurden und nur ganz wenige Menschen, wie in andern Ländern ja auch, ruhig Blut behalten haben. Ich habe gesehen, wie das Unglück über die ganze Welt hereinbrach. Ich muss sagen, auch dazumal fehlte den Meisten der Mut, ihrer Ueberzeugung nachzuleben. Genau das Gleiche gilt auch hier.

Aber wir Frauen sind dazu berufen, die neue Zeit zu bringen. So wenig die Staatsmänner in meinem Staate, nicht nur die dazumal Regierenden, sondern alle die Staatsmänner, die sich irgend wie mit dem Blut befleckt haben, das in unseren Ländern geflossen ist, im Stande sind, die neue Zeit zu bringen, ebenso wenig sind dazu im Stande die Staatsmänner auf der andern Seite. Ich spreche diesen Männern das Recht ab, Völkerbundsvorschläge zu entwerfen, nachdem sie 4 Jahre lang nicht im Stande gewesen sind, den Militarismus niederzuwerfen. Ich sage ihnen : « das, was Ihr aufgestellt habt, das ist kein Völkerbundsentwurf » ! — Darum lassen Sie uns ruhig unserem Ideal leben. Wir werden uns durchsetzen, wie wir uns schon jetzt mit andern Forderungen durchgesetzt haben, sei es mit dem Frauenstimmrecht, sei es mit den Forderungen, die noch 1915 als Utopien gegolten haben.

Und nicht wahr : Wozu sind die Menschen in den Krieg geschickt worden ? In jedem Lande wurde ihnen vorgesagt, dass sie für ein hohes Ideal zu kämpfen haben. In Deutsch-

land war es das Ideal, sich gegen den Ueberfall zu verteidigen, woran die Menschen glaubten. In andern Ländern war es das Ideal, den Frieden zu bringen, woran die Leute glaubten. Wir Frauen, ich kann es wenigstens von denen sagen, die auf unserem Boden stehen und durch die Revolution gegangen sind, haben erkannt, dass wir alle angelogen worden sind. In den Krieg gezogen sind die Menschen für den internationalen Kapitalismus ! (Applause.) Ich glaube, es ist nicht an uns Frauen, an uns Müttern, in irgend einer Weise dem internationalen Kapitalismus noch einmal auf die Füße zu helfen. Sie können von mir nicht sagen, ich gehöre der Sozialdemokratie oder irgend einer Partei an ; denn ich gehöre keiner Partei an und ich würde um alle Schätze der Welt nicht jetzt in eine Partei hineingehen. Darum darf ich Ihnen sagen : Nehmen Sie den Entwurf B an. Lassen Sie unsere Ideale rein aus diesem Kongress hervorgehen.

*Louise Keilhau* said great ideas often came into the world as something small and unpromising. They must not be killed, they must be cherished and made strong and sound.

*Dr. Lucy Hoesch-Ernst* spoke in part as follows :

Ich bin kein Freund von Kompromissen. Ich habe das durch mein bisheriges Leben gezeigt; ich habe deswegen im Gefängnis gesessen. Trotzdem bin ich nicht für Vorschlag B, weil ich finde es ist ein Vorschlag, der all das Gute, was die Liga stiften könnte, für die Zukunft verneint. Ich stimme für den Britischen Vorschlag und bitte Sie, mir darin zu folgen ; denn es ist notwendig, dass wir uns psychologisch einstellen auf das, was möglich ist, wie es aus den schrecklichen Erfahrungen des Krieges hervorgegangen ist. Es herrscht unglücklicherweise ein Misstrauen, ein fast unüberwindliches Misstrauen, das die alliierten Mächte, und das leider nicht mit Unrecht, in ihre früheren Feinde setzen. Aus diesem tiefen Misstrauen heraus ist es auch gekommen, das es Präsident Wilson unmöglich war, seine Liga so zu gestalten wie er ursprünglich aufgefasst hatte.

Aber Präsident Wilson wäre nicht in Paris geblieben, wenn er nicht selbst innerlich davon überzeugt wäre, dass der Keim



seines neuen, grossen, das künftige Menschengeschlecht befruchtenden Gedankens noch seine Lebenskraft bewahren wird. Soviel man auch von dem Kristall, der sich in seinem Hirn geformt hatte, abzuschleifen versuchte, ein gewisser Nucleus ist trotzdem geblieben, welcher der Kristallisation gebietet, nach denselben Gesetzen fortzuschreiten. Zerstören wir aber diesen, so bleibt nur noch eine tote amorphe Masse. Was wir zerstört hätten, wäre die Kristallisation des reinsten und grössten Gedankens unserer Zeit, und was können wir an seine Stelle setzen?

Ich schlage vor, dass wir für den britischen Antrag stimmen; denn dieser anerkennt das Gute des bisherigen Völkerbundes.

**Voted.** — After some discussion of procedure, it was *voted to close debate* on Kathleen Courtney's motion.

*Kathleen Courtney*, in explanation of her motion, said that what she proposed was to divide the question, and take up separately the acceptance of the Resolution of Committee B as our programme, and the acceptance of the Report of Committee A as amended by the Proposal of Committee C as the basis of another telegram to Paris. Both of course could be amended before being adopted.

**Voted** to adopt Kathleen Courtney's motion to divide.

#### Notices and Arrangements.

For the morning session a resolution dealing with the independence of Ireland and further proposals as to the League of Nations were announced.

A meeting arranged for the evening was announced for 8.15 at the University, under the presidency of Dr. Jacobs, the subject to be Woman Suffrage and Permanent Peace.

Further announcements were given as to the Uetliberg excursion and committee meetings.

Adjourned, 5 p. m.

### Wednesday Morning Session, May 14, 9.30-12.30

#### Minutes of the Meetings.

Agreed, on proposal of the *President*, that the reading and acceptance of the minutes should be left to the Board.

#### League of Nations (continued).

**Voted**, that a Committee of five be appointed, representing the two different points of view, and including one member of the Board, to draft a proposal to come up for discussion Thursday morning, and that an hour and a half be now given for bringing forward amendments or additions.

*Chrystal Macmillan* moved the following.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

This Congress of women holds that the peaceful progress of the world can only be ensured when the common interests of humanity are recognised in the establishment of a League of Nations for the promotion of international cooperation, and based upon a system representative of the people, upon which every nation is represented, which aims at international disarmament, which provides machinery for the administration of justice, and which sets up such an international organisation of trade and industry, as shall open to all nations the markets of the world and its supply of raw material.

The Congress records its satisfaction that the idea of a League of Nations, which at the time of the last Congress at the Hague, in 1915, was regarded by the majority of people as impracticable, has become so widely accepted that as one of the fourteen points it was adopted in the Armistice terms, on November 11th, 1918, as one of the essential points in the Treaty of Peace, not only by the 28 Allied and Associated Powers, but also by Germany. But it regrets that the Covenant of the League, as at



present submitted by the Allied and Associated Powers, contains some provisions which are bound to stultify it ; omits others without which it will fail to promote the peace of the world ; and is not in all respects based upon the fourteen points, on which the present negotiations were to be based by the armistice agreement of November 11th.

This Congress declares, that it is essential to the success of the League of Nations to be set up under the Treaty of Peace, if it is to be an instrument of peace, and capable of future development, that it should embody at least the following conditions :

1) Membership of the League should from the beginning be open to all autonomous States which express their desire to become members and their willingness to perform the duties of membership.

2) The conditions of disarmament should be applicable on the same terms to all the States joining the League.

3) Territorial adjustments and matters of nationality should, not only after, but at the same time as, the establishment of the League, be decided in accordance with the principle of self-determination and in no case by secret treaties.

4) All nations should have free access to raw materials and equal trading opportunities.

5) Small or weak nations, notwithstanding their proximity to great powers, should be accorded the full protection guaranteed by the League.

or 5) Regional understandings, such as the Monroe Doctrine, should only have effect in so far as they are not inconsistent with the Covenant.

Since without the adoption of these principles the League of Nations will, instead of promoting peace, simply set up conditions which will lead to future war, this Congress urges their immediate adoption in the Covenant to be incorporated in the Treaty of Peace.

With these essentials incorporated in the Covenant, this Congress heartily endorses as part of the Covenant certain principles in the present draft :

1) The establishment of the rudiments of the machinery for arbitration and conciliation (Art. XII, XIII, XIV, XV.)

2) The formulation of schemes for the reduction of armaments.

3) The abolition of secret treaties.

4) Provision for the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions, of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

5) The recognition that the League should further international cooperation.

6) The abrogation of obligations inconsistent with the Covenant.

7) The granting of « freedom of transit » and equitable treatment of the commerce of all states members of the League.

The Congress further emphasizes its belief that the Covenant would be greatly strengthened as an instrument of peace, if the following provisions were also incorporated in it :

1) The abolition of conscription.

2) Total disarmament (land, sea and air).

3) Greater facilities for amending the Covenant.

4) Declaration of the invalidity of existing treaties or regional understandings not registered at the Headquarters of the League within a certain specified time.

5) A more democratically elected governing body to provide for the representation of different national points of view.

6) It should be incumbent upon the states acting as mandatories of the League to develop in the backward races under their guardianship the power of self-government, and to confer it upon them at the earliest possible



moment. All nations controlling the government of backward countries should be placed in the position of mandatories under the League of Nations, and be required to present to it accounts of their stewardship at regular intervals.

*Catherine Fuller* thought it was a good thing to have the new committee to unite the ideal and practical, but she was opposed to our making any proposals for the improvement of the Covenant to the gentlemen at Versailles. It must not look as though we were willing to identify ourselves in any respect with the League of Nations that was being fabricated there. That League of Nations was an alliance of the past, and not any sort of a league that we could use to lead humanity higher.

#### **Amendment concerning Education.**

*Lucia Ames Mead* presented as an amendment to the text proposed by Committee B the following resolution on

##### *An International Commission on Education.*

This Congress joins with many other organisations<sup>1</sup> in different lands in recommending to the League of Nations to establish at its first session an International Commission on Education of an equal number of men and women. This Commission shall gather and distribute information as to educational matters in all countries, and shall call conventions for the consideration of the teaching of those economic and ethical principles which are requisite to the success of a League of Nations. It shall provide for interchange of lectureships and scholarships, and shall select and encourage the teaching of an easy auxiliary language to promote rapid communication on matters of scientific, commercial and international interest.

<sup>1</sup> Workers' Educational Alliance, Great Britain, 2709 organisations; Department of School Superintendents, National Education Association, U. S. A. (Chicago, February 1919); Allied Association for a Society of Nations, Paris, Jan. 1919.

*Eleanor M. Moore* urged that international stamps as well as coinage should be provided for. Under the head of education she wished to see added a statement that we oppose all military training in schools, and propose instead physical culture for both boys and girls.

*Martha Larsen* pointed out that the Norwegian delegation came too late to take part in the preparatory work before the Congress. She wanted not to take up time with any minor matters, but she was afraid that the wording of certain paragraphs of the Covenant might seem to imply an acceptance of war under certain circumstances. She hoped the new Committee, in their draft, would make it unmistakable that we abide by the principle laid down by us at the Hague that we do not admit war as a means of settling differences between peoples.

*The President* remarked that all the other suggestions had been referred, without a vote, to the new Committee, but this point was so important that we ought to vote whether we wish the new Committee to make a clear declaration that the women assembled in this Congress are convinced that war can never be accepted as a means of settling disputes between peoples, and to protest against the fact that the Covenant sanctioned war.

*Kathleen Courtney* asked if Mrs. Larsen was opposed to all use of force by the League of Nations.

*Martha Larsen* replied that she was not raising that point.

**Voted** to adopt *Martha Larsen's* proposal. (B. X. 36)

*Henni Lehmann* proposed to add to the provision for « political and economic freedom for all peoples and races », also « religious freedom ». In regard to the provision for preventing a strong preponderance of the large nations over the small, she objected that the present proposal guaranteed the preponderance of the great nations. She also wished the resolution on Education to provide for a minimum length of education as well as a minimum amount.



**Amendment concerning Public Health.**

*Lillian D. Wald* spoke for the adoption of the following paragraph :

We are happy to note, as a sign of a better future, that in Article XXV of the Paris Covenant of a League of Nations the members of the League agree to promote voluntary National Red Cross organisations for purely humane purposes, with no reference to or thought of war, and that at the recent meeting of medical experts at Cannes, when a League of Red Cross Societies was created, a broad programme of public health and hygiene was adopted, the necessity of preventing all wars was recognized, and the desire to see the League made truly international was expressed.

*Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann* urged that the complete abolition of the private manufacture of munitions of war be demanded.

*Elizabeth Waern-Bugge* proposed to strike out 1 and 5 under Economic Provisions D, of Resolution B, and to substitute for it a paragraph from the Manifesto of the Humanist League founded in Sweden a few months ago.

National and international production, exchange and transportation of goods must be organised according to the needs of consumers, so as to produce the best possible goods at the least possible cost. Speculation and all gain not earned by work must be rendered impossible. The peoples must be freed from the slavery of capitalism, and work must be organized for the advantage of each and all. The use of money must be permitted only in so far as it serves the citizens and not for their exploitation.

*Lida Gustava Heymann* remarked that consideration should be paid to the little countries, that people in the large countries could have no idea what incredible difficulties the small countries labour under in regard to their commerce.

*Emma Boos-Jegher* :

Ich möchte zu C. eine prinzipielle Streichung beantragen : wir sollten ganz davon absehen, einige der Punkte, die der

Kongress von Versailles aufgestellt hat, zu unterstützen und uns damit begnügen, unsere Grundsätze aufzustellen. Der Geist, der in den Worten des Entwurfes liegt, ist nicht der gleiche, den wir hineinlegen. Diese Worte sind nur noch leere Hülsen, sie haben gar keinen Inhalt mehr. Das ist so sehr der Fall, dass man — wenn man ehrlich ist — die so missbrauchten Worte : Gerechtigkeit, Freiheit, Recht der Selbstbestimmung u. s. w. gar nicht mehr hören mag ! nicht einmal das Wort « Demokratie » kann man hören, ohne ein Gefühl des Ekels zu empfinden. Alles ist zur Phrase geworden, und da wollen wir nicht mitmachen. Ein Beispiel nur : der Entwurf sieht u. a. vor : « Sicherheit der Revision von Verträgen, die unausführbar geworden sind und von Abmachungen, deren Fortdauer den Weltfrieden gefährden würden ». Fordern wir nun die *sinngemässe* Auslegung dieser Bestimmung, so verlangen wir eigentlich nichts anderes, als dass der Versailler « Völkerbund » einfach Selbstmord begehe, denn gefährden die « Abmachungen », in diesem auf einem Gewaltfrieden (der die lebenskräftigsten Keime zu künftigem Unfrieden in sich trägt) aufgebauten « Völkerbund » nicht in höchstem Masse den Weltfrieden ?

Es wurde gestern gesagt, man solle nicht gleich das « Kind » umbringen, man solle ihm « Zeit lassen, sich zu entwickeln ». Aber das, was dort entstanden ist, ist kein Kind mit einer lebendigen Seele, es ist eine Missgeburt in jeder Beziehung. Auch wenn unsere Anträge angenommen würden dem Wortlaut nach : weder dem Wort « Frieden » noch dem « Völkerbund » würde, wie Sie sehen, der Sinn gegeben, der für uns allein wahrheitsgemäss ist, und auf das kommt es an !

*Ethel Snowden* asked that a clause be inserted in both schemes, securing to minorities within all states adequate protection of language, schools, political freedom and civil rights.

*Dora Staudinger* :

Ich möchte Ihre Aufmerksamkeit lenken auf Punkte C in diesem Abschnitte und sodann auf Punkt E. In wirtschaftlicher Beziehung fordern wir vom künftigen Völkerbunde die Ausarbeitung eines Wirtschaftsplanes, welcher die gesamte



Gütererzeugung in allen Ländern auf der Grundlage der Befriedigung des Bedarfes regelt, die Herstellung und Verteilung der notwendigsten Lebensmittelbedürfnisse zu den billigsten Preisen bewirkt und jeden Privatprofit ausschaltet.

In sozialer Beziehung fordern wir die Aufhebung der Vorrherrschaft irgend einer Klasse, Abbau des kapitalistischen Systems u. s. w.

Ich möchte hier nicht fragen, ob die Erfüllung dieser Forderung durch einen Völkerbund überhaupt möglich ist, vor allem die Forderung, Abbau des kapitalistischen Systems. Ich möchte vielmehr darauf aufmerksam machen, dass der Kongress hier vor einer prinzipiellen Frage von ungeheurer Tragweite steht. Nicht das scheint das Wesentliche zu sein, dass wir uns hier für den Sozialismus entscheiden. Das täten wir in diesem Falle. Es würde mich freuen, wenn wir Alle auf diesem Boden stünden. Mir scheint das das Wesentliche zu sein, zu welchem Sozialismus wir uns mit diesen Forderungen entscheiden wollen. Wir stehen in diesem Moment vor einem gewaltigen Entweder — Oder, vor dem der Sozialismus heute überhaupt steht. Nehmen wir diese Forderungen hier an, so stellen wir uns auf die Seite eines durchaus zentralisierten Staatssozialismus, der die neue Welt, die wir Alle auch auf wirtschaftlichem und sozialem Gebiete ersehnen, einführen und erhalten will durch staatliche Zwangsorganisation.

Wir haben aber im Sozialismus noch eine andere Richtung, eine Richtung, die unter Sozialismus nicht Zentralismus und Zwangsorganisation versteht, sondern die sich die sozialistische Wirtschaft vorstellt als eine freie Vereinigung der arbeitenden Menschen.

Ein solcher Sozialismus kann nicht dekretiert und nicht von aussen, weder vom einzelnen Staate, noch viel weniger von einem Staatenbunde organisiert werden, sondern er muss in den Völkern selbst wachsen. Die Redezeit ist verstrichen. Deshalb bitte ich Sie um Streichung der Punkte C. 1, 2, 3 und E. die ersten 2 Punkte.

*Leopoldine Kulka.* Ich bin Frau Staudinger ausserordentlich dankbar, dass sie auf diese Punkte zu sprechen gekommen ist. Es scheint mir tatsächlich das Wichtigste in

unserer ganzen Diskussion. Es handelt sich nämlich darum, ob wir in unserem Entwurf überhaupt von wirtschaftlichen Fragen sprechen oder ob wir verlangen sollen, dass sich der Völkerbund auch mit der grossen Frage des Wirtschaftssystems befasst. Wenn der Völkerbund sich nicht mit dem Wirtschaftssystem befasst, kann er auch nicht die Grundlage für einen dauernden Frieden schaffen. Es lässt sich ganz gewiss darüber streiten, ob das bessere System des Sozialismus das zentralistische oder ob ein anderes wünschenswerter sei. Es besteht aber gar nicht die Absicht, hier darüber einen Entscheid zu fällen. Wenn wir von einem Weltwirtschaftsplan sprechen, so meinen wir Frauen einfach, es handle sich darum, dass man feststelle, ob, wie es bisher ist, Jedermann in irgend einem Lande produzieren und so viel als möglich ausführen kann, damit er möglichst viel Geld verdiene, oder ob die Bedürfnisse aller Menschen befriedigt werden sollen. Denken Sie daran: Weizen wird gebaut, damit die Menschen durch Weizen Geld verdienen! Soll er nicht gebaut werden, damit die Menschen zu essen haben? Ich glaube, für uns Frauen kann es keine Frage sein, dass man den Weizen baut, damit die Menschen etwas zu essen haben. Ich glaube die Grundlage ist, dass unser ganzes Wirtschaftssystem ausgehen muss von den Bedürfnissen und davon, dass die Existenz jedes einzelnen Menschen gesichert ist. Diese Punkte müssen deshalb in den Völkerbundsvertrag hinein, weil es nicht möglich ist, diese Aufgaben in einem Lande allein durchzuführen.

Ich möchte hier nur noch betonen, dass hier nicht, wie man schon öfter gesagt hat, nur von Idealen die Rede ist, sondern dass die Rede von Prinzipien ist, und zwar nicht von Prinzipien, die jetzt nicht aktuell sind, sondern von Prinzipien, von denen die Entwicklung der Welt in Zukunft abhängen wird. Es ist jetzt nicht die Frage, ob wir für den Sozialismus sind oder nicht. Die Frage ist: Wird sich der Sozialismus auf friedlichem Wege oder auf gewaltsame Weise durchsetzen? Das letztere zu fördern unsere Kräfte dafür einzusetzen, dass die Entwicklung zur sozialistischen Weltwirtschaft auf friedlichem Wege vor sich gehen möge, das ist unsere Aufgabe, die haben wir zu erfüllen.



*Ellen C. Wilkinson* : Resolution B is objected to because it pledges us to one kind of socialism, namely, collectivism, to which many ardent socialists object. I therefore want to move that we include a clause affirming selfgovernment in industry, then all forms of socialism are included, instead of omitting all, as Frau Staudinger's resolution would do. I suggest that all the proposals be submitted to a Committee who will present a draft for debate at a later session.

*Dora Staudinger* :

Drei Minuten Rededauer reichen nicht aus für eine solche Sache. Ich sehe, dass für die Art des Sozialismus, die ich vertreten wollte, wahrscheinlich keine Mehrheit zu Stande käme. So würde eine Streichung dieser Punkte auf einem Missverständnis beruhen. Deshalb möchte ich mich lieber dem Antrage Wilkinson anschliessen, dass mindestens noch eine andere Art von Sozialismus in unser Programm hineinkommt, als dass wir bloss die staatssozialistischen Forderungen vertreten.

Voted to accept Ellen Wilkinson's proposal for submission to the Committee. It was agreed to refer to the new political committee all these proposals — both those already submitted and those that might be brought in later and to debate the draft of this committee on Thursday morning.

#### **Appointment of New Political Committee.**

It was agreed that Mrs. Mead should appoint one member ; Dr. Williams one English-speaking and one German-speaking member ; and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence one English-speaking and one German-speaking member.

Further greetings were read.

Arrangements for the Uetliberg excursion were explained.

Adjourned, 12.30.

### **Wednesday Afternoon Session, May 14, 2.30-5**

#### **Political Drafting Committee D.**

It was reported that the Political Drafting Committee (Political Committee D) had been appointed as follows : Dr. Williams, Catherine Fuller, Vilma Glücklich, E. Waern-Bugge, C. Macmillan, M. Cothren, Dr. Augspurg, E. Boos-Jegher. It would report on Friday.

#### **Report of Committee on Matters affecting the Status of Women.**

*The President* explained that this Report included all matters proposed on behalf of women, including those which had specifically to do with the League of Nations.

*Kathleen Courtney*, presenting the Report, explained that the Resolutions had been put in five sections. Those under Section A expressed appreciation of advances made toward accepting the principles laid down by the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915 ; under Section B were those to be presented to the Peace Conference ; under Section C those to be presented to the League of Nations, including such as may not be accepted by the Peace Conference ; Section D contained a programme for our future work ; and Section E referred to matters suggested for study to the National Sections. She pointed out that the arrangement involved some repetition. She then presented the Report as follows :

#### **SECTION A.**

#### **MATTERS AFFECTING THE STATUS OF WOMEN.**

##### **RESOLUTION I. — ADVANCE IN ACCEPTANCE OF I. C. W. P. P. PRINCIPLES**

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



In particular it welcomes

1. 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 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
- b) recognizing in the Labour Charter proposed by them for incorporation in the Treaty of Peace the principle of equal pay for work of equal value as between men and women.

2. 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) and Poland (1919), and the extension of presidential suffrage to women in certain states of the American Union.

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

*Dr. Jacobs* moved the adoption of Section A, Resolution I. The question was raised why Russia and Belgium were not included in the list of countries where suffrage had been won.

*K. Courtney* said it was because the facts as to Russia were not sufficiently known, and because in Belgium the vote had been given only to those women who had lost husbands or sons in the war.

*A Delegate* stated that in Russia in October 1918 women had had exactly the same suffrage as men.

*The President* proposed to take the vote as to whether Russia should be included.

Voted by a large majority to include Russia.

*Marion Cothren* remarked that the Covenant of the League of Nations was ambiguous as regards the admissibility of women to all offices including the Secretariat.

*Jeannette Rankin* agreed, and desired that we should clear up this point.

*Alice Riggs Hunt* said that President Wilson had given in the Peace Conference an interpretation of this point which we could not accept. She had herself heard his statement.

*Marion Cothren* proposed the addition of words to make the point quite clear.

*Dr. Augspurg* urged that the wording be such as not to admit of any interpretation adverse to the admission of women to every position including the *plenum*.

Voted, after some further discussion, to add to Section A, Resolution I, at the end of paragraph (a) the words « but urges that this be explicitly stated in the Covenant ».

Voted to adopt Section A with the two additions accepted. (A I, Women's Position, and B VII 16-17.)

SECTION B.  
PROPOSALS FOR THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

RESOLUTION II. — WOMEN'S CHARTER

That the Peace Conference be urged to insert in the Peace Treaty the following Women's Charter:

The High Contracting Parties recognise 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 women in the community, they think that there are certain principles which all communities should endeavour to apply.

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

1. That suffrage should be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, recognized.
2. 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.
3. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and should not be under the tutelage of her husband.
4. That the mother should have the same right of guardianship of her children as the father.
5. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.
6. That all opportunities for education should be open to both sexes.
7. That women should have the same opportunity for training and for entering industries and professions as men.
8. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.
9. That the traffic in women should be suppressed, the regulation of vice abolished, the equal moral standard recognized.
10. That the responsibility not only of the mother, but also of the father, of a child born out of wedlock should be recognized.
11. That there should be adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood.

12. 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.

*Dr. Augspurg* moved in the name of the German delegation that the words « Contracting Parties » be used simply, as the phrase « High Contracting Parties » was highly repugnant to their democratic feeling, perhaps just because they had lived for so long under a monarchy.

*Chrystal Macmillan* explained that the wording of the text of the *Women's Charter* had purposely been made to correspond to that of the *Labour Charter* actually adopted as part of the Peace Treaty. The phrase « High Contracting Parties » had been copied from that Charter. It contained only those demands about which there would be no difference of opinion in this meeting.

After some further discussion it was

Voted to adopt Resolution II with the omission of the word « High » before the words « Contracting Parties ». (A. II. 5.)

#### RESOLUTION III. — ON WOMEN'S VOTE IN PLEBISCITE

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.

Voted to adopt this Resolution. (A. II. 7.)

#### SECTION C.

#### FOR PRESENTATION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WHEN FORMED.

#### RESOLUTION IV. — ON PROPOSALS NOT ACCEPTED BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE

This Congress resolves to bring before the League of Nations any of the proposals in Resolution II, above, which



are not accepted for incorporation in the Treaty of Peace.  
Voted to adopt this Resolution. (A. II. Concluding Note.)

RESOLUTION V. — 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 the marriage and divorce laws as they affect marriages between persons of different nationalities.

*Leopoldine Kulka* suggested that this wording implied a recognition of the Covenant of the League of Nations to which we had not agreed.

*Emily Balch* proposed that the Resolution be provisionally accepted, its final adoption to depend on the later vote as to the League of Nations.

*Henni Forchhammer* was glad to be able to support this resolution. An Inter-Scandinavian Commission, in which there was one member from each of the three Scandinavian countries, recently made a report with regard to changes in the legislation governing marriage and divorce. A bill based on this report had been introduced in the Danish Riksdag proposing to give to the wife and mother equal rights with the man. She hoped this bill would be passed, and thought it would be a good basis also for international legislation.

Voted to adopt this Resolution. (B. VI. 14.)

SECTION D.

PROPOSALS FOR PROGRAMME OF THE I.C.W.P.P.

*Annot Robinson* read the following Resolution and spoke to it briefly.

RESOLUTION VI. — PROGRAMME ON THE STATUS  
OF WOMEN

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 homemakers, 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:

1. **Woman Suffrage.**

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

2. **National and international political status.**

The equal status of women with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, national and international, should be established, 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.

3. **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.

4. **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 a married woman to the use and disposal of her 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.



5. **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 the status of women as free citizens.

6. **An equal moral standard.**

An equal moral standard between men and women should be recognised, 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 offences or in connection with venereal diseases, 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.

7. **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 the 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.

8. **Women as homemakers and consumers.**

- a) Work in connection with the home and the family as well as industrial work, should be organised 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.

9. **Responsibilities of unmarried parents.**

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

After brief discussion it was

Voted to accept Resolution D VI as read. (B. VIII.)

SECTION E.

SUBJECTS PROPOSED TO THE NATIONAL SECTIONS FOR STUDY.

RESOLUTION VII. — POPULATION PROBLEMS

Since a special responsibility lies upon women with regard to the birthrate, 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.

On behalf of *Henriette Beenfeldt*, who was absent, *Henni Forchhammer* moved this Resolution. She spoke of the great danger of the whole question of population being regarded from a military standpoint.

*Henni Lehmann* : Ich meine, es ist gegen die Pflicht jeder Mutter, Kinder zur Welt zu bringen, damit sie Soldaten werden. Wir sind Trägerinnen des Lebens und nicht des Todes.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* : Es ist notwendig, dass der Kongress betone, die Frauen seien in dieser Frage diejenige Instanz, die in allererster Linie zu befragen, ist.

She urged the addition of a few words to emphasize that women should be the first to be consulted and that their views ought to prevail in this matter, *viz.*

Vor allem muss aber das Urteil und der Rat der Frauen in dieser Frage als massgebend betrachtet werden.

*Mary Sheepshanks* spoke of the great difficulty which in some countries was put in the way of women's informing themselves in these matters, and urged that the need of their doing so should be emphasized.



*Auguste Kirchhoff* proposed to alter the words « das Urteil und Rat », in *Dr. Augspurg's* amendment, to « das Urteil und der Wille der Frauen ».

*Henni Lehmann* proposed to add « und das natürliche Recht der Frauen, Trägerin des Lebens und nicht der Zerstörung zu sein, muss geachtet werden ».

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* : Ich bitte um die Erlaubniss, meinen Antrag noch einmal erklären zu dürfen. Ich habe schon vorhin gesagt, die sogenannte Bevölkerungsfrage ist besonders in den militaristischen Ländern bereits einer starken wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung und Erörterung ausgesetzt gewesen. Bei dieser wissenschaftlichen und volkswirtschaftlichen Untersuchung betrachteten die Männer die Ansicht und Mitwirkung der Frauen immer als vollständig überflüssig. Die Männer behandelten diese Angelegenheit immer als eine ausschliesslich männliche Staatsangelegenheit. Deshalb genügt es mir nicht, wenn wir sagen, dass dieser Frage und der gründlichsten wissenschaftlichen Aufklärung über den Gegenstand kein Hindernis in den Weg gelegt wird. Mir kommt es darauf an, dass die Frauen bei dieser gründlichen wissenschaftlichen Aufklärung mitzusprechen haben, und dass vor allem ihr Urteil gehört werden muss. Das habe ich in der ersten Fassung, die die Skandinavierinnen vorschlugen, vermisst. Ich glaube, sonst würde es in allen Ländern gehen, wie es früher in Deutschland gegangen ist : die Männer erörtern die Sache mit einem kolossalen Aufwande aller Art von « Wissenschaftlichkeit » und bringen nie auch nur die bescheidenste Dosis Vernunft an die Oberfläche. (Laughter.)

Voted to adopt Resolution VII as amended by *Dr. Augspurg*, as follows, in English :

#### RESOLUTION VIII. — 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 (XX).

#### Question of Prohibition.

A *Delegate* having sent up a question as to why the matter of the prohibition of alcohol was not made the subject of a vote. The reply of the Committee was that it was not taken up at this time because it was not a part of the woman question. It might be taken up among the proposals of the Committee on Education.

Adjourned at 5 p. m.



RESOLUTION A III. — PROTECTION AGAINST  
DEPORTATION

Mass deportations have become a world-wide phenomenon since 1914, and inflict suffering and death in many forms upon innocent people. The International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace 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.

RESOLUTION A IV. — RIGHT 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 Branches 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.

*Florence Kelley* said: I am extremely desirous to see this Resolution pass, because we in the United States are among those most to blame. For years and years we have invited the oppressed of all the world to come to us, and millions of poor people have come. But now in time of war, when it would have been of the greatest importance to continue this policy, we have suddenly turned back, and instead of maintaining the right of asylum in time of war and showing hospitality, we have made new regulations, and have abandoned our tradition and are driving people out. Formerly we welcomed and helped, as well as we could, the masses of Jews who were driven out of Russia. But now laws are proposed to restrict immigration to the smallest possible number, or to forbid it altogether for years. So in America we propose to do away with the right of asylum, to deport, and to abandon our policy of hospitality.

**Thursday Morning Session, May 15, 9.30—12.45**

**Bulgarian Greetings.**

*Lydia Schischmanow* brought greetings from Bulgarian women. She expected to receive her mandate by telegraph the following day.<sup>1</sup>

Bulgarian women had not desired the war. When the war broke out they did their duty at home, beside the sick and especially upon the battlefield. Bulgaria is, above all, an agricultural country. While the men were away the women took care of all the farm work. It was they who fed Bulgaria during the years of war. This was recognized by the press and parliament. The Bulgarian women bore all the sufferings of the war with stoical serenity. Now the Bulgarian women are with us, to work, like the women of all countries who have suffered so long, for a durable peace. If the peace that ensues is not a peace of justice, the unhappy women of Bulgaria will not believe that it can be a durable one. A peace of violence can never bring the world to rest.

**Political Committee B. (continued).**

**Deportation and Right of Asylum.**

*The President* said that if the Congress were willing Mrs. Kelley would present a Resolution on the subject of deportation. This was not according to the order of business, but Mrs. Kelley was obliged to leave at once in order to be in America at a given date.

Agreed to hear Mrs. Kelley.

*Florence Kelley* moved the following Resolutions which form Resolutions A III and A IV of the Report of Political Committee B.

<sup>1</sup> The mandate arrived July 28!



Now we know that we are not alone in this wrongdoing, though we are more culpable than others. In other countries, too, the right of asylum has been limited or done away with. I believe that it is a duty of enlightened women in all countries where these tendencies make themselves felt to combat them. They are a part of the disease of war. The tendency to go backward in all international relations becomes stronger and stronger.

Voted, on motion of *Lida Gustava Heymann*, to adopt these two Resolutions without debate. (B. X. 34, 35.)

#### Greetings.

*Chrystal Macmillan* read various greetings.

#### Roll Call.

*C. Ramondt Hirschmann* reported the presence, up to this time, of 134 delegates (including 7 officers) from 16 countries, and of 4 fraternal delegates, 2 from Switzerland, 1 from Poland, 1 from Argentina. Delegates from Australia were *en route* by way of the Suez Canal. They had hoped to reach us *via* Genoa, but were obliged to go first to London and were the more delayed therefore.

After some discussion of the order of business *Louie Bennett* moved the following

#### Ireland.

##### RESOLUTION A V. — 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.

She said: My resolution merely asks for self-determination. There are two points to consider. The first is whether the progress of Ireland comes within the sphere of international or of domestic politics. We maintain that the question of the small nations held down by what we consider tyranny belongs to international politics, because, wherever you have that kind of repression, you will have a source of international

trouble. It may be said that Ireland is too obscure a nation to be a source of international trouble, but I think this war has proved that a very small nation may yet cause an enormous conflagration of nations. Ireland is not limited to one little island; it has what we call an empire overseas in the United States of America. The second point is, we have proved in the past what enormous evils to the thinking of the world and the morality of the world can be caused by this practice of great powers standing aside from such things as Armenia and the Congo atrocities, though I do not mean to compare Ireland with those two. We claim that this Congress stands for moral principles, and it is useless to do that and not also to claim the necessity of putting them into force. We beg now that this Congress will declare the right of Ireland to self-determination.

*Charlotte Despard* seconded the Resolution and expressed her belief that the oppression of a small state by a large one is a danger for the whole world.

Voted to adopt the Resolution. (B. X. 31.)

#### Moral Bases of a world without war.

*Helena M. Swanwick* moved the following:

##### RESOLUTION A VI. — CONSENT TO REPLACE COERCION IN GOVERNMENT

This Congress recognises that the test of the civilisation of a State is the extent to which it relies upon moral appeal and consent rather than coercion, and affirms that it should be the aim of all Governments 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 safe-guarding of the rights of minorities, and the strict limitation of the power of the State.

She then spoke as follows on

##### The moral appeal in education.

We have to get the foundations right before we can use education for the purposes we have in view. Much of what



has been called civilisation is a purely material thing, and in politics we have not grasped this great idea, that the consent of the governed should be the ideal of all good government.

Government is regarded as being based upon penalties, fears, punishment, the action of fear upon the human being. In a women's organisation there is room for the development of another attitude altogether — an attitude in which very many of the best thinkers among men are on our side, but I am not afraid to say I think women have a duty in this matter more especially laid upon them.

We in England have been having a series of lectures from a very distinguished experimenter, Mr. Homer Lane, who has been experimenting in the education of what we are pleased to call criminals. He has been educating boys and girls for liberty, and he gave us an enormous number of interesting views on the different nature of the boys and girls.

One of the most interesting things of all was this, with regard to law and government. He was asked whether the boys and girls had any difference of attitude. They were both magistrates in the little community, they both made laws and were judges, and they both pleaded causes. We asked if there was any great distinction fundamentally. He said:

The only distinction I would make is this. The boys are very interested in the law, the letter of the law, exactly how it has been broken and what the appropriate punishment is. But the girls, when they get into the seat of the judge, ask two questions. They say to the criminal, « Why did you do it? » and secondly « Whom did you injure? »

If this is true — and here is a man who has made experiments that perhaps are unlike any that have been tried — this should suggest to us this very interesting possibility, that we women in governing would not so much devote ourselves to merely examining what men's laws are, and whether they have been broken, and how they have been broken, and what the punishment should be, but would say to ourselves, what is the reason these delinquencies occur? Why did you do it and whom have you injured? How can we put this right?

How can we get the great mass of the people everywhere on the side of Government?

We are realising more and more that in one country after another the masses of the people are not on the side of the Government, and that is because we are still basing our government on the idea of coercion and punishment. We have to try and permeate politics with this idea, that you have to get the consent of the governed. Only with the consent of the governed can we have the right form of government. Therefore in our politics what we want to do is gradually to eliminate that element of coercion.

We want to remember that all Governments are necessarily the executive of a majority, but they are always individuals. No Government can be better than the men who carry out that Government. When people idealise the State, we must remind them that the State is no better than the men and women whom we put in power in the State. Therefore we need to respect the minorities in every country, because the minority at some time has the future in its hands. Every great movement is the movement of a minority to begin with.

We must also respect the great power of the conscience in the individual. We do not need to crush that spirit, which some people think comes of God, which is at any rate the spiritual side of man. Even if we carry out coercion, we must limit it to the very smallest amount possible for order and progress.

*Emily Balch* seconded the Resolution and urged the necessity of thinking out and applying in individual and personal relations, as well as in political and international relations, the principles which underlie consent and, still better, cooperation, and which should make it possible to get beyond the waste and evil of strife, without our losing the incentive of effort and of competition and struggle of the fruitful and invigorating type. It is a question of psychology. We should consider mad a factory superintendent who used grit as a lubricant, or one who, because a certain technique afforded a channel for his passion or was suggested by his fears, adopted it without considering what its results would be. Yet grave



statesmen imprison opposition leaders, or suppress the expression of opinion, or attempt to coerce a discontented minority or undertake to conquer territory by arms, without ever thinking of making any adequate study of the actual, historically proved and logically predictable, *effects* of such policies. In dealing with children in the home, pupils in the school, servants in the kitchen, employees in the factory, lawbreakers in the court, heretics and rebels of opinion, domestic revolutionaries and foreign invaders, the same type of problems present themselves. We often deal with them after the manner of a man who pounds a watch with a hammer because it does not go to suit him. We have made but the merest beginnings in the highest of human arts, that of living and working together on the plane of consent and cooperation without coercion.

Voted to adopt this Resolution. (B. X. 27.)

#### **Race Equality.**

*Mary Church Terrell* moved the following :

##### RESOLUTION A VII. — 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.

Since Mrs. Terrell was to speak at the next evening meeting on this theme she omitted speaking to the Resolution at this time.

Voted unanimously to adopt this Resolution. (B. X. 32).

#### **Pacifists and Revolution.**

*Annot Robinson* moved the following :

##### RESOLUTION A VIII. — RELATION OF PACIFISTS TO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

Facing widespread revolutionary changes at a time when the passions of hatred and fear and the habit of

violence have been fostered by a world-war, we urge upon our National Sections to cooperate in seeking methods by which the energies enlisted in creating a new industrial order may do their work in constructive and vigorous ways without violence.

She then spoke as follows :

There is the same discontent, the same energy in all parts of the world, as have brought about revolution in the countries of the Central Powers — the desire for a new social order in which the fruits of labour and art and beauty and the forward things of the spirit may be shared more equally by all human beings than is at present possible under the kind of Governments most of us tolerate. We want to emphasize that there is this relation between pacifism and revolutionary changes. Pacifism desires to find some method by which this fundamental desire for change, which breeds energy producing revolution, may find expression without bloodshed. It wants to bring about those changes which will achieve cooperation, brotherhood, sisterhood, in such a fashion that the barricade and the machine gun are not necessary. It believes that such changes may be brought about by the high achievement of the understanding and the human spirit, by all of us human beings who have to live somehow or other with each other in the service of the world.

Bloodshed is as likely to follow from the possessing classes refusing to give up their control of the means of life as from strikes and riots on the part of the workers in their efforts to secure social justice.

#### **Revolutionary Movements and Pacifism.**

As previously arranged, time was now given for a series of accounts of experiences in time of revolution, in their relation to pacifism.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* spoke as follows :

Wir Frauen aus den Ländern, durch die die Revolution gegangen ist, sollen unsere Erfahrungen mitteilen, damit Sie sich an Hand dieser Mitteilungen ein Bild davon machen



können, was den anderen Ländern bevorsteht, und damit wir Frauen darüber beraten können, wie wir den aller Welt bevorstehenden Umschwung in solche Bahnen leiten, dass er nicht zum Unheil der Völker ausschlägt.

Wir in Deutschland haben sofort nach der Verkündigung unserer hoffnungslosen Niederlage das militärische System auf die Seite zu räumen versucht. Wir haben unsere Regierungen beseitigt; wir haben die Republik erklärt unter der Herrschaft des sozialistischen Systems. Wir haben das sozialistische System in alle Einrichtungen des bisherigen Staates eingeführt. Denn ausschlaggebend waren in letzter Linie doch nur kapitalistische Interessen. Es waren Interessen der gegenseitigen Konkurrenz im Gewinnst, im Einheimen der Beute aus den Schätzen dieser Erde, die dazu geführt haben, dass sich die einzelnen Völker, oder sagen wir doch lieber die einzelnen Regierungen, bekämpft haben, die Regierungen, die unter dem Einflusse der Finanzkräfte ihres Landes standen und sich dem Militarismus zur Verfügung stellten. Es war deshalb eine natürliche Folge der Revolution, dass sie überall darauf ausging, dieses kapitalistische Interesse aus der Welt zu schaffen und einen Gütertausch zwischen den Völkern anzuregen, damit alle Güter dieser Erde allen Völkern — und nicht nur Einzelnen — nach ihren Bedürfnissen zukämen. Alle sollten zusammenarbeiten, um sich auf moralischem und materiellem Gebiet eine gute Grundlage zu schaffen. Halten Sie sich das, verehrte Anwesende, vor Augen, damit Sie inne werden, dass auch Ihre Länder unfehlbar der Revolution entgegengehen; denn die Völker dieser Erde sind nicht länger Willens, sich für den Kapitalismus knechten und ausbeuten zu lassen.

Nun möchte ich sagen, wie es bei uns in Deutschland gewesen ist. Ich möchte speziell sprechen von Bayern; denn Bayern ist das Land, von dem ich behaupten darf, dass es den höchsten Kulturstand in Deutschland repräsentiert. (Objection among the German delegates). Ich will also diese Sache unerörtert lassen. Jedenfalls war Bayern auf dem Wege, eine ganz unblutige Revolution durchzuführen. Es war

der Stolz Bayerns, diese Revolution während langen Monaten mit ganz unblutigen Mitteln durchzuführen.

Aber die Gewalt lauerte stets im Hintergrund. Die stete Einziehung von Waffen bei der einen Bevölkerungsklasse und ihre Verteilung an eine andere Klasse, wobei man sämtliche Waffen doch nicht beschlagnahmen konnte — nur diese Tatsache hat es schliesslich dazu gebracht, dass auch in unserer Revolution Blut geflossen ist. Bei den jüngsten Unruhen hat sich gezeigt, dass die behördlichen Vorschriften über die Beschlagnahme von Waffen trotz den schwersten Strafordrohungen doch nichts auszurichten vermochten. So kurz diese blutige Revolution auch gewesen ist, sie ist doch dageswesen, und wir können nicht sagen, wie oft sie sich noch wiederholen und wie oft noch der Terror herrschen wird.

Deshalb kann ich nach meinen Erfahrungen der Versammlung nur empfehlen, in den Ländern, die bisher noch der Revolution entgangen sind, dem blutigen Umschwung dadurch vorzubeugen, dass sie freiwillig für das ganze Volk diejenigen wirtschaftlichen Massnahmen einführen, die nötig sind. Und weiter will ich den Frauen empfehlen, dringend dahin zu wirken, dass den Männern Waffen und Munition unzugänglich gemacht werden. Dringen Sie auf vollständige Abrüstung innerhalb Ihrer Völker, damit für die streitenden Parteien nicht die Verführung vorhanden ist, die in dem Besitze von Waffen unfehlbar liegt, sie auch anzuwenden. Aus meinen eigenen Wahrnehmungen kann ich Ihnen sagen, dass selbst diejenigen Parteien und Individuen, die ich in den gesetzgebenden Versammlungen gegen Krieg und gewalttätige Mittel hatte reden hören, in dem Augenblicke, da sie Waffen in die Hand bekamen, mit dem bekannten Heldenmute der Männer, der stets über sie kommt, sobald sie eine Schiesswaffe haben, auch Gelegenheit suchten, diese Waffen zu benützen. Das ist die Mahnung, die ich Ihnen entgegenrufe: Sorgen Sie dafür, dass die Waffen den Männern nicht zugänglich sind. Streben Sie danach, den Gebrauch der Waffen zu unterdrücken. Ich weiss, dass das für uns Frauen unendlich schwer ist. Ich weiss aber auch, dass die Macht der Frauen vollständig dahin ist in dem Augenblicke, da die Männer die



Waffen in der Hand haben. Ueber den Kopf der Frauen und über den Willen der Frauen und über jeden gesunden Sinn und Verstand geht es hinweg in dem Augenblicke, wo die Männer zum Gebrauche der Waffen schreiten.

Ich würde Ihre Zeit zu sehr in Anspruch nehmen, wenn ich Sie unterrichten wollte über alle Einzelheiten, die sich entwickelt haben aus der Verteilung der Macht zwischen rechter und linker Seite der Sozialdemokratie, was stets mit Waffennehmen und Waffengeben verbunden war. Ich glaube, das ist für die wichtigen Fragen, die noch auf der Tagesordnung stehen, von keiner Bedeutung. Ich will nur noch einmal sagen, dass jedesmal die Regierung, die die andere abgelöst hat, und das war bei uns drei- oder viermal der Fall, ihren Anhängern die Waffen gegeben und sie der Gegenseite weggenommen hat, das heisst wegnehmen gewollt hat. Es ist aber nie gelungen, Allen die Waffen wegzunehmen. Jedesmal, wenn es wieder zu einem Kampfe, zu einem Putsch kam, stellte es sich heraus, dass trotz allen Waffenbeschlagnahmen, trotz allen Hausdurchsuchungen, immer noch grosse Waffenlager und grosse Munitionsvorräte vorhanden waren.

Deshalb empfehle ich Ihnen, dafür zu wirken, dass die Waffen und die Munition in einem Lande verschwunden sind, ehe der Streit der Meinungen über die wirtschaftliche Neuregelung entbrennt. Ich füge aber nochmals hinzu, dass das eine Aufgabe ist, die unendlich schwer zu erfüllen ist.

*Lida Gustava Heymann*: Ich will noch ganz kurz darlegen, was die Frauen in Bayern in der Zeit der Revolution getan haben. Eigentlich kann ich nur wiederholen, was ich schon neulich sagte.

Wir bayerischen Frauen, die wir dem deutschen Frauenausschuss für dauernden Frieden angehören, waren uns wohl bewusst, dass wir auch während der Zeit der Revolution unsere Ziele verfolgen mussten. Wir haben bei allen neuen Regierungen immer wieder beantragt, dass auch Frauen an den massgebenden Stellen mitarbeiten sollten. Hierfür ein Beispiel. Wir hatten in Bayern ein Revolutionstribunal. Was ein Revolutionstribunal bedeutet, das wissen wir Alle. Wir brau-

chen nur an die französische Revolution zu denken. Viele wird ein Grauen befallen, dass Frauen in einem solchen Tribunal mitwirken. Wir aber wollten Frauen im Revolutionstribunal haben, damit die Urteile, die dort gesprochen wurden, menschlich ausfielen. Wir hatten in Bayern drei Frauen im Revolutionstribunal. Ich wünschte, Sie hätten Alle gesehen, wie diese Frauen Recht sprachen. Sie haben stets dahin gewirkt, dass kein Todesurteil gefällt wurde. Ihre erste Aufgabe war, dass sie die Männer, die mit ihnen zusammenarbeiteten, um sich vereinigten und ihnen sagten, sie wollten nicht Recht nach den Gesetzesparagrafen sprechen, sondern nach den Gesetzen wahrer Menschlichkeit. Dieses Revolutionstribunal hat als höchste Strafe nur ein Jahr Gefängnis ausgesprochen. Wenn man die Frauen Recht sprechen hörte, gedachte man unwillkürlich der Worte *E pur si muove*. «Und sie bewegt sich doch». Die Welt ist fortgeschritten seit der französischen zur bayerischen Revolution. In Bayern waren Frauen, die sich ihrer schweren Aufgabe bewusst waren, die auf ihrem Posten aushielten, damit die Revolution unblutig verlaufe.

Des Weiteren haben wir, sobald die Revolution an einem kritischen Punkte anlangte, uns durch Plakatanschlag an die Bevölkerung gewandt. Als Eisner ermordet war, schlugen wir in München Plakate an, worin wir die Bevölkerung aufforderten, das Gedächtnis des grossen Mannes zu ehren und in erster Linie dafür zu sorgen, dass kein Blut vergossen würde. Es war bewunderungswürdig, wie sich die bayerische Bevölkerung bei der Beerdigung Eisners benommen hat. Zu hunderttausenden pilgerten sie auf den Friedhof hinaus, um an der Beerdigung teilzunehmen. Damals glaubten wir alle, dass es möglich sei, dass die Revolution unblutig durchgeführt würde.

Die Revolution ging in Bayern weiter, der zweiten folgte die dritte. Wiederum wandten wir Frauen uns durch Plakatanschlag an die Bevölkerung. Wir wiesen darauf hin, dass wir in Bayern nicht die Revolutionen Frankreichs und Russlands nachahmen, sondern eine unblutige durchführen wollten. Als am 10. April die Sache den Kulminationspunkt erreicht hatte, haben wir den Leiter der Revolutionsregierung aufgesucht und ihm unsere Pläne einer unblutigen Revolution dargelegt. Wir



boten uns an, mit der gegnerischen Regierung zu verhandeln, um auf irgend einer Basis eine Einigung herbeizuführen. Die Revolutionsregierung verweigerte uns das dazu erforderliche Automobil, um schnell handeln zu können. Drei junge Frauen verstanden es, sich selbst ein Automobil zu verschaffen. Sie kamen bis an die Grenze. Dort wurde ihnen das Automobil abgenommen. Dann sind sie zu Fuss zu der gegnerischen Regierung gegangen und haben versucht, mit ihr eine Einigung zu erzielen. Als sie nach München zurückkehrten, war es zu spät. Blut war geflossen. Viele werden vielleicht annehmen, dass somit ihre Mission nutzlos gewesen ist! Ich aber sage Ihnen, was diese Frauen getan haben, ist nicht nutzlos gewesen. Nichts, was man tut, um blutige Revolutionen zu verhindern, ist nutzlos, wenn auch ein Augenblickserfolg ausbleibt.

Mögen bei weiteren Revolutionen diese drei deutschen Frauen in allen Ländern Nachahmung finden und möge ihnen ein grösserer Erfolg beschieden sein, als in Bayern.

#### In memory of Kurt Eisner.

At the request of the *President*, following the proposal of one or more members of the Congress, the assembly rose and stood in memory of Kurt Eisner, who had been the first martyr in the making of a bloodless Revolution.

*Yella Hertzka*: Ich will in erster Linie meinem Bedauern Ausdruck geben, dass nicht auch russische Frauen hier vertreten sind, wenigstens von den in der Schweiz lebenden Russinnen. Diese hätten uns etwas über die russischen Verhältnisse erzählen können. Ich sage das deshalb, weil wir ja zur Genüge wissen, dass die Nachrichten, die wir aus der Presse über Russland erfahren, nicht immer zu den glaubwürdigsten gehören. Wir könnten von diesen Staaten viel, sehr viel lernen, wenn vielleicht auch nur in negativer Beziehung.

Wir haben in Oesterreich, wie Sie wissen, eine harmlose, unblutige Revolution durchgemacht. Eines schönen Tages sagte man zu Karl von Habsburg: Geh! und man war eine Republik. Es hat sich Niemand dabei besonders aufgeregt. Man kann das auch sehr schwer in einem Lande,

das sich in einer solchen Hungersnot befindet, ausser vielleicht darüber, dass kein Brot vorhanden ist. Die Revolution hat Oesterreich vielleicht zu dem demokratischsten, dem freiheitlichsten Lande gemacht. Ich glaube, es ist gut, wenn ich das ein bisschen klar lege. Wir unterscheiden bei den Regierungsformen zwischen den rein sozialistischen und den demokratischen Republiken. Wir in Oesterreich haben eine Regierung, in der alle Teile des Volkes gleichmässig vertreten sind: die sozialistischen und die demokratischen. Was das freiheitlichste in unserer Verfassung ist: wir haben keinen Präsidenten, sondern wir haben drei Männer, die den Staat repräsentieren. Ich hoffe, dass sich dieses System entsprechend der wirklichen Zusammensetzung des Volkes halten wird.

Die Todesstrafe ist bei uns abgeschafft. Man geht daran, die kapitalistischen Einrichtungen abzubauen und zwar in der Weise, wie es die britische Sektion in ihrer Resolution wünscht. Man hat hierbei nicht besondere Schwierigkeiten. Die österreichischen Kapitalisten haben sich bereits damit abgefunden, dass sie ein für allemal eine Abgabe von ihrem Vermögen zu leisten haben, und zwar die Hälfte ihres Vermögens. Sie haben sich ferner damit abgefunden, eine ziemlich hohe Erbschaftsteuer zu bezahlen. Schliesslich haben sich die Grundbesitzer damit abgefunden, vom Grundbesitz, der 300 Joch übersteigt, den Rest abzugeben. Wir unterscheiden dabei zweierlei Formen. Die eine ist die Form der völligen Enteignung ohne Geld, so wie es jetzt mit den Schlössern für unsere Invaliden geschehen ist, die zweite ist die Enteignung gegen Entschädigung, die eine durchaus gesetzmässige Form darstellt.

Sehr schwierig ist die Durchführung der Sozialisierung der Betriebe. Wir stehen durchaus auf dem Standpunkte, dass sie durchgeführt werden soll. Die Betriebe stehen aber infolge des Krieges auf einem Tiefstand, und ferner haben wir noch nicht genügend Rohstoffe und auch nicht das Geld, diese zu bezahlen.

The *President* recognized a delegate who made the point of order that Frau Hertzka was speaking not of a pacifist revolution, but of how the revolution in Austria had proceeded.



Agreed that Frau Hertzka should proceed.

Ich will rasch über die Sache hinweggehen. Für die Sozialisierung ist es in Oesterreich sehr ungünstig bestellt. Wenn Sie Betriebe in voller Tätigkeit sozialisieren, so werden Sie natürlich ganz andere Ergebnisse erzielen, als wenn Sie zu jetziger Zeit Betriebe sozialisieren. Ich sage Ihnen das deshalb, damit Sie, wenn Sie einmal in amerikanischen oder in englischen Zeitungen lesen sollten, dass die Sozialisierung bei uns missglückt sei, wissen, dass diese Tatsache gar kein Beweis gegen die Sozialisierung ist.

Ich habe gesagt, wir wollen den Kapitalismus successive abbauen. Ich stelle mir aber dabei nicht vor, dass das Jahrhundert, sondern dass es vielleicht noch zehn, zwanzig oder dreissig Jahre dauern wird auf Grund von Gesetzen, die für das gesamte Volk gelten und dem Recht in keiner Weise Abbruch tun.

Wir haben auch die Schulen sozialisiert. Das Wichtige dabei ist — ich werde nicht über Schulreform sprechen — dass wir eine Einheitsschule bis zum 14. Jahre eingeführt haben. Der reichste Mensch und der ärmste müssen durch die gleiche Schule hindurchgehen.

Für die Bauern wollen wir die kleinen Grundbesitze behalten. Wir nehmen den Bauern nichts. Wir wollen den Bauern helfen durch ihren Zusammenschluss in Genossenschaften, die gleich gute Produktionsergebnisse erzielen sollen wie der Grossgrundbesitz, der natürlich infolge des Kapitals in der Lage war, sich mehr maschinelle Hülfe zu sichern. Wir wollen aber, dass Grund und Boden, die Umgebung der Städte, der Boden in den Städten selbst, nicht Eigentum eines Einzelnen sind, sondern Staatseigentum werden, damit dem Wucher mit Grund und Boden endgültig Einhalt geboten werden kann. Damit wollen wir zugleich auch die Frage der Arbeiterwohnungen und der Wohnungen der Stadtbevölkerung lösen. Es wird sich da wahrscheinlich ein System der Erbpacht entwickeln, wie wir es in England haben.

Die Frauen haben bei dieser Bewegung sehr viel mitgearbeitet. Ich muss noch hinzufügen, dass bei uns in Oester-

reich, wie wohl schon in Amerika und in England, eigentlich nur zwei Schichten der Bevölkerung existieren: eine besitzende Schicht und eine arbeitende Schicht, und dass der Mittelstand ganz verschwindet. In Oesterreich ist das durch die Verarmung während des Krieges geschehen. Der Mittelstand, die Lehrer, die Beamten, die Staatsbeamten, also die besseren bürgerlichen Familien, haben ihr Eigentum vollständig verloren und sind infolgedessen zur Klasse der gewöhnlichen Arbeiter herabgedrückt worden. Daher das ungeheure Anwachsen der sozialdemokratischen Partei. Die Leute sind proletarisiert, und es ist jetzt ihr Interesse, auch mit dem Proletariat zu gehen.

Was Sie nicht freiwillig geben, das wird Ihnen blutig genommen. Ob es Ihnen nun gelingt, die Waffen wegzunehmen und sie ins Meer zu versenken, was meiner Meinung nach das Sicherste wäre, auf jeden Fall wird auch die Wegnahme von Waffen nicht verhindern, dass man Sie schliesslich zwingt zu dem, was Sie nicht freiwillig tun. Tun Sie es freiwillig, das ist der einzige Weg, um blutige Revolutionen hintanzuhalten und der Gerechtigkeit zum Siege zu verhelfen.

*Dr. Aletta Jacobs.* Were these things done by a Government elected by all voters, men and women?

*Yella Hertzka:* Yes.

*Dr. Jacobs.* That is good, There ought to be no violence.

*Yella Hertzka.* These things were done by a National Assembly elected by all the men and women. I think there are now only 7 women in the Assembly, but there are 21 in the City Council (*Gemeinderat*) and in two years we shall elect another National Assembly, and then we hope to have at least 50 women.

*Dr. Helene Stöcker.* In einem Punkte bin ich nicht ganz der gleichen Meinung wie meine Vorrednerinnen. Ich glaube nicht, dass die Kriege zwischen den Völkern und am Ende auch der Bürgerkrieg nur die Konsequenz des Kapitalismus sind. Sicherlich sind sie es zum grossen Teil, aber nicht absolut. Ich glaube vielmehr, dass daran eine falsche Ideologie, eine falsche Staatstheorie, eine falsche Staatsmoral die Schuld



trägt. Ich habe mit Bedauern und Entsetzen gesehen, dass die innige Verbindung zwischen innerer und äusserer Politik im äusseren Krieg noch so wenigen Pazifisten klar geworden ist. Wir in Deutschland haben in den letzten Monaten Gelegenheit gehabt, es zu unserem grossen Kummer oft zu beobachten. Dieselben Persönlichkeiten, die es für selbstverständlich hielten, dass man die Kriege zwischen den verschiedenen Nationen abschaffen müsse, die haben immer ebenso selbstverständlich gemeint, gegen den Gegner im eigenen Lande müssen doch die Waffen gebraucht werden. Wir in Deutschland haben seit mindestens zwei Jahren erkannt, dass nur ein Verständigungsfriede und nur ein Eingehen auf die berechtigten Wünsche der unteren Schichten in vor der Revolution bewahren könnten. Denn wir haben natürlich als Pazifisten die Gefahr gesehen, die in der Revolution liegt, nämlich, dass sie eben nicht als Evolution, sondern als blutiger Gewaltakt verläuft. Wir waren traurig genug, dass unsere Frauen zu schwach waren, um den Frieden, den Frieden ohne Sieger und ohne Besiegte, zu retten.

Als Pazifisten haben wir weiter gesehen, dass uns auch der Sozialismus nicht sofort den Weltfrieden und den inneren Frieden bringt. Während des Krieges hat in jedem Lande ein Teil der sozialdemokratischen Partei, die sogenannten Sozialpatrioten, sich im grossen Ganzen zum Kriege bekannt. Auf der anderen Seite haben wir gesehen, dass die Kommunisten ebenfalls als Militaristen arbeiten und suchen, eine neue Wirtschaftsordnung mittelst der Gewalt herbeizuführen. Vom Standpunkte einer wirklich einheitlichen Moral für alle Staaten und für alle Klassen innerhalb eines Staates glauben wir aber, dass man ein wirklich hohes Ziel auch nur mit ganz reinen Mitteln erreichen kann. Man darf nicht Blut vergiessen, wenn man das Blutvergiessen aus der Welt schaffen will.

Und so haben wir uns gefreut, zu hören, dass es wenigstens ein Land gibt, in dem prinzipiell dieser Gedanke anerkannt ist, auch durch die Abschaffung der Todesstrafe. Diejenigen unter uns, die an Wilson geglaubt haben, werden mit innerem Bangen und mit innerer Sorge beobachtet haben, wie Wilson glaubte, durch blutige Mittel in den Kampf für

den dauernden Frieden eingreifen zu sollen. Denn von vornherein war die Gefahr gross, dass er dadurch wieder den militaristischen Gedanken auf der Gegenseite stärken werde. Wir haben gesehen, wie sich in der Tat dieses innere Gesetz vollzogen hat, und wie die Kräfte gegen ihn aufgestanden sind, um ihn in seinem Wirken zu lähmen.

Denselben Glauben, dass man mit Gewalt arbeiten dürfe, haben wir in Deutschland bei unseren inneren Kämpfen auf allen Seiten gefunden. Hier herrscht noch die falsche Theorie, dass man mit Revolutionären nicht verhandeln dürfe. In Berlin haben die unabhängigen Sozialdemokraten, als die Kämpfe zwischen Spartakus und der Regierung einsetzen, versucht, durch Verhandlungen das Blutvergiessen auszuschalten. Leider hat man nicht auf Verhandlungen eingehen wollen. Ähnliches haben wir auch hier von der bayerischen Revolution gehört. Auch dort sind die Versuche, Verhandlungen herbeizuführen, als unter der Würde der Regierung abgelehnt worden.

Wir glauben also, dass der Sozialismus an sich noch nicht den inneren und äusseren Frieden bringen wird, sondern dass wir gerade hier an dieser Stelle für die Verschmelzung von Sozialismus und Pazifismus eintreten müssen. Während des Krieges und besonders in der letzten Zeit haben wir wohl oft das Schlagwort: Wilson oder Lenin! — gehört. Nach den Erfahrungen der letzten Wochen müssen wir diese Alternative vielleicht noch weiter ändern. Wir haben gesehen, dass Wilson nicht die Kraft gehabt hat, den Frieden herbeizuführen, den wir alle für dauernde Ruhe unter den Völkern wünschen. Wir müssen uns heute klar sein, dass Alles, wodurch Repressalien ausgewirkt werden, das Uebel nur ins Gigantische bis zum Untergange der Welt steigert. Wir müssen einen ganz anderen Weg einschlagen. Anstatt den Weg über Wilson oder Lenin müssen wir heute den Weg der Ueberwindung des Bösen durch das Gute einschlagen, den Weg, den uns Christus und Tolstoi gewiesen haben.

Selbstverständlich haben wir auch in Deutschland als Frauen und als Pazifisten versucht, mindestens unseren Einfluss geltend zu machen. Als im Januar dieses Jahres die



furchtbaren Kämpfe in Berlin stattgefunden haben und die Unterhandlungsversuche gescheitert waren, haben wir versucht, mindestens alle gerecht denkenden Intellektuellen in einem Aufrufe zu vereinigen, wonach man auch gegen den Gegner gerecht sein müsse, dass man auch den ermordeten Gegnern Liebknecht und Rosa Luxemburg gegenüber anders verfahren müsse, als es zunächst geschah. Wie hatten die Freude zu sehen, dass wenigstens ein Teil jener Intellektuellen, die sich leider im Herbst 1914 zu jenem Manifest der 93 hatten verführen lassen, inzwischen soweit zur Besinnung gekommen waren, dass sie auch den Aufruf, dem Gegner Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen, unterzeichneten. Der Bund «Neues Vaterland», dem ich angehöre, wird in den nächsten Wochen in Berlin und anderswo Versammlungen einberufen, in denen die Frauen möglichst aller Parteien, soweit wir sie dafür gewinnen können, ausdrücklich gegen die Gewalt auch im inneren Staatsleben protestieren.

Wir bilden uns natürlich nicht ein, dass es uns sofort gelingen werde, das zu erreichen, was wir wollen. Wir werden aber unsere Kräfte immer wieder einsetzen, so oft es uns auch schon misslungen ist. Wir haben schon sehr viele Versuche unternommen, auch die Leute, die mehr auf der rechten Seite des politischen Lebens stehen, zu gewinnen. In bescheidenem Masse scheint uns das auch zu gelingen. Gerechtigkeit und Wahrheit auch dem Gegner gegenüber, das ist das erste Erfordernis, das wir aus diesem Lügenkrieg, der auch so vieles an inneren Kämpfen verschuldet hat, lernen müssen.

Als ich neulich versuchte, eine Reihe von Politikern zusammenzubitten, um in dem geschilderten Sinne meinen Einfluss geltend zu machen, war es mir bedauerlich, zu sehen, dass einige Herren, als man ihnen einige einfache Tatsachen mitteilte, ganz erstaunt sagten: Ja, das haben wir gar nicht gewusst! Sie müssen irgendwelche besonderen Kanäle haben, aus denen Sie Ihre Erfahrungen sammeln. Arbeiten Sie eine Denkschrift aus! — Darauf erwiderte ich: ich habe keine Geheimkanäle. Ich habe während der Revolution nur die Zeitungen der Rechten und der Linken zu studieren versucht

und bin dadurch einigermaßen in der Lage, die Berichte der einen Seite durch diejenigen der anderen zu korrigieren. Leider haben wir ja oft hören müssen: Ich mag diese Zeitung nicht lesen. Sie geht mir auf die Nerven! Sie ist mir unsympathisch! — Mit solchen Anschauungen werden wir aber den Kampf nicht führen können. So werden wir die Gerechtigkeit und die Wahrheit für unseren eigenen Frieden nicht retten können.

*The Hungarian Delegate* selected to speak on the experiences in her country decided with regret that it was not practicable to do so at the present time.

*Catherine Fuller* wished to propose an amendment to the Resolution which would then read as follows:

The world is facing widespread revolutionary changes, coming at a time when the passions of hatred and fear and the habit of violence have been fostered by a world war. We recognise that there is a fundamentally just demand underlying most of these revolutionary movements. We declare our sympathy with the purpose of the workers who are rising up everywhere to make an end of exploitation and to claim their world. Nevertheless we re-assert our belief in the methods of peace, and we feel that it is our special part in this revolutionary age, to counsel against violence, and above all to prepare the wealthy and privileged classes to give up their wealth and yield their special privileges without struggle, so that the change from a competitive system of production for private profit to some cooperative system of production for human happiness, may be made with as little bloodshed as possible.

*Catherine Fuller* then said: We should not mention the revolution without making it clear that our sympathy is on the side of the workers. Only workers can bring about revolution, and a group like ours, in counselling against violence, must recognise that the only way in which violence can be avoided is for the possessing classes to give up their possessions and consent to the new order without resistance. I suggest that



the chief function of women like ourselves is to prepare the minds of the wealthy and possessing classes, to persuade them to yield without hesitation, and thus save bloodshed.

*Kathleen Courtney* said that it was very simple to say that if one side yields everything there will be no bloodshed. That did not solve the question however.

*Catherine Fuller* thought Miss Courtney had not read the Resolution carefully enough. She (Mrs. Fuller) had purposely used the expression « against violence on both sides ». But we must express our sympathies with the workers. Only the workers can bring about the revolution. Answering opposition from the meeting, Mrs. Fuller said she did not mean that we are not workers. But we are not the organized workers in whose power it lies to make the revolution. It is our part as women, if we still wish for peace, to persuade the capitalists to give up their opposition to the new world order.

Agreed to postpone further debate on this Resolution.

Adjourned 12.45.

### Thursday Afternoon Session, May 15: 2.30—5.15.

#### Commission on war profits.

*Catherine Marshall* moved the following Resolution, proposed according to Rules of Order XII, and signed by over 20 delegates.

#### COMMISSION ON WAR PROFITS.

Resolved that this Congress asks the League of Nations to appoint International Commissions to sit in public, under power to take evidence on oath and to command the attendance of any witnesses they may desire to call, to enquire into the facts regarding:

- (1) Profit making due to war and preparation for war ;
- (2) Traffic in women and children, and the profits made from commercialized prostitution.

Agreed to divide the Resolution and consider only that referring to Part (1). *Catherine Marshall* withdrew Part (2).

Voted to adopt the Resolution in this form. (B. VI. 15)

#### Pacifists and Revolution (continued).

*Catherine Fuller* presented the amended Resolution, proposed by her at the morning session, in a somewhat altered form.

#### AMENDMENT TO RESOLUTION A VIII RELATION OF PACIFISTS TO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

The world is facing widespread revolutionary changes, coming at a time when the passions of hatred and fear and the habit of violence have been fostered by a world war. We



recognise that there is a fundamentally just demand underlying most of these revolutionary movements. We declare our sympathy with the purpose of the workers who are rising up everywhere to make an end of exploitation and to claim their world. Nevertheless we re-assert our belief in the methods of peace, and we feel that it is our special part in this revolutionary age, to counsel against violence, and above all to prepare the wealthy and privileged classes to give up their wealth and yield their special privileges without struggle, so that the change from a competitive system of production for private profit, to some cooperative system of production for human happiness, may be made with as little bloodshed as possible.

*The President* ruled that Mrs. Fuller's proposal in its present form must be regarded not as an amendment but as new matter.

*Leopoldine Kulka* : Ich möchte diese Resolution unterstützen und hinzufügen, ob wir sie nun als Zusatz oder als neue Resolution betrachten, sie gehört hieher. Wie wollen wir anders dazu gelangen, unsere Aufgabe zu erfüllen, auf friedlichem Wege zu einer Umwandlung zu kommen? Wir Frauen hier, die wir grossenteils nicht zu der Arbeiterschaft gehören, haben vor allem die Aufgabe, die sogenannte « bürgerliche » Welt dazu zu bringen, in diese Umgestaltung einzuwilligen; wir müssen sie auffordern, mit allen Kräften mitzuhelfen, und sich, selbst wenn man Opfer fordert, darein zu ergeben, weil sie sich selbst sagen müssen, dass der Fortschritt der Menschheit dies erfordert. Gerade wir Frauen, die wir immer den Wunsch haben, dass alle Kinder, alle Schwachen, alle diejenigen, die unterdrückt sind, Befriedigung ihrer Bedürfnisse finden, gerade für uns ist es das Natürlichste, zu sagen, dass es in der Welt keine privilegierten Klassen geben darf. Es darf überhaupt keine Klassen geben. Die ganze Menschheit ist Eines. Sie muss Alles, was sie braucht, erhalten. Das kann aber nur durch eine vollständige Umgestaltung unserer Wirtschaftsordnung eintreten. Darum glaube ich, wir stehen nur noch vor der Frage: Auf welchem Wege können wir das erreichen? Wenn wir es

auf friedlichem Wege erreichen wollen, so ist unsere oberste Pflicht, dass wir in unseren Kreisen immer und immer wieder sagen: Zögert nicht. Helft den Anderen und fördert diese grosse Revolution, die die Menschheit auf neue Grundlagen stellen soll! Ich bitte Sie daher, nehmen Sie diese Resolution an.

*Helen Crawford* seconded Mrs Fuller's motion. She said that she did so because the Resolution expressed sympathy with the workers all over the world who were rising up to claim their world.

Violence had been used against the common people over and over again when they claimed justice.

She had come from Glasgow, where a big strike had recently taken place. Unemployment had been very grave indeed after the Armistice. In order to cope with this difficulty and to absorb the demobilised soldiers, the industrial workers of Glasgow, men and women, came out in support of a demand for a 40 hour week; over a hundred thousand had been out.

A huge demonstration took place before the City Chambers, and a Deputation was sent in to interview the chief Magistrate (Provost).

The people were unarmed and quite orderly. The police made a baton charge, injuring about a hundred men and women. The military and tanks were called out, and for days the city was like an armed camp.

In view of this manifestation of force on the part of the authorities, it is difficult to advise or counsel against force on the part of the people. Nevertheless she believed that the Women's International League, which had counselled against the use of force in the settlement of international disputes could do no other than counsel against its use nationally.

*Emily Balch* and *Dr. Aletta Jacobs* preferred the wording of the original Resolution.

*Catherine Marshall* thought the wording in Mrs. Fuller's form clearer and better.

*Marion Cothren* proposed to omit, in Mrs. Fuller's Resolution everything coming after the words « counsel against vio-



lence » and to add the words « on both sides ». She said that she believed that to adopt the Fuller Resolution as it stood would drive away many of our members who come from all classes of society and all races.

*H. M. Swanwick* spoke for the Fuller Resolution unchanged, because it appealed to the possessing classes to yield their privileges freely, and so bring about a reconciliation between classes.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* said that we stood by our belief that peaceful methods are the best, and regarded it as our highest duty in this critical time to come out against violence on either side, and that we therefore asked the possessing classes voluntarily to sacrifice their privileges and ally themselves with the effort to democratize our economic system.

*Dr. Aletta Jacobs* said that among pacifists there were also members of many parties. There must be no one-sided or partisan action.

*Emma Boos-Jegher* : Ich möchte zuallererst bemerken, dass ich keiner politischen Partei angehöre und das aus voller Ueberzeugung, weil das Parteiwesen, mindestens so wie es jetzt ist, mich nicht anzieht, und weil ich die volle Freiheit haben will, meine persönliche Meinung und Ueberzeugung jederzeit zu vertreten, ohne zu meinen, ich verstosse gegen irgend ein Parteigelübde.

Nun möchte ich Sie aber dringend fragen, ob wir nicht bei so vielen Resolutionen und bei so überladnem Programm der Gefahr ausgesetzt sind, dass wir Alles oberflächlich und flüchtig machen. Es ist doch nicht möglich, dass man Sachen von solcher Tragweite auf diese Weise behandelt.

Sehen Sie doch nur einmal das Verlangen in der uns jetzt vorliegenden Resolution ! Wir fordern die besitzenden Klassen auf, auf ihre Vorrechte zu verzichten ! Ja, meine sehr verehrten Damen, vor zweitausend Jahren hat schon Jemand gesagt, der Reiche solle hingehen und opfern, was er hat, dann könne er ins Himmelreich kommen. Und das hat doch nichts genützt ! Was wird da eine Resolution nützen ! Wenn wir das sagen, so ist es — entschuldigen Sie — eine Phrase. Ich gebe ja zu,

das Verlangen ist nicht als Phrase gemeint. Das einzige Richtige ist, dass der, der hat, abgeben muss, weil ihm eben sein Besitz nicht zukommt. Er hat nicht das Recht an die die Deckung seiner Bedürfnisse bei Weitem übersteigenden Reichtümer, wenn sein Nebenmensch, trotz Fleiss und Arbeit, darbt. Wir wollen das aber nicht in eine Resolution aufnehmen. Es tut mir leid, dass ich nicht noch ein paar Worte in dieser Angelegenheit sprechen kann, aber meine Zeit ist abgelaufen. (Applause.)

*Dr. Ethel Williams* proposed to use the word « share » instead of the expressions « give up » and « yield ».

*Marion Cothren* said that the main thing was to keep alive our belief in pacifism and internationalism. We wanted to avoid differences among ourselves as to economic questions, and the words in question might create such.

**Voted**, by 60 votes against 55, to adopt Catherine Fuller's Resolution, as amended by Marion Cothren. (B. X. 28.)

*Catherine Fuller* thought it was illogical to be unanimously against the oppression of a small country by a large one, and at the same time to admit the oppression of a part of the people within a nation.

#### **The Vienna Children.**

*The President* gave notice of an invitation to witness the arrival of the children brought from Vienna to enjoy Swiss hospitality.

#### **Protest against the Peace treaty.**

*Emmeline Pethick Lawrence* presented a Resolution signed by 20 members of Entente and Neutral countries, as follows :

Resolved that this Congress take immediate action upon the Resolution unanimously passed in protest against the Peace Treaty :

- (1) That it organize a great Protest-Meeting in the largest available hall in Zurich for Saturday or Sunday,
- (2) That the Congress request the National Sections to organize Protest-Meetings in the principal towns of their



country between now and June 15 (the last day for signing the Peace), and to wire all resolutions of protest to Versailles.

She thought it very fortunate that our Congress was taking place at the same time with the Peace Conference at Versailles, and that the date for signing the Treaty was put off till June 15. There was thus a chance to take an active stand as to the Peace Treaty. A deep sense of responsibility was involved in the serious propaganda herewith begun, and this sense of responsibility was felt by all the women in the Committee for Permanent Peace.

*Dr. Aletta Jacobs* expressed her full agreement with the Resolution, but suggested that the Swiss women, not the Congress, might be called on to get up the Protest Meeting.

*Ethel Snowden* preferred to have the whole Congress undertake it.

*H. M. Swanwick* preferred *Dr. Jacobs'* proposal.

*Clara Ragaz* said the Swiss women were quite willing to undertake the meeting, if that was desired, but they did not think that they should do it as the Swiss Committee.

Voted to hold a Protest Meeting.

Voted that the meeting should not be undertaken by the Congress.

#### Notices.

Notice was given of a meeting between 5 and 6, Friday afternoon, at which *Madame d'Arcis* would speak of the *World Union of Women*.

Between 6 and 7 the same day *Mlle Suzanne Ferrière* would give an account, with stereopticon illustration, of the effect of the blockade on children of Central Europe.

Adjourned 5.15.

### Friday Morning Session, May 16: 9.30—12.45.

#### Arrival of French and Australian Delegates.

*Blanche Reverchon* brought greetings to the Congress, and expressed her regret to be late, and to be, so far, the only French delegate. She said that there were other French women also who were at one with the spirit of the Congress.

*Cecilia John* and *Vida Goldstein* brought greetings from Australia. The latter said that it had taken them two months to come, and that they could not have arrived so soon if such careful arrangements had not been made for them in England. She greeted the German women in particular and expressed her happiness that during the whole war they had striven against militarism. Australian women had done so from the first. The Australian delegates had come for the sake of accomplishing something, to hear what had been done and consider what was to be done in future.

*Miss John* said that as she was leaving, a soldier had said to her that only women could prevent war in the future. It was to be hoped that women might succeed in this mission.

#### Report of the Committee on Education.

*Emily Balch* presented the report as follows.

##### RESOLUTION III 1. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

The events of the last four 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 International Congress for Permanent Peace 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 think-



ing. Only men and women of high moral and intellectual standing can be trusted with so sacred a task. This Congress recommends the following means toward the end:

I. *The Establishment of an International Bureau of Education.*

II. *The following action for the National Committees.*

a) The development of an international spirit. Under this head comes the exclusion from schoolbooks, etc., of anything which tend to hinder international understanding, to injure national pride, or to arouse hate and scorn for foreign peoples. The history of civilization should be fundamental to all instruction; the young should be made familiar with the evolution of peoples and with the lives of the great men of all times. Instruction in civics should develop a world consciousness and give an introduction to the duties of world-citizenship.

With the introduction to national literature should go at the same time a first 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 a world-language. Especially attention should be paid to comparative studies of the psychology of peoples. The establishment of a free international University 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. An international normal school is desirable.

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 organized 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.

b) Development of physical culture, not in the form of military drill, but as a method of developing the strength and efficiency of the human race. Higher schools for women, which train the woman as a world-citizen for her responsible task as mother of humanity, would serve this purpose.

*Miss Balch* explained that the Resolutions of this Committee fell under three heads, Education, Social Economic Questions, and finally General Questions. In reality, to this Committee had been referred all that did not come under the head of the other committees.

*Dr. Olga Knischewsky*, seconded by *Marguerite Gobat*, moved Resolution III 1.

*Dr. Olga Knischewsky*. Verehrte Anwesende! Wir haben gestern viel über Revolution gehört und über den Weg, wie wir Frauen eine blutige Revolution vermeiden könnten.

Eine Revolution ist uns nötig, das ist die Revolution der Geister. Die Revolution der Geister kann nur durchgeführt werden durch eine ganz neue Erziehungsbasis, auf die wir die Zukunft aufbauen müssen.

Die Erziehung muss beginnen in der Kinderstube. Die Kinder müssen schon mit Friedensgeist erfüllt werden. Dieser internationale, pazifistische Geist muss weiter getragen werden in die Schule hinein. Bei den Unterrichtsmitteln muss alles vermieden werden, was auf eine negative Beeinflussung der Jugend hinwirkt, was die junge Seele mit einem Misstrauen erfüllt, was den Hass und das gewollte Nichtverstehen zwischen den Völkern gross gezogen hat. Verstehenwollen und allgemeines Verständnis durch Liebe, das muss der Geist sein, der überall zum Ausdruck kommt. In unserem Ge-



schichtsunterricht soll weit weniger von Kriegen und Kriegshelden berichtet werden, es muss vielmehr der Geist der Kulturgeschichte betont werden. Wir wollen die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Völker an den Kindern vorbeiziehen lassen, um in ihnen damit das Verständnis zu wecken für kommende Zeiten. Wollen wir die Gegenwart verstehen und die Zukunft bauen, so müssen wir allerdings die Vergangenheit kennen. Die Vergangenheit wollen wir aber in Zukunft nicht weiter kennen lernen durch die Brille der Kriegsergebnisse, es sind andere Momente, die wir uns hier aneignen müssen. Wir müssen wissen, wie die Völker gerungen haben mit dem, was wir als Kultur, als Zivilisation hochhalten. Noch haben wir nur eine äussere Zivilisation. Wollen wir eine Kultur Menschheit werden, so müssen wir Frauen unsere Kulturgedanken hineinbringen in das gesamte Erziehungswesen. Unsere Resolution weist auf allerhand Hilfsmittel hin, die zu dieser gemeinsamen Verständigung führen sollen. Auf Einzelheiten einzugehen ist nicht nötig, da die Punkte ja in der Resolution aufgeführt werden, z. B. die Welthilfssprache, Austausch von Schulkindern, Studenten usw., Austauschvorträge usw. usw. Das sind nicht Dinge, die wir hier erfunden haben, sondern das sind tatsächliche Probleme und Fragen, mit denen nicht nur wir, sondern schon seit langen Jahren eine grosse Zahl von Vereinigungen der ganzen Welt sich beschäftigen.

Sehr wichtig ist noch ein weiteres Moment. Wir brauchen nicht nur eine Pflege der internationalen Geisteskultur, wir brauchen auch eine ganz andere körperliche Erziehung unserer Jugend, unserer Völker. Bisher arbeitete die ganze körperliche Erziehung, mindestens unserer männlichen Jugend, daraufhin, sie militärtauglich zu machen; sie wurde mit einem militärischen Drill erfüllt. Dieser militärische Drill soll ausgeschaltet werden. Aber wollen wir wirklich eine gesunde, an Geist und Leib, an Leib und Seele gesunde, kommende Generation erziehen, so brauchen wir dazu vor allen Dingen auch Mütter, die rechtwinklig an Leib und Seele gebaut sind. Wir brauchen Eltern, die in diesem Sinne gesund an Leib und Seele sind. Wir fordern in diesem Sinne Ausbildungsmöglichkeiten für Mütter, um die Trägerinnen der Zukunftsgeneration mit dem ganzen

Gebiet der Bevölkerungsfragen und der wirtschaftlichen Probleme vertraut zu machen.

Ein weiteres Moment, nicht nur für die Jugend, sondern für die gesamten Völker, ist die Frage der Presse. Denn wir dürfen nicht vergessen, Erziehung ist nicht nur Unterricht in den Schulen; zur Erziehung gehört die gesamte Beeinflussung der Völker, der Volksschichten, von jedem, der dazu Gelegenheit hat. Ein eminentes Beeinflussungsvermögen hat die Presse aller Welt. Deshalb müssen wir sie auf eine internationale pazifistische Basis bringen. In welcher Weise das zu geschehen hat, darüber könnten wir auch lange debattieren. Notwendig ist es jedenfalls, das Moment der Presse nicht aus dem Auge zu lassen. Und nicht nur die Presse, die sich mit der Tagesliteratur beschäftigt, sondern die gesamte Litteratur, das gesamte Kunstwesen soll ein Menschheitsproblem werden und nicht nur einseitig chauvinistischen Zwecken dienen, wie es vielfach speziell auch in den letzten Jahren geschehen ist, wo wir in den einzelnen Ländern eine direkt einseitig national-chauvinistisch gerichtete Kunstausübung beobachten konnten. Erziehung ist somit das A und das O aller unserer künftigen Arbeit. Erziehen müssen wir die Jugend, erziehen müssen wir unsere Hausgenossen, erziehen müssen wir unsere Volksgenossen, dann erst werden wir auf eine gemeinsame Basis kommen, auf der sich die Völker aller Welt verstehen können.

*Voted* to refer this Resolution to the National Sections for study (XXI).

#### **International Educational Council.**

*Martha Larsen, seconded by Clara Tybjerg, moved*

#### **RESOLUTION III 2.**

#### **INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COUNCIL.**

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 Educational Council be instituted for the purpose of promoting the idea of world organisation and international ethics and citizenship. The Congress asks the officers of the I.C.W.P.P. 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.

**Voted**, without debate, to adopt this Resolution. (B. IX.)

**Agreed** on motion of *Dr. Arnesen* that all suggestions on education be referred to the committee to be created according to this Resolution. (C. XVIII.)

**Voted** that *Dr. Arnesen* should act as temporary chairman of this Committee.

#### **Greetings of German Pacifist Organisations.**

*Helene Stöcker* presented greetings from German pacifist organisations, desiring to call attention to the fact that, however backward Germany might be in many respects, there was a new spirit in many organisations, and notably in the new pacifist « Jugendorganisationen ». They united in demanding that education should be put on a new basis, and that the slaughtering of men should be abolished; they condemned the use of violence and demanded that abolition of general conscription should be included in the peace treaty. She referred to the pedagogical section of the Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund, the Deutsche Friedens-Gesellschaft of Berlin, the Jugendbund Tolstoi, the Neue Hochschulgemeinde, the Jugendbund (Ortsgruppe Berlin), the Politischer Verein der Arbeiter, the Bund Neues Vaterland, the Jugend von Kassel, the Centralstelle für Völkerrecht, the Vereinigung Sozialistischer Lehrer und Lehrerinnen Grossberlins, the Internationale Studiengruppe Berlin, etc. She held it to be a matter for congratulation that in all these circles it had been possible to secure a recognition of these principles.

With regard to the establishment of an international secretariat, she wished to call attention to the fact that at the League of Nations Conference in Berne two months earlier the creation of such an international pedagogical secretariat had been decided on, and to recommend the Congress to enter into the closest possible relations with that organisation so that the work might be the more effective.

*Dr. Ethel Williams* moved to amend III 1 (see p. 131) by inserting after the words « world citizenship » the words « the development of a system of self-government in schools and amongst organisations of young people from the earliest possible age, in order to develop in them the sense of personal responsibility towards the community of which they are part. »

**Referred** to *Dr. Arnesen's* Committee.

#### **International Normal School.**

*Florence Holbrook* presented the following proposal :

That an International Normal School be established, and that from every country in the world two teachers, one man and one woman, of international mind, shall be drawn to form the Faculty.

Ten boys and ten girls, from every country wishing to be included, shall be chosen annually when they have reached their sixteenth year, and shall remain five years, taking the broadest possible training along physical, intellectual and spiritual lines. They will not lose touch with their mother tongue or national ideals, as teachers from their own country are on the Faculty, but they will be instructed in the history of the nations of the world, learning of the progress of democracy and of the contribution which each country has made to civilization, thus gaining sympathetic understanding of international ideals.

These students, so trained, shall return to their several countries, and by teaching in the public schools, for a period determined upon, will serve the cause of Internationalism and Permanent Peace.

**Referred** to *Dr. Arnesen's* Committee.

*An English Delegate* called attention to the fact that, as early as the second year of the war, the British Section held a Conference on the teaching of history and religion, with the object of spreading the idea of pacifist education. Furthermore, since many people thought there was a lack of good text books



they had compiled a bibliography which showed that there are more good books of this sort than had been supposed<sup>1</sup>.

Ellen Wilkinson spoke of the importance of self-government in schools; if children were led to feel a responsibility for school conditions they would feel a responsibility for what was done in their country.

Emily Balch moved

RESOLUTION III 3.  
MISLEADING OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Since all perversions of truth, one-sided accounts of facts, and government propaganda to control opinion whether by press, pulpit or educational systems, 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 governmental interference with private correspondence, and declare to be both inexpedient and wrong all laws which prevent the expression of public opinion. The sole exception is where there is direct incitement to criminal action.

She said: We have seen great abuses in every country by positive methods of propaganda, and by negative methods of censorship and suppression. We have to consider for ourselves, and to try to get other people to consider, this enormously important problem — the whole matter of creating the public opinion of the adult world — the press, government suppression of news, and government dissemination of news with a bias to it.

<sup>1</sup> The very interesting report of this Conference has been printed as *The Teaching of History and Scripture: Report of Conference at Central Buildings, Westminster, January 6, 7 and 8, 1917, arranged by the Women's International League*. Pp. 67, price 1/— if ordered from the London office; 1.50 francs from Geneva Office.

Eileen Power, M. A. *A Bibliography for Teachers of History*, Pp. 52, price 2/— net from London, 2.75 francs from Geneva.

We have been studying the work done by the school, for good and for evil, on the plastic minds of little children and young people, but equally serious, and in some cases even more dangerous, is this control of the grown men and women, and the forming of their minds by this pressure of propaganda and the press. I do not believe there is any simple and easy way of changing this. It reflects the whole economic and political situation which we are in. It is a symptom as much as a cause, and I can only commend it to you as a subject of the very greatest importance for study, consideration and action.

Voted to adopt Resolution III, 3, with the omission of the sentence beginning « The sole exception ». (B. X. 30.)

Helene Scheu-Riesz pointed out an inconsistency between the Resolution just passed, which condemned all control of the expression of public opinion, and the first Resolution on Education, which said that « 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 ». Since it was she who in the Sub-Committee on Education had secured the inclusion of this provision, she wished to point out the necessity of making it clear whether we thought an exception should be made in the case of school books and books for children. She thought such an exception absolutely necessary if we were to prevent the chauvinists and militarists poisoning the minds of school children and young people. Women especially should influence the teachers and exercise a criticism of books for children — a matter unfortunately too little considered. Although our American sisters, especially, went so far in their devotion to freedom of opinion that they would rather not ask for any central control even over these bad books, yet it would be desirable to consider whether there was not some middle course.

A Delegate pointed out that in this field, too, a censorship might do much harm. It might not be in our power to determine who should exercise the proposed censorship. She believed the only way to get rid of bad literature was to provide



good literature in a good and cheap edition — the best works of the greatest authors. There might be selections to make them more accessible to children and to the people, but she believed the only way to get rid of abuses was a wide distribution of the very best literature.

The President pointed out that there was hardly a contradiction as the matter was only recommended for study to our Sections.

Henni Lehmann reported that members of the press who were present asked for a Resolution in favor of compelling papers adequately to correct misstatements.

RESOLUTION III 4.  
PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL, EDUCATIONAL  
AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM, PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH  
NATIONAL SECTION.

Emily Balch presented this Resolution sent in by Gabrielle Duchêne who had been unable to come to Switzerland to discuss it.

In view of the lack of time for debate, and the difference of opinion in the Congress between the advocates and the opponents of legislative regulation of women's labour, it was

Voted to refer the French proposal as a whole and without discussion to the National Sections for study. (XXXIV.)

**Education and Public Health.**

Lilian D. Wald moved the following series of Resolutions :

RESOLUTION III 6<sup>1</sup>  
LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES

We are happy to note as signs of a better future that, in Article XXV of the Paris Covenant of a League of Nations, the members of the League agree to promote voluntary National Red Cross organisations for purely humane purposes, with no reference to or thought of war, and that at the recent meeting of medical experts at Cannes, when a League of Red Cross Societies was created, a broad programme of public health and hygiene was adopted, the

<sup>1</sup> No Resolution III 5 was read.

necessity of preventing all wars was recognised, and the desire to see the League made truly international was expressed.

RESOLUTION III 7.  
CENTRAL HEALTH BUREAU.

The Congress urges that, in the creation of a central Health Bureau, all peoples should be represented, and women should be adequately represented. We urge upon our sections everywhere to interest themselves in the creation and work of this Bureau.

RESOLUTION III 8.  
CHILDREN'S BUREAU

This Congress urges upon its members that the welfare of children is also a governmental responsibility, and recommends that its members promote the creation of a Children's Bureau, such as already functions in the United States of America.

RESOLUTION III 9.  
EDUCATION FOR MOTHERHOOD.

Because the most important service of women has been and always will be the bringing up of children, and because the hope of each generation is implicit in the next generation, and because upon the mothers rests the responsibility of bringing up each succeeding generation to be sounder physically and more enlightened spiritually, and because we believe that the ancient reliance upon the instinct of mothers to apprehend the necessary safeguards for maternity and the needs of child culture has failed to meet the obligations laid upon it ; therefore we recommend that women be given such opportunities for education as may qualify them to meet with technical knowledge their supreme responsibility, and that this education should include all matters involved in the nourishing of children and building them up physically, spiritually and intellectually.

Chrystal Macmillan proposed to strike out Resolution III 6,



on account of the too often backward and reactionary point of view of the Red Cross.

Dr Anita Augspurg, in the name of the German « Committee of Five » made the same proposal.

A Delegate raised the question whether the Cannes Red Cross programme was an international or an inter-ally programme. It was answered that five nationalities were represented but the intention was to bring together all the nations of the world.

Vida Goldstein dreaded giving such power to a group of people who might abuse it, for instance by creating a sort of medical monopoly.

A Delegate thought the subject of these Resolutions ought to be further worked over in a small committee. She said she saw that in the case of contagious diseases a certain compulsion might be necessary in the case of backward peoples.

Agreed to refer these four Resolutions back to the following Committee: Lilian D. Wald, Chairman; Vilma Glücklich, Dr. Ethel Williams, Louise Keilhau, Vida Goldstein, Emma Boos-Jegher.

#### *Evening Meeting.*

Each National Section desiring to be represented by a speaker at the evening meeting was asked to present its suggestions, from which the President would select the evening's speakers.

#### *Public Protest Meeting.*

Emma Boos-Jegher explained that the Swiss members had not desired to undertake the arrangement of the proposed meeting, but had been willing to do it if desired by the Congress. On further consideration, however, they had concluded that this was not the right way to go about the matter, and proposed it should be reconsidered<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Frau Boos-Jegher also called the attention of members to Dr. Steiner's *Die Kernpunkte der Sozialen Frage*, which was available for distribution in German. An English version, soon to be ready, would be sent to members leaving their addresses.

The President explained that for this, a request with 20 signatures from three countries was necessary.

#### *Finnish Greeting.*

A message from Annie Furuholm and other members of the Finnish Section was read.

Adjourned 12.45.



### Friday Afternoon Session, May 16: 2.30—5.

#### Public protest Meeting.

In regard to the decision to hold a public meeting of protest against the Peace Treaty, a request for reconsideration, with the necessary number of signatures, was presented. The question was reopened.

After somewhat prolonged discussion of the *pros* and *cons* it was

Voted not to adopt the motion to hold a meeting. The German and Austrian delegates did not vote.

#### Equal rights of Jews.

A Resolution on the Jewish question was read. Its discussion was deferred to the Saturday morning session.

#### Constitution.

*Kathleen Courtney* presented the report of the Committee on a Constitution.

#### CONSTITUTION

##### 1. NAME

Women's International League for Permanent Peace.

Agreed to adopt this article.

##### 2. OBJECT

To organize support for the Resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and at Zürich in 1919, and to support all progressive political and humanitarian measures that may arise from time to time and which have definite reference to true internationalism.

*H. M. Swanwick* moved, seconded by *G. A. Leaf*, to amend this article by striking out the words beginning « all progressive

political and humanitarian measures » and to read instead « movements to further peace, internationalism and the freedom of women ».

Agreed to adopt this amendment.

#### 3. MEMBERSHIP

Every Nation may be represented in the League by one National Section. Any minority in a country which claims separate nationality may also form a National Section. Should difficulties arise, they must be submitted for decision to the next International Congress.

Every National Section must support the object of the League.

*G. A. Leaf* proposed to amend by adding the words «status of » before « separate ».

Voted to adopt the amendment.

*Kathleen Courtney* pointed out that the proposed paragraph contemplated the right to be represented in a separate organization, of small nations who, by exercising the right of self-determination, have won or are trying to win their standing as a nationality.

*Catherine Marshall* added that it did not imply the right of little national groups of people, as for instance English, Germans or French living in other countries than their own, to be represented as a separate body.

*Louie Bennett* moved the adoption of the following amended form of Article 3.

Every nation, free or subject, and every self-governing dominion, may be represented in the League by one National Section. Any minority in a country, which claims the status of a separate nationality, may also form a National Section.

Should difficulties arise as to the interpretation of this clause, they shall be submitted for decision to the next International Congress. Every National Section must support the objects of the League.



*Dr. Hoesch-Ernst* moved the inclusion of international groups.

Voted not to accept this proposal.

Voted to accept this article as amended by *Louie Bennett*.

On motion of *Catherine Marshall*, supported by *Dr. Anita Augspurg*, Article 1 was reconsidered, and an amendment presented as follows :

#### 1. NAME

The name shall be :

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

*Catherine Marshall* urged the adoption of the new name as being more inclusive, and looking more toward the future than that first proposed.

A *Delegate* proposed instead :

Women's International League for Progress and Freedom.

*Marguerite Gobat* said that in 1867 there had been a congress of a *League for Peace and Freedom* at Geneva. *Garibaldi* was one of its sponsors, and *Victor Hugo* had presided.

Another *Delegate* wished to retain the old name ; to attain permanent peace would be the greatest progress.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* preferred the new name, it had a much better sound.

A *Delegate* : Only in freedom is permanent peace possible.

*Emma Boss-Jegher* : Women cannot work for peace unless they are freed.

*Blanche Reverchon* preferred the new name ; peace and freedom made our programme.

Voted to adopt the new name.

*Kathleen Courtney* then moved articles 4 and 5 as follows.

#### 4. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.

At each International Congress a working committee of five persons and the President shall be elected, and this committee shall meet at least once a year.

#### 5. METHOD OF ELECTION.

Either,

Each National Section shall nominate one member of its own Section, and the Congress shall then elect from the persons thus nominated the five members of the working committee,

or,

Each National Section shall nominate one member of its own Section, the persons thus nominated shall form an elective committee and shall choose the members of the working committees and submit the names to the Congress for vote. Other candidates may be nominated from the floor.

The President shall be elected by the Congress and shall have a casting vote on the working Committee.

After considerable discussion of the method of procedure, the questions involved in the proposed article 5 came to debate.

*Annot Robinson* moved an amendment increasing the number of the working committee to fifteen.

*Frida Perlen* thought fifteen too large a number to be effective.

*Chrystal Macmillan* suggested that in addition to the executive committee there might be an enlarged committee with members from the different countries, so that the Congress should represent all, and all should feel responsible for it.

*Yella Hertzka* thought a committee of fifteen too large to be workable.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* pointed out that there were two kinds of work, the continuous international work carried on between congresses, and the work of preparing a congress. She proposed an executive committee of not more than five, including the President for the former, and a larger committee, including two members from each country, ready three months before the congress, for the latter. In this way it would be possible to



have a ready-prepared programme. Much could be done by correspondence. Then it would not be necessary to come a fortnight beforehand, and have new members, not acquainted with what had already been done, continually dropping in and making the work more difficult. She therefore proposed an executive committee consisting of five persons including the President, and a special committee to prepare the next congress, including two persons appointed from each country, to collaborate and, if possible, to be personally present together.

*Ellen Wilkinson* thought five too few, some might be ill or otherwise unable to work.

*Rose Morgan French* thought it would directly represent too few countries.

Voted not to adopt Annot Robinson's amendment of a membership of fifteen.

A *Delegate* moved an amendment making the Executive Committee consist of nine including the President.

Voted to adopt this amendment.

*Catherine Marshall* moved to amend Article 5 by making the number of nominations to be made by each National Section three instead of one. In this way persons of different types and gifts could be made available.

*Catherine Fuller* seconded this amendment, and urged that the whole national delegation should in each case elect its three nominees; this seemed to her the democratic way to proceed.

Voted to adopt the amendment of Catherine Marshall.

A *Delegate* moved to amend Article 5 by striking out the words « of its own section », making it possible for a national delegation to make nominations outside its own ranks.

Voted to adopt this amendment.

Moved to adopt the first alternative method of voting proposed under Article 5.

Moved an amendment to add a provision for additional nominations from the floor.

*H. M. Swanwick* was opposed to this, as she thought that the members of the Congress did not all know one another so well as members of national delegations know one another, and she feared that superficial decisions might be made.

Voted not to adopt the amendment.

Moved to read « may nominate » for « shall nominate ».

Voted to adopt this amendment.

Voted to adopt Articles 4 and 5 as amended.

Adjourned 5 p. m.



## Saturday Morning Session, May 17: 9.30—12.30.

### Greetings.

An address from *Anna Lindhagen*, on behalf of the Humanist League, Sweden, was read.

*Lydia Schishmanow* gave greetings from the Bulgarian students.

Greetings were also read from Canada, Poland, Dutch Committee (Klatte), Paolina Zirotti of Milan, and the Esperanto Society of Melbourne.

### Peace Badge.

*Frida Perlen* moved

That the Peace Badge of the Scandinavian Committee, with the work PAX surrounded by an olive wreath, be adopted by the Congress.

On the proposal of *Margaret Ashton*, the matter was referred to the Executive Committee.

### Constitution (continued).

#### 5. METHOD OF ELECTION (continued).

Agreed that each National Delegation should have the right to submit a nomination for President.

#### 6. CONSULTING COMMITTEE.

Each National Section shall appoint two persons to act as a consulting committee. These persons shall have the right to attend meetings of the working committee, but not to vote, and shall be kept informed of all business transacted by the working committee.

After discussion, the following addition was proposed :

This Committee shall meet at least once a year ; it shall summon an International Congress once in two years ; and may summon one at any other time if, in its judgment, the circumstances should require it.

Agreed to adopt Article 6 as amended.

#### 7. BUREAU.

The Bureau of the League shall be established by the working committee in the place where the League of Nations has its headquarters, and one or more members of the working committee must always be in residence in order to conduct the business. The duties of the members of the working committee shall be to appoint chairmen of special committees on Publicity and Propaganda Organisation, Finance, Education and Health.

*Kathleen Courtney* proposed that it be left to the working committee to name what committees it thought best.

*Ellen Wilkinson* proposed the creation of a bureau of information.

Voted, to leave the creation of committees to the working committee.

Voted, to adopt Article 7 amended by the addition of the following clause.

The members of the International Congress shall be the Executive Committee, the Consulting Committee, and not more than 20 delegates and 10 alternates from each National Section.<sup>1</sup>

#### 8. INTERIM PROPOSALS.

The National Sections are entitled at any time to make proposals for work or for additions to the programme. If these proposals are made in the name of at least four

<sup>1</sup> In the Constitution, as finally edited, this clause became the seventh article and those here numbered 7, 8 and 9 became the eighth, ninth and tenth.



National Sections, it shall be the duty of the working committee to adopt them.

*H. M. Swanwick* moved to strike out the last sentence.

*Dr. Jacobs* suggested that proposals should require the consent of one-third of the National Sections, and, having obtained such consent, should become mandatory, but that this should not apply in cases of emergency.

*Lida Gustava Heymann* opposed *Dr. Jacobs'* proposal. The important thing was to get work done, to choose people we trust, and then give them liberty.

*Louie Bennett* proposed that when there was time the Sections should be consulted, but that in case of emergency the Executive Committee should decide.

*Chrystal Macmillan* thought it was unnecessary to discuss the question, because in any case the Committee would be sure to consult the Sections in important matters.

*Dr. Augspurg* pointed out that the procedure proposed by *Dr. Jacobs* would mean that in the two years between Congresses there would only be time to consult all the Sections, including Australia, some four times. It was important not to make an organisation too unwieldy. Today work needed to be quick and impulsive, carried forward by a zest for action. The working committee was, in her opinion, already too large and too unwieldy. The difficulty ought not to be further increased.

*Andrée Jouve* said it must not be assumed that the future would be normal. She believed, on the contrary, that very abnormal times were ahead of us. We ought to make arrangements such that work could go on even under such conditions.

*Blanche Reverchon* agreed that we ought by all means to avoid cumbersome machinery.

*Chrystal Macmillan* suggested that the Executive Committee might afterwards secure the approval of the Sections if necessary.

*The President* said it was difficult to consider articles 7 and 8 separately. Article 7 provided that the Bureau should carry on the business from one Congress to the next.

*Chrystal Macmillan* suggested that it be left to the Committee that was to be elected, to provide the means of connection between the officers and the Sections.

Agreed to leave to the Committee the decision as to interim proposals.

#### 9. FINANCE.

Every National Section shall pay a yearly sum to the Bureau, and is besides expected to raise money for international work.

*Kathleen Courtney* proposed, in order to save time, not to discuss the amount of the yearly dues, but to leave the Committee to fix them<sup>1</sup>.

*Frida Perlen* seconded.

Voted to adopt Article 9, as proposed by *Kathleen Courtney*.

Voted, on motion of *Kathleen Courtney*, to adopt the Constitution as a whole. (See **Constitution** ), with the understanding that the Committee would have the right to make such minor changes, not involving any change of principle, as might seem necessary, and that such right of revision should extend to all Resolutions passed in the Congress (C. XIV).

#### Thanks to the Dutch Bureau.

Voted by acclamation, on motion of *the President*, that before moving the Bureau from the Netherlands, the thanks of the League be offered to *Dr. Aletta Jacobs* and *Rosa Manus* for having carried the heavy burden of the work from the beginning of the organisation till now.

*Emily Balch* said that anyone who had not been in Amsterdam could have no idea of the difficulties under which our Bureau had laboured during the war.

*Dr. Jacobs* said the work had been a joy as well as a burden, especially the being in relation with other countries. She hoped

<sup>1</sup> By vote of the Executive Committee, after the close of the Congress, yearly dues for National Sections were fixed at fifty Swiss francs.



the new Bureau would remain in touch and in cooperation with the Netherlands.

*Rose Morgan French* proposed that the name of Emily Hobhouse should also be mentioned, and the work she had done in Amsterdam for the League be recognised.

Agreed.

#### Future Work of the League.

*Kathleen Courtney* reported for the Committee on this subject that, in their opinion the League should devote itself to carrying out the Resolutions passed at the Hague in 1915, and at Zurich, 1919, and in particular to working for the establishment of a true League of Nations. It is also proposed that for the furtherance of the idea of peace two delegates from the W. I. L. P. F. 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.

*Catherine Fuller* asked if this meant that other work was excluded.

*Kathleen Courtney* said that of course all sorts of other work could be undertaken.

Voted, to adopt the Programme for Future Work. (C. XVII.)

#### Arrival of Jeanne Mélin.

The unexpected arrival of Jeanne Mélin was greeted with an ovation.

*Lida Gustava Heymann* came forward and gave her a great bunch of roses which she happened to have, and spoke as follows :

A German woman gives her hand to a French woman, and says in the name of the German Delegation, that we hope that we women can build a bridge from Germany to France and from France to Germany, and that in the future we may be able to make good the wrongdoing of the men. We women of the world who all feel alike, who want to protect and not to destroy, we shall always understand one another.

*Jeanne Mélin* replied :

Au lendemain de la catastrophe qui vient de mettre aux prises une grande partie du monde, je regarde avec crainte et non sans angoisse, les hommes d'Etat préparer de nouvelles guerres, en faisant une paix qui néglige et rejette avec dédain les 14 propositions du Président Wilson, base de justice sur laquelle les peuples comptaient, abusant ainsi une fois de plus de leur confiance ! Aussi, les femmes qui assistent à ce congrès n'en seront pas dupes, elles ne manqueront pas de protester hautement contre ce traité, dit de Paris.

Si l'on envisage l'œuvre immense de relèvement des ruines de la guerre, on se demandera comment il est possible de s'y consacrer efficacement ? Comment pourra-t-on refaire une nouvelle vie aux nations épuisées et meurtries, victorieuses ou vaincues ?

Comment établir ce monde nouveau dont on a tant parlé pendant le carnage — excuse à sa prolongation indéfinie — sinon par la collaboration incessante de l'homme et de la femme ? Car notre féminisme n'est pas la lutte contre l'homme, il veut le bonheur de l'humanité, il veut la place pour chaque être humain de n'importe quel sexe, travaillant à l'amélioration du sort de tous, dans la mesure de ses forces, de son intelligence, de ses facultés.

Mais impossible de remplacer les richesses humaines sacrifiées inutilement. Les mères se tairont-elles ? Laisseront-elles se renouveler l'hécatombe de leurs enfants ?

Il faut que toutes les femmes comprennent et se lèvent contre le crime, qu'au-dessus des frontières, désormais, se fasse plus puissante que jamais l'action des femmes pour la Paix des Peuples.

Cette action, s'ajoutant à toutes les forces internationales, « les forces de demain », soit intellectuelles, politiques, ouvrières et économiques, assurera enfin l'équilibre et la stabilité nécessaire au développement du progrès social.

Je me sens rassurée quand je considère le succès de cette assemblée de femmes, venues si nombreuses de tous les points du globe, pour étudier les questions essentielles à l'ordre du



jour, résolues à combattre par tous les moyens les ferments de haine dans les pays ennemis d'hier, qui sont appelés fatalement à vivre de nouveau les uns avec et par les autres, s'ils veulent ne pas mourir complètement.

Les femmes sauront imposer leurs conceptions du droit à la vie, en dénonçant le militarisme destructeur, soutien de toutes les oppressions.

Le militarisme, qu'on pourrait croire abattu du fait de la guerre, a repris de nouvelles racines par de scandaleux profits ; elles sont factices peut-être, mais il importe de veiller. La tâche sera lourde pour amener le désarmement général, mais les femmes ne se décourageront pas ; elles sauront rappeler les promesses, car les faits sont là. Les résultats de la guerre ne tarderont pas à se montrer aux peuples désabusés.

Partout où les femmes possèdent leurs droits, leur influence pèsera sur les décisions des gouvernements, elles s'uniront aux mouvements populaires avec l'autorité que leur confère leur titre de citoyenne. Partout elles proclameront sans relâche leur ferme volonté de Paix dans la Liberté, par la Fraternité Internationale.

#### **Pledge to Work for Peace.**

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

#### **International Resistance of Women to War.**

The whole assembly rose and pledged themselves.

*Yella Hertzka* moved, seconded by *Madeleine Doty*, the following Resolution :

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

She said :

Mlle Jeanne Mélin hat schon die Einleitung zu dem gegeben, was ich Ihnen zu sagen habe. Unsere zukünftige Arbeit liegt

ganz klar vor uns, sie liegt eigentlich in uns. Wir haben alle das Gefühl, dass wir uns hier eigentlich in einem Himmelreich befinden in diesem Saal, in einer Oase in der Wüste, und wir werden erwachen, wenn wir in unsere Länder kommen, wenn wir nicht mehr mit den Freunden aller Länder zusammen sind. Dann werden wir erst empfinden, dass es nicht wahr ist, dass es noch nicht Wirklichkeit ist, was wir alles hier durchdacht haben, und dass wir erst unsere ganze Persönlichkeit einsetzen müssen, um ganz kleine Steine immer und immer wieder aufzubauen für diesen zukünftigen Staat, den wir uns heute nur träumen. Sie wissen alle, wir haben in unseren Ländern drei Kategorien von Menschen ; solche, die für den Krieg sind, solche, die gegen den Krieg sind und solche, die gleichgültig sind gegen beides. Und diese Letzten sind vielleicht diejenigen, gegen die wir den grössten Kampf werden aufzunehmen haben. Was wir hier während der ganzen Tagung beschlossen haben, die Zukunft aufzubauen, schrittweise, auf dem Wege der Erziehung der gesamten Menschheit, das ist eine Sache, die uns allen klar ist und selbstverständlich ist es ein Weg, den wir alle gehen müssen. Es ist ein Weg, den wir alle gehen können, der ein sicherer Weg ist. Aber wir können nicht sagen, dass es ein rascher Weg ist. Wir haben vielleicht noch andere Wege für diejenigen Menschen, bei denen Kenntnisse noch in geringem Masse vorhanden sind, bei denen überhaupt das Gefühl mehr entwickelt ist als der Verstand. Wir haben den Weg, diese Menschen, insbesondere da es die Frauen sind, gefühlsmässig festzuhalten. Ich spreche jetzt über das, was wir tatsächlich tun müssen, wenn wir hinausgehen. Wir wissen sehr gut, dass diese Gesellschaft hier nicht auf einer breiten Basis fusst, dass wir nicht das Volk hinter uns haben. Wir wissen aber ebensogut, dass wir Volksbewegungen ohne Volk nicht erzeugen können und für uns liegt jetzt die Frage so : *Wie gewinnen wir das Volk für diese Bewegung?* Und da sage ich Ihnen, das Volk können Sie nur für die Bewegung gewinnen, wenn Sie die grosse Idee mit grosser Macht und grossem Gefühl hineintragen in das Volk ; dass man, wenn man etwas durchsetzen will, nicht scheuen darf, dafür Opfer zu bringen und auch dafür Opfer zu verlangen. Und



ein solches Opfer ist die Resolution, die ich angeregt habe, ein solches Opfer ist es, wenn wir verlangen von den Frauen der gesamten Welt, dass sie sich organisieren zu einem Generalstreik der Frauen gegen den Krieg. Sie werden mir antworten, das sei eine Sache, die sich nicht durchführen lässt. Darauf kann ich nur sagen, ich frage auch nicht, wenn ich einen Baum pflanze, ob ich in dem Schatten des Baumes sitzen werde. Mein Sohn und meine Enkel, die werden im Schatten dieses Baumes sitzen. Und so sage ich Ihnen hier, es gibt für die Zukunft gar kein anderes Mittel, als diese Resistenz aller Frauen gegen den Krieg, indem sie ihre Arbeit niederlegen, indem sie ihr Geld verweigern der Unterstützung des Krieges, und indem sie derart dartun, dass sie gesonnen sind, ob sie nun dafür gehängt werden oder nicht, sich selbst aufzuopfern für die Sache, dass sie ihr Leben dahingeben für die Sache, die ihnen als eine Menschheitssache erscheint, als das einzige Mittel, durch wahre Selbstaufopferung und durch Liebe, die immer der Frauen höchste Macht gewesen ist, den Menschheitsgedanken durch die ganze Welt zu tragen.

*Anna Klemann*: In the beginning of the war, Selma Lagerlöf once said, « The political mission that is waiting for women upon their entrance into political life is to make the idea of the holiness of life accepted. »

We have perhaps believed before this war that this idea was as a rule acknowledged by civilised peoples as well as by civilised individuals. But now everybody must be aware of the fact that this idea has been a mere theory, not a leading principle in practical politics. It is not only the men who have sinned against this idea of the holiness of life by making war and by fighting. Women have done so, too, by preparing the arms which men have used to destroy life, by helping the men in many ways to carry on warfare. If we really grasp the full meaning of the mission which Selma Lagerlöf has pointed out for women, if we want to carry out this mission, then we must absolutely refuse to take part in work for war. Our position must be the position of « conscientious objectors » concerning all work aiming to destroy life. I urgently ask the Congress to accept Frau Hertzka's motion.

*Frida Perlen* :

Ich bitte Sie dringend, dem Antrag von Frau Hertzka zuzustimmen.

Ich möchte Ihnen aber auch noch sagen, was ich all die Jahre zu Hause, öffentlich und in kleinen Versammlungen hundert und hundertmal gesagt habe. Dass es möglich war, dass dieser Krieg zum Ausbruch kam, und dass er so lange dauerte, das habe ich immer als die grösste Schuld der Frauen, inklusive mich selber, angesehen. Und zwar der Frauen, weil sie nicht gehandelt haben. Ich habe immer gesagt, wenn wir Frauen in allen Ländern und in allen Städten zu Hunderttausenden und Hunderttausenden auf die Strasse gegangen wären am vierten August 1914 und gesagt hätten, wir lassen unsere Kinder nicht hinausziehen, glauben Sie, die Männer der Regierung, sei es in Deutschland oder anderswo, hätten gewagt, mit Maschinengewehren gegen hunderttausende von Frauen vorzugehen? Ich sage, selbst im alten Deutschland, im militaristischen Deutschland, hätte man nicht hunderttausende und hunderttausende von Frauen und Müttern niedergeknallt, man hätte es nicht gewagt. Und darum sage ich, wir haben eine grosse Schuld auf uns geladen. Es ist für mich selbstverständlich, dass ich nimmer anders handeln könnte, noch ganz anders vorzugehen, und nicht nur papierne Aufrufe hinauszuschleudern, wie ich es am vierten und fünften August getan habe und naiverweise am ersten August 1914 an Kaiser Wilhelm telegraphiert habe. Ja, zwei Frauen waren es von Deutschland, die ihm telegraphierten und ihm sagten, er solle im Namen von Christus daran denken, dass er alles daran setzen solle, dass der Krieg nicht zum Ausbruch komme. Wir glaubten, es nützte etwas. Aber das lag ja gar nicht in der Macht von Einzelnen, darüber brauche ich jetzt nicht zu sprechen, weil die Ursachen viel tiefere sind.

Wenn wir von « Heldentod » reden, dann ist es der, wenn die Frauen lieber, ehe sie erlauben dass noch einmal ihre Kinder und Männer in den Krieg ziehen, selbst den Tod erleiden.

Deshalb empfehle ich den Antrag dringend zur Annahme.



*Catherine Marshall* supported the motion most warmly. She spoke of an organisation already existing in England, the *No Conscription Fellowship*, originally founded to oppose conscription. It has both men and women as members, and its rules provide that women members refuse all sorts of military service, industrial or other. It was no time to found such an organisation when war had already broken out. The occasion must be used when the country is not at war, to create such a strong organisation that women will actually be in a position to oppose the war by a strike.

*H. M. Swanwick* raised the question whether women should strike against a war declared by the League of Nations, to preserve order.

*Numerous Delegates*: Yes, yes, certainly.

*Martha Larsen* moved the following amendment:

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

*Andrée Jouve* thought that if this amendment meant that women in each country should begin to strike only if women did the same in all countries, nothing would happen; every country would wait for the others. She thought each country ought to begin with the strike at once if the occasion arose.

*Yella Hertzka* proposed a somewhat different wording, as follows:

Die nationalen Organisationen haben die Aufgabe dahin zu wirken, dass die Frauen aller Länder für den Fall des Beschlusses oder Ausbruches eines Krieges sich verpflichten, ihn weder durch Geld, Propaganda, noch Arbeit zu stützen und in einen internationalen Streik einzutreten.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* said that there should be previous organisation, the women pledging themselves, in case of outbreak of war, not to aid it in any way.

But what she wanted to say was this. We had already, on *Miss Balch's* proposal, taken a solemn pledge to work against any future war. *Frau Perlen* reminded us of women's share in the responsibility for not having prevented the outbreak of this war, but there was another international organisation, a much more powerful one, which also had a heavy responsibility, through its complete failure to prevent it, that is, international Social Democracy. In August a great International Socialist Congress was to be held in Lucerne. She proposed that the Zurich Congress should make it the duty of the new Committee to send a delegate to the Lucerne Congress, asking them also to unite in a fraternal pledge such as we have taken here, never again to permit the international to be broken by the outbreak of a war, but, whenever a breach of the peace was attempted, to act as the women had promised to do, and promise on their part that they would never again fail to fulfil their task as an international pacifist body. She believed that if two such powerful bodies so pledged themselves, then really the door would be shut on the outbreak of future wars.

*The President* said that no proposals could be considered till that before the Congress was disposed of.

A *Delegate* raised the question whether, in case a League of Nations was established, and the League created an International Police, this might be the cause of an international strike.

Another *Delegate* raised the question whether a Hunger Blockade should be considered as war.

*Lida Gustava Heymann* made a point of order that no more questions should be put. It was impossible to answer questions relating to things that might happen a hundred years hence.

*Yella Hertzka* accepted *Martha Larsen's* amendment.  
Voted, to accept the Resolution, as amended. (B. X. 37.)

#### Delegation to Socialist Congress at Lucerne.

*Dr. Anita Augspurg* presented the following Resolution:  
Der internationale Frauenkongress richtet an den internationalen Sozialistenkongress im August 1919 in Luzern



die Aufforderung — wenn möglich durch persönliche Vertretung — dasselbe ernste Gelöbniß abzulegen, wie dieser Internationale Frauenkongress es getan hat: dass die internationale Sozialdemokratie niemals wieder den Ausbruch eines Krieges dulden will, sondern bei jeder Gefahr einer Störung des Weltfriedens in jedem Lande einmütig ihre Unterstützung des Krieges versagt durch Streik, Dienstverweigerung, Kreditverweigerung und andere verfügbare Mittel.

It was proposed that a delegation, including a German and a French delegate, should be elected to go to Lucerne.

**Voted** to accept Dr. Augspurg's proposal of a delegation to the Socialist Congress at Lucerne, and to present there the Resolution already adopted as proposed by Martha Larsen, in regard to an international agreement to refuse all support of war. (C. XV.)

#### **Telegram from President Wilson.**

The following telegram from President Wilson, in answer to the Congress telegram, as to the blockade, was then read:

Your message appeals both to my head and to my heart, and I hope most sincerely that ways may be found, though the present outlook is extremely unpromising, because of infinite practical difficulties.

Woodrow Wilson.

*Charlotte Despard* called attention to the Weimar appeal to protest against the blockade.

#### **International Appointment of Women.**

*Charlotte Despard* presented the following Resolution:

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, and especially urge upon the members from the United States that they work for the selection of Miss Jane

Addams as one of the American members of the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations.

*The President* expressed her opinion that the selection of herself was out of the question.

**Voted** to adopt this Resolution. (C. XIX.)

#### **Presentation of Resolutions to Peace Conference.**

**Voted** that Jane Addams and four other members appointed by the Congress, together with Gabrielle Duchêne, shall go as a delegation to present to the International Peace Conference now sitting in Versailles,

1. The following Resolutions:

- a) Blockade and Famine
- b) League of Nations
- c) Women's Charter for the Treaty
- d) Plebiscite
- e) Amnesty

and to the Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers in Paris,

2. The Treaty of Peace Resolution. (C. XI.)

#### **An Expression of Thanks to the Pope.**

**Agreed** to postpone consideration of a proposal to forward to the Vatican an expression of gratitude to the Pope for his efforts on behalf of peace.

#### **Nominations.**

Nominations were asked for, under the following heads:

1. For the office of President.
2. For members of the Executive, each Section to nominate three.
3. For the Paris Delegation.

**Notice** was given of the following meetings:

Fellowship of Reconciliation. Meeting of members to follow the afternoon session.

Questions of Venereal Disease. Meeting on Sunday morning, for discussion.

Conscientious Objectors. Meeting to be held Sunday afternoon.

**Adjourned 12.30.**



**Saturday Afternoon Session, May 17: 2.30—5.30.**

**Finance Committee.**

Agreed to appoint R. Wulfften-Palthe to take charge of all money for the present.

**Labour Commission : Labour Legislation.**

*Martha Larsen* expressed regret that in the International Labour Commission as now proposed in Paris there is no provision for women members with power of vote, but for women only as advisers. She therefore proposed, on behalf of the Norwegian Section, the following Resolution :

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN LABOUR  
COMMISSION.

The Congress urges the Executive Committee to take immediate steps to send in proposals to the Peace Conference, demanding a sufficient representation of women in the labour organisation which is to be incorporated with the League of Nations.

Voted to adopt this proposal. (A. II. 6.)

*Martha Larsen* also presented the following :

MEMORANDUM OFFERED BY THE NORWEGIAN SECTION CONCERNING THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION IN THE DRAFT CONVENTION PLACED BEFORE THE PEACE CONFERENCE, PARIS.

In the event of international labour legislation with regard to women being discussed at the Women's International Congress at Zurich, the Norwegian Section beg to make the following remarks concerning this question as it has been treated by the above Commission.

1. The Norwegian Section is in general agreement with

a) The Preamble of the Convention drafted by the above Commission, which reads :

« Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice ; and whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people, as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled ; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required ; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures ; whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries » ;

But we would propose the following amendment. After the words « the provision of an adequate living wage », read :

« the protection of the workers, men and women, against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of their employment, special protection of women before and after childbirth, as well as of children and young persons, provision for old age and injury, »  
etc.



- b) The Clauses proposed in the Treaty of Peace. The Norwegian Section urges that item 7 and item 9, having special interest for women, must not be left out of the Treaty of Peace.

Clause 7 runs: The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Clause 9 runs: Each state should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

## 2. Women's Representation at the General Labour Conference.

With regard to this point, Article 389 of the Section headed « Organisation of Labour » declares:

The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the Members shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four Representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be Government Delegates, and the two others shall be Delegates representing respectively the employers and the work people of each of the Members. Each Delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The Norwegian Section claims that women must be represented as Delegates with voting power. In accordance with this, we beg to put forward the following proposition for the consideration of the Women's International Congress:

The Conference shall be composed of six Representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be governmental Delegates (women not to be debarred), two Representatives of the employers, and two Representatives of the workers, one of whom shall be a woman.

## 3. Agenda for the first meeting of the General Labour Conference, Washington, October 1919.

In the Agenda for the first meeting of the General Labour Conference, Washington, October 1919, items 3<sup>1</sup> and 5<sup>2</sup> concern the special working conditions of women. Even after the proposal we put forward above concerning the composition of the Conference, the latter will have such a weak representation of women that we do not consider it justified in making decisions regarding the special working conditions of women, without guarantees that these decisions give expression to the views held by the women whom these questions affect.

The Norwegian Section claims that in every case where the question of women's conditions of labour is taken up for consideration there shall be obtained beforehand, in each individual country, for the guidance of the General Labour Conference, satisfactory expressions of opinion on the matter from those women whose conditions of work would be affected by the question concerned.

These are the principal objections which the Norwegian Section has against the proposals made by the Commission on International Labour Legislation, in the draft Convention placed before the Peace Conference at Paris.

We hope that the Women's International Congress, Zurich, will have the same views, and that it will address itself to the Peace Conference regarding this cause.

<sup>1</sup> Item 3 runs: Women's employment:

- a) Before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit.
- b) During the night.
- c) In unhealthy processes.

<sup>2</sup> Item 5 runs: Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Bern 1906, on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.



If no one has moved that such an address should be sent from the Women's Congress, the Norwegian Section hereby moves that this be done.

For the Norwegian Section,  
Emily Arnesen (Chairman).  
Martha Larsen (Secretary).

#### Election of Delegation to be sent to Paris.

The following Delegation was elected: The President of the Congress (Jane Addams), Charlotte Despard, Gabrielle Duchêne, Rosa Genoni, Chrystal Macmillan, Clara Ragaz.

#### Report of Political Committee D.

*Chrystal Macmillan* presented the following report.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

#### RESOLUTION FOR THE PEACE CONFERENCE

This Congress holds that the peaceful progress of the world can only be assured when the common interests of humanity are recognised in the establishment of a League of Nations, which shall represent the will of the people, 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 as one of the 14 points the idea was incorporated in the armistice terms of November 11, 1918, agreed to both by the 28 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 14 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.

#### *I. Essential Conditions omitted from the Covenant.*

The Congress declares that, to be a real instrument of peace, capable of development, instead of setting up conditions

which tend 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 to any state desiring to join and willing to perform the duties of membership.
- b) Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all member states.
- c) Abolition of conscription in all states joining the League.
- d) Adherence to the principle of self-determination in territorial adjustments and matters of nationality, whether sanctioned by this treaty, by later treaties, or by secret treaties.
- e) Right of appeal for self-determination to the League by nationalities and dependencies within any Government.
- f) Free access to raw materials for all nations on equal terms.
- g) Abrogation of regional understandings, like the « Monroe Doctrine » and « other international engagements », in so far as inconsistent with the Covenant of the League.
- h) Provision for easier amendment of the Constitution.

#### *II. Endorsement of Certain Principles now in the Covenant.*

When the above essential conditions have been included, the Congress will be able to endorse heartily the following principles embodied in the Covenant:

- a) Establishment of the rudiments 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 continued, may endanger the peace of the world.
- d) Recognition of the necessity for the reduction of armaments.



- e) Abrogation of obligations inconsistent with the Covenant.
- f) Promotion of « Freedom of transit » and of equal trading opportunities for all members of the League.

### III. Additional Principles to strengthen the League.

The Congress urges the adoption of the following principles not now found in the Covenant ; and emphasizes its belief that the League would be greatly strengthened as an instrument of peace by the incorporation of these principles :

- a) Total disarmament (land, sea, air).
- b) Registration and review of all existing treaties and international engagements within a specified time, and the abrogation of such as are not thus registered.
- c) Ratification of treaties only by an elected legislative body.
- d) Executive power of the League to be democratically elected.
- e) Universal free trade.
- f) Adoption of a plan of world economy for the production and distribution of the necessities of life at the smallest cost.
- g) Abolition of the protection of the investments of the capitalists of one country in the resources of another.
- h) Representation and protection of minorities within each nation, including language, religion and education, to be guaranteed by the League.
- i) Complete freedom of communication and travel.
- j) Abolition of child labour.
- k) Establishment of full equal suffrage and the full equality of women with men, politically, socially, and economically.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### PROGRAMME FOR THE W. I. L. P. F.

This Congress deplors that all nations were not given the opportunity to take part in the discussions preliminary to the

adopting of a Covenant of a League of Nations, and resolves to work for a League of Nations with a constitution easy of amendment and on the following basis :

#### I. Membership.

Membership of the League should be open to all states which express their desire to become members.

#### II. Organisation.

- a) Executive 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 recognised, and rights not only of the great powers, and small nations, but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples, could be gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion.
- b) Courts of Justice and Arbitration. A permanent international Court of Justice should be established to settle questions of 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, extending 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 shall 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.



### III. Political.

- a) Self-determination. The right of self-determination and of self-government for all nations.
- b) Rights of Minorities. Representation and the protection of the rights of minorities within each nation with regard to such questions as language, religion and education.
- c) Right to Appeal. Nationalities and dependencies within any Government should have the right to appeal to the League for self-determination and representation.
- d) Territorial Adjustment. Provision for adjusting of questions of territory and nationality in accordance with the principle of self-determination.
- e) Abrogation of Treaties. The following treaties should be void :
  - i. Secret treaties.
  - ii. All treaties or international engagements inconsistent with the constitution of the League of Nations.
  - iii. All treaties not registered at the headquarters of the League.
- f) Ratification of Treaties. Ratification of treaties only with the consent of an elected legislative body.
- g) Revision of Treaties. The provision for the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable to international conditions, or the continuance of which might endanger the peace of the world.
- h) Women's Equality. The suffrage, and all legal, political and economic equality for men and women.

### IV. Military.

- a) Abolition of the right to declare war.
- b) Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all states, and the abolition of private manufacture and traffic in munitions of war, as steps towards total international disarmament.
- c) Abolition of military conscription.

### V. Economic.

- a) Free trade should be established, trade routes by land, sea and air should be open to all nations on equal terms.
- b) Concessions in undeveloped countries should be under the control of the League of Nations, and should be withdrawn if abused.
- c) Production and Distribution. Such methods of production, trade and transit should be adopted, as would insure a just distribution to consumers of the best value for the least cost.
- d) Universal coinage, weights and measures. Adoption of a universal system of coinage, weights and measures in all countries.

### VI. Social.

- a) Communication and Travel. There should be complete freedom of travel and communication.
- b) Child Labour. Child labour should be abolished.

*Chrystal Macmillan* moved the adoption of the Report of Political Committee D, commenting on the following important paragraphs :

Part I, paragraph (b). This was an addition to Article 8 of the League of Nations Covenant.

Part I, paragraph (h). This would make it possible to modify the League of Nations, after it had been formed, without great difficulty.

Part III, paragraph (k). This asked for full recognition of the claims of women.

### Additional Principles to Strengthen the League.

A *Delegate* proposed that the wording of Part III Introductory Paragraph be changed, to read as follows :

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.



Agreed to adopt this amendment. (II. 4. Additional Principles.)

#### **Press Censorship.**

*Vida Goldstein* moved that a paragraph be added to the effect that the League of Nations should insert a clause abolishing censorship of the press.

Voted, to adopt this proposition. (II. 4. Additional Principles (m),

#### **Sanctions.**

Proposed by *Dr. E. Williams*, seconded by *Catherine Fuller*, that the following clause be adopted :

The terms of the Covenant shall under no circumstances be enforced by military means, or by cutting off a population from the necessities of life.

Voted to adopt this Resolution. (II. 4. Additional Principles (b).

#### **Mandatory.**

Referring to Article 22 of the Covenant of a League of Nations, it was proposed by Committee A that the following be added :

Mandatory should be required to promote the development and power of self-government in the backward races placed under their guardianship, and should be required to give to the League of Nations a regular account of their stewardship.

*H. M. Swanwick* said that all nationalities should be equally considered, and suggested that the clause be made to apply to all backward races under the tutelage of more advanced nations.

Agreed to adopt this Resolution, with *H. M. Swanwick's* amendment. (II. 4. Additional Principles (j).

#### **Protection of Capitalist Investments.**

It was proposed to insert a clause, that the protection of the investments of capitalists of one country in the resources of another be abolished.

Agreed to adopt this clause. (II. 4. Additional Principles (h).

#### **Public Health.**

It was proposed that the following clause be adopted :

The Congress urges that in the creation of a Central Health Bureau, all peoples should be represented, and women also should be adequately represented. We urge upon our sections everywhere to interest themselves in the creation and work of the Bureau.

After discussion, it was

Voted not to adopt this paragraph.

Further discussion followed on the subject of international organisation of hygiene. Finally, it was

Agreed to include the following clause among the principles which the Congress welcomes in the Covenant of the League of Nations :

Organisation by the League of international resources to combat disease and to improve health. (II. 4. Endorsement (g).

#### **International University.**

The following Resolution was presented :

This Congress recommends the establishment by the League of Nations of an International University, through which modern developments in education and research can be put at the disposal of all nations.

*M. Selenka* said the proposition involved too much to be hastily adopted. The establishment of an International University would be a very serious, if not impossible, task, and we could not expect the League of Nations to undertake it.

Voted, not to adopt this proposition.



#### **Rights of Small Nationalities.**

*Mrs. Swanwick* pointed out that Articles 10 and 19 in the Treaty of Peace should be noticed. According to this, it would be very difficult for the peoples of small territories, who were being unjustly treated, to secure their rights. She would like to see a clause referring to this included in our draft of a League of Nations. There should be a proviso that the number of nations included in the executive body be not less than eleven, otherwise the five great powers could always be sure of a majority.

**Voted**, to embody in our draft of the Essential Conditions of a League of Nations the following clause :

The number of nations to be included in the Executive body to be not less than eleven. (II. 4. Essential Conditions *b.*)

#### **Executive of the League to be democratically elected.**

*Cecilia John* referred to paragraph C and D in Division 3 of the draft, and said the wording was far too wide. What was regarded as democratic in one country would perhaps be considered reactionary in another. She thought that ratification of treaties should be accomplished by plebiscite.

*A Delegate* questioned whether it would be possible to hold a plebiscite justly where there were millions of voters.

**Voted**, to adopt *Cecilia John's* proposal that treaties should be ratified by plebiscite. (V. 10. *f.*)

#### **Adoption of Report of Committee D.**

**Voted**, to adopt the Report of Committee D, League of Nations, as presented and amended, and to refer it back to Committee D for final elaboration. (A. II. 4. and B. V. 8-13.)

#### **Amnesty.**

The following Resolution was presented :

This Congress urges all the belligerent nations immediately to proclaim an amnesty for all imprisoned for conscientious objections to military service.

*Isabella Ford* moved an addition to the effect that all prisoners of war should be repatriated as soon as possible, and proposed that this Resolution be sent at once to Paris.

*Chrystal Macmillan* pointed out that it was not possible at this stage to take up the additional proposals brought in by members of the Congress, and proposed that they be referred back to the Committee to be dealt with. The Executive Committee would have the unfinished matter as a programme of work, with a free hand to establish special committees, as was arranged during the last session.

**Voted**, to adopt the Resolution on Amnesty, as presented. (A. IV.)

#### **Washington Meeting of League of Nations.**

*Emily Balch* pointed out that it was proposed to have a meeting of the Executive of the League of Nations in Washington in October. She suggested that the Executive Committee of the W. I. L. P. F. should be empowered to call, at the same time and place, a meeting, to which the two consultative members for each country should also be convoked, in order to take a position at once on the Resolutions there passed.

**Voted** that, in case the full League of Nations Committee should meet in Washington in October, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom should be ready to hold such a meeting as had been proposed, at the same time and place. (C. XVI.)

#### **Greetings to Rosika Schwimmer.**

**Voted**, on motion of *Emily Balch*, to send the following telegram to Rosika Schwimmer :

Greetings to Rosika Schwimmer from the Women's International Congress at Zurich. We recognise in you one of the most passionate champions of the cause of peace and join you in wishes for the better time that we are all working for.

#### **Conscientious Objectors.**

*Catherine Marshall* moved the following Resolution :

We women assembled at this International Congress wish to record our deep sense of the heroism of those who have



counted no sacrifice too great to serve the cause of peace. We recognise 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 thousands in so many countries have counted it worth the cost to face death and imprisonment and obloquy and the loss of health and fortune and friends, for that end.

She said that in England some 30,000 men had refused military service, some on religious grounds, some on humanitarian or other grounds. Some who would not take direct part in war were willing to do other sorts of service, while others would not even as prisoners do any work because they said it would be taking the place of other men who would then be used for the war. In all, 6000 had been in prison.

*Else Beer-Angerer* supported the motion. She said we should teach our children that it was as heroic to suffer martyrdom for one's convictions as to die for one's country. In Austria soldiers had refused service. At first, as long as they were single cases, they were not harshly treated, but sent into the sanitary corps, which had no direct part in the war. Later, some were executed at the front as a warning to others. Afterwards, as the number grew continually larger, and it was felt to be desirable not to have too many martyrs, they were simply sent to insane asylums as mad. In some cases, as for instance those of known anarchists, of whom it was well understood that they would refuse service, the state preferred to pronounce them unfit for service when examined. The Resolution ought to pass, because we hold that it is at least as heroic to suffer a martyr's death for one's convictions as to succumb to a mass-psychosis such as a great part of women had unfortunately encouraged in their sons at the outbreak of war.

*Blanche Reverchon* said things had been rather different in France. Men had not been imprisoned, but there had been a War Council which had simply had them executed in many

cases. She told of a case of a man who said he would do no military service. He went home, was again called, and again declared he would refuse all service. He had been condemned by the War Council and was simply shot.

*Frida Perlen* : Ich kann die Resolution so, wie sie vorliegt, nicht annehmen und möchte die ganzen ersten Sätze herausnehmen und nur sagen «Wir fühlen tiefes Leid um alle die Männer, die falsch geleitet, für Ideale in den Tod gezogen sind. Wir bewundern usw». Dann geht es vollständig im Wortlaut weiter.

Ich sage das darum weil, wenn wir einesteils alles tun und die Kinder erziehen, dass sie keinen Heeresdienst mehr leisten, wenn wir einen feierlichen Schwur abgelegt haben, dass wir alles, alles daran setzen, dass nie mehr von unserer Seite in irgend einer Weise der Krieg unterstützt werden kann, wir auch die Konsequenzen ziehen und hier vollständig logisch vorgehen müssen. Ich gehe noch weiter und sage Ihnen : Wenn Sie hier aussprechen, Sie bewundern diese Helden, diese armen, verführten Männer und Jünglinge auf allen Seiten, dann müssen Sie viel mehr bewundern — aber ich bewundere sie auch nicht — die Bolchewisten im Innern, die mit den gleichen Waffen für ihre Ideale kämpfen. Ich will Ihnen sagen, von diesen Männern, die im Kriege gewesen sind, haben Hunderttausende nicht einmal gewusst, warum sie ausgezogen sind. Und die Männer, die jetzt hergehen und den gleichen Wahnsinn in den Revolutionsländern machen, in dem sie meinen, sie müssten ihre Ideale mit Handgranaten und Bomben durchsetzen, die kämpfen, wenn wir so wollen, gewiss für ein höheres Ideal, weil sie eine Befreiung der ganzen Menschheit bringen wollen. Aber sie gehen auch vollständig falsche Wege, weil eben diese Befreiung nur durch geistige Waffen erfolgen kann. Und weil ich das erkannt habe, dass diese zweite Befreiung einer höheren Idee dient — wenn Waffen angerührt werden — wenn man überhaupt von höher sprechen kann, und ich diese natürlich auch ablehnen muss, so muss ich die erste auch ablehnen. Ich bitte Sie dringend, meinen Abänderungsvorschlag anzunehmen.



*Henni Lehmann* : Ich möchte mich gegen die Auffassung von Frau Perlen wenden und Sie bitten, diese Stelle stehen zu lassen. Ich glaube, jeder von uns hat die Empfindung, dass, wer sich aufopfert für eine Idee, persönlich ein gewisses Heldentum ausübt. Die Idee ist falsch, das erkennen wir an, und wir wollen das moralische Heldentum gross ziehen, das sich für die rechte Idee opfert, und wir wollen diese rechte Idee des Friedens unseren Kindern beibringen und deshalb ihr Recht auf das Opfer, für den Frieden zu arbeiten, verteidigen in der Zukunft. Ich glaube aber, wenn wir jetzt, nachdem diese Stelle da gestanden hat, sie herausstreichen, es aussehen könnte, als verurteilten wir die jungen Männer als nicht heldenhaft, die aus allen unseren Ländern für eine falsche Idee, aber doch für eine Idee, in den Tod gegangen sind. Und ich möchte das den Müttern und den Schwestern und den Frauen aller Länder ersparen, die vielleicht ein Kind oder einen Bruder verloren haben in diesem unglücklichen Krieg. (*Frida Perlen* : Ich habe meinen Sohn verloren !) Ich weiss es, und ich kann mir denken, dass man anders empfinden kann, aber ich glaube doch, dass man es nicht austreichen soll, dass auch diese jungen Männer Helden gewesen sind, wenn wir auch für die Zukunft nicht mehr wünschen, dass ein solches Heldentum existiere. Es würde gegen mein natürliches Empfinden sein, das Wort vom Heldentum dieser jungen Leute, mag es, für eine falsche Idee sein, zu streichen. Ich möchte Sie bitten, es stehen zu lassen.

*Voted* to adopt the Resolution as proposed, without *Frida Perlen's* amendment which omitted all reference to the heroism of soldiers and merely expressed deep sorrow, for them as misled. (X. 29.)

*Catherine Marshall* proposed that this Resolution and that on Amnesty should be sent to all organisations of conscientious objectors in all countries, and, through National Sections, to the pacifist, socialist and religious press.

*Agreed* that this be done. (C. XII.)

*The President* asked *Catherine Marshall* to attend to the sending of the Resolutions, and she undertook to do so.

#### The Jews.

*Ellen Wilkinson* moved the following Resolution :

This Congress recognises the international character of the Jewish question. It demands that in accord with the right of self-determination, the position of right of the Jews should be regulated in the following manner : perfect equal right of the Jews in all countries ; equal right in the reconstruction of the countries which have suffered through the war ; international protection of the Jews and all national minorities against physical persecutions and economical oppressions ; equal rights for the Jews with regard to liberty of emigration and immigration, based on national principles and equal national rights in provinces and countries wherever the Jews emigrate ; declaration of the right of the Jewish Nation to establish a national home in Palestine under the control of the League of Nations, which also should guarantee the interests of the other population of the country ; representation of the Jews in the League of Nations.

*Leopoldine Kulka* : Die vorliegende Resolution über die Juden sollte von Miss Wilkinson begründet werden. Da sie nicht anwesend ist, werde ich als Unterstützerin einige Worte dazu sagen. Ich habe das eigentlich nicht beabsichtigt, denn ich glaube, dass diese Frage in unserer Versammlung etwas so Selbstverständliches ist, dass man darüber kein Wort zu verlieren braucht. Wir, die wir alle die Ansicht haben, dass jede Nation, jede Rasse, jeder Mensch gleichberechtigt sein soll, wir werden uns doch keinen Moment darüber zu streiten brauchen, ob es gerecht ist, diesen Juden, diesem Kulturvolk, Gleichberechtigung zu verweigern, oder in welchem Lande es immer sich niedergelassen haben, den grässlichsten Verfolgungen auszusetzen. Wenn ich ein Wort dazu spreche, so ist es, weil ich gerade heute in den Zeitungen gelesen habe, dass man sich in Berlin in der letzten Zeit nicht gescheut hat, das alte Märchen zu verbreiten, dass christliche Kinder von den Juden geschlachtet und zu « Ziegenwürsten » verarbeitet würden. Es ist leicht möglich, dass in Berlin deswegen Pogrome aus-



brechen. Ist es nicht ein schauderhafter Gedanke, dass mitten in Europa noch so etwas möglich ist? Ich bitte Sie darum, in die vorliegende Resolution, die Sie alle zur Hand haben, vielleicht noch den Satz einzusetzen « Der Kongress erhebt Protest gegen die andauernde Kulturschande der Judenhetzer, gegen die Massakres von Juden und Armeniern ».

*Chrystal Macmillan* proposed as an amendment the substitution of the following Resolution :

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

*Henni Lehmann* said : Ich möchte Sie bitten, den Satz von Frau Kulka beizubehalten. Ich habe mit Freude gehört, dass man diese Hetzen als Kulturhetzen bezeichnet hat. Ich bitte Sie, den Ausdruck nicht fallen zu lassen. Es ist charakteristisch für das Demoralisierende des Krieges, dass unter allen Gemeinheiten, die jetzt auftauchen, auch diese in der scheusslichsten und niedrigsten Form kommt. Deshalb möchte ich sie auch in unserer Resolution so gekennzeichnet haben.

*Leopoldine Kulka* : Ich glaube, dass hier ein Missverständnis vorliegt. Fraülein Macmillan scheint zu glauben, dass anstatt der ganzen Resolution, welche die Gleichstellung der Juden in jeder Richtung und ihr Recht auf eine Heimat fordert, nur der eine Satz, der sich auf die Pogrome bezieht, gestrichen werden soll, während die Resolution alle Punkte enthält. Ich möchte doch die Anwesenden bitten, die ursprüngliche Resolution mit dem Zusatz, also alle Punkte und den Zusatz, aufrechtzuerhalten und will noch hinzu fügen, dass die Resolution, die wir hier fassen, genau dieselbe ist, wie die auf dem Sozialistenkongress in Bern gefasste, und dass wir damit genau dasselbe beantragen, was auch die Sozialisten aller Länder angenommen haben.

*Vida Goldstein* suggested the addition of a reference to the right of self-determination for Jews.

*Chrystal Macmillan* thought that it should be left to the Jews to say whether they wished to support Zionism or not ; also that the opinion of the population of Palestine ought to be ascertained.

*Leopoldine Kulka* : Ich möchte betonen, dass ich selbst keine Zionistin bin. Trotzdem glaube ich, dass wir von diesem Boden aus hier die Vorschläge unterstützen können. Es betrifft das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker. Es ist ebenso ein Punkt des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes, dass die Juden sich Heimat schaffen können wie alle andere Nationen. Trotzdem ich keine Jüdischnationale bin, muss ich doch dazu stehen. Ich möchte den Punkt doch vorgetragen haben.

**Voted**, to accept the substitute Resolution as proposed by *Chrystal Macmillan*. (X. 33.)

#### **Election of President.**

*Jane Addams* was nominated as President.

She said that a great objection to re-electing her was the fact, which she had felt as such a disadvantage through all this time, that she was at so great a distance.

*Mary Sheepshanks* and *Dr. Augspurg* supported the nomination.

**Voted**, to elect *Jane Addams* as President.

As Miss Addams accepted the election, the assembly rose to their feet to express their thanks.

#### **Election of the Executive Committee.**

(The names of those nominated and elected are printed later in the report. See Table of Contents.)

#### **Finances.**

**Agreed** that whatever remains of the money received at the Congress should be given over to the Geneva Bureau. (C. XIII.)

#### **Protest Meeting.**

Notice was given of arrangements for a Protest Meeting against the terms of the Peace Treaty, to be held in Berne in the week following the Congress.

#### **Russia and Hungary.**

*Jeannette Rankin* proposed the adoption, without discussion, of the following Resolution :

This International Congress of Women, recognising the right of each nation to determine its own form of govern-



ment, in accordance with President Wilson's Fourteen Points, urges the immediate cessation of attack, whether by armed force, by supply of munitions or money, or by blockade, upon Russia and Hungary. We ask an explanation of the warfare now being waged without open declaration of war upon peoples who are experimenting in a new social and economic order which has not yet had a fair trial, but which may prove to have a great contribution to make to the future of the world.

Voted to adopt this Resolution. (A. III.)

Agreed that this Resolution also be sent to Paris.

**Food not contraband.**

The following Resolution was sent in by the Finnish Section :

Foodstuffs should under no circumstances be considered and treated as contraband, but neutral tonnage should be allowed to convey foodstuffs to belligerents.

*The President* proposed that this Resolution should be accepted without debate.

*Emily Balch* was of the opinion that this was already included in the Resolution which opposed recourse to food blockades. (See 4 Additional principles (b) and 9 (d).)

*The President* decided that there was not time to go into this important matter. She said that Resolutions which had not been read would be referred to the Committee. She would not declare the Congress closed until after the banquet so kindly arranged by the Swiss members, and would greet the assembly again at half past eight.

**Congress adjourned 5.30.**

## EVENING MEETINGS

Four public evening meetings were held, at which addresses were given by members of the Congress in English, French, German and Italian, without translation. A complete list of the speakers follows. The speeches here printed are those of which reports are available. According to countries they are as follows.

America	Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Alice Thacher Post, Jeanette Rankin, Mary Church Terrell.
Australia	Vida Goldstein, Eleanor M. Moore.
Austria	Else Beer-Angerer, Yella Hertzka, Leopoldine Kulka.
Denmark	Henni Forchhammer.
England	Margaret Ashton, Charlotte Despard, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Ethel Snowden, Helena M. Swanwick.
France	Andrée Jouve, Blanche Reverchon.
Germany	Dr. Anita Augspurg, Gertrud Baer, Lida Gustava Heymann, Dr. Knischewsky, Dr. Helene Stöcker.
Hungary	Vilma Glücklich.
Ireland	Louie Bennett.
Italy	Rosa Genoni.
Netherlands	Dr. Aletta Jacobs, R. van Wulfften-Palthe.
Norway	Louise Keilhau.
Sweden	Elizabeth Waern-Bugge.
Switzerland	Marguerite Gobat.



Monday, May 12, 1919. 8.30 p. m.  
Aula of the University of Zurich

MARGARET ASHTON (England)

I stand here to represent in some degree Great Britain, with its large movement for the enfranchisement of all people, not only of women, but of the democracies of the world. In England one lesson of the war has been to us, as to other peoples, the realisation that the methods of our governments tend to separate the peoples. All through this war the governments in every land have denied to the peoples the right of intercourse, that knowledge of what is going on in other nations which alone can bring good feeling and good fellowship. While the governments have been keeping us apart, the peoples have been struggling to get together, to learn what those of other lands thought and worked for. Women have had the greatest difficulty, being of all the least well organised. They have found the difficulty of intercourse with their sisters all over the world so great that it has been a hindrance to this international movement of women from which we hope will grow the greater internationalism of the world. We hope that women in these international gatherings, having the same aims and objects in every country, will make it possible for the nations to gather themselves together more in co-operation and friendship, less in distrust and hate. We believe that women have this as one of their ambitions in life. The work of women is the creation, the nurture, and the up-bringing of the peoples. We have no rivalries except that we aim at securing the finest race. We have no desire to hurt other peoples, because to us other peoples are merely the rest of humanity, the human race for which women are responsible. We believe that the internationalism of women is one of the strongest influences for the

internationalism of the world, and though we have not yet succeeded in getting representation for every woman, we believe this gathering is one of the omens that portend the end of war, that will make it impossible in the future that these differences shall be allowed to spring up between us as they have done in the past, that if women make a chain holding hands round the world it will be impossible for men to separate us with weapons in their hands, and that we are in this way furthering the noblest objects, not only of the women of the world, but of the whole of humanity. Now, I know that amongst us here in this hall are very few who will follow English speaking. I have been asked to be very brief, but I wish to leave this as one word, of great importance, I think, to the international—that is, that the further we work towards democracy, towards the freeing of women in every country, towards the recognising of the equality of every unit of humanity, the nearer are we to the solution of all the differences between nations and the establishment of permanent peace.

#### LETTER OF FRENCH WOMEN TO GERMAN WOMEN

Read by

MARGUERITE GOBAT (Switzerland)

Séparées depuis quatre années, femmes françaises, femmes allemandes, nous nous retrouvons enfin, nous à qui les maîtres et les esclaves de la guerre ont prétendu faire un devoir d'ennemies. Nous avons refusé. Nous avons dit : non, au mensonge séculaire qui crée la guerre, qui l'éternise.

En ce jour où, pour la première fois, nos mains qui se cherchaient dans la nuit peuvent s'unir, nous voulons redire ensemble ce que nous avons dit de chaque côté de l'effroyable frontière de sang, car ce sont les mêmes paroles, les mêmes pensées.

Parce que nous sommes les mêmes, parce que nous sommes une seule humanité, parce que notre travail, nos deuils et nos joies sont les mêmes, parce que nos enfants sont les mêmes



enfants, nous protestons contre l'invention meurtrière d'un « ennemi héréditaire », contre le préjugé de races ennemies.

Français, Allemands, les soldats qui se sont entretués sont pour nous les mêmes victimes. Ce sont nos frères, ce sont nos sœurs qui souffrent partout où s'acharne la guerre. Nous ne voulons pas de vengeance.

Nous n'avons en nous de haine que contre la guerre, la grande atrocité qui contient toutes les autres. Nous n'acceptons rien d'elle. Nous repoussons l'orgueil de la victoire, la rancune de la défaite.

Nous qui survivons au grand crime, nous devons, en ce jour, nous souvenir d'abord de notre commune défaillance. Souvenons-nous des tortures qu'ont subies, en notre nom, au nom de nos peuples, les soldats, les prisonniers, les populations de l'arrière. Souvenons-nous de notre légèreté d'avant la guerre, de notre insouciance en face des excitations, des calomnies, de notre peu de zèle à sonner la paix.

Liés par la même foi et par le même devoir, nous nous engageons à consacrer notre vie au culte et à la sauvegarde de la paix, à la lutte contre la guerre qui, par la colère, le mépris, l'injustice, survit aux millions de ses morts. Toutes les femmes contre toutes les guerres.

A l'œuvre ! Publiquement, en face de ceux et de celles qui se vouent une haine éternelle, unissons-nous, aimons-nous.

### GERMAN REPLY

Dr. KNISCHEWSKY (Germany)

Wir deutschen Frauen antworten unsern französischen Schwestern : Mit tiefer Freude haben wir deutschen Frauen den Gruss der französischen Schwestern erhalten, den wir auf das innigste erwidern. Auch wir protestieren gegen die Verewigung einer Völkerfeindschaft, die unseren Frauen immer fremd war. Französische Schwestern ! mit Freuden ergreifen wir die uns in Treue dargereichte Hand. In gemeinsamem Schaffen wollen wir zusammenstehen, zusammengehen, zu der Menschheit Bestem. Aus den Trümmern einer mechanisch-materialistischen Welt, die errichtet war durch Mord und Gewalt, die sich aufbaute auf nicht Verstehenwollen und Hass,

wollen wir Frauen über Tod und Tränen hinweg der neuen Menschheit den Weg bereiten. Wir Frauen aller Nationen, wir Mütter der kommenden Generation, wir wollen Verständigung, Liebe, Frieden. Trotz Nacht und Finsternis der Gegenwart wandern wir getrost einer sonnigen Zukunft entgegen.

R. van WULFFTEN-PALTHE (Netherlands)

De la part de la Hollande, pays béni d'avoir été épargné par les atrocités de la guerre, je vous adresse les amitiés les plus sincères et les plus cordiales.

La paix dans laquelle nous, « pays neutre », nous avons vécu, nous a semblé comme un cauchemar. Nous avons dû subir de la part des pays en guerre des injures qui étaient dures à supporter. Notre fierté a été mise cruellement à l'épreuve, mais nous nous considérons comme privilégiés de n'avoir perdu ni maris, ni fils, ni frères.

Néanmoins, la guerre nous a touchés. Nous avons connu la faim, le froid et la pauvreté, mais avant tout la grande partie de mon pays a été écrasée sous le poids du massacre de vies si chères à tant de pères et de mères du monde.

A quoi bon la vie, si elle peut être prise pour la détruire par les moyens les plus détestables, tels que la guerre nous les a montrés ?

Plus que jamais j'ai senti, pendant ces quatre ans et demi, que nous, les mères du monde entier, nous avons commis un grand crime d'avoir donné la vie à nos enfants sans avoir su les protéger ; pis encore, que les vies données ont pris celles des autres.

A présent que nous sommes éveillées, nous commettrions un plus grand crime encore si nous ne cherchions les moyens d'éviter une telle catastrophe dans l'avenir.

Les pères, qui ont cru pouvoir faire seuls le travail de la société et qui ont cru être les seuls gardiens du foyer et de la famille, doivent reconnaître qu'ils ont fait entièrement faillite.

C'est à nous, les mères du monde entier, de trouver les moyens de protéger nos enfants, afin qu'ils ne soient pas tués, ni qu'ils ne deviennent des meurtriers.

Ma foi est dans les mères du monde entier !



FLORENCE KELLEY (U. S. A.)

Es ist mir eine unsägliche Freude, nach diesen letzten, unsäglich bitteren Jahren hierher zurückzukommen, in dieses schöne gesegnete Land, und zu sehen, wie hier Millionen von Menschen es fertig gebracht haben, nach allen Richtungen hin Hilfe zu leisten, statt an den Werken der Verderbnis teilzunehmen. Ich kann nur die Hoffnung aussprechen, dass die Arbeit, an der ich in meinem eigenen Land einen kleinen Anteil gehabt habe, von jetzt an aller Welt Arbeit werden dürfte. Zu uns nach Amerika kommen die Armen aller Länder und bringen ihre Kinder. Für unsere Kapitalisten ist die Verführung gross diese Kinder auszubeuten, dadurch Geld zu verdienen. Seit mehr als 30 Jahren arbeiten wir daran, unser Land für die Kinder ein freies Land zu machen, damit sie wenigstens ihre Kindheit frei haben von der Last der Arbeit. Jetzt aber müssen wir jene Arbeit in eine andere umwandeln. So lange diese Aufgabe noch nicht gelöst ist, müssen wir alle unsere Kraft daran setzen, dass in aller Welt den Kindern das Recht auf Lebensmittel, das Recht auf das Essen gewährt wird. Amerika ist so reich an Lebensmitteln, dass man mit den angehäuften Reichtümern nichts anzufangen weiss. Und doch, nachdem wieder Monate seit dem Abschluss des Waffenstillstandes verflossen sind, hungern die Kinder in vielen Ländern noch. Nun ist es die Arbeit aller Amerikaner, besonders aller amerikanischen Mütter, ihre Kräfte daran zu setzen, dass das Recht der Kinder, nicht hungern zu müssen, aufrecht erhalten werde. Wir haben so wenig Zeit, die Kongresszeit ist so kurz, dass wir keine Minute verlieren dürfen. Helfen sie uns bei dieser Arbeit.

LEOPOLDINE KULKA (Austria)

Ich habe die Freude, Ihnen Grüsse aus Deutsch-Oesterreich zu überbringen, Grüsse an die Fraueninternationale und an die Schweiz, zugleich mit dem herzlichsten Dank an die Schweiz. Denn, wenn vor mir eine Frau gesprochen hat, die sagen durfte, dass ihr Land Hilfe spenden will, so spricht jetzt eine Frau zu Ihnen, die sagen muss, dass sie Hilfe erwarten muss.

Darum dankt sie Ihnen, dass Sie in der Schweiz freundschaftlich so unendlich viel getan haben und noch tun, soviel als Sie nur können, obwohl Sie selbst nicht im Ueberfluss leben, dass Sie uns Hilfe schicken und mit solcher Gastfreundschaft Kinder hier aufnehmen.

Ich sollte Ihnen berichten, wie es bei uns daheim aussieht. Ich glaube, das am besten tun zu können, wenn ich Ihnen sage wie ich empfinde, wenn ich von hier aus nach Oesterreich zurückschäue. Sie kennen wohl alle das Märchen von dem Bettler, der eines Abends auf seinem Lumpenbündel an der Strassenecke einschlief und am andern Morgen im Königspalast im Bette des Königs erwachte. Ich glaube, dem Mann muss ungefähr so zu Mut gewesen sein, wie mir am ersten Tag war, als ich nach Zürich kam. Es war wohl ein Zufall, dass wir im Wettersturm und fast bei Schneefall von Wien wegfuhrten und als wir hier ankamen, die Frühlingssonne leuchtete, aber es war kein Zufall, dass ich im Kaffeehaus beim Frühstück Kaffee und Milch, Zucker und Eier vorfand, lauter Dinge, die wir schon lange, lange nicht mehr gesehen haben. Als ich auf die Strasse trat, sah ich auf dem Gemüsemarkt Stand an Stand mit Früchten und Gemüse. Ich musste denken, wie unsere Märkte leer sind, wie unsere Frauen in Reihen anstehen müssen, um ein wenig Sauerkraut und Rüben zu bekommen. Ich sah Häuser so schön und rein von aussen, so sauber im innern, und ich musste daran denken, dass unsere Wände schmutzig und rissig sind, weil der Mörtel und der Arbeitsmann, der Maurer fehlt. Und im Innern der Wohnungen, auch der besten, ist bei uns alles verwahrlost. Es fehlt die Seife zum waschen, die Kohle zum heizen und es fehlt uns der Arbeitsmann, es fehlt uns das Geld zu neuen Anschaffungen, es fehlt uns die Kraft, uns für alles das einzusetzen. Ich ging zur Strassenbahn, um eine Fahrt zu machen; ich musste staunen, dass dieselbe so glatt und schön ging, denn zu Hause ist jede solche Fahrt mit einem Kampi verbunden. Da der Verkehr so schlecht ist, drängen und stossen sich die Leute, stehen auf den Trittbrettern und lassen einander nicht durch. Ich musste daran denken, dass ich einmal in einem Buch des Pädagogen Förster las: « Wenn ich einen Menschen beurteilen will, sehe ich, wie



er ins Tram einsteigt.» Es ist ein wahres Wort. Förster müsste ein trauriges Urteil über uns Oesterreicher fällen, aber ich muss es sagen : ein wahres Urteil.

Das scheint mir das schrecklichste : Nicht nur unsere Wohnungen sind verwahrlost, auch unsere Seelen sind verwahrlost. Sie können das aus den Ziffern ersehen, welche von den Verbrechen der Jugend sprechen, aus den Statistiken, welche von den jugendlichen Prostituierten handeln, deren Zahl so ungeheuer gewachsen ist. Diese Verwahrlosung ist nicht so sehr von denen ausgegangen, die im Felde draussen waren, sondern vor allem von denen, die im Hinterlande lebten. Es ist kein Wunder, wenn die Kinder nicht mehr Moral kennen. Was wir haben, ist die Moral des sinkenden Schiffes, wo jeder nach einer Planke greift, wo keiner mehr Rücksicht auf den andern kennt. Das ist das Schauerliche, es sucht ein jeder nur sich selbst zu erhalten und rücksichtslos in kleinlichem Kampf an Lebensmitteln zu ergattern, was er nur kann. In allen Ständen geht das so, allen voran gehen die Reichen, aber auch der Mittelstand und der Arbeiterstand, Stadt und Land wetteifern darin, nur an sich selbst zu denken, nicht an den Nächsten.

Wie im Leben der Einzelnen, so zeigt sich dieses Bild auch im Leben der Völker bei uns. Sie wissen, dass bei uns viele Völker nebeneinander lebten. Unser Oesterreich ist zerfallen ; ich gehöre nicht zu denen, die es bedauern, ich gehöre auch nicht zu denen, die sagen, die befreiten Völker seien uns Rücksichten schuldig, oder Dank ; aber ich glaube sie wären sich selbst etwas schuldig ; denn wie es heisst : « Noblesse oblige », so sollte es heute auch heissen : « Freiheit verpflichtet ». Wir haben gehofft und erwartet, dass diese jungen befreiten Völker nun der Welt zeigen werden, was es heisst, ein freies Volk zu sein, dass sie zeigen werden, wie grossmütig solche jungen befreiten Völker gegen alle andern sind. Wir wurden tief enttäuscht. Diese Völker haben leider ihre Freiheit bis jetzt nicht anders zu benützen gewusst, als dass sie uns, ihre Nachbarn, aushungerten, uns die Kohlenzufuhren abschnitten, und dass sie ihr junges Selbstbestimmungsrecht dazu verwendeten, drei Millionen Deutsche ihres Selbstbestimmungsrechtes zu berauben.

Aus diesem Lande des Hasses und des Egoismus bin ich gekommen. Ich kam her und trat ins Kongresszimmer und es streckten mir Frauen, die über den Kanal, über den Ozean hieher gekommen waren, ihre Hände entgegen, und sie sehen mich nicht mit einem Blick der Verachtung an, sondern mit einem Blick des herzlichen Mitleides, und die ersten Worte, die ich in englischer Sprache hörte, waren eine Verdammung der Hungerblockade, und es waren Worte der Empörung über den Friedensvertrag. Da ist wieder etwas in mir erwacht, was lange nicht da war, und was der Mensch, wie ich glaube, am schwersten entbehren kann, schwerer als das Brot, das wir in dieser Zeit zum grossen Teil entbehren lernten, schwerer als allen Comfort : den Glauben an die Menschen, den Glauben, dass es noch Menschen gibt, denen es nicht um ihren eigenen Vorteil, um den Vorteil ihres Volkes zu tun ist, sondern die für Recht und Gerechtigkeit eintreten, wo immer es sei, dass es noch Menschen gibt, die die Freiheit erstreben und das Gute wollen.

Es mögen andere herkommen, die Sie für uns um Lebensmittel, Rohstoffe und um Geld bitten werden. Ich bitte Sie, die Frauen aus aller Welt : Helfen Sie uns, dass wir wieder Hoffnung und Glauben an die Menschheit haben können, dass wir einen Hoffnungsstrahl mit nach Hause bringen können von diesem Kongress.

Menschen und Natur, alles hilft dabei mit. Gestern kamen wir heim von einem Ausflug auf dem herrlichen Zürichsee. Während wir im Schiff waren, da stürmte und blitzte es, und doch war gleichzeitig auf der andern Seite des Sees Sonnenschein. Es war wie in unserer Zeit, wo Wettersturm und Sonne miteinander kämpfen. Plötzlich sah ich in der Ferne einen Regenbogen aufsteigen, erst ganz schwach, sodass er wieder verschwand, aber bis wir in Zürich waren, da spannte sich der Bogen von einem Ufer zum andern. Frauen aus allen Ländern, die wir hier versammelt sind, so verschieden in unserer Art wie die Farben des Regenbogens, mir ist es, als wären wir nahe der Zeit, wo sich ein grosser Bogen der Einheit über die ganze Menschheit spannen wird, von Welt zu Welt. Möge er erschei-



nen nach diesem Wettersturm und das Licht der Freiheit bringen.

GERTRUD BAER (Germany)

Verehrte Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrte Versammlung! « Unsere Arbeit ist getan. In Deutschland ist eine Jugend bereit, weiter zu bauen, und in vollem Vertrauen übergeben wir ihr das Werk. » Das waren Dr. Augspurgs Schlussworte in ihrer Ansprache. Ja verehrte Anwesende, in Deutschland ist eine Jugend bereit, mit allen Kräften am neuen Aufbau der Welt zu schaffen und im Namen dieser Jugend spreche ich zu Ihnen. Wir haben gewirkt während der finsternen Kriegsjahre mit unsern Brüdern und Schwestern in allen Ländern, durch die der Tod schritt; wir haben Mittel gesucht, um dem furchtbaren Morden Einhalt zu tun. Aber unsere Hände waren gebunden.

Der Tag der deutschen Revolution rief auch uns auf zum Handeln, denn wir glauben an eine Erneuerung der Welt durch den Willen der gesamten Jugend und durch die Kraft ihrer tiefen Ueberzeugung. Wir haben Grösse ausgetauscht mit der Jugend fremder Länder, mit jener Jugend, die mit uns den Fortschritt in seiner ausgeprägtesten Form bejaht, an die Güte im Menschen glaubt und der Ueberzeugung ist, dass nur eine durch Erziehung, durch die erstarrten Formen veralteter Traditionen blind gewordene Menschheit diesem furchtbaren Wahn verfallen konnte. Die deutsche Jugend hat erkannt, dass sie an allen Arbeiten, die Jugenderziehung und Jugendpflege betreffen, selbst teilnehmen muss, dass das Zeitalter der geistigen und wirtschaftlichen Abhängigkeit der männlichen und weiblichen Jugend abgelöst werden muss durch eine Epoche der äusseren und inneren Freiheit.

Viele Wege führen hinauf zu unserem Ziel und viele Wege werden bei uns besritten, aber wir Deutschen können und sollen sie nicht allein gehen. Wir grüssen Euch, Brüder und Schwestern in allen Ländern, grüssen die internationale Jugend. Eure Ziele sind die unsern, unsere die eurigen. Nur vereint können wir einen Wall bilden, an dem der Wille einer brutalen Gewalt sich brechen muss. Möchten dies doch

alle jene empfinden, die noch abseits von uns stehen; möge bald der erste Schritt getan sein, auf dass an der Weltwende, an der wir heute stehen, eine glücklichere Weltzukunft uns leuchte, eine Auferstehung der Menschheit durch die sieghafte Internationale der Jugend.

JANE ADDAMS (U. S. A.)

As women developed the earliest ethics of the race in the desire to feed their children, to keep them in one spot until the grain ripened, and so tied the man, inclined to go forth to hunting fields, to that same spot, perhaps now that the whole world has been brought to its knees by hunger, they may approach each other on the old primitive basis. They tried to make terms of peace by meeting at the Hague and elsewhere, by making constitutions and resolutions, which apparently did not hold when this wartime and stress came, but possibly now, if they start from this primitive human beginning, the desire to feed hungry children in Servia, in Poland, in Roumania — wherever you please — they will discover that that cannot be done without adequate international transportation of food, and the feeling that the value of the life of one child is as great as the value of the life of another child.

Perhaps the old folk-ways are the only ways we are fit to tread. Apparently we are not fit to come together on the higher plane, but it may be that this primitive human bond will hold us together, and that if we start on this basis we shall arrive at a new brotherhood founded upon this simple human need. After all, what is human life but a working forward together, with our human needs and spiritual needs so intertwined that it is impossible to separate one from another? You have heard the eloquent testimony from Frau Kulka of Vienna, the same testimony which comes from Russia and all lands where people are hungry, that every other thought is driven from their minds and their souls but the desire to find food and to keep their children alive until the next harvest. Let us remember that this distribution of food may be made a holy thing. It may be made the basis of the new internationalism,



and when our British sisters plead, as they are constantly pleading, in Great Britain and elsewhere, that the blockade shall be lifted, they are not only pleading for an economic basis, but for a spiritual basis upon which the world may once more be restored to normal.

Is this Conference of Women willing to begin with these primitive obligations and needs? Your Swiss papers have said, as many others have said, that women must keep close to these human obligations, and allow politics to be attended to, they all imply, by men. And yet women, I think, can well retort that the present situation of the world is not altogether to the credit of the men. As you know, four years ago we met at the Hague, at the call of Dr. Aletta Jacobs, and at that time we put forth a programme which embodied some twenty-five or twenty-six points — we were not so modest as President Wilson was later — and especially a proposition for a Neutral Conference, which, you may remember, was presented to the various Foreign Offices, and which we hoped might help to shorten this interminable conflict. After all, what did those things effect? Our efforts with the neutral countries were entirely vain, but our very simple programme was taken up — as we had taken suggestions from the League of Democratic Control and other organisations — and it was expounded and carried from land to land. At least we did this, we made a similar public opinion in the fourteen countries from which the women came to the Hague, and we have to go back and make a similar public opinion upon the resolutions which we may put forward from this congress. I had the pleasure of presenting those Hague resolutions to President Wilson in Washington in 1915. He was very much interested in them, and when I saw him three months later, he drew out the papers I had given him, and they seemed to have been much handled and read. « You see I have studied these resolutions », he said, « I consider them by far the best formulation which up to the moment has been put out by any body. » And how much influence they may have had upon the « Fourteen Points » upon which the people have been fastening their hopes for the last six months, we do not know.

After all, what can one do but use the very best mind one has and the best conscience one can command, and bring them to bear upon the situation, not in solitude, not in a nationalistic spirit, but by meeting and conversing and exchanging thoughts with those like-minded people whom one finds in every country upon earth? For the spiritual world in which one lives is a world made up of people of similar convictions and beliefs, to which experience has brought them as it has brought yourself. The like-minded people, as Professor James used to say, are the great international body which holds the world together. The women who have come together from these various countries have not found it easy to hold to their principles throughout the time of war. I think you will be touched, and startled perhaps, when you hear some of the testimony which these courageous people are giving. One touched lightly today on the fact that she had been imprisoned for three months because suspected of pacifist propaganda. Another said she had been shadowed by the police for many months because she was suspected of being too much of a pacifist. Testimony such as that will come out very often during the next five days. They have no desire to make much of the sufferings they have endured, but they do wish to make clear to each other that they have genuine principles, and that they have worked, during this time of stress, upon those principles, and have come together to get a new fellowship and understanding with which they will return to the various countries.

We thank the citizens of Zurich for the welcome they have given us, and hope that we may add to that great movement, which bids fair to centre itself in Switzerland, towards a finer life than the world has yet attained. We shall always remember this welcome, when we feel we have drawn out of a black shadow which has surrounded us in the years of the war, and come out to a new friendship and a new affection, the old world of kindness and international comity, which for the last five years has so mysteriously disappeared. We greet you as representing to us this kindly old world, which we believe is now being restored to something like its normal life, which will go on to higher achievements and a higher type of civilisation



than it has known before. We wish to keep humble and sincere and say only those things which we believe and which our long experience in warfare has verified. Attend our conference as you have time. Bear with us as we blunder along through those situations which are not clear even to the minds of instructed men, but believe us, we are striving only to find that which shall be of value to us, to our fellow-countrymen when we return, and possibly of value to the men who are making future programmes, and who may in the near future be rewriting some of the treaties which are just being presented to the world. May I thank you again for the warm welcome extended to our Congress, and also for the kind attention you have given us this evening.

**TUESDAY, May 13, 1919, 8.30 p.m.**  
**Aula of the University of Zurich**

**Subject: Woman Suffrage in Relation to Permanent Peace.**

**DR. ALETTA JACOBS (Netherlands) presided**

**ELEANOR MOORE (Australia)**

Coming from a country where women have had full parliamentary franchise for the last nineteen years, I have been asked to speak of the relation of that vote to a durable peace. Australia is a continent nearly as large as Europe, with a population of only five million white people. When the six states federated at the beginning of this century, the Commonwealth constitution gave women the same voting power as men. In the period leading up to that event, that is, in the days before the South African war, Australia was probably the most non-military country in the world, and I think you will find that the public standing of women always improves in proportion as a country is free from military ambition. Those countries of Europe which have no imperialistic pretensions, such as Denmark and Norway, and pre-war Finland, have been far more progressive in this respect than what are called the great powers.

In Australia, all the objections were raised against the enfranchisement of women which are being raised today in your country and in others, but none of the dreadful results predicted came to pass. Voting did not make women unfeminine, nor spoil family life, nor cause domestic quarrels. Why indeed should it? A wife with a different political conviction from that of her husband might well vex him with her opinions so long as she had no other chance of getting them expressed, but once she was free to walk off to the polling booth, the



knowledge that her mark on the ballot paper would count for exactly as much as his, could not fail to produce a feeling of satisfied self-respect, always soothing to the temper. Woman suffrage having been once established among us, no one has ever raised an agitation to have it repealed.

On the other hand, we cannot claim that the woman's vote has done all that some expected or hoped from it. It happened there as it is likely to happen elsewhere. A large section of the women had no confidence in their own judgment, and allowed the strength of their vote to be drawn wholly into the party politics of the day, in which any special value it might have had was lost. The war, which has forced everyone to think who was capable of thinking, has aroused us to a new sense of our responsibility and power, and I believe we shall see a different state of things in the future.

The one question directly connected with war upon which the women's vote has been tested is that of military conscription. Once in 1916, and again in 1917, the government asked the Australian people by referendum whether they would authorise the conscription of all the young men of the country for active service abroad. In each case the answer was «No», the majority on the second occasion being much larger than on the first. Public feeling was greatly stirred by this question, and in the record vote which was polled the women had their full share, but it is impossible to say how far they influenced the result, since the voting was by secret ballot. In both sexes there was strong difference of opinion, but I believe on the whole the women, more than the men, had a misgiving that it was morally wrong to force a man to be a soldier against his will. I know of several cases where a husband voted «Yes» and his wife «No», but none where the husband voted «No» and the wife «Yes». I also know of women who were prevailed on by the men of their families to vote «Yes» against their own conviction, and some who were persuaded in the same way not to vote at all. Further, there were women who complained that the government had no right to throw upon them the responsibility of decision. They have yet to learn that they themselves have no right to try to throw such re-

sponsibilities upon the government — that to belong to a democracy means onus as well as privilege, and that, vote or no vote, what happens in this world is a moral charge on every human being in it, from which there is no escape.

To you younger women of Switzerland who eagerly look forward to voting, I would say, gain the right as soon as you can, use it, but do not overestimate its power. Think out now what your principles are to be on the great questions of the time, then remember that in giving you a vote, your country asks for *your* thought, not that of some relative, or orator, or newspaper. It has those already. Voting is made secret so that you may record your thought with perfect fearlessness, and no other person has a right either to dictate to you how you shall vote or question how you have voted. To the men, if they will permit me, I would say encourage your women to seek this power and to exercise it. You are not so satisfied, are you, with the present state of affairs that you can afford to despise any contribution which a thinking mind or a feeling heart wishes to make towards a future policy? You feel, do you not, that all the light and all the help that can be gained from any quarter are needed.

In my country, the great natural enemy we have to struggle against is drought. Large districts which are very fruitful in good seasons sometimes become utter deserts for want of rain, and then the settlers look despairingly month after month at a sky in which clouds never rise. But of late years a new way has been found of meeting the difficulty. It has been discovered that the water needed, if not in the heavens, is often underground, and by boring, it is possible to bring it to the surface and transform death-stricken areas into scenes of life and plenty. This world of ours has been to most of us during these last years a wilderness in which almost every spring of kindness and humane wisdom was dry. Countless prayers for mercy have been raised to what has seemed a sky of brass. Suppose, after all, we have been looking in the wrong direction. Suppose what we need is not above our heads, but under our feet. Suppose the forces for reviving and saving the world are running all the while deep in our own human nature, hidden,



unrecognised, sometimes deliberately choked and wasted. I believe this supposition is true. I believe there is flowing in the hearts of the people everywhere undirected currents of kindness and the wish to help. I believe the public influence of the best women of all countries is one of these underground streams. Surely it is worth while to let it have its way, to clear away the obstructions and let it rise to the surface and do its healing work.

HENNI FORCHHAMMER (Denmark)

Ich möchte Ihnen heute Abend ein wenig erzählen von der Weise, wie wir Frauen in Dänemark das Stimmrecht bekommen haben. Ich weiss, dass Sie hier in der Schweiz auch bald soweit zu sein hoffen und daher könnte es Sie vielleicht interessieren.

Dass wir dänischen Frauen 1915 ohne Revolution das Stimmrecht erhalten haben, müssen wir nicht nur der Arbeit der Frauen selbst, sondern auch dem Gerechtigkeitsgefühl der Männer zuschreiben. Von allen Parteien war schon längst anerkannt, dass man den Frauen ihr Recht nicht mehr vorenthalten dürfe und die Agitation von seiten der Frauen war mehr durch Gleichgiltigkeit als durch Widerstand schwer gemacht. Es wirkte sogar erfrischend, wenn man dann und wann einem prinzipiellen Widerstand begegnete.

Was die Sache in die Länge zog, waren andere Ursachen, die mit dem Stimmrecht nichts zu tun hatten. In der Zwischenzeit hatten wir das kommunale Wahlrecht erhalten und viele Frauen waren in den kommunalen Räten tätig.

Dann kam 1915 eine durchgehende Revision unserer Verfassung in demokratischer Richtung, welche die politische Gleichstellung der Frau mit einem Schlage durchführte. Wir haben seither einmal Wahlen gehabt. Die Teilnahme der Frauen war sehr gross und neun Frauen wurden in unseren Reichstag hineingewählt.

Wenn Sie mich nun fragen wollen, wie das Stimmrecht gewirkt hat, dann ist es natürlich noch zu früh, auf viele Resultate hinzuweisen. Es ist aber doch mein Eindruck, dass man es jetzt als etwas ganz selbstverständliches auffasst, das man

nicht wieder zu ändern wünscht, und wir glauben schon einen Einfluss der Frauen auf die Gesetzgebung zu spüren.

Das Stimmrecht ist natürlich nicht ein Ziel an sich, sondern nur ein Mittel. Im bürgerlichen Leben fehlt noch Vieles, bis wir eine Gleichstellung erlangen. Neulich sind aber zwei sehr wichtige Vorschläge in unserem Reichstage eingebracht worden und werden wahrscheinlich bald angenommen werden. Der eine wird den Frauen Zutritt zu allen Aemtern verschaffen, und der andere, und zwar viel wichtigere, will die Gleichstellung der Frau im Hause als Hausfrau und Mutter anerkennen.

Nun weiss ich sehr gut, dass Gesetze nicht alles tun können. Wir können nicht allein durch Gesetze die neue Welt aufbauen, auf welche wir alle hoffen. Wir müssen auch eine neue Erziehung haben, eine demokratische und pazifistische, eine Erziehung, die auf Selbsterziehung aufgebaut ist und den ganzen Menschen durchdringen muss. Aber auch da spielen die äusseren Verhältnisse eine so grosse Rolle, und daher mögen die Frauen auch in Erziehungsfragen ihre Macht nicht gering einschätzen.

Zuletzt möchte ich an die schweizerischen Männer ein paar Worte richten. Das Frauenstimmrecht kann sehr gut ohne Revolution durchgeführt werden. Haben Sie doch keine Furcht, den Frauen das Stimmrecht zu geben, nicht als eine Gnade, aber als ein Recht. Sie werden sich dadurch gute Mitarbeiterinnen schaffen, um mit ihnen für alle die grossen politischen und sozialen Fragen zu arbeiten, die heute dringlich eine Lösung verlangen.



THURSDAY, May 15, 1919, 8.30 p. m.  
St. Peter's Church, Zurich

LIDA GUSTAVA HEYMANN (Germany)

Fünf Jahre Krieg und Waffenstillstand liegen hinter uns und noch immer will es uns scheinen, als wäre es ein böser Traum, in dem wir versunken waren. Und doch ist es Wahrheit, dass die Menschen aus der schönen weiten Welt ein grosses Narrenhaus gemacht haben. Zwar sagt man uns Frauen nach, dass wir Politik nicht machen können, aber ich glaube, wenn man uns Frauen, den Müttern der Welt, die Möglichkeit gegeben hätte, mitzuarbeiten im Leben der Völker und im Zusammenleben der Staaten, der erste August 1914 hätte niemals erscheinen können. Der Krieg brach aus, und für die meisten Nationen war von dem Tag an ihr eigenes Vaterland wie ein Gefängnis. Viele deutsche Frauen haben am ersten August 1914 mit Entsetzen die Kriegserklärung gehört, sie haben gedacht und gedacht, was sie tun könnten. Ich weiss, dass Frauen an jenem Tage vorgedrungen sind bis zu der militärischen Behörde, bis zur obersten Instanz und sie gebeten haben, alles aufzubieten, damit der Krieg nicht über die Erde hereinbreche. Als dann der Einbruch in Belgien geschah, da haben wir deutschen Frauen es bitter empfunden, dass eine Regierung es gewagt hat, ein neutrales Land anzugreifen. Wir haben dagegen protestiert. Als der Krieg weiter ging und man davon sprach, dass Deutschland Belgien annektieren wolle, da haben wir deutschen Frauen bei unserer Regierung protestiert gegen jede Annexion und haben das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker gefordert. Jedesmal, wenn unsere deutsche Regierung etwas tat, was wir nicht billigten, dann haben deutsche Frauen ihre

Stimme dagegen erhoben, so gegen die unmenschlichen Deportationen in Belgien und auf französischem Gebiet. Wir haben mit Entsetzen die Einzelheiten darüber gehört. Wenn man vielleicht glaubt, dass der Protest nicht frühzeitig genug erfolgte, so möchte ich Sie daran erinnern, dass wir von diesen Dingen erst sehr sehr spät Kenntnis erhielten. In dem Moment aber ist unser Protest an die Regierung und an die militärischen Behörden erfolgt. Als Deutschland auf der Höhe der militärischen Siege stand, da haben wir im Frühjahr 1918, als die neue Frühlingsoffensive geplant war, wiederum mit aller Energie die militärischen Behörden aufgefordert, unter keinen Umständen eine neue Offensive zu machen. Wir erklärten, Sieg kann in diesem Krieg auf unserer Seite nicht sein, wozu wiederum hunderttausende von Menschen unter den schrecklichsten Qualen verenden lassen, warum wiederum Hunderttausende noch mehr verrohen lassen als sie es schon sind. Nach unserer Ueberzeugung bringt jede Schlacht neue Verrohung über die Menschheit. Als dann der Friede von Brest-Litowsk und Bukarest beschlossen wurde, da haben wir deutschen Frauen mit aller Entschiedenheit gegen diesen Gewaltfrieden protestiert. Wir waren der Ueberzeugung, dass ein Friede, der auf der Gewalt ruht, nur Keime zu neuen Kriegen in sich trage, und wir glaubten, dass nach diesem Kriege die Menschheit zu dauerndem Frieden gelangen müsse, um wieder aufzubauen, was in diesen Jahren zerstört worden ist.

Wir sind aber noch weiter gegangen. Wir haben der deutschen Regierung erklärt, dass wir der Ueberzeugung seien, dass Militär und Friede nichts miteinander zu tun hätten. Jene Männer, die auf den Schlachtfeldern standen, die den Krieg angefangen haben, die hätten zu schweigen, wenn Menschen von Bildung und Kultur sich über den Frieden unterhalten wollten. Wir glauben, dass das Militär überhaupt nicht in der Lage ist, auf internationalem Boden mit andern Völkern zu verkehren. Sie mögen bei ihrem Handwerk bleiben, sich aber nicht in Dinge mischen, die sie nicht verstehen.

Wir haben im weitem auch protestiert gegen die verbrecherischen Manipulationen auf den deutschen auswärtigen Gesandtschaften, sobald dieselben zu unserer Kenntnis kamen,



seien sie in der Schweiz oder Dänemark verübt worden. Wir haben unsere Regierung aufgefordert, die Schuldigen zur Rechenschaft zu ziehen und sie zu bestrafen.

Nun werden vielleicht viele von Ihnen denken : und wenn Ihr gegen alle diese Dinge protestiert habt, so bleibt doch so unendlich viel übrig, was in diesem grossen Krieg passiert ist, wogegen Ihr nicht Eure Stimme erhoben habt. Ihr Männer und Frauen, die Ihr so denkt, rufet Euch ins Gedächtnis zurück, dass wir im Kriegszustand lebten, dass man uns Lügen an Stelle der Wahrheit gab. Wir deutschen Frauen haben, wenn wir Kenntnis von Dingen bekamen, die sich nicht mit Recht und Gerechtigkeit vereinigen liessen, dagegen protestiert. Wir haben uns in diesen langen Jahren eins gewusst mit den Frauen aller Länder, die denken wie wir, und wir wussten, dass in neutralen und kriegführenden Ländern überall Frauen gewesen sind, die unserer Meinung waren, die Schlechtes für schlecht hielten, die die Schuld dort kritisierten, wo sie Schuld fanden, die nicht auf dem engen nationalen Standpunkt standen, dass alles das, was im Vaterland geschieht, ein für allemal richtig sein muss.

Dieser Gedanke, dass wir in allen Ländern Gesinnungsgenossen hatten, hat uns aufrecht erhalten durch die unendlich schweren Jahre des Krieges. Heute aber, wo wir auf internationalem Boden stehen, da lassen Sie mich an jene Frauen denken, die nicht gleichen Sinnes sind wie wir, lassen Sie uns an jene Frauen denken, deren Herz heute noch mit Hass erfüllt ist. Wir wollen sie nicht verurteilen, sondern wir wollen versuchen, sie zu verstehen. Da denke ich in erster Linie an die belgischen, französischen und serbischen Frauen, die während Jahren kaum noch ein Vaterland hatten oder deren Vaterland von fremden Truppen besetzt war. Halten wir uns einmal klar und offen vor Augen, wie unendlich viel mehr diese Frauen gelitten haben, als wir, deren Länder nicht besetzt worden sind. Ich möchte besonders den belgischen und französischen nationalen Frauen zurufen : Wir deutschen Frauen, die wir von anderer Gesinnung sind, die wir ganz auf dem Boden der Internationalen stehen, wir strecken euch unsere beiden Hände entgegen und bitten euch : vergesst, was deutsche Männer und

Soldaten auf Befehl ihrer Regierung in eurem Land verbrochen haben, seid eingedenk, dass es in Deutschland noch Frauen gibt, die euch lieben und die mit euch gelitten haben in all den Jahren, wo der Krieg über die Erde ging. Wenn sie mir heute sagen, das seien alles nur Phrasen, der Krieg habe zwischen Frankreich, Belgien und Deutschland einen so tiefen Abgrund aufgetan, dass er nicht auszufüllen ist, dann sage ich ihnen : das sind keine Phrasen, wir Frauen sind in der Lage, eine neue Welt aufzurichten, nur müssen wir uns frei machen von dem Gedanken, dass wir die Welt im Sinne der Männer einrichten wollen. Wir wollen eine Welt aufrichten, die nicht auf Lüge, Hass und Gewalt gestellt ist, sondern wir wollen eine Welt, die sich aufbaut auf Liebe und Recht und gegenseitigem Verstehen. Sobald einmal wieder Friede unter den Völkern ist, werden wir deutschen Frauen versuchen, in die Länder hinauszugehen, nach Frankreich und Belgien, um persönlich mit unseren Schwestern zu sprechen und ihnen zu sagen : Kommt, wir wollen versuchen, uns gegenseitig zu verstehen. In England haben die Frauen gerade jetzt für Deutschland so unendlich viel getan, wir verstehen einander so gut, wir werden uns in Zukunft auch mit den Frauen anderer Länder verstehen, wenn wir uns auf dem Boden der Gerechtigkeit und der Liebe finden werden.

#### ELSE BEER-ANGERER (Austria)

Vor allem möchte ich Ihnen aus meiner Vaterstadt Wien den Dank der Mütter dafür erstatten, dass Sie unsere Hilferufe vernommen haben, dass Sie dazu beigetragen haben, dem grässlichen Sterben ein wenig Einhalt zu tun, das jetzt in unserer früher so schönen und frohen Stadt Wien wütet. Als Illustration möge Ihnen dienen, dass im vergangenen Jahr von den Kindern, die zur Reise nach der Schweiz bestimmt waren, bei der zweiten ärztlichen Untersuchung 1500 zurückgestellt werden mussten, weil sie in den 4 Wochen, die zwischen der ersten und zweiten Untersuchung verstrichen waren, derart herabgekommen waren, dass sie die Reise von 24 Stunden nicht mehr ausgehalten hätten. Ihre Sendungen waren zwar für unsere grosse Millionenstadt nicht viel mehr als ein Tropfen auf



einen heissen Stein, aber abgesehen von dem materiellen Wert war es ein innerliches Erlebnis für alle die Menschen, die in den  $4 \frac{1}{2}$  Kriegsjahren verlernt hatten, an Menschlichkeit und Güte zu glauben, als sie wieder einmal Milch und Schokolade zu sehen bekamen. Sie dürfen nicht vergessen, dass wir 5, 6 und 7 jährige Kinder haben, die in ihrem Leben noch keine Schokolade gesehen haben. Sie dürfen nicht vergessen, dass eine Reihe von schweren Erkrankungen eintraten, weil die Kinder in dem Uebermass der Gier die verabreichten Lebensmittel auf einmal aufgegessen haben; besonders der Milchmangel in Wien trägt dazu bei, die Zahl der Erkrankungen und Sterbefälle unter den Kindern auf eine Höhe zu bringen, die man in einem geregelten Wirtschaftsleben überhaupt nicht für möglich hielt. Als Illustration möchte ich Ihnen wieder mitteilen, dass die tägliche Zufuhr von 900.000 Litern Milch vor dem Krieg jetzt auf nicht ganz 40.000 herabgesunken ist. Es bekommen überhaupt nur die Kinder unter 1 Jahr eine Tagesration von  $\frac{1}{2}$  Liter, und es kommt nicht selten vor, dass diese geringe Ration auch nicht zur Stelle ist, oder dass sie in verdorbenem Zustand anlangt, was bei den schlechten Bahnverhältnissen, die wir leider jetzt haben, nicht verwunderlich ist. Wir haben durch alle möglichen Mittel die Mütter dazu gebracht, dass sie ihre Kinder länger stillen, als es sonst üblich ist, und wir haben dieses Opfer, das die Mütter ihren Kindern gebracht haben, leider in 85 % mit einer Gewichtsabnahme der Mütter bis zu 20 kg. bezahlen müssen. Wenn diese Kinder im ersten Jahr noch zugenommen hatten, nahmen sie wieder ab, nachdem sie von der Mutter abgesetzt waren. Wir haben gesehen, dass ein Teil dieser Kinder das zweite Lebensjahr überhaupt nicht erreichte. Bei Darmerkrankungen, die insbesondere im Sommer bei den Kindern auftreten, stehen die Mütter vollständig macht- und ratlos da, sie haben nicht die Mittel ihnen Einhalt zu bieten, sie haben nicht die Möglichkeit, die Kinder rationnel zu ernähren, und sie müssen zusehen, wie ihre Kinder aus Mangel an Medikamenten und passenden Nahrungsmitteln zugrunde gehen. Es kommt nicht selten vor, dass 5 und 6 jährige Kinder noch nicht allein gehen können.

Die Zunahme der Kindersterblichkeit an Tuberkulose

ersehen Sie wieder aus einer Ziffer, die ich Ihnen geben muss. Bei den Sterbefällen zwischen 15 und 16 Jahren ist eine Zunahme der Tuberkulosefödesfälle um 160 % zu verzeichnen. Ausser der Tuberkulose und den Darmerkrankungen sterben uns die Kinder an den gewöhnlichsten Kinderkrankheiten, wenn sie mit etwas Fieber einhergehen. Die allereinfachste Halsentzündung, die einfachste Erkältung, die Masern, Röteln, alle jene Erkrankungen, die ein normales Kind ohne Folgen durchmacht, führen bei der herabgeminderten Herztätigkeit der Kinder, wenn das Fieber steigt, unbedingt den Tod herbei. Ausserdem leiden die Kinder des Proletariats insbesondere an schmerzhaften Hautausschlägen, die durch den Mangel an Seife und die z. T. verfälschte Nahrung hervorgerufen werden. Schwere Magengeschwüre und Darmerkrankungen sind die Folgen davon dass beispielsweise das Brot Monate und Monate hindurch, um das Mehlquantum zu strecken und zur Füllung des Magens beizutragen, zu 12,7 % mit Sägespännen und Holzmehl vermischt worden ist. Sie können sich den Nährwert einer solchen Nahrung vorstellen, besonders wenn Sie erfahren, dass eine Person pro Woche einen Laib Brod im Gewicht von 1280 Gramm bekommt. Von diesen 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  Pfund Brod ist dann etwa  $\frac{1}{2}$  Pfund Sägespähne, bloss als Magenfüllung gedacht, abzurechnen. Wir haben ausserdem bis vor kurzem eine Wochenration von 125 Gramm Mehl bekommen, von 30 Gramm Fett; eine Zuckerration konnte in den letzten 3 Monaten überhaupt nicht ausgegeben werden, vorher war sie  $\frac{3}{4}$  kg. im Monat. Kartoffeln haben wir während des ganzen Winters einmal im Monat bekommen und dann  $\frac{1}{2}$  kg. pro Kopf, von denen fast die Hälfte Erde und so verunreinigt war, dass man sie gar nicht geniessen konnte. Wir haben den ganzen Winter im normalen Handel nicht ein Ei bekommen und Fleisch im Monat 100 Gramm pro Person, samt den Knochen. Zu diesen Ziffern muss ich Ihnen leider hinzufügen, dass die Aerzte wissenschaftlich erwiesen haben, dass die Rationen, die wir normal vom Ernährungsamt zugewiesen bekamen, kaum den vierten. Teil der Nöhreinheiten darstellen, die ein erwachsener Mensch zum Leben braucht. Das übrige müssen wir uns im Schleichhandel beschaffen.

Da möchte ich Ihnen wieder einige Ziffern sagen. Wir



haben in letzter Zeit im Schleichhandel Mehl mit 28 Kr. per kg. bezahlt, wir haben Fett mit 100 Kr., wir bezahlen Zucker mit 50 und Kartoffeln mit 8 Kr. pro Kg., Fleisch mit 80 und Milch mit 8 Kr. im Schleichhandel, wir bezahlen Seife mit 40-50 Kr., Petrol mit 8 Kr., Kohle mit 40 Kr. per 50 Kg., und Holz mit 54 Heller per Kg. Ein Ei kostet 3 Kronen, und dabei sind sie nur sehr schwer im Schleichhandel zu bekommen. Was also nicht infolge Vernichtung im Krieg zugrunde geht, das geht wirtschaftlich zugrunde, wenn es noch sein Leben eine kurze Zeit fristen will. Das Aergste aber ist, dass der Schleichhandel bei uns schon seit dem ganzen letzten Jahr nicht mehr gegen Geld, sondern im Tauschwege betrieben wird. Es geht unsere ganze Einzelhauswirtschaft daran zugrunde, dass die Frauen ihr letztes Leintuch, ihr letztes Hemd hergeben, um nochmals eine Portion Kartoffeln oder einen Laib Brot für die Familie zu bekommen.

Am allerschlimmsten sind bei uns die alten Leute dran, die eigentlich um ihren Lebensabend betrogen worden sind. Es ist gewiss volkswirtschaftlich richtiger gedacht, wenn wir uns sagen, dass die Jugend, die Trägerin der Zukunft, leben muss. Um aber diese am Leben zu erhalten, bleibt nichts anderes als die unendliche Grausamkeit dass ein ganzes Volk so weit kommen muss, die alten Leute verhungern zu lassen, damit noch ein kleiner Teil der Kinder gerettet werden kann. Das Sterben in den Versorgungs- und Krankenhäusern der Alten ist ein entsetzliches. Die Darmerkrankungen und Magenkrankheiten haben einen Umfang angenommen, der nicht ausdenken ist und führen binnen wenigen Tagen zum Tode. Die Leichen aus diesen Anstalten werden nicht mehr in Särge gelegt, weil uns das Holz fehlt, sie werden in grosse Bogen Packpapier des Nachts mit dem Anhängewagen der Zentralbahn nach dem Zentralfriedhof geführt und dort zu je Tausend in grossen Gräbern der Erde übergeben.

Wir Wiener Frauen waren vor dem Krieg immer guter Dinge und standen auf dem Standpunkt, dass wir zuerst gute Mütter und gute Hausfrauen sein müssten, und dass die Politik etwas sei, was wir den andern, den Männern, die um so viel gescheiter sind als wir, überlassen müssen. Im Kriege haben

wir umgelernt, als wir gesehen haben, dass die Politik uns die Kinder, die wir als gute Mütter aufgezogen und gepflegt haben, mit 17 Jahren wegreisst und sie sterben lässt an giftigen Gasen, durch Sprengkapseln, durch Flammenwerfer und wie alle diese schönen Dinge heissen, die man im Kriege erfunden hat. Da haben wir gesehen, dass Politik das einzige ist, was wir tun und treiben müssen, damit wir unsern Kindern auch wirklich gute und richtige Mütter sein können. Wir haben eingesehen, dass wir kurzsichtig und kleinlich waren, als wir unsere Pflicht restlos zu erfüllen glaubten, wenn wir daheim sassen, kochten und nähten und unsere häuslichen Pflichten erfüllten.

Wir sehen jetzt, nach dem Krieg, dass wir noch eine zweite Aufgabe haben, eine hoch politische und wichtige Aufgabe, die wir Frauen in die Hand nehmen müssen, wenn wir noch etwas aus diesem ungeheuren Krieg retten wollen. Sie alle dürften wissen, dass noch eine Anzahl von  $\frac{1}{4}$  Million Kriegsgefangenen, zum grösseren Teil aus Oesterreich, zu  $\frac{1}{8}$  aus Deutschland, in Turkestan und in Sibirien gefangen sitzen, dass leider unser Appel an die Alliierten und an die Neutralen bisher nicht vermocht hat, ein Jahr nachdem die russische Revolution ausgebrochen ist und der Friede unterzeichnet ist, uns diese Männer aus Sibirien wieder zu bringen. Das Elend, das dort in den Gefangenenlagern herrscht, können wir nur aus den Schilderungen jener beurteilen, die vor mehr als ein halb Jahr bei uns eingetroffen sind, welche Monate und Monate hindurch auf der Reise quer durch Sibirien sich befunden haben. Die Gefangenen haben im Frühjahr 1918, als sie glaubten, dass endlich die Stunde ihrer Befreiung gekommen sei, alles was sie besassen, ihre warmen Kleider, ihre Pelze, zu Geld gemacht, bloss um die Mittel zur Flucht in die Heimat zu bekommen. Sie haben nicht daran gedacht, dass sie noch einen solchen entsetzlichen Winter werden durchmachen müssen. Seit dem vergangenen Sommer sind wir ohne jede Nachricht von ihnen, und sie haben keine Nachricht von uns bekommen können. Wir haben nicht die Möglichkeit, ihnen Geld oder andere Hilfsmittel zu schicken, wir wissen nicht, wie viele von ihnen noch leben, wir wissen nicht, wie viele von ihnen, die seit mehr als vier Jahren fern von der Heimat und ihrer Familie sind und nur zensurierte



Briefe bekommen haben, noch nicht verzweifelt, noch nicht dem Wahnsinn verfallen sind. Oesterreich ist heute leider ein so armes und kleines Land, dass wir nicht imstande sind, die Millionen aufzubringen, um unsere Kriegsgefangenen auf dem gleichen Seewege transportieren zu können. Die sibirischen Eisenbahnen sind besetzt, und auf diesem Wege kann heute kein Kriegsgefangener mehr nach Europa zurück, und der Seetransport, den die oesterreichische Regierung z. T. in Rubeln, z. T. in Dollars bezahlen müsste, würde bei dem Kurs, den unsere Krone jetzt hat, ganz ungeheure Summen verschlingen. Diese Summen können wir nicht aufbringen, um unsere Gefangenen zurückzubekommen. Es ist das Entsetzlichste, das man sich vorstellen kann, dass Menschen irgendwo langsam am Verzweifeln sind, bloss weil andere Menschen nicht imstande sind, das Geld für den Rücktransport aufzubringen.

Das gehört wohl zu dem Entsetzlichsten, was uns in diesem Krieg, wo wir uns an so viel Schreckliches gewöhnen mussten, jetzt, wo er zu Ende ist, noch vorbehalten war. Ich spreche darum zu Ihnen über diese Dinge, weil ich mir sage, dass gerade die Schweiz, die während des Krieges für die Wiener Kinder so viel getan hat, die in so ausgezeichnete Weise verstanden hat, dort wo es nötig war, zu vermitteln, dass diese Schweiz uns auch in dieser Frage nicht im Stiche lassen wird.

Das eine, was ich Ihnen von Wien zu bringen habe, ist der Dank der Wiener Frauen, und das zweite, was ich leider auch bringen muss, ist die Bitte, uns zu helfen, dass die Männer und Söhne, die noch draussen sind, endlich wieder ihrer Heimat und ihrer Familie zurückgegeben werden.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL (U. S. A.)

In einem Kongress, der berufen ist, sich mit der Friedensfrage zu beschäftigen, sollte wenigstens eine Vertretung aller Rassen gegenwärtig sein. Da ich die einzige Frau bei diesem Kongresse bin, die, wenn auch nur einen Tropfen, farbiges Blut in ihren Adern hat, so bin ich verpflichtet, nicht nur die farbigen Frauen der Vereinigten Staaten, sondern auch diejenigen Afrikas und anderer Länder zu vertreten.

Voraus möchte ich den weitherzigen Frauen der Vereinigten Staaten dafür danken, dass sie mir eine Einladung zu diesem Kongress übergeben haben. Alle Rassenprobleme wären vom Erdboden längst verschwunden, wenn andere Völker dieses mutige Vorgehen befolgt hätten.

Wenn ich auch Delegierte einer Friedensgesellschaft bin, so muss ich doch anerkennen, dass ich meine eigene Freiheit dem Kriege, einem Kriege mit allen schrecklichen Folgen, verdanke; denn wenn im Sezessionskrieg, im Bürgerkrieg von 1861-65, der Sieg nicht auf Seite der Nordstaaten gewesen wäre, so würde ich heute Abend, anstatt als freie Bürgerin vor Ihnen zu stehen, möglicherweise irgendwo in einem unserer Südstaaten als Sklavin ein elendes Dasein fristen.

Keine Frauen der Erde hassen den Krieg und suchen den Frieden mehr, als gerade die farbigen Frauen, ob sie nun in Amerika, in Afrika oder auf irgend einer Insel leben. In diesem Weltkrieg, der von weissen Männern heraufbeschworen worden ist, sind unsere farbigen und schwarzen Männer wie das auch in der Vergangenheit geschehen ist in hohem Masse beteiligt gewesen. Ich will nicht weiter auf die Ursachen dieses Krieges eingehen, sondern nur Ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die grosse Zahl von Schwarzen lenken, die in diesem Krieg mitgekämpft haben. Wenigstens fünf der alliierten Nationen haben unter ihrer Bevölkerung so wenig Weisse, dass es nicht der Rede wert ist, davon zu sprechen. Vom britischen Reich ist zu sagen, dass wohl in Indien viele Weisse wohnen, aber noch viel mehr Eingeborene. Frankreich hat mit seinen Kolonien zusammen ungefähr gleich viel farbige wie weisse Untertanen; Italien, Brasilien, Portugal, Belgien, Cuba und noch andere Alliierte haben Bürger, die nicht der weissen Rasse angehören. Die Vereinigten Staaten haben 15 Millionen Neger und sonst farbige Bürger, die Indianer und Philippiner eingeschlossen.

Ein dauernder Friede ist eine Unmöglichkeit, solange die farbigen Rassen der Ungerechtigkeit unterworfen sind, nur weil sie farbig sind, und solange, als man ihnen verbietet, sich in irgend einer Tätigkeit auszubilden, die zu dem Gipfel der menschlichen Bestrebungen führt und für welche natürliche



Begabung, Energie und Ausdauer ihnen gegeben worden ist. Der Unterschied, den die Weissen den Farbigen gegenüber machen, ist ungerecht. Keine Erklärung der Weissen, dass die Schwarzen minderwertig seien, kann die Farbigen überzeugen, dass man ihnen gegenüber gerecht handelt. Wenn man uns auch sagt, dass es notwendig sei, die Farbigen zurückzuhalten und, in gewissen Grenzen zu halten, so sagen wir, dass es ihnen nicht gelingen wird, die farbigen Völker zu überzeugen dass Ungerechtigkeiten in Ueberlieferungen und Gesetzen etwas anderes sind als Ungerechtigkeiten, und dass sie es bleiben, wo immer sie angewendet werden. Wenn die Weissen wirklich überzeugt sind, dass sie den Schwarzen überlegen sind, dann brauchen sie sich nicht davor zu fürchten, den Schwarzen Gelegenheit zu geben, sich ihnen ebenbürtig zu machen. Die Theorie, dass einzelne Rassen von Natur minderwertig seien, ist längst nicht mehr als stichhaltig anerkannt. Wenn mir Zeit gegeben wäre könnte ich viele schwarze Männer nennen aus allen Ländern, die die allergrössten Erfolge in den verschiedensten Richtungen davongetragen haben. Trotz aller Opposition und trotzdem fast unüberwindliche Schranken uns entgegenstanden, haben die Schwarzen und Farbigen der Vereinigten Staaten in den letzten 50 Jahren grössere Fortschritte in allen möglichen Gebieten gemacht, als irgend ein anderes Volk der Erde in der gleichen Zeitspanne unter günstigeren Verhältnissen.

Während dieser langen Kriegszeit konnten die farbigen Frauen in den Vereinigten Staaten, mochten sie noch so tapfer sein, ihre Lasten nicht abschütteln. Wenn auch der Vater ihrer Kinder für die Sache, für die er mutig und willig ausgezogen war, hingeopfert wurde, die Nachteile, unter denen die Frauen und Kinder lebten, blieben. Die farbigen Väter, welche mit staunenswerter Aufopferung und Begeisterung dem Rufe ins Feld gefolgt waren konnten aus ihrer Hingabe keinen Trost schöpfen, wenn sie im Sterben an ihre Lieben zu Hause dachten, weil sie keine Sicherheit hatten, dass die traurigen Verhältnisse, unter denen diese leben, je gebessert würden.

Ich möchte Sie nur noch auf einige Punkte aufmerksam machen, die Ihnen zeigen, dass wir in Amerika noch viel

Arbeit haben, bis wir der Gerechtigkeit Tür und Tor geöffnet haben. Trotzdem die Vereinigten Staaten eine Republik bilden, sind Tausende von gebildeten und wohlhabenden Schwarzen in den Südstaaten vom Stimmrecht ausgeschlossen. Diese Schwarzen mussten für die Vereinigen Staaten kämpfen, für eine Freiheit, die sie selbst nicht haben. Die von den schwarzen Kindern besuchten Schulen sind manchmal in einem bedenklichen Zustand. Die Schulzeit ist sehr kurz, die Lehrer sind sehr schlecht bezahlt. Die farbigen Männer erhalten für die gleiche Arbeit einen geringeren Lohn als die Weissen, die Gerichte versagen ihnen sehr oft Gehör. Es wäre leichter für ein Kameel mit dem grössten Höcker durch ein Nadelöhr zu schlüpfen, als für einen Neger eine Stellung zu erhalten, die dem ersten besten Weissen offen ist. Wenn die Farbigen in den Südstaaten reisen, so haben sie immer unendlich viele Schwierigkeiten und können oft kaum etwas zu essen bekommen. Im Schlafwagen werden sie nicht geduldet. Sie werden in schmutzige Wagen gepackt und dürfen sich nicht einmal beklagen. Farbige Männer und Frauen, sogar Kinder, werden gelyncht, auf Scheiterhaufen verbrannt und erhängt, nicht immer, weil sie scheussliche Taten verrichtet haben, wie man es so gern den Europäern vormacht, sondern nur, weil sie irgend eine Kleinigkeit sich zu schulden kommen liessen, oder sogar weil sie sich herausnahmen, für ihr Recht einzustehen.

Es ist meine Pflicht sowohl wie meine Freude, festzustellen, dass es viele Weisse in den Vereinigten Staaten gibt, die den Schwarzen pekuniär und auf jede andere Art helfen. Die Schwarzen aber sind verleumdet worden; man hat den Europäern gesagt, wenn die Schwarzen die weissen Frauen nicht vergewaltigt hätten, so wären sie nicht mehr gelyncht worden. Nichts ist unwahrer als diese Behauptung. Nach den Statistiken, welche die Weissen selbst zusammengestellt haben, waren von je 100 Fällen von Lynchmord nur 15-20, bei denen vorgegeben wurde, dass die betreffenden Opfer sich eines Vergewaltigungsversuchs schuldig gemacht hatten. Ich hoffe Sie werden sich daran erinnern, wenn Sie eine solche Notiz je wieder lesen.



So gross auch unsere Freude über die Gründung des Völkerbundes war, so fand sich doch kein farbiger oder schwarzer Mensch, der nicht im Tiefsten bedauerte, dass die allermächtigsten und zivilisiertesten Nationen des Erdkreises sich gegen die Gleichberechtigung der Nationen aufgelehnt haben, welche Japan in so berechtigter Weise verlangt hat. Da Japan eine der fünf hohen kontrahierenden Mächte ist, scheint es den farbigen Völkern, welche die Frage überhaupt studieren, ganz unglücklich, dass Japan so auf die Seite gestellt werden könnte in einer Angelegenheit, für welche es eingestanden ist und an deren Zustandekommen es seinen Anteil hat. In der Möglichkeit der Einführung der Rassengleichheit erhalten die farbigen Rassen wenn nicht einen ganzen, so doch einen halben Laib Brot, mit dem sie einstweilen ihren Heiss hunger stillen können, der Jahrhunderte alt ist.

Ich könnte noch viel sagen von Afrika, das von Alters her so unbarmherzig geplündert worden ist und dessen Kinder so unmenschlich ausgenützt worden sind. Keine denkende Frau, die ein fühlendes Herz besitzt, wird den Hilferuf Afrikas ohne tiefe Bewegung anhören. Den weissen Frauen aller Länder, welche diesen Kongress zusammenberufen haben, um Fragen von höchster Wichtigkeit für die menschliche Gesellschaft zu besprechen, rufe ich als farbige Frau zu: Helft den Kindern meiner Rasse, wie aller Rassen, die nicht eine weisse Haut haben. Die farbigen Mütter ersuchen ihre weissen Schwestern, die hohen Prinzipien der Gerechtigkeit, Freiheit und Gleichberechtigung nie aus dem Auge zu verlieren und ihre eigenen Kinder so zu erziehen, dass sie dieselben nicht vergessen. Es sind Prinzipien, für welche farbige und schwarze Männer so schwer gekämpft, und die gewiss von einer jeden unter Ihnen hochgehalten werden. Die farbigen Mütter bitten ihre weissen Schwestern, ihre Kinder zu lehren, dass der Mensch, wie immer auch seine Farbe sein mag, nicht nach dieser, sondern seinem inneren Werte nach beurteilt werden muss und dass Rasse, Klasse, Religion und alles andere bedeutungslos ist. Die farbigen Mütter ersuchen ihre weissen Schwestern, ihren Kindern nahe zu legen, dass, wenn sie einmal Männer und Frauen sind und sie den Farbigen alsdann die Hoffnung auf Gleich-

berechtigung vorenthalten, sie sich dann vor dem Vater aller Menschen zu verantworten haben werden für alle Missetaten, welche durch diese Ungerechtigkeiten heraufbeschworen werden und deren natürliche Folge sein müssen. Im Namen der schwarzen und weissen Kinder rufe ich Euch zu, die Ihr die öffentliche Meinung bildet: helft mit, die Zukunft der Kinder so freundlich zu machen, wie die Jugend eines jeden Kindes sein sollte in Ländern, wo Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Rücksicht gegenüber Anderen als das schönste Gut der Erde gilt.

ETHEL SNOWDEN (England)

I am glad to know that our Austrian sister realises that not by the will of a single Englishwoman in this building, nor by the will of hundreds of thousands of women in England Scotland and Ireland, whom we unofficially represent in this city, has this evil thing come upon the children of Austria. We are on our spiritual knees to the mothers and fathers both of Austria and of Germany and of all those other suffering countries, when we think of what their children are called upon to endure. If men and women, if men in particular, can only settle their quarrels over the dead bodies of starved children, it is time that the men and women who think this is wrong got together to stop it. The advertised subject for this meeting tonight is « Women's Concern with the League of Nations. » The League of Nations as part of the Peace Treaty so called, is a subject with which everybody at this time should seriously concern himself or herself. I have myself never been an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations, because I have realised the futility of expecting anything from a League which was a paper league, and which did not reflect the conviction and intelligent thought of the great masses of the people of this world. My enthusiasm has been limited, because I have felt that when a League of Nations could be really effective, because the mass of men approved it, there would be no need for a League of Nations — that is for a perfect scheme; but the present League of Nations is not a perfect scheme. It is



at the very best only half a league, and it is not true invariably that half a loaf is better than no bread. If I were asked to cross your beautiful lake in a boat with a hole in it, I should not believe that half a loaf was better than no bread. So long as there was no bread, or no boat, I should stay safely on the land. If I set out in a boat with a hole in it, it is obvious what would happen to me before I got to the other side. The League of Nations is the boat with a hole in it. The present League contains only a certain number of nations. It should include at the very outset all the nations of the world who are willing to join it. I have said on scores of platforms in my own country that a League of Nations to which Germany and Austria and the other belligerents did not come in at the beginning as signatories was scarcely worth the paper it was printed upon. It is no use saying to me these nations may and will come in later. They may, but will they? Will the nations left out come in later, when the peace treaty is what it is? This Conference will one day enjoy a quiet pride in the fact that at their first serious session they unanimously, without a single dissident, whole-heartedly condemned the peace treaty. They have also to an extent condemned the League of Nations scheme, because it is not founded on the principles of this international body. They condemn the peace treaty because it does not make for peace but for war. They condemn it because it does not and cannot satisfy any thinking man or woman, but only thieves and brigands. They condemn it — I condemn it in particular — because it is making the idealism, and the lofty principles for which I have pleaded, and the great ideals which sent our soldiers to battle, contemptible in the eyes of all thinking men and women all the world over. The British army of five or six millions contained some of the most splendid men on the face of the earth. I am proud of the lads of Great Britain who in their healthy manhood responded in a way they believed to be right, to join in a campaign to end war for ever. Had those boys been appealed to to join the army and fight in order to establish a protectorate in Egypt, in order to steal the German colonies, in order to annex the German fleet, you could not in Great

Britain have raised one solitary battalion. Those gallant lads were told they were fighting for democracy, for the establishment of private right over public might, that they were defending small nationalities, that they were defending the right of nations to determine the sort of government under which they should live. We were told that it was wrong to demand the fruits of victory, that we were fighting in a holy war, and they and we believed it. Men and women, the prayer that many people will pray tonight if they pray at all will not be « God be merciful to me a sinner » but « God be merciful to me a fool ». For how can war but endless war still breed? Those people who believed these things are receiving in this treaty a blow in the face and a blow in their hearts. I am not concerned tonight about one country more than another. I am ready to admit all the most virulent and most violent critic of my country says about the enemy, for the sake of argument. I am not concerned in the least with the fall of the German Government, the militarists of any country. I despise them and I will oppose them all alike with every power I possess. I am concerned with permanent peace, the peace of the world, and because one set of belligerents does wrong, it is no argument for me that we must not do right. We are doing wrong. Take, for instance, the principle of self-determination, the rights of small and large nationalities, the wrong that lies in handing over a people without its consent from one government to another. Just take that one principle and think of what the peace treaty, so-called, does; steals a large part of West Prussia as well as Posen, as well as Silesia, as well as East Prussia, and hands them over to Poland, whether they wish it or not; steals free German towns and hands them over to Belgium, whether they want it or not; takes Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar basin and hands them over to France whether they want it or not. This can only mean future wars. There is not a thinking man or woman in this meeting who does not agree with me, and who does not agree, as does the British Daily News, the Manchester Guardian, the British Labour Party with its five million members, the Socialist Party with its one



hundred thousand members, that the economic provisions of the peace treaty in themselves are an insult to every honest idealist who supported this war, and can only bring the world more ruin and disaster. Now, my point is this. You humble your enemy in the dust, rob him, strangle him, starve his children, steal his territory — will he join the League of Nations? « I do not think so », says a friend in the gallery. Neither do I. And therefore this League of Nations will continue to be simply a League of Conquerors against the conquered, will maintain and extend the old bad political system of the balance of power, will create Alsace Lorraines all over Europe, will put civilisation back, provoke future wars, make idealism contemptible, destroy the faith in the hearts of men and women, and make the heroic sacrifices of millions of young men of no account whatever. Do not misunderstand me. I am simply arguing tonight for the world's peace, not for Germany nor Austria nor Britain nor France nor Switzerland, but for all these countries and for the peace of the world, and you cannot establish the peace of the world upon injustice, you cannot establish the peace of the world upon unfairness. You disarm one part by force, leave the other part fully armed. What is the prospect, what kind of a future can you evolve from that? The League of Nations, to be effective, should amongst other things provide for instantaneous international disarmament. I am so afraid that, even if we were not likely to have as a result of this injustice new wars amongst the nations, we shall most certainly have bitter wars between the classes. I am all for a world without wars of either sort. I want you men and women to think seriously about the possibility of having that dreadful bloodshed between the classes in every country if this injustice continues to be perpetrated, especially by those making high professions of nobility and superiority. The future is black, but I am not without faith. We could not work with no faith at all, and I do hope that « good will somehow be the final goal of ill », that « Not one life shall be destroyed or cast as rubbish to the void when God has made the pile complete. » But it is you and I who must

be the instruments for bringing about this great time, and only by our consecrated manhood and womanhood the wide world over, working together, can we achieve at last in truth the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth.



**Friday, May 16, 1919, at 8.30 P. M.,  
St. Peter's Church, Zurich**

HELENA M. SWANWICK (England)

Heute ist der erste Geburtstag der Frauenliga für den dauernden Frieden. Und an diesem Tage hat das Kind auch einen Namen bekommen; wir heissen jetzt «Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit». Unser erster Name war eine Probe. Wir wussten, dass er nicht klar machte, was eigentlich der Unterschied war zwischen unserer Liga und anderen Ligen für den Frieden. Es war kein Zufall, dass der Ruf zum ersten Kongress in den Niederlanden von Suffragisten ausging. Es waren eben die Frauen, die so lange Jahre für Freiheit gearbeitet hatten, die als der Krieg ausbrach, nicht alles ruhig hinnehmen und mit dem zufrieden sein konnten, was die Männer für sie geschaffen hatten. Sie mussten lernen, sie mussten schaffen, sie konnten nicht anders.

(Continuing in English): It was just because they had been working for freedom that these women realized their responsibility for war, and felt that women all the world over must have their freedom in order to be strong to abolish war.

We found, when the delegations came back from the Hague, that what they had done attracted three classes of women. First, the feminists, the suffragists, who had worked for the enfranchisement of women. Next, they attracted many of the people who had been working for peace for a generation or more. And thirdly, they attracted those who had been working for the improvement of the condition of the masses of the people.

Those three strands of thought at first found it a little difficult to twist in with one another. It was a little difficult for feminists to recognise that peace questions and labour ques-

tions were their business, that in fact you could not have the freedom of women if war was to go on. If there was to be the organisation for war in peace time, and if we were always liable to have our work interrupted and ruined by war, we women could never hope to be really free, and gradually the feminists have begun to realise this great truth.

They have come to a common recognition, these three groups of women, that freedom lies at the bottom of these great problems. The peace people have learned that you cannot stand pat for peace, you cannot stand quiet and say «Peace, peace, peace» — that does nothing. It is not a passive, but an active problem.

What, then, is your solution of the problem? You must find the answer, or you are beaten. You have lost the struggle for peace if you cannot find the alternative for war. You must see that freedom, whether it is the freedom of women, or the freedom of labour, is at the root of this question of how to settle the disputes of the world.

As regards women, we feel very strongly that we must not omit to recognize that women have a very important contribution to make to life. Women are one half of the human race, and up till now the women's voice has not been heard in diplomacy nor in foreign affairs, and, whether it is true or not, it is not unnatural for the women to say «The men have reduced the world to this condition — do they admire it? Do they think it beautiful? If indeed they feel things might be better, let them call in the other half of the human race to try and solve this problem with them.»

And there is another point. Even if you do not believe the women have an important contribution, as we believe, there is still this danger. You cannot afford to have the women of the world ignorant. You cannot afford to have your children borne and bred and reared and educated and looked after by ignorant women. Ignorant women are a danger all the world over, and no matter how progressive the lords of creation may be, the men who think they are the lords of creation and that the women have only to bring up the children do not realise



that if the women are ignorant, they will bring up the children ignorantly, and that if you are not going to give the women freedom to stand side by side with the men in these great international matters, the punishment will fall quite as heavily upon the manhood of the world as upon the womanhood.

For that reason we say that the feminist movement is closely bound up with the movement for peace. The movement for peace cannot afford to do without the women, and it is not enough for the women to cry sentimentally that they desire peace. When you desire a thing with all your heart you must think for it, and you must work for it. A mere desire of the lips is nothing.

Peace is an active quality, peace is not a negative thing, peace is not a mere denial of war. Peace is the readiness to use your brains and your goodwill to solve every problem as it arises. You have to make peace every hour of the day and every day of the year. You have to make peace not only with goodwill, — there is plenty of that among the women, — but not yet nearly enough knowledge. We have to know how to meet every problem in an intelligent way. It is no answer to say to two people who are quarrelling « Why does not one of you give up ? » or « Why don't you both give up ? » You have to find where the root of the problem is, see where the oppression lies, see where the injustice is done, and put that right, and you can only do that with knowledge, with training, with discipline, with organisation.

Therefore I say that I believe we women are pacifists at heart, but we have been too much passivists. You have to provide, in a world where you hope to abolish war, for insistent change. Change is life. Nothing living remains as it was for two minutes together. Plants when they are alive are changing all the time. Animal life changes every minute of the day, and you must be prepared to move and change yourselves with the changes in the world. As Mrs. Snowden said yesterday, to be merely good home-keeping women, to just stay and do what your grandmothers did, will not help peace.

Women have to change with the times. Call upon the young women to help you. The future lies in the hands of

the young women who are going to bear the children of the future and who will have their education. I have heard people admire — and I can quite see there is something fine about the idea — permanent peace. But I am not so fond of the word « permanent », because it does not seem to me to meet that necessity for incessant change and growth. We are here to grow. When we are dead here on earth we can do no more. We have to abide by our past. But so long as we live, and our spirits are here in our bodies, our spirits must change and grow and keep pace with the problems of the world. Our great English poet, George Meredith, has said : « Permanence sits by the grave. » Peace is born of freedom and the fullness of life !

There is thirdly the strand of labour. We have found in our movement in Great Britain that our interest in peace has brought us into a much closer contact with all the problems of economic conditions of labouring folk all the world over. Labour is getting a fresh interest in peace and foreign politics, because they are realising at last that until the great mass of the people take an interest in foreign affairs, they will not be able to have that control of foreign policy that we all know is the only way to peace that will last.

It is this necessity of the great masses of the people to take an interest in these great matters that has been one of the points we have put forward during these four and a half years of war. It is no use saying that the people want to control foreign affairs. They can control foreign affairs tomorrow if they want to seriously. When they ask for what they want they can get it. They are powerful, and this control of foreign affairs should be in the hands of the people who send the soldiers to fight and of the mothers who have to bear the soldiers who go to fight.

Dr HELENE STOECKER (Berlin).

Gehrte Frau Präsidentin, hochverehrte Versammlung :  
Wer die Jahre der allgemeinen schweren Verdunklung erlebt hat und hierher gekommen ist, wenn auch mit noch so schwerem Herzen, der muss diese Tage unseres Kongresses doch als einen leisen Strahl eines neuen Menschheitsmorgens begrüßen.



So Furchtbares auch zwischen uns liegen mag, die Tatsache, dass die Frauen fast aller kriegführenden Länder hier zusammenkommen, in der Erkenntnis, dass das, was uns trennte, uns auch alle schädigte, dass das, was wir gemeinsam leisten wollen, uns alle vereint und beglückt, diese Tatsache und diese Erkenntnis kann nicht ohne Frucht bleiben für die Entwicklung der Menschheit. Darin sind wir über alle Hemmungen der verschiedenen Sprachen und Grenzen miteinander einig. Eine neue Welt soll und muss aufgebaut werden, wo die Frauen eine grosse Aufgabe bei der Erziehung der neuen Generation leisten. Nun sind wir deutschen Pazifisten noch lange nicht zufrieden mit dem, was sich seit der Revolution in Deutschland entwickelt hat. Unsere überschwengliche Hoffnung, dass gleichsam über Nacht ein neuer Geist, der Geist der Liebe und Verständigung einziehen würde überall, hat sich leider — natürlich muss man sagen — nicht erfüllen können. Eine Welt, in der die Menschen Jahre lang nur den teuflischen Ehrgeiz kannten sich in der Kunst des Mordens zu übertreffen, die kann natürlich nicht von heute auf morgen, in eine Welt von Engeln verwandelt werden. Aber, so bedauerlich es ist, dass weite Kreise der Jugend auch bei uns von der Angst erfüllt sind, die neue Ordnung, die sich in der ganzen Welt, durch den Krieg veranlasst, vollzieht, möchte ihre Privilegien zerstören, denen die heroische Geste fehlt, mit der vor mehr als hundert Jahren der französische Adel einst, im Jahre 1789, auf seine Vorrechte verzichtete, so gibt es neben diesen Kreisen, die alles vermissen lassen, glücklicherweise auch anderen sittlichen Adel, besonders in der Jugend, im Proletariat, bei den Frauen. Dass sie schon in der Mehrheit sind, das können wir nicht versprechen, aber das Gute, das Höhere und Reifere ist zunächst, muss ja zunächst, immer in der Minderheit sein. Aber sie sind da diese neuen Menschen, die in einem neuen Geiste leben wollen, und es ist wieder selbstverständlich, dass hier Männer und Frauen ebenbürtig in diesem neuen Geiste leben sollen.

Es ist als ein Zeichen dieses neuen Geistes in der neuen Jugend heute schon erwähnt worden, dass eine grosse Zahl pazifistischer Jugendvereinigungen in Deutschland die Abschaffung der Wehrpflicht verlangt, eine für das frühere

Deutschland gewiss ganz ungewöhnliche Forderung. Welche Bedeutung eine solche Einsicht, welche Konsequenzen sie für die Aufrechterhaltung des Gemeinschaftslebens in allen Staaten hat, davon machen sich vielleicht weite Kreise heute noch kein richtiges Bild. Die Regierung und die besitzenden Schichten leben heute — wohl fast in allen Staaten — in der Furcht vor dem Bolschewismus. Es ist zum Teil auch ein wenig dem schlechten Gewissen zuzuschreiben, dass sie sich einer gerechten Verteilung der Güter widersetzen.

Diese besorgten Regierungen und besitzenden Schichten machen sich aber vielleicht noch nicht klar, dass nicht die Gewalt ihrer Waffen, sondern nur die Erziehung zum pazifistischen Geiste, der Gewaltlosigkeit und der gegenseitigen Hilfe Rettung aus den schweren Gefahren unserer Zeit bringen kann. Wenn die Völker weiter vor blutigen Kriegen bewahrt bleiben wollen, müssen sie erst einmal bei sich zu Hause und ihren inneren Konflikten anfangen auf die Gewalt zu verzichten. Die notwendige Abrüstung werden wir nur erreichen wenn wir selbst bei uns vollkommen abrüsten.

Es ist nicht nur kurzsichtig und unedel, es ist dumm und selbstmörderisch, wenn immernoch die äusserste Rechte und die äusserste Linke die blutigen Mittel der Gewalt gegeneinander anwenden. So wie wir als Pazifisten dem Sozialismus darin nicht folgen zu können glauben, dass wir die alte Gesellschaftsordnung durch Waffengewalt stürzen, so glauben wir auch nicht an die Gewinnung inneren Bürgerfriedens, solange man an Stelle der unentwaffneten Arbeiter andere bürgerliche Schichten bewaffnet. Solange diese selbstverständliche Einsicht der Notwendigkeit allgemeiner Entwaffnung nicht zum Durchbruch gelangt, ist keine fruchtbare Neugestaltung der zertrümmerten Welt zu erwarten. Welch furchtbarer Aberglaube ist es zu denken, es könnte möglich sein eine bessere Welt mit von Menschenblut befleckten Händen aufzubauen!

Nun entgegnen uns nüchterne Leute: ganz liessen sich unsere neuen pazifistischen Erziehungsideale doch wohl nicht verwirklichen, Hass und Neid würden immer auf der Welt vorhanden bleiben. Gewiss! das wollen wir garnicht bestreiten. Solche Utopisten, solche theoretischen Schwärmer sind wir



ganz und gar nicht, uns einzubilden, es könnte gelingen, alle Menschen, die zufällig nach 1919 geboren werden, zu Heiligen, zu einem Franziskus, oder zu einem Tolstoi zu machen. Aber wir wären schon zufrieden, es würde ein gewaltiger Fortschritt der Menschheit sein, wenn die sittliche Hemmung bei der Tötung anderer Menschen von seiten verschiedener Staaten wie verschiedener Parteien gegeneinander, ebenso stark und zwingend würde, wie es bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges bei dem normalen, gesunden Menschen, dem Einzelnen gegenüber doch der Fall war. Das würde für die Aufwärtsbewegung der Menschheit die gleiche Sicherung bedeuten, wie es ehemals die Abwendung von der Menschenfresserei gewesen ist.

Eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der neuen Erziehung wird also sein, die neue Jugend das Hineinfühlen in die Seelen anderer zu lehren — wozu die Frauen ihrer Art nach eine besondere Begabung mitbringen. Indem wir fragen: wie würdest Du empfinden, wenn man so gegen dich handelte? würden wir zum Bewusstsein der innigsten Verbundenheit aller menschlichen Wesen gelangen.

Gerade wenn man keiner Partei angehört, auch nicht der sozialistischen, — weil man die verhängnisvollen Konsequenzen der Klassenkampftheorie im Krieg wie in der Revolution erkannt hat — gerade dann muss man es bedauern, dass unsere Tagung heute den Antrag abgelehnt hat, die Besitzenden aufzufordern, auf ihre Vorrechte zu verzichten. Sicherlich, das würde manch schmerzlichen Verlust ergeben. Aber würden wir auf der anderen Seite denn garnichts gewinnen dabei, wenn wir wissen, dass Allen Gerechtigkeit werden soll? Und warum ist in unserer Zeit so wenig noch von jener Erkenntnis geschichtlicher Notwendigkeiten, die einst in der französischen Revolution die herrschenden Schichten Frankreichs im Jahre 1789 zum freiwilligen Verzicht auf ihre Vorrechte veranlasste? Wie können wir als Frauen von den Männern verlangen, dass sie auf ihre Vorrechte verzichten, die sie bis jetzt den Frauen gegenüber besaßen und wie können wir als Pazifisten von den militärgewaltigen Staaten verlangen, dass sie zugunsten der Schwächeren verzichten, wenn wir so inconsequent sind und hier vor dem grossen Besitz und Kapital Halt machen? Nur

durch unser Ziel der Erziehung zur Anerkennung der Heiligkeit des Menschenlebens und der Erkenntnis geschichtlicher Notwendigkeiten können wir die neue Generation heranziehen, die wirklich eine neue Welt aufbauen kann.

Ausser dem neuen Geist, der für die Erziehung der Jugend notwendig ist, brauchen wir aber auch einen neuen Geist für die Erziehung der Erwachsenen, deren geistiges Wesen heute in erster Linie durch die Presse bestimmt wird. Es ist natürlich ungerecht, dafür den einzelnen Vertreter der Presse verantwortlich machen zu wollen. Die Presse ist ein Teil unseres öffentlichen Lebens, an dessen Verrohung wir alle mitschuldig sind, und an dessen Veredelung wir alle mitwirken müssen. Eine Hilfe kann es uns natürlich bringen, wenn wir versuchen die kapitalistische Macht der Presse zu brechen, wie es uns vielfach vorgeschlagen ist. Aber ein Allheilmittel ist das, wie alle anderen äusseren Mittel, auch nicht. Der Wille zur Gerechtigkeit, der eine Leidenschaft werden muss, auch dem Gegner gegenüber, der gegen jede Einseitigkeit, jeden Uebergriff einer Partei, einer Nation, einer Rasse misstrauisch macht, ist wertvoller als alle Strafgesetze gegen die Presse. Mitgefühl mit anderen und auf der anderen Seite der Versuch, den Gegner zu verstehen, durch geistige Waffen zu überzeugen, anstatt durch Gewaltakte, stets neben der eigenen Meinung auch die Meinung des Gegners zur Geltung kommen lassen, jede offenbare Ungerechtigkeit berichtigen, das sind Wege zu einer inneren Reform der Presse und zur Stärkung der Wahrheit.

So erkennen wir denn zum Schluss: Nicht der kapitalistische, militarische, nationalistische Kampf Aller gegen Alle oder der Kampf der einen Nation gegen eine andere oder der Klassenkampf der Kommunisten, oder der blutige Kampf gegen die Kommunisten wird uns retten, sondern nur die Erkenntnis, wie sie Kropotkine in seinem Buche über «Die gegenseitige Hilfeleistung» uns übermittelt hat: die gegenseitige Hilfe, die er sowohl im Leben der Menschen wie auch der anderen Tierarten als ein viel wichtigeres Element erkannt hat als den Kampf Aller gegen Alle, zu dem man die missverständene Darwinische Lehre umgestaltet hat. Christus und Tolstoi, Göthe und Kant sind in der gefährdrohenden Lage der Menschheit



zuverlässigere Retter und Führer als Bismarck und selbst Marx, als Lehrer des Klassenkampfes. Diese allein bringen uns vielleicht über den Abgrund hinüber und in ein neues Leben. Wir aber, die wir unserem Leben ideale Ziele und Inhalte geben wollen, müssen weiter arbeiten in der Hoffnung «Etwas wie Gerechtigkeit webt und wirkt durch Nacht und Grauen, und ein Reich will sich erbauen, das den Frieden sucht der Erde».

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE (England)

Standing in this pulpit amid these surroundings it is only natural that a prayer should spring to the heart. The prayer with which I would begin is very simple and short, and I know it will find an echo in the hearts of all who are here. My prayer is — God bless Switzerland! What a splendid record your wonderful country, my Swiss friends, has amongst the nations of Europe. What gifts you have brought us, gifts of the intellect, gifts of the spirit! What traditions of freedom, what institutions of democracy, what organisations of healing and of mercy! How you have held aloft the lamp of the spirit to guide us, generation by generation, in our struggle towards the dawn!

We feel, those of us who have come to your hospitable land from the belligerent countries as if we had come from a prison, because as you know, in all belligerent countries liberty is denied to the people who live there, liberty of speech, liberty of action, liberty of intercourse. Now we have come where we can meet our friends, where we can talk together, where we all, out of many lands, belligerent and neutral all over the world, can speak together and work together for the happiness and the welfare of the future race.

Here, from these wonderful heights, here in this clearer atmosphere, we get a wider view of humanity than we could isolated in our own country, and looking out upon things from this point of view, we see that war is not only a great world tragedy, the greatest calamity that can come to the human race, but also we can see that war is the supreme folly, war is the great madness.

At the beginning of the war, I saw in a comic paper in America a picture. It was the picture of two apes. Father ape is holding the map of Europe in his hands, and he says, «Mother, don't you ever let me hear you telling our children that these men are descendants of ours.» Yes, one does not wonder, as one looks back on these four years of ravage and destruction.

They tell us sometimes that war will never be eradicated, because war is a deep instinct of the human heart. I do not believe it; it is not true. Conflict may be the law of life, I admit — spiritual conflict, conflict against the restrictions of material nature — but war, which is organised murder, is repulsive to every fully developed human being.

War is a hypnotism which takes possession of a people, and the hatred engendered by war is artificially fostered by every possible means, both through the press and through all possible channels. War could not exist in the world if it were not bolstered up by the forcible suppression of the truth. In time of war, the facing of reality and facing of facts is made a crime, and if a human being stands out and says «No, I was made to love my fellow creatures and to help them, not to hate them and to kill them,» then he runs the danger of being punished by isolation, by imprisonment, and very often even by death.

No, war is not an instinct of the human heart; love is the instinct of the human heart; brotherhood is the instinct of the human heart. In our country the story came to us of two of the enemy facing each other in the trenches, and one day one side put up a big banner with the words printed on it, I won't say in what language, «You are fools.» The other side laughed in derision. Then that banner was taken down and another banner put up, «We are fools.» At that the other side laughed again. Then that was taken down, and another was put up: «We are all fools; why not go home?» And we were told that before a great battle took place a battalion on the one side or the other had to be changed, because the old battalions had grown so friendly that they could not fight one another.



The founder of our Christian faith we admire because he was the wisest statesman, the greatest moral scientist, the truest philosopher that the world has ever seen. He spoke the actual truth when he told us that there could be no life without love. But love is not enough. If we are to prevent war, something must go with love, and that is vision, understanding. If we have not vision, then the very love of the people can be exploited and can be turned to the purpose of destruction and death instead of life and creation.

It was the love instinct in the men who fought that enabled them to fight, not hate instinct. The soldiers who fought in this war were inspired by love of their own country and their fellows. It was that which enabled them to suffer, not hate. And this evening I appeal to you, friends of all nationalities, to regard the critical situation in which the whole world is placed, with vision and with understanding.

I do not think you will deny that this month, from May 26th to June 15th, is one of the most critical times that the human race has ever been called upon to face. In the last few days we have had published in all our papers the terms of the peace which has been drafted, and on June 15th these terms of peace will have to be signed. Upon those terms of peace depend the welfare not of this country or of that country, but of the whole world. Upon the terms of that peace depends the happiness of our children and our children's children, and the welfare of the whole human race.

Was it the people who made the war in 1914? The millions who have everything to lose, everything to suffer, and nothing to gain by war, who made that decision? No, it was not the people, but just a little group of militarists and imperialists, with their hangers-on, the international financiers and profiters. It was they who engineered this calamity.

I ask you to realise your personal responsibility in this matter, to take those peace terms and read them and study them, and ask yourselves, do they lay down the conditions of the future peace and happiness and welfare of the world? Dark as in some ways the present moment is, I feel that we

can face the future with hope. And so we say, march on, march on, face to the dawn of liberty

#### BLANCHE REVERCHON (France)

*Note.* — The full text of Mlle Reverchon's speech is not available. She regretted that her colleagues, who would have told of pacifist activities in France, had not been able to be present at the Congress. Since the armistice they had been very active, had agitated against the blockade, and in favour of the return of prisoners, and had also worked for the reform of education. In «La Voix des Femmes» especially, a strong protest was made against the blockade.

#### VIDA GOLDSTEIN (Australia)

The very fact of being here seems to have made us acquainted with you and with your beautiful country. When we entered Switzerland yesterday we felt immediately the change of atmosphere. In Australia we are already more or less saturated with the military spirit in the four short years of war. We had previously prided ourselves, like you, on our freedom, but now we can no longer say we are free. We, like the other military countries in Europe, are enslaved to the military powers in our country. Australian women are feeling — not all women, because women in Australia have been carried away as much by the war as women in other countries — but women in democratic movements feel that what they must fight against in the future is militarism in every shape and form. You have it here to some extent. It is no use its being camouflaged as citizen training. In our country we have the worst form of conscription that obtains in any country today. It is only in Australia that boys of twelve and a half and thirteen are conscripted under the guise of compulsory military training. The men of our country did not have the moral courage to offend their constituents by conscripting the men of the country, but they put it on the boys, with the result that in a few years every man in our country will be a conscript, and we appeal to you to help us to fight that menace. We have seen its vicious results in this war.



On our journey from Australia we stayed ten days in Bombay. We were supposed to take on troops, but owing to the riots in India, the troops were retained, and we saw what militarism means in India. We saw it again at Port Said. We saw it again in England, and women and men must unite in fighting militarism. It is no use blaming governments — governments are simply the people. They are the representatives, the servants of the people, and every man and woman who is not definitely allied with the organisations which are fighting militarism is responsible for it and for war. I have just indicated to you very briefly what we have to fight against in Australia, and we appeal to you to help us, because that is the purpose of these international gatherings. These conferences, such as we are having here in your city, do help to break down barriers between nations. We can never at the order of our governments become enemies of each other. We are good comrades for all time, and so we want more and more of these congresses — everything that will tend to develop the international conscience, instead of the selfish spirit of nationalism.

We were told this was a war to end war, and it was that cry that made our young men in hundreds and thousands enlist in Australia, because you can never get the men of any country to fight unless they believe they are fighting for a beautiful ideal. Our young men did think they were fighting for a beautiful ideal, in fighting a war that was going to end war for all time. I was told in London the other day that a young boy going to a military college expressed his regret to an exalted military personage that he was too late to fight, and this gentleman said, «My boy, it is all right. You need have no fear. There will be another war within five years». And there will be, if the men and women of every country, as distinct from the rulers, do not rise and prevent it. It depends on people like ourselves whether there is to be war. The war of the future will possibly or surely be the great war between capital and labour.

I have today been trying to oppose a proposal in the Congress to support the creation of a Health Bureau, and some

people may think I am rather obsessed about this. But we have recently seen how the supposed care for the health of the people is going to be used against the freedom of the people if they do not waken up. I know that the people who are acting in this matter are controlled by the highest motives, but to allow a medical bureaucracy to be established for the ostensible purpose of protecting the health of the people is to forge a weapon which will be used against the coming democracy in every country.

In the troublous times of the present and of the future, let us take as our watchword that wonderful word «Love». It is the only thing that keeps the world moving, it is the only weapon that counts, it is the sword of the spirit that alone will bring an enduring peace.

CHARLOTTE DESPARD (England):

We have come together, and it will be our own fault if we ever allow any barriers to be put up between us again. It has given me the greatest pleasure to grasp the hands of the women of the Central Powers.

It used to be said that that holy of holies, foreign affairs, was something which could only be tackled by the minds of certain men. The men, unhappily, have made very sad work of this foreign politics of which they have spoken so much.

Mr. Lloyd George has his lucid moments. As far back as 1911 he said he was going out on a campaign for woman suffrage. He actually got as far as Bath, where he delivered an address, and it was the joy of my life to be able to quote these words to him in 1917. He said «Make no mistake about it, this is not only a national question, it is an international question. I have no hesitation in saying that if the women of these countries had a vote, if they were represented in the councils of their nation, the mothers of Europe would not allow the fields of Europe to be drenched with the blood of their sons. Between those dates he had done nothing and what he had prophesied had come to pass.

When the women have obtained this power, how are they to use it in the interests of peace? First of all, we have to



educate the women who don't know much about politics so that they shall not be hypnotised into unconsidered action, also we must see that those for whom we vote are pledged to a high and strong internationalism.

There is another matter of importance. If we bring up our children as we know very well many are planning to bring up their boys, if we make militarists of them, we know we must have wars, because with that sort of training they come to think there is nothing worth doing but to get the best they can with what they call « their strong right arm ». We must teach our children that through peace there is a great and beautiful world of high adventure open to them. Do not let us fear that if there is no war we shall have a dull world. On the contrary we shall have a more beautiful world than we have ever had before. In all countries we must be determined on this point — absolutely no militarism in the schools! Moreover, we should see that our young people have every possible advantage that science, good nourishment, and the best sort of physical training can give them, because if we had a strong generation physically we should a better chance of a wise generation mentally — the strong mind in the strong body. We must all know that this is so. I always say that to women the future belongs in a very peculiar way, that in her lives and moves the world that is to be. Let her strive to make it as bright and beautiful as it can possibly be; if she succeeds, then there will be no fear of wars in the future.

Saturday Evening, May 17, 1919

Closing address by the President of the Congress  
at the Tonhalle banquet

JANE ADDAMS

If some of us who are looking at the terms of the Peace Treaty and the prospects for the future are not very happy, we must remember that the people who made the Peace Treaty are also far from happy. In Paris there are many groups of Boers, Siamese, Egyptians, and representatives of other countries, waiting month after month, seeking justice, and not getting much.

When I was there, one night I took dinner at the house of Mr. Hoover. He told me a very touching tale of all the difficult things he had had to do during the war and since the war. None had been more difficult than the requirement to pass through a starving country with trainloads of food, and enter another country which was also hungry. For instance, at one of the docks to which a shipload of food came, the men who had to unload it were hungry and their wives and children were hungry, and their work was to take it into an enemy country. One man said, « We could not do it », and it was found necessary to appeal to their goodwill and use moral suasion. Then they did it. When that great test was put upon them, to go hungry that their enemies might be fed, nothing but a moral appeal could meet the situation. We shall have to believe in spiritual power. We shall have to learn to use moral energy, to put a new sort of force into the world and believe that it is a vital thing — the only thing, in this moment of sorrow and death and destruction, that will heal the world and bring it back into a normal condition.



So we can say to one another that we have met, and discovered that even after a great and prolonged war women from belligerent countries can come together, not in a pretended goodwill, not in a mere outside sentimentalism, for there was nothing of that about this Congress, but in genuine friendship and understanding, because they have held themselves above the battle line, and have tried to use this better force. If it can be done in small groups, then it can be done on a larger scale.

So I bid you go forth to this great task, and we shall all know that we have this sisterhood and comradeship together, and we shall come back to the next Congress and tell of our failures, and also may be tell of success. Whether we fail or not, we know we have the clue, and the military way will have to come to an end, if only because it has tried to do what could not be done except by spiritual power, and so has ruined itself.

So this Congress is adjourned, in the faith of our own principles, and in the hope that we shall meet at a happier moment two years hence.

#### BANQUET AT THE TONHALLE, ZURICH

The final official meeting of the Congress took the form of a banquet at the Tonhalle, Zurich, given by the members of the Swiss Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to the visiting delegates from all other countries. The hall and tables were bright and attractive with flowers. The supper served was enjoyable, but of the simple nature which befitted a country still on strict rations, in the midst of a continent suffering the combined effects of war famine and food blockade. A successful effort was made to scatter the members of the various national delegations, and each of the several speeches given at intervals during the evening was preceded and followed by animated conversation in many languages. In addition to the members of the Congress, there were present, among other guests, Stadtpräsident Nägeli, Mayor of Zurich and Regierungsrat Mousson, both of whom were officially delegated to be present. The Mayor congratulated the women of the Congress that they had had the courage to take their stand for the higher principles of humanity, and presented to the President, Miss Jane Addams, a portfolio containing reproductions of watercolor views of old Zurich, a gift conferred only on visitors who are considered specially worthy of honour. During the evening a number of students in national costumes sang solos and chorus songs, and a choir of young girls sang a peace song which had been written for the occasion. At one point a speaker referred feelingly to the names of Bertha von Suttner and Jean Jaurès as those of great peace workers who had gone before us, and the assembly silently rose in their honour. Shortly before midnight the President, in the speech printed above (on page 237), officially adjourned the Congress.



#### RECEPTION AT THE ZUNFTHAUS ZUR MEISE

Among the pleasant remembrances of these who attended the Zurich Congress is the reception arranged by the Swiss Committee, on the Sunday evening preceding the opening of the formal meetings, in the picturesque and charming guild house «Zur Meise». The opportunity to make acquaintance, even more perhaps than the informal addresses by Jane Addams and others, were a pleasant prelude to the working days to follow.

#### UETLIBERG EXCURSION

On Wednesday evening, May 14, members of the Congress enjoyed an excursion to the Uetliberg, a high crag overlooking the town and lake of Zurich, and commanding beautiful views of the surrounding woods and mountains. Perfect weather favored the outing. Late in the afternoon of a clear, sunny day, a special train from Zurich conveyed the party to the summit of the Uetliberg, whence they admired the sunset, and later on, in the full moonlight, the view of Zurich lying far below, a cluster of brilliant lights bordering the lake. A simple supper was served on the terrace of the hotel, and a chorus of girl singers, the Pfadfinderinnen (girl scouts), sang charmingly several Swiss dialect songs. Members appreciated to the full the opportunity to cultivate one another's acquaintance to a degree not possible during the busy sessions of the Congress, and those visiting Switzerland for the first time were delighted with this fresh revelation of its beauty.





An International Group: America, Austria, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Sweden



Dr. Augspurg, Mrs. Despard, Lida Gustava Heymann, Rosa Genoni, Leopoldine Kulka, Died January 2, 1910, Dr. Alice Hamilton

## RESOLUTIONS AND PROPOSALS

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### RESOLUTIONS

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

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*The following Delegation was appointed by the Congress to present these Resolutions: Jane Addams, President, U. S. A.; 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 civilisation.

It therefore urges the Governments of all the Powers assembled at the Peace Conference immediately to develop the inter-allied organisations 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 necessities of life are supplied to all peoples,
  - 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, recognise the right of the victors to the spoils 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 of 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 the 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 principle 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 by 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 continued, 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 engagements 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 investments 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 governmental 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 home-makers 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 endeavour 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 the 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 or 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 calls 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 Government 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. Women'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 service, 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 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 be not 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. Mandatories.*

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 Governmental Censorship.*

Abolition of Governmental censorship should be required.

*j. Women's Equality.*

The suffrage and all legal, political and 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 by 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 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 ;
- b. Recognizing in the Labour Charter, proposed by them for incorporation in the Treaty of Peace, the principle of equal pay for work of 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 recognising the citizenship of their women.



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

### VIII. PROGRAMME IN MATTERS AFFECTING WOMENS 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 homemakers, 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. Woman Suffrage.

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

#### 19. National and International Political Status.

The equal status of women with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, national and international, should be established 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 mar-

riage 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 the status of women as free citizens.

#### 23. An Equal Moral Standard.

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 diseases, 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 the 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 organised 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 responsibility not only of the mothers but also of the fathers of children born out of wedlock, should be recognised, 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 organisation and international ethics and citizenship.

See also page 265.

**X. PEACE AND LIBERTY**

**27. Consent and Coercion.**

Since the test of the civilisation 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 governments 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 recognises 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 part in 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 serve 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 perversions of truth, one-sided accounts of facts, and government propaganda to control opinion whether by press, pulpit or educational systems 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 governmental 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. Right 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, recognising 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 of 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.

### 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



able 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.

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.

b. 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.

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

d. 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 fulfil 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.

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.

i. 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.

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 intrusted 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 work-people 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 establishment 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.



# RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE 1915

## I. WOMEN AND WAR

### 1. Protest.

We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has laboured through centuries to build up.

### 2. Women's Sufferings in War.

This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war.

## II. ACTION TOWARDS PEACE

### 3. The Peace Settlement.

This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or labouring under the burden of war.

Since the masses of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defence and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established. The Congress therefore

urges the governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions<sup>1</sup> adopted by this Congress, namely:

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognised.

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

That the governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

### 4. Continuous Mediation.

This International Congress of Women resolves to ask the neutral countries to take immediate steps to create a conference of neutral nations which shall without delay offer continuous mediation. The Conference shall invite suggestions for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously, reasonable proposals as a basis of peace.

## III. PRINCIPLES OF A PERMANENT PEACE

### 5. Respect for Nationality.

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no<sup>2</sup> transference of territory without the consent of the men

<sup>1</sup> The Resolutions in full are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> The Congress declared by vote that it interpreted no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women in it to imply that the right of conquest was not to be recognised.



and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

**6. Arbitration and Conciliation.**

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of progress and civilisation, urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration and conciliation.

**7. International Pressure.**

This International Congress of Women urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

**8. Democratic Control of Foreign Policy.**

Since war is commonly brought about not by the mass of the people, who do not desire it, but by groups representing particular interests, this International Congress of Women urges that foreign politics shall be subject to democratic control; and declares that it can only recognise as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

**9. The Enfranchisement of Women.**

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

**IV. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

**10. Third Hague Conference.**

This International Congress of Women urges that a third Hague Conference be convened immediately after the war.

**11. International Organisation.**

This International Congress of Women urges that the organisation of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include:

a. As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.

b. As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal not with the rules of warfare but with practical proposals for further international cooperation among the States. This Conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized and the interests and 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.

This International Conference shall appoint:

A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

**12. General Disarmament.**

The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realising that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.



### 13. Commerce and Investments.

a. The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.

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

### 14. National Foreign Policy.

a. This International Congress of Women demands that all secret treaties shall be void and that for the ratification of future treaties, the participation of at least the legislature of every government shall be necessary.

b. This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created and International Conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an International Federation.

These Commissions and Conferences should be recognised by the Governments and should include women in their deliberations.

### 15. Women in National and International Politics.

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

## V. THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

16. This International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace.

## VI. WOMEN AND THE PEACE SETTLEMENT CONFERENCE

17. This International Congress of Women urges that in the interests of lasting peace and civilisation the Conference which shall frame the peace settlement after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the parliamentary franchise to women.

18. This International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims

## VII. ACTION TO BE TAKEN

### 19. Women's Voice in the Peace Settlement.

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war, for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference.

### 20. Envoys to the Governments.

In order to urge the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, this International Congress of Women delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress Resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States.

These Envoys shall be women of both neutral and belligerent nations, appointed by the International Committee of this Congress. They shall report the result of their missions to the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace as a basis for further action.



# CONSTITUTION OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

## 1. Name.

The name shall be The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

## 2. Object.

To organise support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and at Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further peace, internationalism and the freedom of women.

## 3. Membership.

Every nation, free or subject, and every self-governing dominion may be represented in the League by one National Section. Any minority in a country which claims the status of a separate nationality may also form a National Section.

Should difficulties arise as to the interpretation of this clause, they shall be submitted for decision to the next international congress. Every National Section must support the objects of the League.

## 4. Executive Committee.

At each International Congress, an Executive Committee consisting of nine persons and the president shall be elected.

This Committee shall meet at least once a year; it shall summon an International Congress once in two years; and may summon it at any other time if the circumstances in their judg-

ment should require it. The duties of the Executive Committee shall include the appointment of such sub-committees as are found to be necessary.

## 5. Election of President and Members of the Executive Committee.

Each National Delegation may nominate three members for the Executive Committee and from the persons thus nominated the Congress shall elect nine members.

The President shall be nominated by the National Delegations and elected by the Congress and shall have a casting vote on the Executive Committee.

## 6. Consultative Committee.

A Consultative Committee shall be formed to consist of two persons from each National Section. These persons shall have the right to attend meetings of the Executive Committee but not to vote: they shall be kept informed of all business transacted by the Executive Committee.

## 7. Members of the International Congress.

The members of the International Congress shall be the Executive Committee, the Consultative Committee and not more than 20 delegates and 10 alternates from each National Section.

## 8. International Bureau.

The Bureau of the League shall be established by the Executive Committee at the place where the League of Nations has its headquarters, and one or more members of the Executive Committee must always be in residence in order to conduct the business.

## 9. Interim Proposals.

The National Sections are entitled at any time to make proposals to the Executive Committee for work or for additions to



the programme. The Executive Committee shall when possible submit such proposals to all National Sections for their consideration and for a referendum vote, but may in its discretion adopt or reject such proposals without so doing, giving reasons for its action to the Sections making the proposal.

**10. Finance.**

Every National Section shall pay a yearly sum of 50 Swiss francs to the Bureau and shall be expected besides to raise money for international work.

**BY-LAWS<sup>1</sup>**

**1. Associates.**

Individuals who signify their adherence to the objects of the League may join as Associates on payment of 25 Swiss francs annually. Such Associates have a right to receive literature and to attend Congresses of the League as visitors.

**2. Admission of new Sections.**

New Sections may be admitted provisionally until the next meeting of the Committee.

<sup>1</sup> Adopted by vote of the Executive Committee after the close of the Congress.