



EXTRACT FROM THE FORTHCOMING REPORT

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF WOMEN

HELD AT ZURICH
MAY 12-17 - 1919

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM



INTERNATIONAL OFFICE (FORMERLY IN AMSTERDAM)
GENEVA: 19, BOULEVARD GEORGES-FAVON, TELEPHONE 78-20

EXTRACT FROM THE FORTHCOMING REPORT
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN
held at Zurich, May 12-17, 1919.

The Report of the Congress, which is expected to appear in August, will contain approximately 300 pages and will include addresses; resolutions; a brief history of the movement; the report of the delegation sent by the Congress to the Representatives of the Powers in Paris; the manifesto of the delegates to the Governments in 1915; telegram from President Wilson and other telegrams and messages received by the Congress; a *Who's Who* of members of the Congress; illustrations, and other interesting matter.

The Report, postage included, will be sold, to members only, at fr. 2.50 (two shillings; fifty cents); to others, ordering through the Office, for fr. 5 (4 shillings, \$ 1.20).

Lists of librarians and others who might order the Report will be gratefully received. Orders should be sent at once to

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Ligue Internationale de Femmes,
19, Boulevard Georges-Favon,
Geneva (Switzerland)

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SECRETARIES : EMILY BALCH, MARGUERITE GOBAT

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

FORMERLY
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR PERMANENT PEACE



NATIONAL SECTIONS

AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, BULGARIA, CANADA, DENMARK, FINLAND,
FRANCE, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, HUNGARY, INDIA (BRITISH),
IRELAND, ITALY, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, POLAND, SWEDEN,
SWITZERLAND, UNITED STATES.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT: JANE ADDAMS, HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO, U. S. A.
VICE-PRESIDENTS: L. G. HEYMANN, GERMANY.
H. M. SWANWICK, ENGLAND.
SECRETARY-TREASURER: EMILY BALCH, U. S. A.
ASSISTANT-SECRETARY: C. RAMONDT-HIRSCHMANN, HOLLAND.



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Resolutions A

RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE POWERS IN PARIS

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

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Resolution A, I.

ON FAMINE AND BLOCKADE

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

It therefore urges the Governments of all the Powers assembled at the Peace Conference immediately to develop the inter-allied 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 people 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.

Resolution A, II.

TREATY OF PEACE

1. 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 honor of the Allied peoples depends.

2. League of Nations

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 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, 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 above 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 labor.
- 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.

3. Women's position in a League of Nations

a. *Recognition of Women in the Covenant of the League*

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.

b. *Women's Charter.*

That 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 :

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 and 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. »

c. Women and the general Labor Conference.

Since the general Labor 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 Labor Legislation, which proposes that this general Labor 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.

d. 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. »

Resolution A, 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.

Resolution A, 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.

Resolutions B

RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I. League of Nations

(This programme, differently worded and arranged, is included also under A).

II. Action to be proposed to the League of Nations when established

Resolution B, I.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

This Congress deploras 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 which is of easy amendment, and on the following basis.

1. 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.

2. Organization

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.

3. 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 direct presentation to the League of 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 :

1. secret treaties ;
2. all treaties or international engagements inconsistent with the constitution of the League of Nations ;
3. all treaties and international engagements not registered at the Headquarters of the League.

f. *Ratification of treaties.*

Ratification of treaties should require the consent of an elected legislative body.

g. *Revision of treaties.*

Provision should be made for the revision of treaties, which had 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.

4. 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.

5. 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.

6. Social

a. *Communication and travel.*

There should be complete freedom of travel and communication.

b. *Child labor.*

Child labor should be abolished.

Resolution B, II.

**ACTION TO BE PROPOSED TO
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WHEN ESTABLISHED**

1. 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.

2. 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.

Resolutions C

**OTHER RESOLUTIONS
SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL SECTIONS
FOR CONSIDERATION AND ACTION**

-
- I. Progress in the Political position of Women, 1915-1919.
 - II. Programme in matters affecting Women.
 - III. The Problem of Population.
 - IV. Educational Programme.
 - V. Programme of Political, Educational and Industrial Reform proposed by the French National Section.
 1. Liberty of Labour.
 2. Working Hours.
 3. Payment for Work.
 4. Safety and Hygiene of Workers.
 5. Protection of Maternity.
 6. Protection of Childhood and Youth.
 7. Unemployment.
 8. Social Insurance.
 9. Professionnal Organisation and Protection.
 10. Enforcement.
 11. International Organisation.
 12. Economic Councils.
 - VI. Peace and Liberty.

Resolution C, I.
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 :

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 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.

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), 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 the Federal Amendment has passed both houses of Congress

Resolution C, II.
PROGRAMME IN MATTERS AFFECTING
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 propaganda programme :

1. Woman suffrage

Woman 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 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 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 dependance 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 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.

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 Home-makers and Consumers

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

Resolution C, III.

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.

Resolution C, IV.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

The events of the last four years have proved that our civilization 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 charter 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. This Congress recommends the following means towards the end.

1. The Establishment of an International Council for Education

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

2. 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 civilization 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 discouraged. 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 organized associations of profes-

sors 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.

Resolution C, V.

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

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

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

2. *Working-Hours.*

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

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

c. The weekly rest-period shall have a duration of at least thirty six consecutive hours. It shall, except in cases of absolute need, include the weekly day of rest generally adopted in the

country. Industries in which exceptions to this rule are unavoidable shall only be able to interrupt the weekly rest by periods of work not 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 very nature of the work.

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 the regulation workshop hours.

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

3. *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 the 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.

4. *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 in premises fulfilling the required sanitary conditions.

f. To be excluded from dwelling-houses are :

1. Work injurious to health :

2. 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 home of workers. Work shall be prohibited on any premises where these 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.

5. *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 labor 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 inaptitude 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.

6. *Protection of Childhood and Youth.*

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

II. 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.

III. 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.

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

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

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

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

VIII. 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.

IX. 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 :

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

2. In unhealthy industries.

3. In underground work in mines.

Unskilled labor (navvy work) shall no longer be undertaken by young people, but shall be done by machine and by unskilled adults.

7. *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 balance as exactly as possible the demand and supply of labour, a constant supervision of the labour-market shall be exercised by the State 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 equally in all workers, men or women, professional ability.

When new processes are introduced that may throw out certain categories 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.

8. *Social Insurance.*

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

1. 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.

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

a. Free medical, surgical, dental, pharmaceutical and hydro-pathic care ; the providing of orthopedic apparatus, artificial limbs, spectacles, etc.

b. 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 as 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.

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

a. Free medical, surgical, dental, pharmaceutical, and hydro-pathic care ; the providing of orthopedic apparatus, artificial limbs, spectacles, etc.

b. A daily indemnity such as added to the wage should at least be equal to the minimum wage fixed for the district.

4. 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.

5. 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.

6. Insurance for the benefit of widows or consorts 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.

9. *Professional Organisation and Protection.*

The right to form Trade Unions shall be recognised in all countries, to all workers irrespective of categories. Trade Union organisation shall be encouraged and facilitated.

The right of strike shall also be guaranteed to all workers, also irrespective of categories.

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.

10. *Enforcement.*

The conditions enumerated above shall apply to all workers without distinction of categories.

On account of the difficulty in applying the regulation respecting the hours of work to agricultural labourers, as also to seamen and to domestic service, the study of modifications to adopt 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 labour having foreigners in their employment 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.

11. *International Organisation.*

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

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

12. *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 :

- I. 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.
- II. To suppress all barriers which, by opposing the establishing of a world-market, raise the cost of living.
- III. 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.

Resolution C, VI.

PEACE AND LIBERTY

1. Consent and Coercion

Since the test of the civilization of a State is the extent to which it relies upon moral appeal and consent rather than coercion, the International Congress of Women affirms that it should be the aim of all 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.

2. Peaceful Methods in Revolutionary Movements

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

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

3. 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.

4. 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.

5. Nationality, Race and Color

a. Holding that no human being on account of his nationality, race or color should be deprived of education, prevented from earning a living, debarred from any legitimate pursuit he may wish to follow, or subjected to humiliation, this International Congress of Women resolves to work for the abrogation of laws and changes of customs which lead to such discrimination.

b. The International Congress of Women urges that no restriction should be placed upon the civil or political rights of the Jews because of their race.

c. 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.

6. Right of Asylum

This International Congress of Women deploras as of not merely national but international importance the fact that since 1914 :

a. several freedom-loving nations, for centuries distinguished as places of asylum for exiles and refugees, have reversed their age-long and enlightened policy, and

b. mass deportation of thousands of people from the countries of their adoption have inflicted suffering and death in many forms upon innocent persons.

It therefore recommends its National Sections to urge upon their respective Governments the establishment or re-establishment, as the case may be, of the right of asylum and the repeal of all laws by which it is endangered or abolished.

7. International Organization of Women Against War

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

II

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 resolutions¹ 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 recognized.

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 no¹ transference of territory without the consent of the men

¹ NOTE. The Resolutions in full are nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

² NOTE. 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 recognized.

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 Organization

This International Congress of Women urges that the organization 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 realizing 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 recognized 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 amongst them women should be included.

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 Women's Committee for Constructive Peace as a basis for further action.

III

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 in Zurich 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 judgment 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 the 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.

BYELAWS (1)

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.

¹ NOTE. Adopted by vote of the Executive Committee after the close of the Congress.

IV

**LETTRE DES FEMMES FRANÇAISES
AUX FEMMES ALLEMANDES**

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'être 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 sauver la paix.

Liées 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.

**ANTWORT DER DEUTSCHEN
AN DIE FRANZÖSISCHEN FRAUEN**

Mit tiefer Freude haben wir deutschen Frauen den Gruss der französischen Schwestern erhalten, den wir aufs innigste erwidern. Auch wir protestieren gegen die Verewigung einer Volksfeindschaft die uns Frauen immer fremd war.

Französische Schwestern, mit Freuden ergreifen wir die uns in Treue dargereichte Hand. In gemeinsamem Schaffen wollen wir zusammen stehen, zusammen gehen zu der Menschheit Bestem.

Auf den Trümmern einer technisch materialistischen Welt, die errichtet war durch Macht und Gewalt, die sich aufbaute auf Nichtverstehenwollen und Hass, wollen wir Frauen über Tod und Tränen der neuen Menschheit den Weg bereiten. Wir Frauen aller Nationen wollen als Mütter der kommenden Generation Verständigung, Liebe, Friede.

Trotz Nacht und Finsternis der Gegenwart wandern wir getrost einer Sonnenzukunft entgegen.

SONOR S. A., GENÈVE