



## WILPF RESOLUTIONS

2<sup>nd</sup> Congress  
Zurich, Switzerland  
1919

### **A) RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE POWERS IN PARIS**

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

#### **1. ON FAMINE AND BLOCKADE**

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

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

To this end it urges that immediate action be taken:

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

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

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

## **II. TREATY OF PEACE**

### **Peace Terms**

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

By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors, the terms of peace tacitly sanction secret diplomacy, deny the principles of self-determination, recognize the right of the victors to the soils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars.

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

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

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

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

### **League of Nations**

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

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

### **Essential Conditions omitted from the Covenant**

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

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

- a. Membership freely open, from time of the establishment of the League, to any State desiring to join and willing to perform the duties of membership.
- b. The number of Nations to be included in the executive body to be not less than eleven.
- c. Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all member-states.
- d. Abolition of conscription in all states joining the League.
- e. Adherence to the principles of self-determination in territorial adjustments and matters of nationality, whether sanctioned by the secret treaties, by the treaty embodying the Covenant of the League of Nations, or by later treaties.
- f. The right of direct presentation to the League of Nationalities and Dependencies within any government of their desires as to self-government.
- g. Free access to raw materials for all nations on equal terms.
- h. Abrogation of regional understandings, like the "Monroe Doctrine" and "other international engagements", in so far as inconsistent with the Covenant of the League.
- i. Provision for easier amendment of the Constitution.

### **Endorsement of Certain Principles now in the Covenant**

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

These principles are:

- a. Establishment of machinery for arbitration and conciliation
- b. Abolition of secret treaties.

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

### **Additional Principles to Strengthen the League**

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

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

powers be required to promote the development and power of self-government of their wards.

k. Complete freedom of communication and travel.

l. Abolition of child labour.

m. Agreement between the nations in the League to the abolition of government censorship.

n. Establishment of full equal suffrage and the full equality of women with men politically, socially and economically.

### **Women's Position in a League of Nations**

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

### **Women's Charter**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Women and the General Labour Conference**

Since the general Labour Conference to be set up under the Treaty of Peace deals with questions which directly affect large numbers of wage-earning women in all countries this International Congress of Women call attention to article 3 of the

report of the Commission on International Labour Conference should consist of representatives from each country, namely two Governmental delegates, one representative of employers, and one of employees; and urges that in the interest of these women workers this article should be amended so as to provide that at least one representative from each country shall be a woman.

### **Woman's Vote in Plebiscites**

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

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

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

### **III. Present Military Action in Russia and Hungary**

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of each nation to determine its own form of government on the lines laid down in President Wilson's 14 points, urges the immediate cessation of attack upon Russia and Hungary, whether by armed force, by supply of munitions or money, or by blockade. It protests against the warfare now being waged, without open declaration of war, upon peoples who are experimenting in a new social and economic order, which may prove to have a great contribution to make to the world, and which has not yet had a fair trial.

### **IV. AMNESTY FOR WAR PRISONERS**

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

### **B. RESOLUTIONS FOR FUTURE WORK SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL SECTIONS**

### **V. LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

*This resolution as here printed embodies in a logical order the decisions of the Congress regarding the type of League of Nations for which the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom ought to work: the text was not before the Congress in just this form. The briefer statement of these decisions presented at Paris will be found on p. 243 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 ore fully recognized, and the rights not only of the great powers and small nations, but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion. The number of nations included in its executive body should not be less than eleven.

### *b. Courts of Justice and Arbitration*

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

### *c. Conciliation*

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

### *d. Decisions of the League*

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

### *e. Women's Eligibility*

Women's 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 Government Censorship*

Abolition of Government censorship should be required.

*j. Women's Equality*

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

## **11. Military**

### *a. The Right to Declare War.*

The right to declare war should be abolished.

### *b. Reduction of Armaments*

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

### *c. Conscription*

Military conscription should be abolished.

## **12. Economic**

### *a. Free Trade*

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

### *b. Concessions*

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

### *c. Production and Distribution*

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

### *d. Universal Coinage, Weights and Measures*

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

## **13. Social**

### *a. Communication and Travel*

There should be complete freedom of travel and communication.

*b. Child Labour*

Child labour should be abolished.

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

**14. International Commission on Marriage laws**

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

**15. International Commission on War Profits**

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

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

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

In particular it welcomes:

**16. International**

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

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

## **17. National**

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

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

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

## **VIII. PROGRAMME IN MATTERS AFFECTING WOMEN'S STATUS**

This Congress holds that women cannot make their fullest and most characteristic contribution to the community in any capacity, so long as they have not social, political and economic independence and full opportunity for education and development: it believes that the recognition of women's service to the world not only as wage earners, but as mothers and home makers is an essential factor in the building up of the world's peace.

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

## **18. Women Suffrage**

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

## **19. National and International Political Status**

The equal status of women with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, national and international, should be 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 marriage or otherwise, should be decreed to be contrary to international law, and the law against slavery should be applied in such cases.

## **21. Equality between Husband and Wife**

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

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

## **22. Endowment of Motherhood**

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

## **23. An Equal Moral Standards**

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

- a. the state regulation of vice should be abolished, as also all other forms of unequal treatment of men and women for moral offenses or in connection with venereal disease, whether by law or administration.
- b. the age of consent should be raised and the law on this subject made effective.
- c. the traffic in women, national and international, should be suppressed.

## **24. Equal pay, Equal Education, Equal Opportunities**

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

## **25. Women as Home-makers and Consumers**

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

## **26. Responsibilities of Unmarried Parents**

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

## **IX. INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON EDUCATION**

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

## **X. PEACE AND LIBERTY**

### **27. Consent and Coercion**

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

### **28. Peaceful Methods in Revolutionary Movements**

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

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

## **29. Conscientious Objectors**

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

## **30. Misleading of Public Opinion**

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

## **31. Self Determination for Ireland**

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

## **32. Race Equality**

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

## **33. The Jews**

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

### **34. Deportations**

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

### **35. Rights of Asylum**

Several freedom-loving nations, which had for centuries distinguished themselves by affording asylum to refugees and exile 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 rights of asylum, and the repeal of all laws which endanger or abolish it.

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

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

### **37. International Organisation of Women Against War**

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