

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S NEWS

JUS SUFFRAGII

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ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

A revolution, on peaceful and constructive lines, is being carried out by the women of India.

A Manifesto and Questionnaire addressed to all the candidates in the elections for the Legislatures has been issued by the All India Women's Conference, the largest body of organised women in India. The manifesto declares that the Conference "ardently desires the removal of all such customs and legal, educational and social disabilities as deny to women or to any particular class or community equal opportunities and facilities for free and unfettered service and moral, material and physical advancement." The questions deal with such matters as communal unity, the abolition of Child Marriage, free compulsory primary education, the suppression of immoral traffic in women and children, besides others of importance for the removal of social evils.

The All India Women's Conference, which has issued this challenging document, meets yearly when hundreds of its members from all over India, representative of every class and creed, gather and discuss plans for their campaign for social and educational reform. This year Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Dr. Maude Royden, have accepted an invitation to attend as "honoured guests," and they will both be leaving for India direct by air to Karachi where the conference will be held at the end of December.

It is significant that both these very busy women have felt so strongly the importance of the Conference and the call from the Women's Movement in India that they are giving up pressing personal and public claims in order to be present. Both will take with them great contributions.

It would have been difficult to have found two more well equipped and representative emissaries, and the women of England will be delighted to be sending their best to India at this time.

PEACE.

The Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organisations has just brought out a special postcard designed to provide propaganda in the campaign for the international regulation and control of the munitions industry. The postcard illustrates in a striking way the millions spent on munitions, while poverty and starvation are the lot of millions of human beings. The cards can be obtained from the Office of the Women's Disarmament Committee, 6, Rue Adhémar Fabri, Place des Alpes, Geneva, at the following prices:

Minimum order of 1,000 cards,	75 Swiss francs.
500 or more	8 francs a hundred.
100	10 francs plus postage

It seems suitable under this heading to insert a review of a book recently published, "Challenge to Death," published by Constable & Co., 10-12, Orange Street, London, W.C.2., price 5s.

This book is a collection of papers by 15 people with a foreword by Viscount Cecil. The authors are mostly people well-known in journalism or letters, or as students of international affairs and they have combined to write this book because from whatever different angle they may approach the consideration of the present situation of the world, they feel it is urgent to face and to combat the menace to peace which that situation must be seen to hold.

The chapters deal with different aspects, so many that it is difficult to review. As a whole, perhaps, it

may be said that it is a forcible plea for clear thinking now not so much as to how to prevent war—which is a negative attitude, as to how to ensure peace. By taking thought to get out of the present economic muddle; by such re-organisation as shall ensure the possibility of decent social conditions—not by offering temporary panaceas for the worst cases of poverty; controlling the armaments industries; by endeavouring to make people understand that nationalism is not patriotism in the worthy and constructive sense. In fact by making people, and that is to start with individual people, think and when they have thought saying what they think and meaning what they say. So much lies there. Almost certainly every reader of this paper would say that war is impossible, stupid, incredible. But it is not enough to think that or to say it, we must feel it with an intensity and a reasoned conviction which will enable us to propagate with force the support of that international order which is the first necessity, not only for avoiding war, but for enabling the nations to have time and thought for putting their own houses in order.

This is necessarily an inadequate statement of the contents of a fairly long and closely-written book. It is to be hoped that the names of the authors, which we give below, will attract many readers who perhaps would not otherwise feel inclined to read a book about peace.

The various authors are: Philip Noel Baker, Gerald Barry, Vernon Bartlett, Edmund Blunden, Vera Brittain, Ivor Brown, G. E. G. Catlin, Guy Chapman, Mary Agnes Hamilton, Gerald Heard, Winifred Holtby, Julian Huxley, Storm Jameson, J. B. Priestley, Rebecca West.

OBITUARY.

We deeply regret to announce the death in October of Miss Fredrikke Mørck, of Norway, one of the pioneers of the suffrage movement who was elected to the Alliance Board at Paris in 1926, though unfortunately her failing health prevented her from taking an active part in our work. Miss Mørck was born in 1861, and was engaged in educational work from 1881 to 1910.

She was closely connected with the suffrage movement as a colleague of Gina Krog and Anna Bugge Wicksell, and on the former's death she became editor of the woman's paper, "Nylaende." In 1914 she published a very useful book, "Norwegian Women from 1814 to 1914." From 1902-1905 she served as a proxy member of the Oslo City Council.

It may be said truly that in one form of service or another, Fredrikke Mørck's whole life was devoted to women, and we mourn the loss of a fine personality and offer our special sympathy to our Auxiliary, the Landskvinnestemmeretsforeningen.

With the death on October 15th of Martina Kramers, one of the pioneers of the suffrage movement is gone from us. She reached the age of 71 years and she was able to work till the last day of her life, when a "convengo" of Esperantists was held at her house in Apeldoorn.

That she should feel for a world-language was quite natural for it had been her duty, as a secretary of the Alliance, at congresses to translate the speeches of the delegates in the three official languages, and she knew how unsatisfactory translations are and how difficult it is to give good translations, even for the perfect interpreter she was. And later on as she became an editor of *Jus Suffragii* she experienced the same difficulties.

Praise for the success of the first congress of the Alliance at Copenhagen in 1906 was due next to Mrs. Catt's wonderful leading, to Martina's assiduous work. Day and night she was working, giving information wherever it was asked for and seeming to be everywhere

at a time, and in the meanwhile interpreting speeches and writing the minutes of the congress. The journalists were astonished; they admired her energy and used the information they got and wrote satisfactory reports.

Martina came home to the Netherlands quite exhausted, but very well satisfied with the results of the congress.

During the congress at Amsterdam in 1908 success was growing steadily. There was a second secretary there to do part of the work, but Mrs. Catt and Martina Kramers were the two prominent figures. The journalists were favourably impressed by the congress, and it had a good press. Since then the Alliance has grown immensely, but those two first congresses were momentous. They had to conquer scepticism and doubt and it was the wonderful success of the pioneers that gave the suffrage movement a solid international basis.

In later years Martina gave herself to national work. She was for many years a member of the executive of the National Council of Women of the Netherlands, where she represented the National Committee for legal regulation of women's labour.

She was a strong personality and felt deeply for the poor and the oppressed. In politics she joined the Social Democratic party and was a member of the Apeldoorn town council for three years.

She was not popular with the many, but those who knew her well loved her for her sincerity.

H. VAN BIEMA HYMAN.

One after the other our pioneers seem to be passing away, and with gratitude we remember their efforts, their willingness and perseverance in serving the great cause of woman suffrage.

Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema who died on October 25th, was born in 1847, and was one of the collaborators of the late Dr. Aletta Jacobs. With an ever untiring devotion Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema and her husband worked for suffrage as well as for the unmarried mother and her child. She was a most enterprising little lady who still came to our meetings and who did not hesitate in her 80th year to go in an airplane to visit her son in Berlin.

At our international congresses in Amsterdam and London Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema was one of the leading members of the Dutch Delegation.

ROSA MANUS.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIAL MORALITY.

BUDAPEST 15-18 OCTOBER, 1934.

A large number of world organisations, all having the establishing of an equal moral standard among their aims, called this congress, the Alliance being one of the signatories to the convocation.

Dr. Schaetzel, the representative of the Alliance and treasurer of the congress having been suddenly prevented from attending, I had the privilege of representing the Alliance and of reading to the meeting the splendid report of Dr. Luisi on the "Education of Youth."

The congress's sole subject was: Prostitution, Its Causes and its Remedies. Several competent speakers dealt with this tragic and highly important matter, and their speeches and the vivid discussions which ensued threw light on its several aspects. In considering the causes the stress to be laid on the social and economic as well as on the psychological cause was not overlooked. The fact that Lombroso's point of view, that of the "born prostitute" has been forsaken, gives us only more courage to fight the evil, as it is easier—though in itself difficult enough—to improve social conditions than to cure psychical disturbances, although even in these cases the co-operation of doctor and pedagogue may attain a good deal.

THE JOURNEY TO ISTANBUL.

Although the Alliance has not appointed any Travel Agency to deal officially with the journey to Istanbul, and does not wish to take any responsibility in recommending any particular one, we think that readers may find it very useful to read the following notes supplied by the Wayfarers' Travel Agency. In the French Section we also give some suggestions given to us by the Exprinter Agency of Paris.

In order to cheapen the cost of travel to Istanbul a party is in process of formation and arrangements are being made by The Wayfarers' Travel Agency, for specially reduced fares for delegates and others travelling together to the above Congress.

The itinerary proposed is as follows:

*April 15th. Leave London (Victoria) by Dover-Calais and Simplon-Orient Express 11-00 a.m.

April 18th. Arrive Istanbul 7-48 a.m.

The 2nd class fare (assuming that a minimum of eight travel together) will be in the neighbourhood of £22 10s. 0d per head each way (as compared with the ordinary fare of £27 11s. 0d.) though possibly a reduction for sleepers might subsequently be made.

The Simplon-Orient Express is entirely composed of sleeping cars, and the price quoted includes the cost of a second-class sleeper from Calais to Istanbul. It is hoped that similar arrangements can be made for the return journey. Meals in the restaurant cars can also be arranged at considerably reduced rates if booked in advance for a party.

Alternative routes are:—

1. From London to Istanbul via Venice and Lloyd Triestino.

	Single	Return
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1st class rail and boat (approx.)	36 2 3	65 12 3
2nd class rail and 1st boat (approx.)	31 6 0	58 18 5
2nd class rail and 2nd boat (approx.)	25 5 7	47 2 2

These prices do not include sleepers but it is possible to stay in one or two towns en route avoiding the necessity of spending the night in a train.

2. From London to Istanbul via Marseilles and the Messageries Maritimes.

1st class	18 6 0	32 19 0
2nd class	13 8 0	24 1 6
3rd class	8 18 0	16 0 6

3. Via Dover-Ostend, 2nd class single, £19 7s. 1d., sleeper £8 5s. 0d.

If the Ostend-Vienna Orient Express be used a further supplement is chargeable.

In each case the journey takes about four days and The Wayfarers' Travel Agency will be glad to give sailing dates, also alternative modes of travel.

They would be glad to make arrangements for extending the visit either by a tour through Russia on the return, or visiting other centres in Europe.

N.B.—REDUCTIONS.

(Full fares have been given above, except on the Simplon-Orient).

Reductions have been obtained by The Wayfarers' Travel Agency for a minimum number of 25 individual delegates travelling by the main lines in France, by which they will pay the full fare on the outward journey but will travel free on the return journey either from the landing port or from the frontier. This reduction will be useful for those leaving from Marseilles or Venice. With this reduction it will be possible to travel individually both on the outward and return journeys, but passengers will not be allowed to travel on the Simplon-Orient Express or any other "train de luxe" if they hold a half-rate ticket. Quotations on demand.

The Messageries Maritimes will give a reduction of

* An earlier date of departure can be chosen if generally preferred.

It stands to reason, that this congress strongly held out for total abolition, and that to continue the fight against regulation is so evidently everybody's duty, that no special reference to this point was considered necessary. Much stress was laid on the point of education, as all those interested in these matters agree, that a thorough sexual education of both sexes, giving them high moral aims—many speakers referred to the great value of religion in this matter—as well as the improvement of social conditions (houses, wages, family life, use of spare time) combined may work together to combat the many temptations which make the way downward only too tempting and easy.

A special sitting was devoted to the work of private societies of different creed and character, who help the young girls when they travel, when they look for work, and when the solitude of foreign cities tends to increase the dangers that threaten them. The many homes erected for them, not only wish to give them shelter for their bodies, but in giving them a real home give them a shelter for their souls as well. Governments can be of great help, as good laws for children in combination with the help of private societies, co-operating with children's judges, the juvenile courts, guardianship councils, women police, educational institutions of different kinds have the greatest chance of success. The best law, said the Budapest Children's Judge in a splendid and much applauded speech, is the law which gives the judge the largest variety of means in applying it. Perhaps the most important factor in combating public immorality is next to the family itself, where the basis of all sexual and moral education should be laid, public opinion. The strength of public opinion and the results it may obtain cannot easily be overestimated in the fight against pornography of every kind, and one of the speakers gave original ideas on the way to mobilise this useful source of support.

But next to those who are threatened, those who have fallen once—especially the unmarried mother and her child—and those who have fallen deeper, deserve our attention. The fine work which many organisations—for instance, the Salvation Army—do and the gratifying results which they obtain, can only be spoken of in words of the deepest respect.

The positive results of a congress like this one are difficult to estimate. It certainly was of primary importance to give such a strong expression to the desire for abolition in a reglementarist country. An interview with the Hungarian minister urged him to abolish this system and to establish women police. Though the minister did not give any definite promise, he was much interested in the report of the Dutch woman inspector of Police, which he promised to read attentively. Who knows

But even without the propaganda value in Hungary, the congress had value enough in itself and for all those who attended it. It cleared personal views, stimulated all the workers to hear new ideas and profit by personal international contacts, and it gave them courage to go on with their useful work. And is not that the principal object of each congress?

CH. L. POLAK-ROSENBERG.

HUNGARY.

At a competition for graduates from the Commercial High Schools in Budapest, four awards in different subjects were offered, the winners of the first prizes being offered immediate employment. Out of the four victorious scholars, three were girls.

INDIA.

Two women candidates have been successful in securing election to the Vellore Municipality.

20% for five persons travelling together, and the best sailing from Marseilles is on April 11th, arriving Istanbul April 15th. A reduction on the Lloyd Triestino may also be equivalent.

The Air Lines of the company "Air France" agree to a reduction of 20% in the case of five persons travelling together.

Communications should be made to:

Michael A. E. Franklin, Esq.,
The Wayfarers' Travel Agency, Ltd.,
33, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.
(Telephone: Museum 2312).

who will be glad to answer all enquiries regarding travel to or from the Congress.

N.B.—Delegates from foreign Societies may book through The Wayfarers' Travel Agency, 1 Rue d'Alger, Paris, and may join up for the purpose of group travel with other delegates going through Paris.

REVIEWS.

THE MARRIED WOMAN: IS SHE A PERSON? Issued by the Open Door Council, Idlesleigh House, Caxton Street, London. Price 3d.

This little pamphlet sets out to show how the economic disabilities of the married women though in part a survival of older theories of marriage, are in the present time of crisis being used in a way which may radically affect the whole economic position of women in a future more stable state of society. It states that if, at present, it is the married woman who is singled out for discriminatory treatment, the tendency is nevertheless towards restriction on the employment of all women as is evident from actual events in some countries.

It is the weak legal position of the married woman which makes it possible to make her the first and easiest victim, and a short appendix sets out some of the legal disabilities from which married women suffer in Great Britain, which is the country dealt with. But the general arguments against the injustice and danger of the course which this country is very certainly not alone in pursuing, are of universal application. The common arguments against the gainful employment of the married woman are met and refuted, including of course the idea that in a time of widespread unemployment by turning out the minute proportion of married women you would put large numbers of men into jobs. Our readers do not need these arguments recapitulated here, but they may be very glad to find them set out in a clear and logical form in this pamphlet for reference when speaking or writing.

But of course what the pamphlet is really for is to try to get bad, old and illogical ideas out of the heads of those who have never stopped to think but glibly repeat what the press and others say. It is never easy to get the unconverted to listen to sermons, but it would be a very useful piece of work to take some copies of this pamphlet and try to ensure that it gets into the hands and perhaps the heads of those who thoughtlessly and not of malice make up a great body of public opinion adverse to the simplest ideas of justice and good policy where women are concerned.

Two little pamphlets on something the same lines, one on "Equal Pay" and one entitled "Are Women Wage-earners responsible for the Unemployment of Men" have reached us from the United Associations of Sydney, Australia. These also should be very useful to distribute widely at meetings, etc., to sow some small seed of proper understanding among the "men and women in the street."

WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

We are very sorry to learn that Miss Kirstin Hesselgren was not re-elected to the Swedish Senate during the recent elections. Miss Hesselgren has sat for many years and we hope that her defeat is not an indication of a special re-action against women, but rather of a political movement which has taken no account of her long and valuable service to her country.

In Australia, there were altogether six women candidates for the recent Federal Elections, including for the first time a woman from Western Australia, who stood as the official nominee of the Nationalist Party. The elections are long over, but as far as the fate of these women are concerned we must wait for the long post to bring us another copy of the woman's paper "The Dawn," since we have been unable to glean information from the general press. Let us hope it will be good news when it comes.*

BRAZIL.

On the initiative of the Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women, the society affiliated to the Alliance in Brazil, the second National Convention of Brazilian Women, held its sessions at Bahia. The collaboration of delegates come from all allied Associations, federal, national and regional, from all parts of Brazil, as well as the programme destined to make the best use possible of the new position conquered by Brazilian women in the new Constitution, gave special importance to this Conference. The programme, prepared and elaborated by the Central Federation (Rio de Janeiro), was accepted by all the delegates. Besides, the Convention was a welcome opportunity for a grand manifestation of applause and thanks, offered to the national "leader" and successful protagonist in the campaign for the rights of Brazilian women, Dra. Bertha Lutz, and her co-workers.

The plans presented by the Rio de Janeiro Central and accepted by the Assembly, include, besides other important matters, the preparation and presentation of legislative, administrative and social measures, important for the position of women. Though the new Constitution brought to Brazilian Women the right of citizenship in its full extent, there is still much to be done, in the domain of public welfare, assistance and other important questions. Principally it is urgent to obtain an efficient representation in the permanent National Assembly (Camara) and to prepare further administrative and legal measures.

—The Federation Bulletin.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Thirteen women were elected as Mayors in the recent elections.

Mrs. Elizabeth Richardson is the first woman to win the premier gold medal at the International Exhibition of Inventions, for four inventions connected with the finding of radio stations.

The campaign against the married woman earner goes on. The Westminster City Council has decided that in future all women's appointments will be terminated by marriage, and any married woman applicants will have to prove that they need employment for their own maintenance or that of their dependents—an inquisition which no man has to endure.

CANADA.

We learn through the "Catholic Citizen" that the Federal Government has repealed a clause in the Bank Act which prohibited a married woman in the Province of Quebec from depositing more than \$2,000 in a bank without her husband's consent. This victory is largely due to the Canadian Alliance for Woman Suffrage, which

* News has just come that none were elected.

gave evidence before the Royal Commission of Enquiry on Banking and Currency. It is satisfactory that the women of Quebec now have the same rights as women elsewhere in Canada, and equality with men in this respect. It is apparently only through action by the Federal Government that the women of this Province can hope for advance towards equality since the Provincial Government is so lamentably reactionary.

AUSTRIA.

We learn from "Die Oesterreicherin" that Frau Agnes Fuchs, who has for many years been in charge of the consular work at the Chilean Legation in Vienna as a vice-consul, has been appointed full Consul by her Government on the occasion of the setting up of a separate Consulate.

INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN.

II. IRELAND.

I. (a) **Night Work.** In Ireland under the Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act of 1920, night work for women is prohibited. This has been stabilised by the ratification of the International Labour Convention on this subject.

(b) **Weight-lifting.** There are no general provisions in Ireland relative to weights that may or may not be lifted by women employed in factories or workshops, but in the Pottery Regulations there is a special provision prohibiting the carrying of a "Sagger" of ware by a woman, and women are not employed at the Docks in the loading and unloading of ships.

(c) **Dangerous or unhealthy work.** The Women and Young Persons (Employment in Lead Processes) Act, 1920, prohibits the employment of women and young persons in certain processes connected with lead manufacture, e.g., work at furnaces where the reduction or treatment of zinc or lead ores is carried on, in manufacture of solder or alloys containing more than 10% lead; in manufacture of any oxide, carbonate, sulphate, chromate, acetate, nitrate or silicate of lead, etc., etc.

The regulations under the Factory and Workshops Acts in general relate to the processes rather than to the sex of the worker. There are, however, instances of the exclusion of women from certain processes under these regulations—e.g., from casting shops in brass works, and owing to the use of lead from manufacture of paint, and from certain processes in pottery works, manufacture of india rubber, and manufacture of electric accumulators.

In some of the trades classed as "Dangerous" or "unhealthy" women are not usually employed, e.g., generation of electricity, handling of hides and skins, use of locomotives and wagons, ship-building, wood-working machinery, grinding of metals.

In some of these trades women are employed, e.g., manufacture of aerated waters, bronzing, celluloid, spinning and weaving of hemp and jute, spinning by means of self-acting mules.

(d) **Limitation of Hours.** The hours of daily work of women are theoretically regulated by the Factory and Workshop Acts, but in practice women are not usually employed up to the maximum allowed by these Acts.

(e) **Wages.** The International Labour Convention concerning the establishment of minimum wages fixing machinery adopted by the International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1928, was ratified by the Irish Free State. This Convention, as far as Northern Ireland is concerned, was met by the Trade Board Act, 1923.

Trade Boards have been established under the Trade Boards Acts and these Boards have fixed different minima for men and women.

II. (a) **Maternity Regulations.** In Ireland there are no restrictions on the work of expectant mothers.

Under the National Health Insurance Acts, Maternity Benefit amounting to £2 is paid to the wife of an insured person on her confinement (on the production of a doctor's certificate benefit can be drawn before confinement).

In addition to the Maternity Benefit payable as above, a married woman who is herself insured, is entitled to a second Maternity Benefit in respect of her own Insurance.

An insured married woman obtaining the second Maternity Benefit is required to abstain from remunerative work during the period of four weeks after her confinement.

An occupier of a factory or workshop shall not knowingly allow a woman to be employed in a factory or workshop for four weeks after she has given birth to a child.

(b) **Prohibition on the work of Married Women.**

In Ireland there are no legal prohibitions on the work of married women in industry, with the exception just mentioned. Outside the textile trades and laundries there are very few married women in industry and the general tendency is to discourage their employment.

III. Ireland being mainly an agricultural country, outside the textile trades women up to the present have not been much employed in industry.

(a) In the few trades in Ireland in which night work is done, with the exception of printing, women are not employed, although it is impossible to prove that this circumstance is in any way due to the legal prohibition of night work for women.

Owing to this non-employment of women the question of replacement arises only to a small extent, but there are some instances. For example, in a large printing firm, the folding machines are under the control of women. During a period of pressure of work one machine had to be worked at night, and a man, though less experienced in the work, had to replace the woman on that machine.

So far as can be ascertained, conditions of work have not been changed to admit of the employment of women.

(b) In the case of such firms as the printing firm already referred to, it may be stated that the opportunities of women for employment are lessened by the prohibition of night work. In this case, but for the restrictions, a larger proportion of women would be employed, and the night work would be paid at the same rate as the men's night work.

Overtime. Under the Factory Acts, 30 overtime periods are allowed for women in the year. If under pressure of a particular order it is necessary to employ one woman in a certain department on overtime, notice has to be sent to the Factory Inspector, and this counts as one of the 30 periods allowed, although only one woman has been employed out of say a total of 75.

In such cases it may be definitely stated that the opportunities of women for employment are restricted by these legal limitations.

The effect of these Acts entirely exclude women from the newspaper printing offices, where the hours are shorter, holidays more strictly enforced, and pay better than in the ordinary printing trades.

(c) Judging from all available evidence in Ireland, the answer is emphatically in the negative as regards opportunity for industrial employment.

(d) As far as can be ascertained, the only protest made in Ireland against protective legislation has been the following resolution:

Carried by the Committee of the Irish Women Workers' Union, the only purely women's Union whom this question concerns, and sent to be placed on the agenda of the Irish Trade Union Congress.

"That the I.W.W.U., whilst adhering to the conviction that night-work for men or women should be abolished, except where vitally essential, and

also that all legislation prohibiting night work for certain classes of persons should be based on age and not on sex, support the proposal to modify the International Labour Convention on night work for women by an extension of the hours when night work for women is permissible, and by exempting women in responsible positions from the existing prohibition.

It may be of interest to report that the Irish Free State Delegation to the International Labour Office Conference in May, 1931, included, as Technical Advisor for the Workers, Miss Louie Bennett, Secretary of the Irish Women Workers' Union, now President of the Irish Trades' Union Congress.

The above Resolution, passed by the Irish Women Workers' Union, was placed in the hands of Miss Bennett so that she might use her influence when possible during the Conference in support of the revision of the Night Work Convention.

CORRESPONDANCE.

La Convention sur le Travail de nuit des Femmes.

Madame la Rédactrice de JUS SUFFRAGII,
Madame la Rédactrice.

C'est avec surprise que j'ai lu dans le précédent No. de JUS (novembre 1934) la lettre par laquelle Miss Macmillan, présidente de l'Open Door International, m'accuse d'inexactitude pour avoir dit dans un article précédent sur la Convention révisée sur le travail de nuit des femmes (Convention de Genève 1934) que les femmes ingénieures sont maintenant complètement en dehors des dispositions interdisant le travail de nuit des femmes. En effet, si dans certains pays, et selon le sens donné à certains termes, on a pu éprouver quelques hésitations (hésitations que mon article s'était d'ailleurs appliqué à dissiper) quant à la situation faite à des femmes médecins, infirmières, surintendantes d'usines, etc., personne ne peut mettre en doute la clarté de l'article de la nouvelle Convention quand il s'agit de femmes ingénieures. J'en rappelle ici le texte, puisqu'il paraît que cela est encore nécessaire :

La présente Convention ne s'applique pas aux femmes qui occupent des postes de direction impliquant une responsabilité.

Voilà pour les ingénieures chefs et qui n'effectuent pas normalement un travail manuel.

Voilà pour celles qui n'ont pas des subordonnées, et qui, pouvant être appelées par les nécessités de leur travail à mettre elles-mêmes momentanément la main à la pâte pour poser des fils, tourner des manettes, etc. etc. ne le font pas normalement. Que, pendant une période d'apprentissage pratique, une jeune ingénieure, même munie de tous ses diplômes, soit appelée à exécuter du travail manuel de manière continue, ou qu'en ces temps de chômage, elle soit heureuse de trouver du travail uniquement manuel, est tout-à-fait une autre question, car ceci relève alors de situations spéciales que ne peut pas envisager une Convention, à portée générale. D'ailleurs, j'avoue comprendre mal la persistance des critiques de l'Open Door: j'ai entendu moi-même de mes oreilles la présidente d'une des plus importantes Associations nationales de femmes ingénieures déclarer qu'elle était parfaitement satisfaite des dispositions actuelles, et le faire ensuite répéter en grande séance publique, elle-même ayant été à l'origine d'une des demandes de révision de la Convention de Washington. Si donc, les premières intéressées, femmes spécialisées par de longues études, techniciennes compétentes, qui connaissent dans le détail toutes les possibilités de leur profession, se

déclarent satisfaites, pourquoi nous, féministes, serions nous plus royalistes que le roi?

En second lieu, Miss Macmillan se plaint que je n'aie pas mentionné une modification faite aux articles de la nouvelle Convention appelés en français "clauses de style" (Standard Articles) et sur laquelle elle se base pour me trouver imprudente d'affirmer que toute Convention peut être révisée en tout temps. Il faut donc que je répète encore qu'il y a ici un perpétuel malentendu, puisque l'on continue à confondre LE DROIT que possède CHAQUE ETAT signataire de une Convention d'en demander la révision aujourd'hui même si cela lui fait plaisir, et l'OBLIGATION imposée au CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION du B.I.T. de présenter à la Conférence, à l'expiration de chaque période de dix années à partir de l'entrée en vigueur de chaque Convention un rapport sur l'application de la dite Convention, et de décider s'il y a lieu d'inscrire sa révision totale ou partielle à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence. Cette confusion entre les ETATS MEMBRES de l'Organisation Internationale du Travail, et le B.I.T. qui n'est que son ORGANE EXECUTIF, comme d'ailleurs entre les Etats membres de la S.d.N. et le Secrétariat de celle-ci, qui n'est aussi également que son organe exécutif, cette confusion est malheureusement si fréquente encore parmi les organisations féminines, qui mélangent les compétences et les droits des uns et des autres, qu'il me paraît utile d'y insister encore tout spécialement ici.

Quant à la troisième observation de Miss Macmillan que la dénonciation d'une Convention est plus facile à obtenir que sa révision parce qu'un Etat peut être seul pour dénoncer, alors qu'il en faut plusieurs pour réviser, j'y répondrai simplement en demandant comment il se fait alors que personne, au cours de ces trois dernières années, n'ait fait usage à l'égard de la Convention de Washington de 1919 de ce droit de dénonciation que Miss Macmillan estime pourtant si bien garanti dans cette Convention? alors qu'au contraire la procédure de révision a été ouverte deux fois? L'explication est bien facile—la dénonciation est une mesure purement théorique et tous les Etats le savent bien, parce qu'à toute proposition de dénonciation s'opposeraient chez eux les millions de femmes ouvrières qui tiennent si fermement à ces Conventions pour toutes les garanties qu'elles leur donnent. La révision au contraire, si elle séduit moins les partisans des mesures radicales, est bien davantage assurée d'un résultat pratique, et mieux vaut donc le maintien imprescriptible et entier de ce droit que la suppression ou l'adjonction d'un terme vague dans les clauses de style.

En espérant avoir, par les explications qui précèdent, enfin réussi à faire saisir à toutes vos lectrices objectives en quoi consiste en réalité la nouvelle Convention de Genève de 1934, je vous prie de croire, chère Madame, à mes salutations bien cordiales.

EMILIE GOURD.

Nota.—Par suite d'une surcharge de travail la Rédactrice a omis de donner à Melle. Gourd la possibilité de répondre à la lettre de Miss Macmillan dans le numéro précédent. Elle lui en exprime son profond regret.

VOYAGE A ISTAMBOUL.

Bien que l'Alliance ne veuille nommer aucune Agence de Voyage comme organe officiel pour le Congrès d'Istanbul, ni prendre aucune responsabilité en recommandant l'une ou l'autre, nous pensons qu'il peut être utile de publier quelques suggestions qui nous ont été faites. Ci-dessous sont quelques renseignements donnés par l'Agence Exprinter, 26, Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris, ou Madame Weill est tout prête à répondre à toute demande d'information.

Dans la section anglaise, nous donnons également

des renseignements fournis par The Wayfarers Travel Agency de Londres.

Voyages organisés.

Trois combinaisons de voyages organisés sont prévues afin de permettre de se rendre à Istanbul et d'en revenir sans préoccupation et à l'abri des aléas qui souvent compliquent les déplacements que l'on n'a pas eu le temps de préparer avec soin.

De plus ces combinaisons permettront de se grouper suivant son désir pour faire le voyage en compagnie.

Voyages d'aller.

1° combinaison A—par l'Europe Centrale: Salzburg—Vienne
11 au 18 Avril — Budapest — Bucarest — Constanza —
Istanbul: Congrès et visites officielles.

2° combinaison A—par l'Italie—Corfou—Patras—Athènes—
10 au 18 Avril Corinthe et Acro-Corinthe — Eleusis —
Delphes — Istanbul: Congrès et visites
officielles.

3° combinaison A—par mer — Le Pirée — Athènes—Smyrne
11 au 18 Avril — Istanbul: Congrès et visites officielles.

Voyages de retour.

1° combinaison R—Retour par Belgrade et l'Italie—
25 au 29 Avril

2° combinaison R—Retour direct par mer — Smyrne — le
27 Avril au 2 Mai Pirée — Athènes — Naples.

3° combinaison R—Retour par la Grèce et la Dalmatie: le
25 Avril au 6 Mai Pirée—Athènes—Eleusis—Neuplie—
Corinthe et Acro-Corinthe — Patras
Corfou — Cattaro — Cettigne — Raguse —
Spalato — Sabenios — Zara — Pola
Trieste—

Les 3 combinaisons ci-dessus permettent de combiner un voyage complet à peu près à son gré. Il suffit de joindre une combinaison d'aller à une combinaison de retour.

A titre indicatif, le voyage établi sur base de la deuxième combinaison de PARIS à ISTANBUL, séjour à ISTANBUL et retour par la 2°, combinaison, c'est à dire, directement par bateau ISTANBUL-MARSEILLE, se chiffrerait à

En première classe: 4.500 Francs environ.

En deuxième classe: 3.800 Francs environ.

L'Agence Exprinter se tient prêt à compléter ces renseignements ou modifier ces itinéraires. Les traductions anglaises pourront être fournies, et ses Agents en chaque pays seront munis de toutes les informations nécessaires pour que les congressistes puissent être renseignés et servis sur place.

SECTION FRANCAISE.

Congrès international de Moralité sociale.

à Buda Pest, 15-18 Octobre.

Ch. Polak Rosenberg nous envoie un compte rendu du Congrès de Moralité qui s'est tenu à Buda Pest entre les diverses organisations qui ont adopté le principe de l'Egalité de la Morale — Ch. Rosenberg donna lecture du rapport de Dr. Luisi sur l'Education de la Jeunesse. La discussion roula uniquement sur La Prostitution: ses causes et ses remèdes. Le point de vue de Lombroso, qu'il y a un type de "prostituée née" est aujourd'hui abandonné et l'attention se porte de plus en plus sur le milieu social de la prostituée. Il est en effet plus facile d'améliorer les conditions sociales que de guérir des anomalies psychiques bien que la coopération du médecin et du pédagogue soit en plusieurs cas nécessaire.

Le Congrès s'est prononcé définitivement pour l'abolition et nos associations continueront à combattre la réglementation partout où on la trouve. Il n'y a pas eu de controverse sur ce point. Tout le monde fut d'accord pour insister sur l'importance d'une éducation sexuelle intelligente pour les deux sexes avec un réel idéal moral — plusieurs orateurs attirèrent l'attention sur

la nécessité d'un idéal religieux; d'autres sur le besoin urgent d'améliorer les conditions sociales: habitation, salaires, vie de famille, emploi des loisirs. Une séance spéciale fut consacrée à l'exposé du travail de diverses sociétés qui veillent sur les jeunes filles en voyage, à l'étranger ou dans les grandes villes. Les foyers qui leur sont destinés sont pour elles une ressource morale aussi bien que matérielle. Mais les lois protectrices des Gouvernements sont encore les mesures les plus efficaces; la meilleure loi, nous dit un Juge de Budapest est celle qui permet la plus large diversité d'applications. Peut-être le facteur qui compte le plus dans la lutte contre l'immoralité est la force de l'opinion publique et en ce qui concerne l'arrêt de la pornographie des résultats positifs ont été obtenus. Le Congrès s'est occupé de la position de la fille mère et autres infortunées. A ce propos l'action de l'Armée du Salut est extraordinairement bienfaisante. Un des résultats du Congrès est l'influence que ses discussions ont eues en Hongrie même, qui est encore un pays de réglementation. Le ministre, interviewé par les déléguées n'a pas pu faire de promesses mais il s'est vivement intéressé au rapport de la Hollandaise, inspectrice de la Police, sur le grand secours qu'apportent les femmes agents de police. Cet échange d'idées et d'arguments a eu d'autre part l'excellent effet de clarifier bien des vues personnelles et de stimuler le zèle de ceux qui sont engagés dans tout effort de relèvement moral.

BRESIL.

La Fédération brésilienne pour l'avancement des Femmes, société affiliée à l'Alliance vient de réunir sa deuxième Convention nationale à Bahia. Le programme a pour objet de faire le meilleur usage possible de la nouvelle position gagnée par les femmes du Brésil, depuis que leurs droits civiques complets sont inscrits dans la Constitution. Il est important de préparer une représentation efficace à l'Assemblée nationale et on ne doit pas oublier que dans les domaines de l'Assistance publique, des mœurs etc — il y a encore beaucoup à améliorer. Une manifestation enthousiaste salua en Dr. Bertha Lutz et ses collègues les victorieuses protagonistes de l'avancement des femmes.

LA CONFERENCE DES FEMMES DE L'INDE.

Une révolution pacifique et constructive est en train de se produire parmi les femmes de l'Inde. Un manifeste et questionnaire a été adressé à tous les candidats dans les élections pour les Assemblées législatives. Ce manifeste déclare que la Conférence désire ardemment la disparition de toutes coutumes qui tendent à l'abaissement de la femme au point de vue juridique, éducatif et social, et empêchent celle-ci quel que soit son statut, ou sa communauté de rendre tous les services moraux ou matériels, dont elle se sent capable. Le Questionnaire porte sur des sujets tels que l'unité communale, l'abolition du mariage puéril, l'éducation primaire obligatoire et la suppression de la traite des femmes et des enfants. Des centaines de déléguées vont se réunir à Karachi pour arrêter leurs plans de campagne. Cette année Mrs. Corbett-Ashby and Dr. Maude Royden seront leurs invitées d'honneur. On ne peut imaginer deux déléguées plus représentatives et plus dignes d'apporter aux femmes de l'Inde, à ce moment décisif dans la conquête de leur émancipation, les vœux de leur sœurs d'Europe.

Nous apprêtons avec plaisir que deux candidates ont eu plein succès dans leur élection au Conseil Municipal de Vellore.

GRANDE BRETAGNE.

Aux récentes élections municipales treize femmes ont été élues maires.

NECROLOGIE.

Parmi celles qui ont servi l'Alliance et la cause du Féminisme et du Suffrage, plusieurs viennent de disparaître au plus grand regret de leurs collègues et de leurs disciples. Ce sont Fredrikke Mørck de Norvège, rédactrice de Nylaende, Martina Kramers une des pionnières, le bras droit de Mrs. Catt aux Congrès de Copenhague et d'Amsterdam, et Mrs. Rutgers Hoitsema une des collaboratrices en Hollande de Dr. Jacobs.

AUTRICHE.

'Die Oesterreicherin' publie que Frau Agnes Fuchs qui fut pendant des années Vice-Consul du Chili à Vienne vient d'être nommée Consul avec pleins pouvoirs dans un Consulat distinct.

FEMMES—MEMBRES DE PARLEMENTS.

Nous regrettons d'apprendre que Miss Kirstin Hesselgren n'a pas été réélue au Sénat suédois. Elle était sénateur depuis plusieurs années. Nous espérons que ce n'est à qu'une fluctuation de la vie politique et non pas l'expression d'une réaction contre les femmes.

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à GENEVE

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le MOUVEMENT FEMINISTE

Bi-mensuel.

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En Australie, il y avait en tout six femmes candidates aux récentes élections fédérales.

La Grande Presse ne nous a donné aucune information quant aux résultats et nous attendons l'arrivée du journal australien "L'Aube" pour plus amples informations.

CANADA.

Le "Citoyen Catholique" publie que le Gouvernement fédéral a abrogé une Clause de la Loi Bancaire, qui n'autorisait pas une femme à déposer plus de 2,000 dollars dans une banque sans le consentement de son mari. Ce succès est dû largement à l'Alliance Canadienne pour le Suffrage des Femmes qui a déposé son rapport devant la Commission d'Enquête sur les Banques et la Monnaie. C'est là un article où les femmes de la Province de Québec ont désormais égalité avec les autres femmes du Canada. Malheureusement le Gouvernement Provincial est si réactionnaire que les femmes de Québec doivent compter uniquement sur l'action du Gouvernement Fédéral pour leur affranchissement.

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International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.

MANIFESTO

Issued by

THE COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

More than sixteen years after the termination of the great war the state of the world both from an economic and a political point of view, gives rise to the gravest apprehensions. Economic and social unrest sap the vital forces of the peoples; oppositions of national interest threaten to sharpen into international conflicts. Fear and rivalry lead to a terrifying increase in armaments. Prominent statesmen have declared that war is the probable, if not inevitable, outcome of the present world-tangle.

The Peace Committee, while realising fully the dangers of the present situation, is determined to persist in its endeavours to fight the forces that work for war, for hatred and destruction. War is not as sometimes seems to be supposed a natural phenomenon against which we are powerless as against earthquake or volcano. War is produced by men; and it can be repressed and eventually abolished by human endeavour. That we cannot hope to eradicate completely certain evils such as poverty, sickness or sin, does not absolve us from the duty of striving against such evils. We believe that the need of effective peace work has never been greater: after the failure both of the economic and disarmament conferences, our real work has only just begun.

In the first post-war period it was generally believed that the desire for lasting peace, as the primary element for material and spiritual welfare was so deeply rooted in the hearts of all peoples, that it needed but the construction of an effective international machinery to guarantee the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and thereby ensure the peace of the world.

All over the world, the finest spirits of the age have given time and thought to international organisation. The machinery now exists, but cannot produce results by its mere existence. We have, perhaps, failed to realise sufficiently that peoples and governments are not generally prepared to make the sacrifices that such organisation inevitably demands from each nation in its turn.

Peace, lasting peace, can never be obtained by external measures alone; it can only be based upon an effective faith that peace is not only an asset of modern civilisation, but the very foundation upon which that civilisation rests. We must be ready to sacrifice the doctrine of national sovereignty (based on artificially exaggerated national pride) to the extent that is essential to prevent the outbreak of a

calamity which may well engulf not only the nations directly concerned—both the victorious and the vanquished—but sweep away all that mankind has achieved during centuries of effort and evolution.

With our whole being we protest against the notion that war is or need be inevitable—an essential element in the commerce of nations. Warfare is not indispensable as a means of settling international disputes, still less is it the ultimate test of the true merits of peoples, or the justification of their existence as separate and independent entities. The true merits of a people do not lie in its ability to use violence, and to impose its will upon others by such devilish means as gases and explosives, but are founded on constructive effort and the will to live and to let live; on forces that work for a better understanding and a wider appreciation of its fellow-men.

Brotherhood includes in its true meaning the possibility of antagonism and even of strife; but it also implies the realisation of the underlying solidarity of the human race, and the willingness to allot to each racial and national group its place in the affairs of the world.

The principle of international solidarity is not a vague ideal: it finds expression and confirmation in the hard facts of everyday life. The achievements of science and the progress of social economy themselves prove the interdependence of peoples, and the positive necessity of international commerce and co-operation.

The only salvation for mankind lies in a deeper and more complete realisation of this solidarity, which is but the reflection upon a lower plane of a spiritual truth; the reflection of a unity which does not exclude rivalry and competition in international relations, but which does reject the pursuit of national interests by means which lead to wholesale destruction and self-annihilation.

We are far removed from underrating the value of national life. The possibilities and even the inevitable circumscription it entails are as essential towards the development of individual and collective forces as—on another level—the circumscription of family life. But we do not consider the state as the *ultima ratio* of the existence of the individual; or the "race" or "nation" incorporated in each state as the ultimate phenomenon accessible to human consciousness.

Strong as the ties of national or racial relation-

ship may be—the ties of spiritual kinship and religious affinity are in many respects quite as strong or even stronger. Spiritual and religious communities, irrespective of national relationship, have existed in all times, all the world over. They have often bound the noblest of mankind in a common endeavour to avert certain dangers or to ensure some definite progress.

We are deeply convinced that each people should be free to decide upon the sort of government best suited to its particular genius, unhampered by and unafraid of foreign interference. Indeed the very notion of the State implies a specialised, independent government for a definite group of people living within certain geographical boundaries.

Nevertheless, in the progress of human evolution certain essential principles of government have been recognised and admitted as a definite acquisition, and a standard for civilised statesmanship. Foremost among these is the recognition of certain basic rights of the individual, freedom in all religious and spiritual matters; respect for life and liberty; proper guarantees for the exercise of all civic rights; no jurisdiction without due observation of legal methods. In short: *freedom in spiritual, justice in secular matters.*

It is upon the recognition of these two essential truths: the solidarity of the human race, and the dignity of the individual human being, that the possibility of a lasting peace, that the future of mankind depends.

The machinery of the League of Nations and its subsequent network of conferences and treaties, however faulty and imperfect it may be, is the only outstanding effort to express in terms of modern statesmanship the fact that the spiritual idea of brotherhood is in conformity with the material exigencies of international relationships and with the possibilities of growth and development for each people.

If the League has fallen short of reasonable expectations, this cannot be ascribed to its inefficiency, still less to inherent defects in international organisation. Its possibilities have barely been explored. There is a marked reluctance on the part of States Members to make use of the machinery. On the other hand the rule of unanimity, considered essen-

tial because States will not forego complete sovereignty, has been proved to have a hampering effect on efforts towards the reconciliation of conflicting interests.

It is not yet too late for a definite effort.

We appeal to all kindred organisations to redouble their energy, we appeal to all men and women of goodwill—irrespective of race, colour or creed—to fight the spirit of national separateness and of racial prejudice; and to exert their influence in public life, so that statesmen may be induced to give practical effect to the doctrine of international goodwill and co-operation—and not lip-service only.

No effort, however feeble, can ever be wasted. For behind the testimony and may be the martyrdom of the individual, stands the moral support of enlightened public opinion, in all countries and in every people. It is the task of us all in accordance with the position we hold and the responsibility we bear, to make this support effective; to awaken the minds of people to the fact that the fate of one nation is irretrievably bound up with that of all others and to a true conception of the place of the individual in the modern state. Only thus may we hope to avert the threatening peril, so that the world may be safe for our children, and life once more worth living. Because the care of the spiritual and bodily health of the race in early childhood is the special duty and privilege of women we have the urgent task of training the next generation in mutual understanding and tolerance, in love of justice and order rather than acquiescence in violence and tyranny. If the women of both hemispheres will understand the compelling nature of the task before us, and join their efforts to ours, the World Congress in Istanbul may become the starting point for a great and effective crusade for World Peace.

The Committee for Peace and the League of Nations.

MARGERY I. CORBETT ASHBY,

President of the Alliance.

JOSEPHINE SCHAIN, Chairman.

DR. C. C. BAKKER VAN BOSSE,

Vice-Chairman.

ROSA MANUS, Secretary.

Alliance Internationale pour le Suffrage et l'Action Civique et Politique des Femmes.

MANIFESTE

DU COMITE POUR LA PAIX ET LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS.

Plus de seize ans après le règlement de la grande guerre, l'état du monde, du double point de vue économique et politique, éveille les plus graves appréhensions. L'inquiétude économique et sociale sape les forces vitales des peuples; l'opposition des intérêts nationaux menace de s'accuser en conflits internationaux. La peur et les rivalités conduisent à de terrifiantes augmentations d'armements. Des hommes d'Etat de premier plan ont pu déclarer que la guerre est l'issue probable, sinon inévitable, de l'actuelle confusion du monde.

Le Comité de la Paix, tout en réalisant pleinement les dangers de la situation présente, est bien décidé à poursuivre sa lutte contre les forces qui cherchent à fomentier la guerre, la haine, la destruction. La guerre n'est pas, comme certains semblent le supposer, un phénomène naturel vis à vis duquel nous soyons aussi impuissants que vis à vis des tremblements de terre et des éruptions volcaniques. La guerre est produite par les hommes; elle peut être évitée et définitivement supprimée par l'effort humain. D'ailleurs, que nous ne puissions espérer la disparition complète de certains maux: pauvreté, maladie ou crime, ne nous dispense pas de lutter contre de tels maux. Nous croyons que le besoin d'une besogne pacificatrice effective n'a jamais été plus grand; après l'échec à la fois de la Conférence du Désarmement et de la Conférence Economique, notre travail véritable ne fait que commencer.

Dans les premiers temps de l'après-guerre, on croyait généralement que le désir d'une paix durable—élément fondamental du bien-être matériel et spirituel—était si profondément enraciné dans le coeur de tous les peuples que la création d'un organisme international adéquat suffirait à garantir la solution pacifique des conflits internationaux et assurerait, par là même, la paix du monde.

Dans le monde entier, les meilleurs esprits de notre époque ont donné leur temps et leurs pensées à cette organisation internationale. Actuellement, l'organisme existe, mais il ne saurait produire de résultats par le seul fait de son existence. Peut-être avons-nous eu le tort de ne pas réaliser suffisamment que les peuples et les gouvernements ne sont pas, en général, prêts à faire les sacrifices qu'une telle organisation exige forcément de chaque nation à son tour.

La paix, une paix durable, ne peut être obtenue uniquement par des mesures d'ordre externe; il nous faut, pour l'édifier, croire fermement qu'une

telle paix n'est pas seulement un des soutiens de la Civilisation moderne, mais le fondement même sur lequel repose cette civilisation. Nous devons être prêts à sacrifier la doctrine de la Souveraineté Nationale, inspirée par un orgueil national artificiellement exagéré; nous devons la faire fléchir dans la mesure où cela est indispensable pour prévenir l'explosion d'une calamité qui, non seulement engloutirait les peuples directement en cause—le vainqueur en même temps que le vaincu—mais balayerait aussi, tout ce que l'humanité a réalisé, pendant des siècles d'efforts et d'évolution.

De tout notre être, nous protestons contre cette notion que la guerre est inévitable, qu'elle répond à une nécessité, qu'elle est un élément essentiel dans le commerce des Nations. Les procédés belliqueux ne sont pas indispensables comme moyens de régler les disputes internationales; encore moins sont-ils la preuve suprême des vrais mérites des peuples ou la justification de leur existence comme individualités séparées et indépendantes. Ce n'est pas en son habileté à user de la violence et à imposer sa volonté aux autres par des moyens aussi diaboliques que les gaz et les explosifs, que résident les vrais mérites d'un peuple, ces mérites sont constitués par son effort constructif, par sa volonté de vivre et de laisser vivre les autres; par les forces qu'il met en oeuvre en vue d'une meilleure entente avec ses voisins et d'une plus exacte appréciation de ses semblables.

La fraternité dans son sens véritable, englobe des risques d'antagonisme et même de lutte; mais elle implique aussi la compréhension de la solidarité profonde qui sous-tend les rapports humains et la bonne volonté d'accorder à chaque groupe national ou ethnique la place qui lui revient dans les affaires du monde.

Le principe de la solidarité internationale n'est pas un vague idéal—il trouve son expression et sa confirmation dans les faits rigoureux de la vie de chaque jour. Les réalisations de la science, les progrès de l'économie sociale eux-mêmes prouvent l'interdépendance des peuples et la nécessité positive des relations et de la coopération internationales.

La seule chance de salut de l'humanité réside en une plus profonde et plus complète réalisation de cette solidarité, qui n'est que la réflexion sur un plan inférieur d'une vérité spirituelle; la réflexion d'une unité qui n'exclut pas les rivalités et les compétitions dans les relations internationales, mais qui réprovoque la poursuite d'intérêts nationaux par des moyens qui conduisent à la destruction

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totale, et à l'annihilation de l'humanité par elle-même.

Nous sommes bien loin de sous-estimer la valeur de la vie nationale. Les possibilités et même les inévitables restrictions qu'elle comporte sont aussi essentielles pour le développement des forces individuelles et collectives que le sont—à un autre niveau—les restrictions imposées par la vie familiale. Mais nous ne considérons pas l'Etat comme "l'Ultima Ratio" de l'existence de l'individu, ni la "race" ou la "nation" représentées en chaque état, comme la suprême conception accessible à la conscience humaine.

Si forts que puissent être les liens de la communauté de race ou de pays, les liens de parenté spirituelle ou d'affinité religieuse sont, à bien des égards aussi forts, parfois même plus forts. Les communautés spirituelles et religieuses, indépendantes des relations nationales, ont existé de tous temps dans le monde entier. Elles ont souvent uni les représentants les plus nobles de l'humanité dans un effort commun pour détourner les dangers menaçants ou assurer certains progrès définis.

Nous sommes profondément convaincues que chaque peuple doit être libre de décider du mode de gouvernement qui convient le mieux à son génie particulier, sans qu'il ait à supporter une contrainte quelconque ou à craindre une intervention étrangère. Ceci résulte de la notion même d'état qui implique un gouvernement spécial, indépendant, pour un groupe défini de personnes vivant à l'intérieur de certaines limites géographiques.

Toutefois, dans les progrès de l'évolution humaine, certains principes essentiels du gouvernement ont été reconnus et admis comme des acquisitions définitives, comme les règles de toute politique dans les états civilisés. Au premier plan parmi celles-ci est la reconnaissance de certains droits fondamentaux des individus: liberté dans toutes les questions religieuses ou spirituelles; respect de la vie et de la liberté, garanties particulières de tous les droits civiques; recours en justice soumis à la stricte observance des méthodes légales—En résumé: liberté dans l'ordre spirituel—justice dans le domaine temporel.

C'est de la reconnaissance de ces deux vérités essentielles; solidarité de la race humaine—éminente dignité de la personne humaine que dépendent la possibilité d'une paix durable et tout l'avenir de l'humanité.

Le mécanisme de la S.D.N., avec le réseau subséquent de ses conférences et de ses traités—si défectueux et imparfait qu'il puisse être—constitue le seul effort manifeste pour exprimer en termes de politique moderne le fait que l'idée toute spirituelle de fraternité se trouve en conformité avec les exigences matérielles des relations internationales, avec les possibilités d'extension et de développement de chaque peuple.

Si la S.D.N. n'a pas répondu à ce que, raisonnablement on en attendait, ceci ne doit pas être

attribué à son inefficacité foncière;—moins encore à des défauts qui seraient inhérents à toute organisation internationale. Ses possibilités ont été à peine explorées. On ne saurait nier une résistance marquée de la part des Etats-Membres à faire usage de ses moyens d'action. Par ailleurs, la règle de l'unanimité, jugée essentielle parce que les Etats ne veulent pas renoncer à leur complète souveraineté, s'est révélée comme un obstacle, lors de toutes les tentatives de conciliation des intérêts en conflit.

Cependant, il n'est pas trop tard pour un effort défini. Nous adjurons toutes les Associations-soeurs de redoubler d'énergie; nous faisons appel à tous les hommes et femmes de bonne volonté, sans considération de race, de couleur et de foi—pour combattre l'esprit de séparatisme et le préjugé racial. Leur influence doit s'exercer dans la vie publique de telle sorte que les hommes d'Etat soient amenés à traduire les doctrines de bonne volonté internationale et de coopération en réalisations pratiques, au lieu de se contenter de les honorer en paroles.

Aucun effort, si faible soit-il, sera perdu. Car, par derrière le témoignage et, peut-être, le martyre de l'individu, ne faut-il pas que se dresse le support moral d'une opinion publique éclairée, dans tous les pays et dans chaque peuple. C'est la tâche de chacun de nous, suivant la position que nous occupons et les responsabilités qui sont les nôtres, de rendre ce support effectif; d'éveiller les esprits à cette vérité de fait que le sort d'une nation est irrémédiablement lié à celui de toutes les autres et à une exacte conception de la place de l'individu dans l'Etat moderne. Ainsi, seulement, pouvons-nous espérer détourner le péril menaçant, et assurer à nos enfants un monde où ils se sentent en sécurité, une vie qui, une fois de plus, vaille la peine d'être vécue. Le souci de la santé spirituelle et corporelle de la race, au cours de la première enfance, étant le privilège et le devoir spécial des femmes, la tâche urgente nous revient d'élever la prochaine génération dans la compréhension mutuelle et la tolérance, dans l'amour de la Justice et de l'Ordre, plutôt que dans l'acquiescement à la violence et à la tyrannie. Si les femmes des deux hémisphères veulent comprendre la nature urgente de la tâche qui nous est assignée, et joindre leurs efforts aux nôtres, le Congrès Universel d'Istanbul peut devenir le point de départ d'une grande et effective croisade pour la Paix du monde.

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