



Open Door International

for the
Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker.

Report of the Fourth Conference
in COPENHAGEN, August 19th—23rd, 1935.

Open Door International

pour l'Emancipation Economique de la Travailleuse.

Rapport de la Quatrième Conférence,
à COPENHAGUE, le 19 à 23 Août, 1935.

Die Open Door Internationale

fur die Wirtschaftliche Befreiung der Arbeiterin.

Bericht des Vierten Konferenz
in KOPENHAGEN, 19—23 August, 1935.

Geneva Office: 4, RUE MICHEL CHAUVET, GENEVA.

Headquarters Office: 4, IDDESLEIGH HOUSE,
CAXTON STREET, LONDON, S.W.1., ENGLAND.

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THE OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL

for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker.

Founded in Berlin, June 15th, 1929.

OBJECT:—To secure that a woman shall be free to work and protected as a worker on the same terms as a man, and that legislation and regulations dealing with conditions and hours, payment, entry and training shall be based upon the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker: and to secure for a woman, irrespective of marriage or childbirth, the right at all times to decide whether or not she shall engage in paid work, and to ensure that no legislation or regulations shall deprive her of this right.

Official Organ: "THE OPEN DOOR."

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- Australia:** AUSTRALIAN OPEN DOOR COUNCIL.
President: *Linda P. Littlejohn, Challis House, Martin Place, Sydney, N.S.W.
- Belgium:** GROUPEMENT BELGE DE LA PORTE OUVERTE.
President: Louise de Craene van Duuren, 48, rue de Lac, Brussels.
- Czecho-Slovakia:** GROUPEMENT DE L'OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL EN TCHECOSLOVAQUIE.
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- France:** OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL (SECTION FRANÇAISE).
President: Andrée Lehmann, 3, rue Victor Masse, Paris.
- Germany:** OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL, DEUTSCHER-ZWEIG.
- Great Britain:** OPEN DOOR COUNCIL.
Chairman: Elizabeth Abbott, 4, Iddesleigh House, Caxton Street, London, S.W.1.
- Norway:** NORSK OPEN DOOR GRUPPE.
President: Dagny Bang, Drammensveien 97, Oslo.
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- Uruguay:** GROUPEMENT DE L'O.D.I. EN URUGUAY.
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AFFILIATED NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

- Finland:** THE UNION.
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- France:** LIGUE FRANÇAISE POUR LE DROIT DES FEMMES.
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- Great Britain:** NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS.
Secretary: Ethel Froud, 41, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.7.
- St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance.**
Hon. Secretary: Florence Barry, 55, Berners Street, London, W.1.
- Hungary:** FEMINISTAK EGYESELETE.
Correspondent: Eugénie Miskolczy-Meller, Budapest, V., Jozsef-Ter. 9.
- Latvia:** ASSOCIATION LETTONNE DE PROTECTION DES DROITS DE LA TRAVAILLEUSE.
President: Milda Palevica, Zvejnieku iela 12, Riga.
- Sweden:** CENTRAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OFFICIALS' ASSOCIATIONS.
President: Ingeborg Walin, Appelvikén, Sweden.
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ASSOCIATE SOCIETIES.

- Australia:** UNITED ASSOCIATIONS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.
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* Since the Copenhagen Conference Linda Littlejohn has resigned, having temporarily left Australia, and her place has been taken by Dr. Leila Keatinge.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE PRESENT AT COPENHAGEN.

Members of the Board of Officers.

- President:* Chrystal Macmillan.
Hon. Secretary: Winifred Le Sueur.
Members: Elizabeth Abbott.
Thyra von Beetzen-Östman.
Ingeborg Walin.
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Geneva Representative: Erica Butler-Bowdon.

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Anna Andersson, Brandestoy, Ingelstråde.
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U.S.A.: National Woman's Party:

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Alternate:

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Fraternal Delegate from Associate Society.

Denmark: Danish Post and Telegraph Union, 16th Division:

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Alternate:

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Ingrid Martens, Gothersgade 129, Copenhagen.
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Augusta Nielsen, Ringkobing.
Dagmar Nielsen, Falconerallé 54, Copenhagen.
Dagmar Nielsen, Fredericiagade 57, Copenhagen.
Johanne Nielsen, Nørre Allé 41, Copenhagen.
Xenia Nilsson, Prinsesse Alexandrines Alle 10, Copenhagen.
Lydia Nielsen, Falkoneralle 54¹¹, Copenhagen.
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M. C. Olsen, Mandalsgade 3, Copenhagen.
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 Margrethe Riissing, Hans Egedesgade 21, Copenhagen.
 Frida Rygaard, Ved Kildevaldskirken 5, Copenhagen.
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 Marie Sundbo, Vjerregårdsvej, 4, Valby, Copenhagen.
 Anna Tholle, Visbygade 12¹, Copenhagen.
 Ella Tingman, Rosenomsalle 36, Copenhagen.
 Karen Vollertsen, Strandboulevarden 18⁵, Copenhagen.
 Maria Vortott, Tejlgaardstraede 13, Copenhagen.
 Florence Wilson, Strandboulevard 44, Copenhagen.

OBSERVERS AND INVITED GUESTS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE.

OBSERVERS APPOINTED BY GOVERNMENTS:

Belgium: Mr. Verstraete.
China: Miss Becee Lo.
Cuba: Mr. Francisco Canellas.
Denmark: Mr. Dreyer (Director of Factory Inspection).
Great Britain: Mr. Tudor.
Hungary: Mr. Mathiassen.
Latvia: Miss Bergmanis.
Nicaragua: Mr. Peschardt.
Sweden: Mr. Thyberg.

OBSERVERS APPOINTED BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS:

International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship: Miss Ingeborg Hansen.
 International Council of Women: Dr. Gloerfelt-Tarp.
 International Federation of University Women: Miss Vinter Hansen.
 Medical Women's International Association: Dr. Gerda Schultz.
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: Miss Thora Daugaard.

DANISH INVITED GUESTS.

Mr. Borgbjerg, Minister of Education.
 Mr. Bulow, Prefect of the City of Copenhagen.
 Frøken Henni Forchhammer, Alternate Delegate to the League of Nations Assembly.
 Fru Andrea Brochmann, Member of Landsting.
 Fru Marie Hjelmer, M.P.
 Mr. Dreyer, Director of Factory Inspection.
 Fru Nina Anderson, Member of Copenhagen City Council.
 Fru Hedwig Mathiesen, Member of Copenhagen City Council.
 Fru Thea Tonder, President Social Democratic Women's Union.
 Fru Henrietta Krogh, President, Conservative Women's Union.

OTHER INVITED GUEST.

Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, U.S.A. Minister in Denmark.

GREETINGS RECEIVED BY THE CONFERENCE.*

Members of the Board:

Gertrud Baer.
 Louise de Craene van Duuren.
 Marie Lenoel.
 Ruth Vandeer Litt.
 Paulina Luisi.
 Frantiska Plaminkova.

Affiliated Societies:

Hungary: Feministak Egyesulete.
 Latvia: Association lettonne de Protection des Droits de la Travailleuse.

Other Greetings:

A. H. Aszkanazy (Vienna, Austria).
 Tama Baty (Tokyo, Japan).
 Grace Chapman (Great Britain).
 Comité mondial des Femmes contre la Guerre et le Fascisme (Paris, France).
 Faro Dirksen (of Armenia), Denmark.
 Hilla Rustomji Faridoonji (Hyderabad, India).
 Lili Williamson Forrester (Manchester, England).
 Julka Chlapek-Gjorgjevic (Prague, Czechoslovakia).
 Ann Margret Holmgren (Stockholm, Sweden).
 Monica Maurice, Sheffield, England.
 A. H. Piepers (The Netherlands).
 Edith Rodgers (former Geneva representative), (Stubaihal, Austria).
 Hélène Romnicio (of Rumania).
 Esther Roper (London, England).
 May Shacklock, Harpenden, England.
 Halina Siemienska (Warsaw, Poland).
 Rosika Schwimmer (New York, U.S.A.).

* Greetings were also received from those who sent special donations to the Conference, a list of whom appears on page 77.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

DELIVERED BY CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN AT THE OPENING SESSION.

The Open Door International is proud and happy to be meeting here in Copenhagen, in the beautiful House of Parliament of the country of our upstanding Danish sisters, who are showing the way to the women of the world in their struggle for the economic emancipation of the woman worker. Here we are able to meet organised Trade Union Women active in their demand that the regulation of work in the interest of the worker shall be the same for men and women, and in their opposition to the special regulation of the work of women which is wrongly called "protection." This support gives new courage. Then, too, we know that Denmark stands almost alone in its successful resistance to the world pressure directed to inducing it to ratify those International Labour Conventions which place special restrictions on Women's Work. This knowledge gives us new hope that this little Danish leaven will in time leaven the whole world lump.

In the name of our Branches, Affiliated Societies, and Members in many countries, I thank the Prime Minister for honouring our Conference by asking Herr Borgbjerg, the Minister of Education, personally to convey to us the welcome of the Danish Government, and thank Herr Borgbjerg for his eloquent speech of welcome and for his statement that the Danish Government supports, in principle, the programme of the O.D.I.

We shall all carry away grateful memories of the hospitable people, its fertile country and its beautiful capital; and our most happy memory will be of the many enlightened Danish men, who by their actions show their belief in the justice of our claim that women shall be free to work and protected as workers on the same terms as men.

We claim this right for all women, irrespective of marriage, pregnancy or childbirth. We are not opposed to the regulation of work for the protection of the worker, provided it applies equally to both men and women. For a regulation can only protect the worker if it is based on the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker.

Nor are we opposed to the provision of help in connection with a child about to be born or recently born, but that is a matter outside the scope of our strictly limited Object. It is possible to provide such help without damaging the mother. But it is always wrong to penalise the mother or to restrict her rights as a worker.

Policy of sacrificing the woman worker in the interest of the male worker.

It is depressing to have to record that many States are continuing further to curtail the opportunities of the woman worker, both married and unmarried, by special regulations ostensibly imposed in the woman's own interest. At the time of our Prague Conference in 1933 the married woman was already the chief victim of the rapidly extending policy of sacrificing the woman worker in the interest of the male worker by directly prohibiting or curtailing her freedom to work for pay.

A most sinister and startling development of the last two years is the spread of this idea that it is justifiable to deprive women of work in

the interests of the male worker, the application of this idea to single women, and its acceptance by governments of states claiming to be enlightened and civilised. The idea is seen in its naked ugliness in the many laws and orders intended to reduce the unemployment of men by aggravating that of women. Before our Prague Conference a beginning had already been made in Germany when the permanent appointment of women in Government service before the age of 35 was forbidden. To take other quite recent examples: In Luxembourg, by a Grand Ducal Decree of 14th April, 1934, a special permit is required before a public or private administrative department can appoint a female clerical staff, or retain a woman in employment after marriage. Yugoslavia, by an Order of 31st March, 1934, has fixed the proportion of women higher grade postal servants at 30%, intermediate grade at 25%, and lower grade at 10%. The Netherlands Minister of the Interior has recommended Local Authorities (Circular dated 19th March, 1934) to replace women by men in posts not specifically requiring female labour. In Germany an Order of August 26th, 1934, gives priority of employment to male workers over 40 and to women who have family responsibilities. A German Act of July 8th, 1934, forbids married women doctors to practice except when this is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families. By another German Order of May 17th, 1934, women farm servants and agricultural workers are not allowed to be employed in canning factories, hotels, restaurants and cafés. An Italian legislative decree of November 28th, 1933, empowers administrative departments to exclude women or to limit their number, and, under this, percentage limits for women have been fixed at 5 for the higher grade, 15 for the intermediate, and 20 for the lower. Under a circular of the Belgian Council of Ministers of August 12th, 1934, all posts in public administrative departments, including typists and shorthand typists, are to be reserved for men so long as qualified candidates are available.

In Italy under powers delegated to federations of employers and workers many corporate agreements have been made to restrict the employment of women. There are signs that similar dangerous delegated powers may be given to employers and workers in other countries.

Another sinister new practice is to delegate to a Minister arbitrary power to prohibit or to curtail women's employment. Under a Belgian Order of December 8th, 1934,* the Minister of Social Welfare is empowered to fix a quota of women, married or unmarried, who may be employed in any private industry, trade, or occupation for the whole country or by districts. The Order no doubt is camouflaged in legal dress, but in fact it puts women outside the law. The Minister, in reply to protests, has had the effrontery to seek to justify the Order by saying it will be applied with caution, and that women are not to be dismissed where economic working normally depends upon them.

A Government Bill now before the Irish Free State Parliament proposes to give a similar power to the Minister of Labour and Commerce to prohibit the employment of women in any form of industrial work, or to fix the proportion of women to be employed by any employer in such work—another example of giving to a Minister arbitrary power over the woman worker.

Women put outside the rule of law: Minister's arbitrary power to regulate Women's work.

These arbitrary powers given in Belgium and proposed in Ireland are intended to be exercised for the benefit of men at women's expense by the direct prohibition or curtailment of women's employment. But

* See footnote on p. 56.

another type of arbitrary power over women workers now being widely conferred is dangerous in a more insidious way, since it is to be exercised in the making of regulations purporting to be for women's benefit. These usually take the form of a power conferred on a Minister or official to regulate or prohibit women's employment in kinds of work which are not specified, but vaguely described as work which is heavy or dangerous to a woman's health or morals. In some cases this power is to be exercised, subject to the submission of each particular order to the legislature. But in practice, especially where an order directly affects a limited group and no general publicity is given to it, this is a negligible safeguard. Technically women living under such power may be within the rule of law, but in fact they are at the mercy of an arbitrary power with undefined limits. In this sense they are outside the law. Among the countries which have given authority for the exercise of certain of these powers by a Minister or official are Bolivia, Cuba, Estonia, French Guiana, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

Insurance and Minimum Wages.

The fixing of minimum wage rates and the payment of unemployment, sickness, and other insurance benefits have become integral parts of the wage systems of many countries. Official schemes under which lower rates of pay are fixed for, and lower benefits paid to women become powerful machinery for depressing the status of the woman worker. Great Britain is a crying example of both these forms of injustice. In regard to wages there are no blacker spots than the five Australian states (New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, South Australia, and Tasmania) where by a decision of the full Court of Arbitration of the Commonwealth (June 30th, 1933) the basic wage for women was fixed at 52% of that of men.

In some Canadian provinces and in some of the States of the United States of America minimum rates are fixed for women only, with the result that men are replacing women. The International Labour Office (See Year Book 1934-5, page 193) having failed to grasp that this is the natural consequence of special so-called "protective" regulations for women describes this as "peculiar." And its mental confusion is such that it writes of the women who are losing their jobs as having their wages "protected" and of the men who get the women's jobs as "unprotected" (Year Book, 1933, p. 158). Canada by degrees reaches a right solution. First, one Province makes it necessary that a man who replaces a woman should receive the woman's minimum wage. Later, in 1934, five Provinces (Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan) forbid any male worker to work for a lower wage in work for which a minimum wage is fixed for women, a rule, be it noted, which applies to the nature of the work and not to the sex of the worker. Alas, some provinces now fix minimum rates for men only.

A few Bright Spots.

There is little of progress to record. I mention some examples. Lithuania by an Act of November 11th, 1933, has released married women from that form of slavery, still alas in force in so many ostensibly civilised States, by authorising a married woman to enter industrial employment without her husband's consent. We rejoice with the National Union of Women Teachers, whose representatives we are glad to have here in our conference, that the London County Council, which deals with a population of some five and a half millions has just (July, 1935) removed the marriage bar in so far as non-residential work is concerned, from woman teachers and doctors. Unfortunately, however, these women are forbidden to work and put on half pay for 17 weeks at

the time of childbirth. We also congratulate Belgian primary school teachers that their new salary scale is based on equality between the sexes (Royal Order of June 8th, 1935); and the women of Queensland on Miss Laracy's successful appeal against the promotion of a male official over head.

Some good and some bad.

Among recent events which show some advance and some retrogression are the adoption of the new constitution in Brazil (July 16th, 1934) and the agreement between Colombia and Peru (Protocol of May 28th, 1934). Each of these provides for equal pay for equal work without distinction of sex. The former also provides for the admission to the public service without distinction of sex or marriage. Unfortunately the Brazil constitution prohibits unhealthy work to women only, and the Colombia-Peru agreement proposes that health and safety regulations should vary with sex. The Brazil Constitution, too, contains another dangerous proposal that there shall be prescribed for the woman before and after childbirth a "period of rest," this being the usual euphemism for depriving a woman of her right to work for pay in her usual occupation.

News from Russia, which is sometimes long in reaching the outside world, is both good and bad. For some years the Government there has given special attention to equipping women by education, technical training and opportunities to work for skilled and managerial posts. But alas the common belief that work there is open to women on the same terms as men is not the law. An Order of May 17th, 1930, one of the most recent quoted in the International Labour Office Legislative Series, prohibits the employment of women in 79 occupations, and so far as I know has not been repealed. The prohibited occupations include work underground, which is evidently not enforced for I have recent first hand information of strong healthy women miners working in the Donetz basin. Other prohibited occupations are certain work in metals and in dangerous chemicals, and many jobs on railways and in ships. It is tragic that the present Russian régime, which in so many ways lead the world in regard to women's work, should sink back to the level of countries following an unjust tradition.

International Labour Organisation.

The International Labour Organisation is still exercising its great power to restrict the rights of the woman worker. The number of ratifications for example of the 1919 Night Work Convention have increased from 19 to 30; of the Childbirth Convention 1919 from 11 to 16; and of the White Lead (Painting) Convention 1921 from 17 to 23. The Night Work Convention is being applied to primitive communities where industry hardly exists and in tropical countries where work during the heat of the day is more arduous than work at night. Two new prohibitory Conventions have been adopted—in 1934 the Revised Night Work Convention which applies to all women except the small category of responsible managers not doing manual work, and in 1935 the Convention which prohibits the work of all women underground in mines with possible exceptions in the case of certain non-manual workers. The adoption of this revised convention does not release one single woman from the prohibition, as some suppose. That is a matter entirely within the power of each separate State. It is good to know that in the Commission of the Conference which dealt with the Mines Convention one voice, that of Miss Gloerfelt Tarp, of Denmark, speaking for herself and not for her Government, was raised in protest against its adoption.

A custom dangerous for all, but specially dangerous where proposals for the differential treatment of women are under discussion is growing up in the conduct of the business of the International Labour Conference. Insufficient publicity is given to the text of revised and new Conventions coming up for consideration. In 1933 the printed Agenda item on the revised Night Work Convention, and in 1934 the printed Agenda item on the women in mines Convention, in each case gave the text of the other articles in the Convention, but omitted the text of the formal articles dealing with denunciation. This means that members of the public like ourselves who buy those printed agenda items for our information are in the dark as to the full effect of the proposals to come before the International Labour Conference which so seriously affect women. Moreover, the various rules and standing orders which require the clear definition and adequate notice of proposals for the revision of the Night Work Convention were not adhered to. There was no text to show beforehand that ten years was to be the length of the successive periods during which there could be no denunciation.

It will be of interest to see the information the International Labour Office announces it is shortly to publish with the help of members of the Correspondence Committee on Women's Work on the substitution of female for male labour and vice versa and its effect on wages. But it tends to undermine public confidence that the names of the particular members of that Committee selected to be asked to supply the information should not have been made public, and that they were not given to a member of the Committee who asked for them. On such a subject surely all the members of the Committee should have been asked for information.

But it is not all gloom where the International Labour Organisation is concerned. We welcome the frank admission in the Director's last Report that "the whole subject of women's work merits closer and more unprejudiced analysis than it has yet received." We welcome the decision of the Governing body to reconstitute its Industrial Hygiene Committee, and its public acknowledgment that that Committee lays too much stress on the medical aspect of the worker. That Committee proposed to draw up a list of occupations to be prohibited to women of childbearing age. Under its auspices the International Labour Office brought out the egregious brochure on women's work, in which the woman worker was treated as a pathological specimen. Our protests at Stockholm and Prague have not been in vain. In the *International Labour Review* two further articles deal seriously and objectively with the woman worker as a person with interests of her own and an end in herself: one by Mr. Henri Fuss, a chief of section of the International Labour Office, and the other by Dr. Grünfeld.

We agree with much in the article of Mr. Fuss. But he has not yet disabused his mind of the false doctrine that "women's constitution has certain peculiarities as compared with men's" which justify the special restriction of their rights as workers. He accepts without criticism this traditional dogma inherited by the International Labour Organisation for its parent the International Association for Labour Legislation—a tradition dating from a time when women were assumed to be essentially and permanently a subordinate class. He even asserts—quite wrongly—that this doctrine is part of the programme assigned to the International Labour Organisation. His opinion appears to rest on confusion of thought due to the question begging use of the word "protection" to describe the special restriction of women's work in their supposed interest. The unprejudiced analysis foreshadowed in the Director's Report involves the scrapping of this question begging use of the word "protection" and the idea which underlies it, and the examination of the question whether special restriction on the work of women can in fact protect them.

Our task is not growing more easy. We have to go on pointing out to governments, trade unions, women's organisations and the general public the need to examine without prejudice the International Labour Organisation's dangerous policy in regard to women. We have to go on seeking to change the attitude of mind which makes governments apply that policy without criticism as emanating from an infallible source.

And our task is becoming more complicated. At the time of our formation in 1929 we were concerned to keep off the statute book laws which placed clearly defined restrictions on the woman worker supposed by many supporters of those restrictions to be in her interest. That work has to go on. We have now to be on the watch for new attacks on the woman worker. We have to be on the watch for proposals to benefit male workers at the expense of women workers by prohibiting or curtailing women's work; for proposals to give arbitrary power to a minister to say what work a woman may or may not do, or what quotas of women workers are to be allowed, or to say what work is dangerous to a woman's health or morals and to be prohibited to her. We have to be on the watch lest powers be delegated to employers and workers to make agreements to limit the work of women; or to Trade Boards to fix rates of wages lower for women than for men; or to committees to limit the insurance rights of the woman worker. We have to be on the watch lest the expenditure of public funds provide technical training and employment for men only. We have to be on the watch lest discriminations against the woman worker are written into new constitutions or included in agreements between sovereign states or other groups of states. We have to be on the watch lest international conventions restricting women's work tie up their victims so tightly that escape becomes next to impossible.

Our meeting together here in progressive Denmark with women who each in her own country may be faced with similar difficulties gives us new courage to continue our struggle to secure everywhere for a woman, irrespective of marriage, pregnancy or childbirth that laws and regulations affecting her work shall be based on the nature of the work and not upon sex so that she shall be free to work and protected as a worker on the same terms as a man.

Mother Wood (2)

BROADCAST TALK

from

Kalundborg, Copenhagen, Denmark, August 23rd, 1935. 4 p.m.

BY WINIFRED LE SUEUR, Hon. Sec., O.D.I.

“WHY WE WANT ECONOMIC EQUALITY.”

One of the most striking features of the last hundred years is the remarkable improvement in the position of women in many countries. In one country or another they have won for themselves the right to education, the right to enter the professions and the public service, the right to sit on juries, the right to vote, the right to sit in Parliament, and the married woman has won the right to work without her husband's consent, the right to control her property, the right to the guardianship of her children, the right to her own personal nationality. But in almost every country of the world women still lack the right to work for pay under the same conditions as a man.

Before the world war of 1914-1918 women in many countries were struggling to obtain the political vote. Later when they succeeded, too many of them sat back with a sigh of relief in the belief that the battle of women's emancipation was won. They used the power they had gained to work for political party programmes or for peace or general social welfare, and were blind to the fact that women were not on an equality with men as workers for pay.

It is often said to me in my country “whatever are you fighting for now? Surely you women have got everything you have asked for and all you can possibly want.” It is more and more realised that economic questions are the most important. Yet in most countries to-day women are as far from possessing economic liberty as 50 years ago they were from enjoying political liberty. In almost every other country in the world except Denmark restrictions are placed on women's right to work because they are women, or because they are married, or because they have just borne a child. Why does a woman want to work for pay? For exactly the same reasons as a man. Women want to raise themselves above the lowest level of subsistence, they want to improve their own standard of living and that of their families. Now that they have the right to education they want to make use of the gifts they know they have. They want to make their contribution to the family in which they live. Most of all they want economic independence. Women as adult citizens, we contend, have an absolute right to satisfy these wishes. No one has the right to prevent them.

Why do we fight against restrictions on women's work? Because without the right to work for pay on the same terms as the male worker many of these other rights are of far less value. Why do we want economic emancipation? By we, I mean the members of the Open Door International for the economic emancipation of the woman worker, whose Conference, attended by women from nine countries, has been held in your beautiful Parliament House during the whole of the past week, and closes this afternoon. Why, in fact, does such an organisation exist? In speaking to my hearers in Denmark many of the reasons I have to give seem to belong to a bygone age. So I must point out to them that the position of women in countries less enlightened than Denmark is so low in the economic sphere that it leaves them in the position almost of slaves.

One of the rights that distinguishes the free man from the slave is the right to work for pay on the same terms as other workers. As soon as the woman, even one who has the right to vote, the right to sit in Parliament, the right to her own personal nationality, to the guardianship of her children, to sit on a jury, tries to get paid work, she discovers her slave position. Governments, Local authorities, Trade Unions, private employers, and public opinion combine to keep her down. How can my hearers in Denmark believe this? It has been said that the test of the civilisation of any community is the way in which it treats its women. Judged by this test Denmark is the most civilised country in Europe. Danish women who have realised that their sisters in other countries are still slaves have joined us in the Open Door International to help to secure economic equality for all women. Danish women have learned with horror that in countries which call themselves civilised such as my own country, Great Britain, women who try to earn their living in the service of the State are forbidden to marry, as, if they do, they are turned out of that State service just as if they had done something disgraceful or anti-social. They hear with surprise that in France women are forbidden to earn money in certain jobs on the ground that these are dangerous for the women's morals, though boys of 16 are allowed to do such work; and that in Belgium a minister has the power to decide which industrial occupations are to be closed to women, or to fix a quota of women allowed to enter any particular industrial occupation.

One hundred and fifty years ago women had a wide scope for the exercise of their ability in the home, which at that time was the factory in which so many industries necessary to the community were carried on, as it still is in countries not yet industrialised. Then women span, made the clothes for themselves, their husbands and their children, made the bread, the jam, cured the bacon, brewed the ale and did other really productive work. One by one these industries or processes were taken from the home and began to be carried on in factories. Women followed their work which was their daily bread into the factories. When modern industry was beginning and the workers were unorganised and weak, the child because of its youth and immaturity, and the woman because of her few rights and low status were the weakest of these unorganised workers. Both were underpaid and their conditions were shocking. Well meaning philanthropists were distressed to see the helpless condition of women and children and passed laws they believed would protect them from exploitation. They accepted the inferior position of the woman as something permanent and unchangeable. They did not take into account that while it was right to restrict the work of a child because of its youth and immaturity, to place on an adult woman the same restriction was to take from her opportunities open to other adults. It was to curtail her rights as a worker, and to help to keep her in her inferior position. Now in many countries, women need no longer be helpless. They have the vote, their political status is equal to that of men, but this tradition of inferiority remains. Many women themselves and their leaders truly believe they are inferior. They still believe that they are helpless. They do not see that it is the so called “protection” which keeps them still in the lowest position among workers for pay. Many women as the result of their early training accept this old view and are frightened to ask for the repeal of these laws, fearing that they would not be strong enough themselves to resist exploitation. Yet if they only realised it, it is this so called “protective” legislation which prevents their escape from this inferior position. Restrictions on liberty are restrictions even when they are called “protective,” just as imprisonment is imprisonment even when it is called “protective” custody. So it goes on round and round, a vicious circle from which there is no

escape, where the woman stays where she always has been, at the bottom. In some countries certain women have seen what a false position this is, for adult citizens and workers and have struggled, some with success as in Denmark, others with less success, to make people realise that unless women are free to work for pay on the same terms as male workers, their freedom and equality is a delusion. And without this freedom and equality women's political equality is very insecure. We have seen in the last few years how the women of a great European State were given political equality, how in spite of this the majority of them always agreed that as workers they should accept a position inferior to that of men, always asked for special laws which put them in this inferior position, and how they have now lost even their political rights.

Protective legislation as it exists in many countries and as it is advocated by the International Labour Organisation at Geneva really means forbidding women to earn money in the same way and under the same conditions as other workers. Women are forbidden to work at night, always the best paid shift; they are forbidden to work on certain materials; their hours are restricted. And what is the result? The best paid shifts and whole categories of jobs are reserved for men. Women forbidden to do certain kinds of paid work are forced, when they want to earn money, to go into the overcrowded jobs known as "women's work." This lack of freedom of choice helps to keep their wages low in the work they are allowed to engage in. Their low wages make it difficult for them to organise, or where they do join Trade Unions, makes it difficult for them to pay the same union fees. Their whole status as employees and as Trade Unionists is inferior and this inferiority keeps them poor and keeps them helpless.

We in the Open Door International do not believe in this supposed inferiority of women. We believe that women have needs, gifts, and rights as human beings quite apart from the question of their sex. We believe that a civilised state of society will recognise that women have the right to satisfy these needs and to exercise these gifts on the same terms as all other adult human beings. We demand for women the right to earn on the same terms as men, the right not only to equal pay for equal work, but also and more fundamental, the right to do such equal work; the right to work the same hours, by day or night, as other workers, and with the same materials. We demand the right to marry and earn, the right to decide for ourselves if we marry whether we shall do paid work. We refuse to have this decision made for us by someone else, who probably knows nothing of our position, our tastes, our powers and our difficulties. We demand the right to decide for ourselves if we have children whether we shall continue our paid work. We resent the suggestion that the woman worker does not wish to do the best for her children, and deny that she is incapable of settling for herself what that best is. So far as these rights are denied to women they are slaves. We demand the same freedom as other workers have. Freedom to work, if in these hard times they can get work, for this means freedom to live as an independent human being. We want to be recognised as persons, not as someone's belongings, not as someone's daughter, someone's wife, someone's mother, someone's housekeeper, but persons with the rights, duties, responsibilities and freedom of choice of other adult persons. Our opponents, for all their good intentions, belong to the past. We look to the future and we seek for a world where in so called civilised countries women citizens are recognised as free persons. We want the children of the coming generation to be born of two free parents, not of a free father and of a semi-slave mother. We ask respect for women, not pity; a fair deal, not protection as inferiors; not philanthropy, but equality.

Proceedings of the Conference.

The Fourth Conference of the Open Door International was held in Copenhagen, Denmark, from August 19th—23rd, 1935. The Sessions took place in Christiansborg Castle (Houses of Parliament), and the O.D.I. is deeply indebted to the Danish Government for having placed the dignified Conference Hall and other fine apartments at the disposal of the Conference.

In the unavoidable absence of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education, Mr. Borgbjerg, honoured the Conference by welcoming it on behalf of the Danish Government.

Over 200 people attended the opening session, including a number of distinguished Danish visitors. 174 people attended during the week, of whom 160 supported the Object of the O.D.I. and were Members of the Conference. Women and men from 21 countries gave their support to the Conference, and delegates were present from nine countries. Full delegations were present from the National Branches of Denmark, Great Britain, and Sweden, and one delegate from the Branch in Czechoslovakia. The Affiliated Societies in Finland, France, Great Britain, Sweden, and the U.S.U. also sent delegates, and in the course of the Conference new Branches in Australia, France, Norway, and Uruguay (provisionally) were admitted, and an Affiliated Society in Latvia. Of these Australia was represented by 5 delegates, Norway by 4 delegates, and France by one.

It was very regrettable that six Members of the Board of Officers were prevented from attending by ill-health or difficulties of travel. Messages of support and greeting were received from them, from the Affiliated Society in Hungary (Feministak Egyesulete), and from many other Societies and individuals (See p. 7). The President was instructed to thank the senders of greetings in the name of the Conference.

The speeches at the Public Meeting held on the evening of Thursday, August 22nd, as well as a Talk by the Hon. Secretary on Friday, August 23rd, reached a wide public, being broadcast from Kalundborg-Copenhagen.

The Governments of 8 countries were represented by Observers, who showed their interest by their frequent attendance. (See p. 6). The Conference was also honoured by a visit from the U.S.A. Minister in Denmark, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen. Mr. Dreyer, Director of Factory Inspection, was present at most of the sessions, and followed the discussions with close attention.

At this Conference for the first time a number of well-known women's international organisations were represented by Observers. (See p. 6).

COMMITTEES ON RESOLUTIONS, CREDENTIALS AND PRESS, INTERPRETERS AND TELLERS.

The following were appointed:—

- (a) *Recording Secretary*, Eva Hartree.
- (b) *Resolutions Committee*: Elizabeth Abbott, Chairman; Julie Arenholt, Ingeborg Walin.
- (c) *Credentials Committee*: Alison Hunter, Chairman; Margrethe Mathiassen, Erica Butler-Bowdon.

- (d) *Press Committee*: Linda Littlejohn, Chairman; Florence Key, Andrée Lehmann, Margrethe Mathiassen.
- (e) *Interpreters*: Members of the Board of Officers, Julie Arenholt, Nora Coggin, Dorothy Farmer, Gerda Thornton, Florence Wilson.
- (f) *Returning Officer*: Sybil Burls. *Assistant Returning Officer*: Helen E. Taylor.
- (g) *Tellers*: Grace Cottell, Ida Nordin-Pettersen, Olga Wuim.

Minutes of the Meetings of the General Council.

The General Council, which is composed of the Members of the Conference entitled to vote (i.e., Members of the Board, and Delegates from Branches and Affiliated Societies) held nine sessions. Minutes of the preceding sessions were read and adopted at the third session on Tuesday morning, August 20th, at the fifth session on Wednesday morning, August 21st, at the seventh session on Thursday morning, August 22nd, at the eighth session on Friday morning, August 23rd, and at the ninth session, on Friday afternoon, August 23rd.

FIRST SESSION.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19TH, 10-45 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Opening and Presidential Address.

The Chair was taken by JULIE ARENHOLT (President, Den Aabne Dör) who introduced Mr. Borgbjerg, Minister of Education. He addressed the Conference in French, English, German and Danish, welcoming the members in the name of the Danish Government. He said that although certain difficulties might still have to be surmounted in its realisation, the people and the Danish Government in principle supported the programme of the Open Door International.

JULIE ARENHOLT, speaking in Danish, English and French, welcomed the Conference to Copenhagen in the name of the Danish Branch. She thanked the Minister of Education, the Observers appointed by Governments and by Women's International Organisations, for their presence, and the Board of the Open Door International for its confidence in the Danish Branch shown by their decision to come to Denmark. She pointed out that all women were in the same boat—the clerk, the factory worker, the taxi-driver.* Danish women were trying to bring hope to women in other countries where the political system was based on the inferiority of women. She declared the Conference open and invited the President of the Open Door International to give her address.

CHRISTAL MACMILLAN (President O.D.I.) gave her Presidential Address (see page 8). She then took the Chair.

Adoption of O.D.I. Sign. She drew the attention of the delegates to the painting at the end of the Hall, which depicted the Joint Session of the two Houses of the Danish Parliament on the occasion when the Constitution was adopted in which Danish women were given the vote. She took it as a good omen that the Conference should meet in such a Hall: and proposed from the Chair a recommendation of the Board of

* In this she referred to the case of the woman in Copenhagen who had been refused work by one firm of taxi owners owing to the opposition of the men chauffeurs to the employment of a woman in this capacity. The delegates to the Conference agreed to make use of the taxi-cabs belonging to other firms and were glad to give the woman, who was driving a car owned by her father, regular work during the Conference week.

Officers that the design of the Sign given to delegates in their envelopes be adopted as the O.D.I. Sign. This being agreed, a large replica of the Sign was placed on the President's desk, as token that the Conference was in session. The Sign appears on the cover of this Report.

O.D.I. Song. The Conference then sang a song which had been specially written for the O.D.I. by Piet Hein, two verses being in Danish and the third which summarised these in English as follows. This was sung to the tune of Kong Christian (formerly the Danish National Anthem.)

Den Aabne Dör.

SLUT op, forsvar, bevogt, bevar
DEN AABNE DÖR!

Fra Mandeværn og Slavejærn
til frie Kaar og Ligekaar.
— Fra Naadeskærv til Selverhverv.
DEN AABNE DÖR!

::: Vort Haab véd Raad, vort Maal er naaet :::
naar hver, der vil, gir Vilje til
i D A A D.

Slut op og stot, beskærm, beskyt
DEN AABNE DÖR!

Luk op, reelt, hvert Arbejdsfelt,
lad ikke Kon bestemme Lön!
— Gor Vejen let til Menneskeret!
DEN AABNE DÖR!

::: Du er i Baad med hver Forsmaaet. :::
Slut op og giv Din Vilje Liv
i D A A D!

Join up and fight for Woman's right!
THE OPEN DOOR!

From sham safeguard to work unbarred!
From pay unfair to equal share!
From narrow plot to human lot!
THE OPEN DOOR!

::: When Women of the World unite :::
A bolted door shall block no more
OUR RIGHT.

Resolution 1. The Right to Work is the Right to Live. (See p. 56).

ANNA WESTERGAARD (Denmark), in moving the resolution, pointed out that this was a time of great difficulty in all countries, for which everyone was seeking a way out. Women in such times were the chief sufferers. Attempts were being made to cure men's unemployment by turning women out of work. Never before had the woman earner been in such danger; hence the need for an organisation to watch and resist attacks on woman's right to earn, which is the right of any human being. Women, she said, will not submit to having this right taken from them. They claim the right to use their abilities in the same way as other human beings. The attacks were useless, foolish and undignified, but they proved the need for solidarity among women, who had the strongest weapon to fight with—the weapon of Right.

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France), in seconding, thanked the Minister of Education for having spoken in French. The right to work, she said, is a modern expression which would hardly have been understood years ago. It is only in recent years that men and women have demanded the right to work. Yet woman's paid work is a very old institution, there have always been women who worked to earn their own living, that of their children, and sometimes that of their husbands. But the right to education is comparatively new. The learned woman existed in older times, but modern democracy has given us popular education, largely

thanks to the feminists. After the war in France women entered the Civil Service in large numbers, passing the necessary examinations on the same terms as men, and sometimes at the head of the list. They also went into industry in greater numbers. Now the situation is altered. Men have begun to want to get the work done by women, and efforts are being made to exclude women by indirect means, without saying clearly what is being done. For example, there are two entrance examinations for men, but only one for women. In this way, two-thirds of the posts are filled by men. In manual work also most of the better paid work is reserved for men.

We have got to struggle against a deep hypocrisy in this matter. Woman is always being asked to serve, but is denied independence and security. In France, however, the male worker is on the side of the women. He realises that the women's earnings give security to the family. The struggle to ensure woman's right to earn will be a hard one, and women need to revise all their methods, or all that they have gained will be taken from them. The professional women must realise their solidarity with other women, and cease to look on themselves as brilliant exceptions.

FLORENCE KEY (Great Britain), supported the resolution, quoting Shakespeare's saying, "You take my life when you do take the means by which I live." Women, she said, are appealed to "not to kill men's chivalry," this meaning that if women demanded equality, men would cease to offer a seat in an omnibus, or first place in a boat in case of shipwreck. Women are being shipwrecked in the sea of unemployment and, far from being saved, are being pushed into the sea of starvation. Yet if women will unite, the threatening dangers will not happen. Married and single women must not allow themselves to be divided by their opponents. No other loyalty should come before the loyalty to one another to defend their womanhood and their humanity. This can best be done by giving time, work and money to the O.D.I., by getting others to join, and by joining women's trade unions and professional organisations, or, where they do not exist, by creating them. We must use our votes and tongues and pens, until the danger is swept away, and so uplift ourselves and humanity. She urged the members not to be afraid of being called "selfish," since what is called "selfishness" in women is really self-respect. By too much self-sacrifice, women may betray humanity.

The resolution was carried unanimously, with (1) the insertion of the words "pseudo protection" after "interests of the family," (2) the omission of the word "existence" and the insertion of the following words—"life and an independent livelihood, to realise the need for solidarity between married and single women" in its place; (3) the insertion in the footnote of the example of German legislation in the Act of July 8th, 1934. (See p. 56).

The Conference then adjourned.

SECOND SESSION.

MONDAY, AUGUST 19th, 2-30 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.

The President in the Chair.

REPORT OF THE ADMISSIONS COMMITTEE.

INGEBORG WALIN (Sweden) Chairman of the Admissions Committee, reported that the applications of new Societies in **Australia** and **Norway** were in order, and that the Board had accepted the **recommendations** of the **Admissions Committee** that the Conference be

asked to accept them as National Branches. An application had also been received from a new society in **Latvia** to be accepted as a National Branch, but since its Government would not allow it to adopt the Object of the O.D.I. in full, the Admissions Committee and the Board recommended that it be admitted as an Affiliated Society, since it had fulfilled the 2nd requirement of Article IV, (1), b, (i) of the Constitution of the O.D.I. (See also page 50). The Board recommended that this Affiliated Society be entitled to send three delegates to the Biennial General Council. It also recommended that the **Union** of Finland should be given the right to send three delegates.

INGEBORG WALIN also recommended for admission the **Associate Members** who had joined the O.D.I. since the Prague Conference in 1933.

She reported that the **Post and Telegraph Workers' Union of Denmark** which had been an Affiliated Society, had now become a branch of a larger mixed Union and was no longer autonomous, and so was not eligible to be an Affiliated Society. It was therefore recommended for acceptance as an Associate society.

The Report was adopted unanimously.

REPORTS FROM NEW BRANCHES.

Australia: Open Door Council: LINDA LITTLEJOHN said that the President in her address had given Australia a bad reputation. While it was true that the basic wage of women was 54% of the basic wage of men, in the Public Service it was less bad, as women get $\frac{4}{5}$ of the men's salaries. As a result of agitation, the Government had made a new enquiry into woman's basic wage, but the report was not yet issued. In other ways women in Australia were less hampered than in many countries. Australia had not ratified the I.L.O. Night Work and Childbirth Conventions of 1919 and 1934, nor the Lead Paint Convention of 1921. The women's organisations had prevented the Government from penalising married women, with the exception of teachers. There had been two successful appeals by women who had been denied promotion in the Public Service on account of their sex.

Married women in Australia have full control of their money, and are not obliged to contribute one penny to the family income. The Australian O.D.C. would be willing for the woman to be obliged to contribute to the family's upkeep. Australian women are fortunate in being able to get the ear of the highest politicians at 24 hours' notice. She said that the Australian O.D.C. was proud to become a Branch of the O.D.I. and thanked the Conference for its welcome.

Norway: Norsk Open Door Gruppe: DAGNY BANG said that the Norwegian Branch had been formed on 15th of June 1935, and its constitution was in full accord with the O.D.I. rules. New conditions in Norway made the formation of such a branch an urgent necessity for reasons which would be dealt with later in the Conference. (See page 35).

Resolution II. The World Crisis and Women's Unemployment.
(See page 57).

INGEBORG WALIN (Sweden) in moving said that one of the obvious reasons for the present attacks on women's right to earn was the rise of unemployment. This was not the only reason, but it was the most obvious. She protested against such attacks as unjust and bad policy. By shifting the incidence of unemployment, instead of treating the problem from the root, women were to be sacrificed.

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France) seconded, and drew attention to the situation in France with regard to unemployment benefit. There, the single woman gets the same benefit as the man. If a married woman and her husband are both unemployed, a small allowance is given to the husband on behalf of the wife. But if the husband of an unemployed woman is in work, neither the husband nor the wife receives anything.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) said that members ought to burn with indignation on this question. She cited the Anomalies Regulations in Great Britain, by which over a quarter of a million married women had been denied unemployment benefits for which they would have qualified if they had been single women. The Report of the Commissioner appointed to enquire into the Depressed Area of Durham and Tyneside had recommended the consideration of some limitation of the field of female labour except where the absolute existence of an import industry depended upon it, an impertinent and brutal suggestion. In Unemployment Assistance in Great Britain, for which no contributions are required, it had been proposed to pay a woman 2s. a week less than a man on the ground that a woman needs less. In this way Governments which seem unable to remedy the position of the unemployed man seek to drive women to the lowest level of subsistence.

INGEBORG WALIN (Sweden) on insurance said that in Stockholm married women do not get unemployment benefit, but when out of work they draw from funds which supply the essential needs of families, though in other towns other arrangements are made. The unmarried woman is being pushed into domestic work owing to the shortage of servants. This is bad for those women who are not accustomed to such work, and bad for the profession. The Swedish Open Door Group had approached the Government on this point.

FLORENCE KEY (Great Britain) said that in Great Britain Unemployment Centres for training unemployed workers provide almost wholly training in domestic work for unemployed women, while training for a variety of occupations was provided for unemployed men.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF OFFICERS.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) gave the following Report of the Board of Officers.

The Board of Officers has held three meetings since the Prague Conference. One of three sessions immediately after the Prague Conference. A second from March 15th—17th, 1934, in Brussels, and a third on August 17th—18th, 1935. At the Prague meeting a welcome was given to the two new members, Marie le Noel and Paulina Luisi, the latter unfortunately not being present. There were appointed as officers Chrystal Macmillan, President; Frantiska Plaminkova, who agreed to act for one year as Hon. Treasurer, and Winifred le Sueur as Hon. Secretary.

The Admissions Committee was re-appointed with Ingeborg Walin as Chairman, and Louise de Craene van Duuren, and the President (ex-officio) as members.

The Headquarters Committee was re-appointed to include, namely: Chrystal Macmillan, Elizabeth Abbott, F. de G. Merrifield and Winifred le Sueur, with power to add two more to their number.

It was agreed that it be a Standing Order of the Board that the Geneva representative should be present at its meetings.

Invitations to hold the next Board meeting in Belgium and Finland were received, but no decision taken, and the possibility of holding the 4th Conference in Athens discussed.

It was resolved to ask the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to receive a deputation of Members of the Board of Officers and Presidents of Branches to put forward the policy of the O.D.I. with respect to the revision of the Nightwork Convention.

The Board decided that such action was better than a deputation to include not only organisations supporting the removal of the nightwork prohibition from all women, but also those who wished only to see the prohibition removed from women in positions of supervision or management, such as had been suggested by the Equal Rights International, with an offer of assistance. The Equal Rights International was thanked for its proffered help, but explaining why it was thought best to ask for the deputation of the O.D.I. alone. This deputation was refused.

It was agreed to place Maternity on the Agenda of the 1935 Conference, to send out draft Resolutions for that Conference three months beforehand, to request Branches and Affiliated Societies six months beforehand to suggest subjects for Resolutions.

The Brussels meetings were held in the home of Louise de Craene van Duuren, in most luxurious conditions, as their kind hosts, Louise and Ernest de Craene, entertained the Board each day to lunch, and also gave a reception at which the Board had the great pleasure of meeting the active Secretary, Monsieur Acker, and other members of the Belgian Branch.

The members present included all but Gertrud Baer, Ruth Vandeer Litt, Paulina Luisi, Thyra von Beetzen-Ostman and Anna Westergaard. The Board expressed regret that F. de G. Merrifield had been obliged, on account of ill health, to resign her post as Acting Hon. Treasurer, and its warm appreciation of her four and a half years work, and appointed in her place Erica Butler-Bowdon as Hon. Financial Secretary. The Board voted £25 annually as a contribution towards the rent and other local expenses in connection with the arrangement by which the Geneva office was in the place where Edith Rodgers lived.

Arrangements for the 1935 Conference were discussed. It was agreed to recommend that the following standing order be adopted at the next General Council meeting of the O.D.I.:

“That a ballot for the election of the President be held before that for the other members of the Board and that the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer be elected by the Board at its first meeting.”

On a suggestion from Gertrud Baer that the O.D.I. might call a Conference of women's International Organisations to protest against the growing attacks on women all over the world, it was agreed to have a special public meeting on O.D.I. policy in Paris at the time of the I.C.W's. Congress (July 2nd—12th, 1934) unless the I.C.W. itself was having a meeting of International Women's Organisations to make such protest. As such a meeting was arranged by the I.C.W. the O.D.I. appointed Maria Vérone as its delegate.

The Board met again on August 17th and 18th, 1935, and made final arrangements for the 4th Conference. It considered and amended the drafts of resolutions which had been circulated, and which would be moved at the Conference in the form recommended by the Board. It ratified the appointment of Erica Butler-Bowdon as Geneva Representative, and approved the suggestion of the Headquarters that the consideration of Widows' Pensions be postponed to a subsequent Conference, since it had not been possible to draft a resolution in time for consideration by its Societies.

Resolution IV. The Right of the Married Woman to Earn. (See page 60).

MILOSLAVA HRDLICKOVA (Czechoslovakia) moved the resolution briefly, saying that all present were in agreement with it. The danger was of rivalry between married and single women; she expressed the need for solidarity between them.

The PRESIDENT said that she assumed that all present wanted to second the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

REPORT OF THE HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) began to give the Report of the Headquarters Committee, but was unable to finish it, owing to the adjournment of the Conference in order to attend a Reception by the Municipality of Copenhagen in the Town Hall.

THIRD SESSION.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20th 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

The President took the Chair and read a telegram to JULIE ARENHOLT from the U.S.A. Minister to Denmark, MRS. RUTH BRYAN OWEN, regretting that unforeseen circumstances prevented her from attending the Opening Session and the Lunch at Bellevue on August 21st.

REPORT OF THE HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE (Contd.)

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) concluded the Report of the Headquarters Committee, which had been begun at the end of the second session. The Report was as follows:—

In the two years since Prague the Committee has held five meetings. It has been strengthened by the co-option of Eva Hartree, but has lost by resignation F. de G. Merrifield, who is now living abroad, and who has since the very early days of the O.D.I. given such valuable work as Honorary Acting Treasurer. The Committee has been fortunate in being able to co-opt in her place Erica Butler-Bowdon, who has since been active as Honorary Financial Secretary.

In July, 1934, the Committee had regretfully to accept the resignation as Geneva Representative of Edith Rodgers, who had initiated and carried out so efficiently the work of the O.D.I. in Geneva since the O.D.I. was formed in 1929.

On March 21st, 1935, Erica Butler-Bowdon, who had already assisted Edith Rodgers at one or two I.L.O. meetings, was appointed to replace her. She is transferring her home to Geneva, and is going to allow the O.D.I. to use her address as its Headquarters there.

The Committee has had the pleasure of welcoming in London the following Members of the Board: Ingeborg Walin, Marie Lenoel, Anna Westergaard and Gertrud Baer, who each gave invaluable help and criticism to the work of the moment. Marie Lenoel was appointed Fraternal Delegate, with Elizabeth Abbott as a Substitute, to the Conference of the International Council of Women, in Paris, July 2nd—12th, 1934, and Maria Vérone was appointed to represent the O.D.I. at the Joint Meeting of Women's International Organisations held under the auspices of the I.C.W. at the same time, to demand the right to work for women, whether married or unmarried.

The following is a brief sketch of the work done during these two years:

In December, 1933, and January, 1934, the Report of the Prague Conference, with Resolutions in English and French and Czech, was distributed widely, and at the beginning of 1935 the Call to the Copenhagen Conference was sent out very widely. The German Resolutions of the Prague Conference, because of delay in translation, were not available till early in 1935.

Four copies of the Open Door in English and French have been issued. In the first two an effort was made to include more articles of general interest, but the last two numbers have been restricted to News Items. These were both brought out by Erica Butler-Bowdon, Gertrud Baer collaborating in the production of the earlier of the two.

Monthly Letters in English and French are now sent, not only to Members of the Board, Branches and Affiliated, but also to Associate Societies and Members of the O.D.I. Of these 12 have been sent out, and to each has been attached copies of the various documents addressed to the Director of the I.L.O. for the Governing Body, to the I.L. Conference, or to the Commissions of that Conference, mentioned in the list below. These help to keep Members of the O.D.I. informed of the work done at Headquarters. The Resolutions for this Conference have been duplicated in English and French, as well as the other documents in connection with the Conference, and sent out to the Board, Branches and Affiliated Societies and Associate Societies and Members.

The following is a list of the letters sent to the I.L.O. in connection with the Meetings of the Governing Body and the International Labour Conferences, and of other letters of importance sent to outside Bodies:

(1) On the return from the Prague Conference a press notice on the Conference was widely circulated to the world press in August.

(2) On October 6th, 1933, a letter was addressed to the Director of the I.L. Office and circulated by him to the Members of the 64th Session of the Governing Body. This pointed out that the opportunity should be taken in connection with the proposed revision of the Nightwork Convention, 1919, to produce a Nightwork Convention equally applicable to men and women.

(3) In 1934 a letter was sent to the All-India Women's Conference in connection with the turning of the women miners out of the mines, giving information on women miners. As a result that Conference had sent special persons to the mining areas to see what was happening to the women being turned out of the mines, and had drawn up a memorandum which, while not adopting the O.D.I. policy, shows some doubts about the prohibition of underground work for women, and had sent it to the International Labour Conference.

(4) On 7th August, 1933, a letter was sent to Sir Atul Chatterjee, Chairman of the Governing Body of the 64th Session of the I.L.O., asking him to receive an O.D.I. deputation on the proposed revision of the Nightwork Convention, but he had refused, on the ground that the Governing Body never received deputations— notwithstanding that the O.D.I. had already been received in deputation by the Bureau of a previous session of the Governing Body.

(5) In June, 1934, in connection with the 18th Session of the International Labour Conference, there were so many subjects on the Agenda in which the O.D.I. were interested that it was thought better to send forward our views on certain of the items to the Members of the Commission dealing with each question. The following was the action taken:

(a) A memorandum on the partial revision of the Nightwork Convention was sent to our Geneva representative and circulated by her to the Members of the Conference Committee on the subject. This laid particular stress on the danger of the proposed new standard articles, the insertion of which would be to tie up more tightly the women to whom the Convention was to be made to apply.

(b) A letter enclosing a copy of our Prague Resolution on Mines was sent to every member of the Mines Commission.

(c) On the Unemployment Insurance Proposed Conventions a memorandum urging the provision of equal contributions and equal benefits for men and women, with no discrimination against women because of marriage, was sent and distributed by our Geneva representative to the Members of the Commission on the subject.

(d) A letter enclosing a copy of our Prague Resolution on the reduction of hours of work was sent to every Member of the Commission on that subject.

(6) In July, 1934, a memorandum on Pensions for Widows, summarising the present world position and asking certain questions, was sent to the Members of the Board, the Branches, the Affiliated and Associated Societies of the O.D.I. for their consideration, in view of the intention to adopt a detailed policy at the Copenhagen 1935 Conference.

(7) On 19th November, 1934, a letter was sent to President Roosevelt of the U.S.A., and on March 4th, 1935, a letter to Monsieur Stalin of the U.S.S.R., expressing the hope that these two countries, which had just joined the International Labour Organisation, would not adopt the disastrous policy of the I.L.O. with respect to women, but would use their influence to induce that body to adopt a policy equal between men and women. The letter to President Roosevelt drew attention to the need of women for a New Deal. That to M. Stalin expressed our regrets at the recent laws in that country restricting women's right to work in their supposed interest.

(8) On December 31st, 1934, a notice was circulated to the world press reporting the resolution unanimously adopted by the representatives of 14,000 Danish women workers claiming full equality between women and men in conditions of work and salaries, and protesting against any form of special legislation for women only.

(9) On December 18th, 1934, a letter was sent to the Director of the I.L.O. for circulation to the Members of the 69th Session of the Governing Body, in connection with the proposal of its Chairman, Monsieur Michelis, to consider extending protection to workers still outside it, and the fixing of a minimum standard for all workers. This letter drew attention to the need of amending existing Conventions which restricted the work of women only, so as to make them apply equally to men and women. It also drew attention to the need for insuring the right to work for all women, married or unmarried, without requiring them to have a preliminary authorisation from a husband, or the Court, or any other authority, and the need to give women control over their own earnings.

(10) In December, 1934, greetings were sent to the All-India Women's Conference and their attention was called to the need to protest against the introduction in their country of the restrictions on women already imposed in the West.

(11) On May 28th, 1935, a letter was addressed to the President of the 19th Session of the International Labour Conference, June, 1935, and circulated by our Geneva representative to the Members of the Conference, on Women in Mines. This pointed out the damage now being done to Indian and Japanese women through their loss of the right to work in the mines, to the danger of closing an employment to women who worked for the same reasons as men did, and urged the Conference not to adopt a Convention to prohibit women's work underground.

(12) In May, 1935, the O.D.I. attached its signature to a petition presented by the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship to the 19th Session of the I.L. Conference. This was to protest against a petition which was being sent to the I.L. Conference by the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, which proposed that in the interests of young workers, (a) married women's work should be regulated to facilitate the return of mothers to their homes and (b) the replacement of male labour by female labour should be forbidden.

(13) In July, 1935, a Statement of the views and desiderata of the O.D.I. on the whole status of women and equality of rights for both sexes was sent to Monsieur Avenol, Secretary of the League of Nations, for circulation to Members of the 16th Assembly, 1935, where this question was on its Agenda. This drew attention to the importance of equality of rights for the woman earner and pointed out that any International Convention which proposed equality of rights between the sexes would, if ratified, impose an obligation on the ratifying State to denounce *inter alia* the I.L.O. Conventions on Nightwork, Childbirth, White Lead (Painting), and the Employment of Women Underground in Mines. Appended to the Statement were examples of international conventions and national laws unequal between man and woman as earners, which would require to be denounced or amended by a State which ratified a Convention giving general equality of rights. A first draft of this Statement, which was altered in the final draft, had been sent to the President of the International Council of Women before the Meeting of its Executive in Brussels in June, 1935, with a number of additional copies for other Members at that Meeting. Copies of the final draft were sent to the Labour departments in all countries, to the officers and Presidents of the Auxiliaries of the I.C.W., the I.A.W.S.E.C. and the I.F.U.W., the Headquarters of all International Women's Organisations, as well as to all Members of the O.D.I. and subscribers to the "Open Door."

(14) In August, 1935, copies of the President's address were circulated to the world press before the Conference for release on August 20th.

The "Open Door," The Monthly Letters, and the Statement of the O.D.I. view and desiderata sent to the League of Nations Assembly were sent out in English and French, thanks to the translations so promptly provided by Marie Lenoel, who up to about three months ago not only translated the French Monthly Letters, but had them copied and despatched. We also owe to her the prompt translation of the many documents, resolutions, etc., needed for the Copenhagen Conference, and to Gertrud Baer the translation of certain of the Resolutions into German.

The Hon. Secretary, who is at the same time the paid half-time Secretary of the British Open Door Council, continues to give voluntarily to the Open Door

International all her other time. This means half-time office work, as well as much reading of documents, compiling of drafts and card-index at home in the evenings, and since May, 1934, she has had the assistance of the half-time help of the office clerk, Doris Dickinson, who has given invaluable help in this capacity in connection with the multifarious documents and postages for this Conference. Since the Prague Conference 1,600 letters and other postal packets have been received, in addition to 126 publications of the I.L.O. received by the Hon. Secretary at her private address, and the many letters received by the President. All publications are read and indexed. In the same period 7,706 letters and postal packets, a good deal more than half as many again as in the previous two years, have gone out from the office, and to these must be added the many letters sent from their private addresses by the President and the Hon. Financial Secretary.

She concluded by pointing out the large amount of work done with very little clerical help on a very small income and appealed to members of the Conference for donations and subscriptions to enable Headquarters to get help for the routine work of the Office and to free the Hon. Sec. for research, speaking, and writing and publishing pamphlets. She paid a personal tribute to the good work of her office clerk, Doris Dickinson. She excepted from her appeal members of Den Aabne Dör, who had already made a splendid effort in raising funds for the Conference.

The PRESIDENT in putting the adoption of the Reports of the Board of Officers and the Headquarters Committee, to the Conference, expressed the O.D.I.'s appreciation of the work done by the Hon. Sec., by Marie Lenoel, and by Gertrud Baer, and the Conference showed its approval by applause, and sent a message of recognition to Doris Dickinson.

The adoption of the Reports, including the recommendation for the adoption of the Bye-law (see p. 23) dealing with the election of the President and Board, was carried unanimously.

ADOPTION OF BADGE AND COLOURS.

INGEBORG WALIN (Sweden) moved, on behalf of the Board, the adoption of a badge in blue, gold and green enamel, representing a woman in an open door, in the form of a pin. She said the President had asked her sometime ago whether she could have a badge designed in Sweden, and when the Board met in Brussels in 1934 she had produced a drawing, which the President had liked. She was sorry that she had not written about the matter since then, and had not been told of the proposal to have a sign, which could also be used in the form of a brooch.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) seconded the proposal to adopt the badge as a personal badge in addition to the Sign. She was herself going to use the design for her Christmas cards and it could be used in other similar ways.

After some discussion the Conference voted in favour of adopting the badge for sale as a permissive badge.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) proposed that the O.D.I. should also adopt colours, and proposed blue, yellow or gold, and green. These, she said, were the colours of the badge just adopted, and blue, yellow and green were the colours of the paper used by the O.D.I. for French, English, and German documents respectively.

It was resolved to adopt blue, yellow and green as the O.D.I. colours, their arrangement and order to be left to the Board of Officers.

REPORTS FROM NATIONAL BRANCHES.

Denmark: Den Aabne Dör. MARGRETHE MATHIASSEN gave the Report of the Danish Branch, saying that it had now nearly 750 members, an increase since the last Conference of nearly 200, all of whom had them-

selves asked to join and were in wholehearted agreement with the Object of the O.D.I.

She said that a proposal in Denmark to allow the matriculation examination to be taken in two ways, one involving general education and the other a specialisation in domestic subjects, had been realised as a trap for women, since the domestic examination would fail to qualify candidates for many jobs. Den Aabne Dör had had a great campaign on this question in the Press, at meetings, and on the radio, and the matter was in abeyance.

Den Aabne Dör, with other women's organisations, had so far resisted successfully attempts of municipalities to introduce a marriage bar.

A new danger to women was a proposal to exclude them from work in accumulator factories, in the belief that women were more susceptible than men to lead poisoning. A strong memorandum had been presented to the Government and it was hoped that the Regulation would be withdrawn.

Den Aabne Dör had held many meetings and had worked in close co-operation with the Women Earners' Council, the president of which was Anna Westergaard.

There was a dangerous tendency to create special categories of unskilled work for women from which there was little chance of promotion.

For three months before the Conference, the officers and many members of Den Aabne Dör had given much of their time to preparation for the O.D.I. Conference.

Czechoslovakia: Groupement de l'O.D.I. en Tchécosloquie.

MILOSLAVA HRDLICKOVA (Czechoslovakia) gave this Report, saying that in her country the right of women to work for pay was being questioned owing to the economic situation, the rise of rationalisation, and the spread of unemployment. Boys and girls leaving school found no work. Yet even in these conditions, it was only the married woman Civil Servant who was attacked and this indirectly. No law laid down a restriction on such women, but a Decree provided that where husband and wife were both Civil Servants, in work or on pension, the pay or pension was lowered. This measure had been attacked by all the women's organisations led by Frantiska Plaminkova, Senator, and a memorandum had been drawn up expressing the astonishment of men's organisations at this Decree. Many delegations of teachers and Civil Servants were organised, a press campaign was conducted, and many meetings were held. The result was the modification of the reductions.

Article 106 of the Constitution of the Czech Republic had been a great help in preventing special restrictions on women's work. This article lays down that there shall be no distinction based on birth, sex or religion. In the private employment the position of women had become worse. This had been fought by seeking to found women's clubs in all large towns, where meetings and debates were held, thus tending to influence public opinion locally and getting accurate information into the Press. Much propaganda had been done to get women to value and use their votes, and the Groupement was very active during the recent elections in the spring of 1935, as a result of which Frantiska Plaminkova was from the beginning second on the list of her political party and was re-elected to the Senate.

The Groupement had urged the Government to appoint more women as delegates to the International Labour Conference, and had succeeded in having Dr. Skopová appointed as a Worker's Advisor. The Government had also been urged to withdraw its support of total prohibition of the employment of women, even non-manual workers, in underground work, a prohibition demanded by all the Czech Trade Unions.

The Groupement had also protested vigorously against the Petition presented to the International Labour Conference by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and collected the signatures of over 100 Women's Organisations to counter-petitions which were sent to the I.L.O. before the meeting of the International Labour Conference.

The Groupement had asked the Czech Association of University Women to request its Laws Section to examine the question whether "protective" legislation is not contrary to Article 106 of the Constitution.

Young students of both sexes were working together to secure equal pay and opportunities, and this was a help in the struggle for woman's economic emancipation.

The Conference then adjourned.

FOURTH SESSION.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20th, 3-0 p.m. to 5-30 p.m.

The President in the Chair.

REPORTS FROM AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.

Great Britain: National Union of Women Teachers. FLORENCE KEY gave this report, saying that the N.U.W.T., was an organisation of women teachers who had realised the necessity for a separate woman's organisation to secure equality in the profession. But the work of the N.U.W.T. was not confined to educational questions. It had protested to the Minister of Transport against lower pay for women than men motor-driving examiners, and had taken part in a deputation to the Lord Chancellor on Married Women's Torts. It had protested against a growing tendency to take young girls straight from school, and quite untrained, and employ them as teachers, since this was an attack on qualified teachers and on the education of the girls. It had struggled to secure for women the chance to become heads of mixed schools, and was the only teachers' organisation making this demand, which is in the interest of the children as well as of the teachers. A partial success had been obtained in the decision of the London County Council to remove the Marriage Bar from non-residential women teachers and doctors. The Union had recently concentrated on a campaign to secure Equal Pay and had held meetings in many of the large towns, with encouraging results, and had done work in the Press.

Resolution III. Policy of the O.D.I. with regard to Maternity.

(See page 57).

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) moved the adoption of this statement of policy in the form in which it had been re-drafted by the Board of Officers, incorporating suggestions received from Branches Affiliated Societies, and Board Members, and not in the form circulated before the Conference began.

The Conference ought, she said, to approach the question of maternity in a cool, detached spirit. All present were agreed that a woman ought not to be forbidden to work on account of childbirth, and that no special burdens should be imposed on her employer. But the need for clear statement and explanation to others was great, since this aspect of the O.D.I. policy was the most difficult for outsiders to understand. National Governments and the I.L.O. pursue their present policy on this matter because they have not clearly thought it out, and they add

new mistakes to rectify old blunders. The family can be really protected in many ways—for example, the giving of free education to children by the State is protection for the family.

The first mistake in the present popular policy is to forbid a woman to work. This is a direct restriction and takes from her her rights, yet neither pregnancy nor childbirth should be used as an excuse for taking away rights. For this is to exalt the function above the person, and thus degrade the mother as a means to an end.

In earlier times in Great Britain it was urged that unless the woman was forbidden to work, the employer would compel her to return to work too soon after childbirth; now, where she is forbidden to work, it is said that the employer must be prevented from turning her out. Insurance is a help to the childbearing woman though not a compensation for the loss of freedom of choice. In an article by Dr. Elsa Lüders, published in the *International Labour Review*, September 1929, an account is given of the way in which German industrial women who were forbidden to do their usual work took harder and less well paid work, until a maternity benefit was provided, when the woman became able and willing to stay at home for the forbidden period of time.

The new indirect restrictions, some of which are advocated by the I.L.O. are now to be found in the national legislation of several countries. They are said to be constructive, and some women workers are afraid that they would lose by the removal of such restrictions, which take the form of burdens placed upon the employer of the child-bearing woman. Yet the help they give is completely illusory. Those who know the needs of the employer, and the code on which he acts, know that they must necessarily be illusory. For example, the obligation to provide a crèche if he employs a certain number of women must work against the interests of the women. If the employer finds it convenient to provide a crèche, and if he has no other supply of cheap labour, he will provide the crèche, and recoup himself by the low wages which he pays, not only to child-bearing women, but to all his women employees. If not, he will seek to run his business with other labour, e.g. young persons.

Another apparent protection to women's right to work forbids the employer to dismiss a woman who stays away from work for reasons arising out of pregnancy or childbirth. Many women workers believe that this is a great help to them. Yet if the women, and other women, are cheap enough, or skilled enough, or if labour is scarce, the employer will still take back the woman, whether the restriction exists or not. But if he can replace her easily by other labour, he can take her back for the shortest possible period allowed, and then dismiss her. The woman pays for this by low wage rates for women, or by difficulty in getting work. If it pays the employer to spend a little to keep these wages low, or the supply of cheap labour high, he will spend.

The only way to give real protection, she said, is to bring the working mother in on the same terms as all other workers, so as to avoid putting her in a particular or peculiar situation.

When she was in Russia, the speaker had discussed this question with leading officials, pointing out that since incapacitated workers there receive full pay when absent from work, nothing was gained, and much lost, by making special regulations for workers incapacitated for reasons connected with childbearing; but in Russia, too, she had found great sentimentality and lack of clearness of thought on this subject.

Restrictions could not help the woman but much help could be given by the extension of great public services. She urged the assimilation of incapacity to work due to childbearing to incapacity to work due to accident, or illness, and saw in this the solution of the problem in connection with the woman earner.

THYRA VON BEETZEN ÖSTMAN (Finland) seconded, saying that all present agreed that attempts to help the childbearing woman had been taken on the wrong lines. M. Thomas, a former Director of the I.L.O., had said that to move a pin needed the force of two locomotives, but even more was needed to alter public opinion. She told of a woman in Finland who, when forbidden to do her usual industrial work after the birth of her child, was obliged to help her husband in shovelling coal and snow. When allowed to return to work she exclaimed "Now at last I can have a rest." The real way to help the working mother was to attack the low level of women's wages with the consequent deprivation of food, and to extend the social services.

ALISON HUNTER (Great Britain) speaking as a gynaecologist and obstetrician, emphasised the undesirability of putting maternity in a category apart. The concern of the employer was whether the woman was fit to work, and it was of no importance to him, if she was not fit, to know the reason. The pregnant and childbearing woman ought as a worker to receive the same treatment as other workers incapacitated for work. Maternity is not a disease, she said, but it does for a time prevent the mother from working. It is impossible to lay down an exact period during which she will be incapacitated. Most people and all Governments appears to be incapable of separating the subject from sentimentality. Doctors tell their patients that childbearing is a normal natural process, but the law tells them that it renders them incapable of thinking for themselves or helping themselves, if they work for a wage.

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France) considered this the most important question on the O.D.I. programme. She said it was impossible in this connection to demand absolute equality, since men do not bear children. In this respect woman might be said to be the superior being. The real question was whether it was good or bad to forbid a woman to work 6 weeks after the birth of her child. In France up to a few years ago, a woman was forbidden to work for 8 weeks, and received 50 centimes to 1.50 francs a day. She urged that the prohibition to work should disappear from international and national legislation, but she did not support the assimilation of childbearing to illness. In France it was considered as a social service, and it ought to be paid for by the State, by giving the woman her full wages during absence from work, which would enable her to stay away from work if she wished.

The Ligue française pour le Droit des Femmes, which Society Andrée Lehmann represented at the Conference, had asked her to urge the desirability of retaining the provision by which the employer was forbidden to dismiss the woman. Men in France cannot be dismissed when absent from work on military service, and absence due to maternity should be put on a par with absence on military service, both being looked upon as service to the State.

No one, she agreed, could prevent the employer from dismissing a woman after she had returned to work. She had, however, acted in the Courts for women bringing actions against employers who had dismissed them two or three weeks before the period in which he was forbidden to dismiss them, and had won their cases for such women, obtaining damages.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) protested against the suggestion that maternity could give any superiority to women. Any experience, she said, is of value or not, according to the use that is made of it. Some women are ennobled by maternity, some are not. The natural function in itself cannot give any superiority or inferiority.

She protested against the proposal to assimilate childbirth and conscription, saying that the idea savoured too much of the production

and destruction of cannon-fodder. She pointed out that it had not been proposed to assimilate childbearing and disease, but to assimilate, for the purpose of benefit, incapacity arising out of childbearing to incapacity arising out of disease or accident. She urged the Conference to accept the resolution, and said that the question of whether maternity should be regarded as a service to the State was quite outside the scope of the O.D.I.

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France) said that owing to lack of time she had not fully explained her position. She had not said that maternity made one woman better than another. But woman is made superior by suffering. She did not want women to bear children in order to have them made into soldiers, but her point had been that both these causes of absence from work, childbearing and military service, were inconvenient for the employer.

The Conference then adjourned.

FIFTH SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21st, 10 a.m. to 12-45 p.m.

The President in the Chair.

Resolution III. Policy of the O.D.I. with regard to Maternity. (Concluded). (See page 23).

EVA HARTREE (Great Britain) objected to the proposal of the *Ligue française pour le Droit des Femmes* that childbearing should be assimilated to military service. Childbearing, she said, is a permanent biological function, compulsory military service exists in a minority of countries and is not met with in the U.S.A. or in the British Empire. There can be no real parallelism between this permanent natural function and this temporary expedient. She pointed out that it is not the concern of the O.D.I. whether or not childbearing makes a contribution to the community; the concern of the O.D.I. being the woman in her capacity as earner.

DAGNY BANG (Norway) quoted a declaration made by Scandinavian women doctors 4 years ago, agreeing that legislation for maternity should include the right to leave work, and to insurance benefits, incapacity due to pregnancy or childbirth being assimilated to absence due to illness. This did not go so far as the O.D.I. policy, but it was a step in the right direction.

ANNA WESTERGAARD (Denmark) said that from the discussion it might appear that the delegates thought that a difference might be made between married and single women. This was not so; the need for solidarity between all women was great, and while single women sympathise with married women and mothers, they did not wish special regulations for them, as this might make married women appear less useful. This would be dangerous to all women since unmarried women might at any time become married women.

ERNA KJELDSKOV (Denmark) stressed the responsibility of both parents. Both parents are interested in the provision of allowances for children, but these are outside the scope of the O.D.I. programme.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain), in her reply, said she considered that the discussion had been interesting and useful.

Andrée Lehmann had said that she and Maria Vérone agreed that it was no protection to the woman to forbid the employer to dismiss her after childbirth. He could always do so when the prohibited period had expired. But they did think it a protection if he was forbidden to dis-

miss her before the birth of the child, since they had won cases in the Court for women so dismissed, and had obtained damages. Yet this, she said, proved that such restrictions made the employer wish to get rid of the women, and this he could do by dismissing them on the first suspicion that they were pregnant.

She drew attention to the statement in the beginning of the Policy on Maternity that the provision of crèches by Public Authorities is a matter outside the scope of the O.D.I. But she said that the O.D.I. was concerned to oppose the policy of compelling the employer to make such provision. She had recently visited in Copenhagen a well run day-home for small children. Excellent service on these lines could be rendered by private organisations or Public Authorities, but should not be demanded of the employer.

Many of these regulations were terribly old-fashioned. It was realised that the healthiest thing for a pregnant woman was to lead her usual life; that the most unhealthy thing for the pregnant woman was to bend over the family wash-tub. In laundries, washing was done by machinery. The O.D.I. would not wish for a regulation to forbid the pregnant woman in the home to bend over the wash-tub, but would wish for an extension of community wash-houses.

There was no possible analogy, she said, between child-bearing and military service, which arises from man's inhumanity to man, in a world which is not yet civilised.

She read the following extract from a letter received from MARIE LENOEL (France, Member of the Board) giving her own personal views on the question. Dealing with the suggestion that the woman who bears a child does a service to Society, Marie Lenoel considered this triply wrong. This suggestion (translated from the original French) ran:

"(1) recognises implicitly that Society would have a right to treat as a pariah those who cannot justify themselves by immediate productivity for the Community. The application of this principle would be the ruin of all civilisation. Apart from invalids and the aged, who retain their right to liberty, it is certain that all original work of a high level (such as in art, literature, philosophy, philanthropy or even science) is never considered productive until crowned by success, often after the death of those who have devoted their lives to it. (2) It is not correct to say that every woman who brings a child into the world necessarily does a service to Society, and rights based on this supposed service would be very insecure and undesirable. Increase of population is not, and will not always be, considered everywhere desirable. The risk of over-population exists or may exist and should be taken into consideration. And even outside this risk, some children appear destined to become a definite charge on Society. It follows that if the rights of the mother are to be based on services rendered, these rights will cease to exist the day when the service ceases to be considered as such, either on account of over-population, or because the woman is deemed to be unfitted to bring into the world a strong, healthy child, useful for the prosperity of Society.

"By basing the right of the mother on service to Society, we tend to return to the mistake we are combating; that is, we tend to subordinate the right of the woman to the public interest and to make of her a means and not an end.

"The right to have children, like the right to marry, is a personal right, governed by moral laws and not by considerations of usefulness to Society. The idea of attaching payment to maternity not only shocks a sense of dignity, but gives Society a right of intervention and supervision in procreation which is objectionable. It is not to the parents, it is to the child through its parents, that Society should offer the conditions of human life necessary for its development. It should be left to the mother (and to the father, if there is one) to decide what is best for the child. She should be free to maintain it by her work if the help given by the community seems to her insufficient, or unacceptable for any other reason.

"To treat the protection of the mother or of the child as a function of public

utility and apart from the wishes of the mother, is to treat the mother and the child not as members, but as slaves, of Society.

"It really means applying to them the methods used in rearing cattle, which are naturally immoral and injurious when used in connection with the human race."

Elizabeth Abbott went on to say that the O.D.I. statement of policy was the result of years of long and careful thought. The statement put out at Berlin had been modified at Stockholm in 1931 as a result of this thought, because it had been realised that nothing could help the mother as a worker, vis-à-vis the employer, which put her in a different position from that of other workers. The O.D.I. therefore declared that what could really help the woman earner in cases of childbearing was to realise that the concern of the employer was her incapacity to work, and that by assimilating this incapacity arising out of pregnancy and childbearing to incapacity due to accident or illness, it was possible to help the mother, particularly by means of insurance, without lowering her status or infringing her rights.

AGNES STAGIS (Denmark) was given permission by the Conference to speak, since her name, which had been sent in earlier in the session, had not been received by the President before Elizabeth Abbott's reply to the debate.

She said that what was really needed was the spiritual emancipation of women. She considered that both the French and English points of view were too much coloured by national needs.

The policy in Maternity (Resolution III) was then put to the General Council and adopted *nem con.*

Resolution V. Dangerous Trades and Welfare Regulations; so-called "protection" of the woman earner. (See page 60).

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) moved this resolution, saying that while the whole policy of the O.D.I. was one and indivisible, and all aspects were of equal importance, if any aspect could have been said to be of most importance, this was the one. There was a great deal of vague and loose thinking on the question of women's health and welfare, and when all the other attacks on woman's right to work had ceased (such as attempts to cure unemployment by turning out women, or restrictions on the married woman's right to earn) this would be the last battleground between the O.D.I. and the "protectionists."

She reminded the Conference that in Great Britain in 1844 women were for the first time included with young persons in a prohibition to clean machinery in motion. Then women had little possibility of education and were held to be incapable (as semi-adults) of learning simple engineering, but in 1929 a similar regulation had been included in the Factory Act of China. The experience of 90 years, including the War years when women were engaged in almost all the dangerous trades and processes, was being utterly ignored.

She protested in particular against regulations prohibiting adult women's work on moral grounds, giving examples from the legislation of various countries, and urging that what is dangerous for women's morals is dangerous for men's. Much of such legislation, she said, was to be found in countries with state-regulated prostitution, and such pretended care for the morals of women really arose from a low opinion of women.

She said that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had by a Decree of 1930 prohibited the work of women in over 70 occupations. Even if such prohibitions were not enforced, their existence in Russian legislation lowered the status of Russian women workers.

Special restrictions applying in dangerous trades and processes to women only were a danger to men workers in those trades, since the public conscience was lulled by the exclusion of women from such work, and was not sufficiently awake to the dangers for men.

In recent years the situation had become worse even than before, since the custom was spreading of restricting the work of women by means not of legislation, but of regulations made under arbitrary powers conferred on Ministers or officials, by which they could at any time and for any reason close whole avenues of work to women. She cited recent proposals for such legislation in the Irish Free State and Norway. (See page 56, and below).

The real danger to the health of the woman worker, she said, was lack of food, and consequent under-nutrition. This, for example, was the most important factor in creating conditions favourable to lead poisoning. She quoted the facts given in "The Health of the Industrial Worker" (London 1921) in which two of the Heads of the Health Department of the British Ministry of Munitions during the War of 1914-18, Dr. Collis and Major Greenwood, completely disproved the supposed greater susceptibility of women than men to lead poisoning. No mention was made of this authoritative book in the bibliography attached by the I.L.O. to the article on Lead published in its Encyclopaedia of Industrial Hygiene, though many earlier publications by other writers, supporting the view that women are more susceptible than men, were there cited.

Another danger to women was that if as a result of research and invention the danger was removed from a particular process, a situation might have been created in which such a process was considered "not women's work," and, though the danger was removed, the women might still be excluded.

It was a delusion, or hypocritical claim, to say that by prohibiting the work of women in lead or mercury the children were being protected. Children could be infected by a poisoned father where the mother never came into contact with lead or mercury. Restrictions or prohibitions applied to the mother only were futile for the protection of the family. She quoted the saying of M. Albert Thomas that "the conscience of modern society realises that occupational diseases should not be reserved for certain persons, but that they should be made to disappear," and regretted that the I.L.O. should have gone back from this right outlook on the problem to prohibition of the work of women, which closes many avenues of work to them, while leaving men in certain trades still exposed to danger.

DAGNY BANG (Norway) explained the allusion of Winifred Le Sueur to the new proposal coming before her Parliament. She noted that the O.D.I. had quoted in its paper "Open Door" the statement of the Norwegian Government that it could not ratify the new Night Work Convention as there was no prohibition of night work in Norway. But under arbitrary powers proposed in the new Bill, the Minister would be able to forbid night work for women without any further Act being passed. This would be to put women outside the law.

Paragraph 25 of the Chapter of the Bill which deals with the protection of women, both industrial workers and business women, runs as follows:—

"If any trade or work is found to be particularly fatiguing or dangerous to the life and health of women, or should other reasons make it desirable, the King may order special measures to be taken (see Par. 9) or the King may wholly forbid women to be employed in the work in question."

The special measures referred to in Section 9 are the fixing of shorter hours and the requirement of medical inspection. The advice of the Council of Work need not be heard before making an Order which applies to women only.

The Bill as a preliminary to proposing restrictions on the rights of women workers on the lines of the Washington Childbirth Convention says it is our duty to arrange our legislation so that we can join the international conventions.

If this law is passed all the adversaries of women's work will be satisfied. We know what is to be done. Go on—support our natural defence—the O.D.I.

The Conference then adjourned.

SIXTH SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21st, 4 p.m. to 6 p.m.

The President in the Chair.

Resolution V. Dangerous Trades etc. (continued). (See page 60).

ANNA WESTERGAARD (Denmark) in seconding, referred to the article on "Women's Work" in the I.L.O. Encyclopaedia of Industrial Hygiene "Occupation and Health," and the ridicule aroused by its treatment of all paid work for women as dangerous. She pointed out that a medical report of the printing industry in Denmark showed that by careful regulation lead poisoning had been eliminated. She called on chemists of all lands to give up research into the production of poison gas and devote more time to eliminating industrial dangers.

The PRESIDENT proposed the insertion in the foot-note (y) to the resolution of the words "and the understanding of the significance of personal hygiene of the worker" after the words "scientific precautions." The mover and seconder of the Resolution accepted this addition.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) said that the policy of the O.D.I. would be the same, even if it had been proved that women were more susceptible to lead poisoning than men. They still ought to have the same right as other workers to engage in the work. But in fact, it was quite unpractical to prohibit such work on the basis of sex. It would be much more desirable to prohibit work in lead to persons of both sexes who had bad teeth, or to those who were very poor and consequently undernourished, and to those suffering from anaemia. The real protection was good personal hygiene and cleanliness, and this was quite independent of the sex of the worker.

ALISON HUNTER (Great Britain) stressed the fact that to prevent women from working in lead is no protection from poisoning either for the women or their children. A lead poisoned father could affect his wife and child. It was a curious idea which based legislation on the sex of the worker, while allowing the wife of a man working in lead to be caused seriously to miscarry as a result of the husband's poisoning.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Resolution IV. Prohibition of the employment of women on Underground Work. (See page 62).

THYRA VON BEETZEN-OSTMAN (Finland) moved this resolution, saying that restrictive legislation for women alone was always bad, though if applied to all workers it might be of benefit to them. The I.L.O. applied such legislation to women only, and a new international restriction had been introduced in June 1935, by the adoption of a Draft Convention to prohibit the work of women underground, with certain permissive exceptions. This was modelled on the bad British legisla-

tion of 1842 and was quite out of date. She gave examples of the deplorable results of the 1842 Act on the conditions of the women turned out of the British mines.

At the 1935 International Labour Conference only one voice, that of Dr. Gloerfelt-Tarp (Danish Government Adviser) speaking for herself and not for her Government, had been raised against the adoption of this Convention and in defence of women in India, Japan and China, who are being affected by present day prohibitions to work underground.

NELLY HANSEN (Denmark) said that she had worked underground at night in Canada many years ago, and had found the work less arduous and better paid than the work she did as a domestic worker in a boarding-house.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) said that this was a living question for the Asiatic women who are being progressively shut out of the mines in which they work with their husbands and families. She said that the mining industry in Great Britain had always shown great unrest, owing to disputes about pay and bad conditions. She was convinced that, if the women had not been turned out in 1842, the public conscience would have insisted on improvements in the industry, which it had not demanded since men only were employed.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

REPORTS FROM BRANCHES AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

(Continued)*

Swedish Open Door Group (National Branch). Central Council of Women Officials' Association. (Affiliated Society). INGEBOG WALIN presented the Reports of these two Societies as follows:—In 1934 a meeting of Women's Organisations had been called by the O.D. Group to protest against ratification of the new 1934 Night work Convention of the I.L.O. As a result the Stockholm Central Organisation of Women's Trade Unions adopted a resolution against ratification, which was also adopted at a joint meeting of the Social Democratic Women's Union and Trade Union Women.

Speeches at other meetings held dealt with the O.D.I. Prague Conference, the married woman earner, women and the world crisis, and pensions for widows.

The O.D. Group had sent letters to the Government on night work, and on the Petition of the Christian Trade Unions, and to the State Commission on Unemployment, pointing out discrimination against women in awarding benefits.

The President of the Group had addressed many meetings of men and women on O.D. policy.

The Constitution of the Group had been altered so as to promote the formation of local groups, and, in addition has five Affiliated Societies. It had joined a new Committee of Co-operation between Women's Societies, recently formed by the Central Council of Women Officials' Associations and the Swedish W.C.A., to defend women's right to paid work.

The Central Council, which now consisted of 20 organisations, had written to the Governing Body of the I.L.O., to the Swedish delegates to the 1934 I.L. Conference, and to the Social Board of Sweden, on the Night Work Convention. With regard to Married Women's Right to Earn it had written to the Special Committee of the Riksdag demanding unbiassed research into the question of "double service," and the

* The Hungarian Affiliated Society, Feministak Egyesulete, sent a Report of work done.

appointment of women to the Committee, and later, when it was clear that a proper enquiry was not to be made, had opposed any legislation based on "double service."

The general pension age for Civil Servants was now the same for men and women, but the last increment of pay was still denied to women. The Central Council had written to the Government asking for equal pay in all grades, and had successfully demanded justice in two cases of dismissal and promotion, and had approached the Government on several questions dealing with pensions.

It had written to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, supporting the principle embodied in the Equal Rights Treaty, and had signed the Counter Petition to the Petition of the Christian Trade Unions.

France: Ligue française pour le Droit des Femmes. (Affiliated Society). ANDRÉE LEHMANN, in presenting the Report, said that the paper "Le Droit des Femmes" issued by the Ligue, had drawn attention to all new attacks on women's work, and had protested with energy against them. The Ligue had organised meetings in Paris and in the provinces, and the President (Maria Vérone) had spoken on the Wireless on "Women's Work throughout the World." The Minister of Labour having said in the Chamber of Deputies that he regretted that he could not give work to men in preference to women, the Ligue had organised a Mass Meeting of Protest on 18th December, 1934. The Minister speaking in the Senate a few days later, modified his remarks, saying that he would like to "persuade" women workers to make way for unemployed men. The comment of the women workers was that he could not "persuade" them to commit suicide.

They had in France the support of many Trade Union men.

U.S.A. National Woman's Party. (Affiliated Society.) REBEKAH GREATHOUSE said that the National Woman's Party had been working against restrictive legislation since 1919, when the vote was given to women, and was beginning to get support from other women's organisations. The chief instrument of restrictions had been the Codes of Fair Competition, but a recent decision of the Supreme Court had swept them away. But there was danger in Inter-State compacts to limit the work of women. These, however, could not be signed without the approval of Congress.

The U.S.A. had not so far ratified any I.L.O. Convention restricting women's work, and the National Woman's Party was working to secure an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S.A. Constitution, which would prevent such ratification. The N.W.P. had secured the support of many other women's societies for the campaign for this amendment.

Great Britain: St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance. (Affiliated Society). ERICA BUTLER-BOWDON, in presenting this Report, said that the Alliance had continued to take a prominent part in the campaign to secure economic equality for the women of Great Britain. In co-operation with other women's societies it had endeavoured (though so far unsuccessfully) to ensure that the Unemployment Insurance Scheme should be equal for men and women both as regards contributions and benefits. The attacks on married women's right to earn had engaged the close attention of the Alliance. Married women continued to be the chief victims in any economic controversy and no opportunity had been lost of protesting. Occasionally there was a victory to report as the recent decision of the London County Council to remove the marriage bar for women teachers and doctors in their employ.

At a Mass Meeting affirming the right of Married Women to Earn

supported by 29 societies a member of the Alliance, Nancy Stewart Parnell, was one of the speakers. The Alliance had given evidence before the Commission appointed by the Government to consider the admission of women to the Diplomatic and Consular Services. The findings of the Commission had not yet been published.

A close watch had been kept on the Press, Catholic and otherwise, and many letters had appeared from the Alliance upholding the right of women to earn on equal terms with men.

Various resolutions had been sent to the Government and the I.L.O. protesting against the exclusion of women from work in mines.

The Union: Women's Association in Finland. (Affiliated Society). THYRA VON BEETZEN-ÖSTMAN gave this Report as follows: Reports of the Prague Conference were made to meetings both in Helsingfors and in Åbo and were published in the Press.

In November 1933 a protest meeting arranged by the Union and attended by other women's organizations as well as the general public carried unanimously a resolution emphasising married women's right to enter and to keep paid employment. The Union also arranged lectures to draw attention to the present danger on such subjects as "Women at the crossroads," which were all reported in detail in the Press.

Where women had been passed over in favour of men the Union had protested at meetings and in the Press. Jointly with other women's organizations they had again tried to persuade the Government to send a women delegate to the International Labour Conference and to the next Assembly of the League of Nations when the whole status of women is to be on the Agenda.

Meetings had also been held both in Helsingfors and in Åbo to discuss insurance questions and widow's pensions, and an answer to O.D.I.'s questionnaire was worked out by a special committee.

The government had appointed a committee to examine among other questions the economic possibilities in regard to invalid and old age insurance. But no woman was included although a joint request supported also by other feminist organizations had been sent to the Government asking them to do so.

The Union, in co-operation with the I.A.W.S.E.C. Committee in Finland, signed the counter petition to the International Labour Conference adopted by I.A.W.S.E.C.'s Congress in Istanbul against the petition sent to the I.L.C. by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. The government was asked to instruct its delegates to the I.L. Conference to support the Alliance counter petition, and letters were sent to the employers' and workers' delegates to the I.L.C. The "Union" had also appointed a committee to examine into the possibility of having a woman delegate at the next church congress, in order to work more effectively for opening to women theological students the still "shut door" to this career.

A school reform as a remedy against the unemployment of young workers—a proposal from the Union's Åbo branch—was discussed at two meetings.

In 1935 a young women's branch had been formed within the Union with its own administration and bylaws. It endorses the aims of the Union which embrace those of the O.D.I.

On the invitation of the President, a representative of the young women's branch spoke, saying that the branch had sent her to learn and to report back.

Great Britain. Open Door Council. (National Branch).

ELIZABETH ABBOTT gave this Report and said that over 20,000 postal packets had been sent out from the Council's Office in addition to the 7,900 sent out from the same Office by the O.D.I.

The O.D.C. had organised a deputation to the Home Office on the Revision of the Night Work Convention, as a result of which it had been decided never again to take any deputation on which were represented organisations which did not support the full policy of the O.D.C. on the point to be dealt with.

The Council had corresponded with the Colonial Office on the application of the Night Work Convention to the British Colonies, and the women sugar workers in Barbados had been excluded from the prohibition newly imposed there.

Letters of protest against turning women out of the mines in India had been sent to the British and Indian Governments.

In insurance, the O.D.C. had protested against the denial of benefit to over a quarter of a million women on the ground of marriage under the Anomalies Regulations, and had urged the need for equal contributions, benefits and conditions in national insurance. The O.D.C. had also protested against the proposal to give women in need of Unemployment Assistance 2s. a week less than men. When a Government Commissioner had suggested that the time had come to consider "some limitation of the field of female labour, except in cases where the absolute existence of an export industry depends on it" within 24 hours the O.D.C. had obtained the signatures of 9 other organisations to a letter of protest, which was sent to every Member of Parliament. There were two victories to be recorded—the decision of the London County Council to withdraw its marriage bar for non-resident women teachers and doctors, and the moving of the "previous question" at the Annual Meeting of the British Chambers of Commerce, when a resolution proposing to dismiss married women on account of men's unemployment was not discussed.

The Committee on Law Revision had recommended equality of status (with one exception) for married women with regard to property, contracts and torts, and litigation in these connections. This result, she said, was largely due to many years of educational propaganda by Chrystal Macmillan.

The O.D.C. work was much hampered by the reactionary attitude of the Trade Unions on women's work, and the difficulty of getting material into the British Press.

NATIONAL DIFFICULTIES.

Norway: DAGNY BANG reported a proposal to prevent on the pretext of unemployment anyone holding more than one post. It was agreed by the promoters of the campaign that in the case of the married woman her position as housewife must be considered her main occupation. If, therefore, a law was passed against holding more than one post at a time, it would probably throw large numbers of married women out of work.

Section 25 of the proposal for a new Factory Law had been dealt with in an earlier session. (See p. 35).

GERTRUD CHRISTIANSEN reported some exceptions to the equal pay for equal work, which is general in Norwegian Government Service. These are: (1) a lower age for women pensioners. Women receive a pension 5 years before men. This causes them to cost 3% more than men as pensioners, and makes the promotion of women bad, and (2) in the telephone service, women in the permanent grade can stay on after marriage, but if a woman in the non-permanent grade marries she can never enter the permanent grade. This causes many young women to postpone marriage until they have reached the permanent grade. But if a woman in the telephone service marries a business man, she is dismissed at once, as it is feared she might betray to her husband secrets

heard by telephone. The women telephonists' organisation, with 2,200 members, is working to alter these provisions.

The Norwegian Socialist Party had proposed that the age of retirement should be lowered by 5 years, still leaving the woman's age 5 years lower than the man's. The women telephonists' organisation was working to secure the same age of retirement for men and women.

The Conference then adjourned.

SEVENTH SESSION.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22ND, 10 a.m. to 1-45 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT in the Chair.

Resolution VI. Women and the Night Work Convention of 1934. (See p. 61).

JULIE ARENHOLT (Denmark) moved this resolution, telling how as a young woman she had taken part in the Berne Conference of 1906, as a representative of Danish Women's Organisations, and had opposed the adoption of the Berne Night Work Convention. The prohibition of night work for women was the grandmother of all later restrictions. She sketched the history of the prohibition of night work, and pointed out that the new Standard Articles in the 1934 Revised Night Work Convention of the I.L.O. made it much more difficult than before to free the women concerned from the prohibition.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) seconded formally.

The PRESIDENT pointed out that the action of Julie Arenholt in opposing the first international Labour Convention which imposed restrictions on women's work had been a historic event, and expressed the gratitude of the Conference to her for her courage in doing this. The resolution was carried unanimously.

JULIE ARENHOLT took the Chair.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT. (See p. 74).

The PRESIDENT said that the financial statement had been posted up for the information of the delegates. She drew their attention to the small income of the O.D.I. and the large amount of voluntary work which was given by the Hon. Secretary. She appealed for new Associate Members, whose annual fees formed the main part of the regular income of the O.D.I., and for donations and increased subscriptions.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) appealed for donations and Members. Other women's organisations had not realised that the attacks on women in recent years had come not from employers, but from Governments. The position of woman as worker was lower than ever before, and the O.D.I. was the only society concentrating on seeking to raise woman's economic status. The Hon. Secretary could do more work in research and in speaking if her time were not so much occupied with routine office work, and could be sent to Geneva, when necessary, if more funds were available. Members should give not what they could afford, but (as women had always had to do in the struggle for emancipation) give even more than they could afford.

INGEBORG WALIN also made an appeal in Swedish. Twenty-six new Associate members were enrolled, and donations promised. (See p. 77).

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

JULIE ARENHOLT announced from the Chair that the only nomination which had been received for the office of President was that of Chrystal Macmillan, who had been nominated by National Branches in Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Norway and Sweden, and by the Affiliated Societies in France and Great Britain. She declared Chrystal Macmillan re-elected President.

The Conference welcomed the re-election by applause.

CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN thanked the members for their confidence in her, and said that as an organisation got older, the work became more rather than less difficult, and she knew that all would help her.

INGEBORG WALIN then took the Chair.

Resolution XI. Women's Right to Work for Pay in relation to the Whole Status of Women and the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty. (See p. 65).

INGEBORG WALIN (in the Chair) with respect to the following amendment, of which notice had been given by Rebekah Greathouse (U.S.A.) said that it raised questions outside the scope of the O.D.I. such, for example, as marriage, divorce, nationality, guardianship of infants, equal moral standard. She would allow the amendment to be moved, however, if the Conference so desired. The amendment might be discussed as a whole, but she would put the vote on the two parts separately.

The General Council agreed to consider the amendment, which ran as follows:—

- (1) On page 3, line 13, 14, delete from "can only do so" to the end of the paragraph, and insert the following words, "should be such that ratification by a Government would involve"

Page 3.

In par. A. delete "to denounce" and substitute "the denunciation of"
In par. B. delete "to alter" and substitute "the alteration of"

- (2) Add the following, "Considering the fact that when properly interpreted the Monte Video Equal Rights Treaty must insure equality of rights as between men and women in their capacity as workers the Open Door International supports the Monte Video Treaty signed in December, 1933, and urges the Assembly to endorse it as follows:

"The Contracting States agree that upon ratification of this Treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN (President) asked leave to move the resolution with certain small alterations to the original text; these alterations had been approved by the Board of Officers, as follows:—

In Section V, iii., after "whether she shall work" and "the right to work" in both cases to add "for pay."

In the footnote (*) to correct a mistyping of "should" which should read "shall."

In Section VI to delete the words "logically" and "first."

In Sections VII to substitute for "profoundly uneasy" the word "alarmed."

The General Council agreed.

CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, in moving the resolution, said that in most Conferences there was one resolution which excited more controversy than the others.

In the case of this resolution, both the parties to the controversy were agreed in seeking to obtain for women full equality of rights as workers, but they were not agreed as to the best means to obtain such rights. When the O.D.I. was formed in 1929 this was because of the need for an organisation to concentrate on a concrete and limited object. The task of the O.D.I. was the most difficult side of the woman's movement, and the O.D.I. must concentrate on the narrow and limited work which it had taken up.

On the Agenda of the 16th Assembly of the League of Nations was "the question of the whole status of women with special reference to a Convention on the subject of equality of rights for both sexes, which was signed at Montevideo in December 1933, by Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay." The Council of the League had authorised the Secretary-General to circulate to Members of the 16th Assembly statements of the views and desiderata of the women's organisations on this question. The O.D.I. had to act in this situation, and to try to use this situation to promote its object. A Statement had already been drawn up, and had been sent in to the Secretary General, since August 1st was the last date for receiving such statements. It was regrettable that it had not been possible to consult the Conference before sending in this Statement, which was on the lines of the resolution under discussion.

The Assembly, she said, was dealing with the question of the status of women in relation to a treaty or convention proposing equal rights. The Statement of the O.D.I. had pointed out that the O.D.I. had a limited object and was only dealing with the item on the Assembly's Agenda in so far as it concerned that Object. The Statement made clear what the O.D.I. meant by "equal rights" and said that "equal rights" must include the rights which the O.D.I. works to attain. Any treaty, or international convention, she said, when ratified, becomes part of the law of the country. The terms "treaty" and "international convention" are interchangeable. If a country ratifies a treaty, it must discard all other treaties which are inconsistent with it, and repeal all national legislation inconsistent with it. Treaties which are inconsistent with equal rights are the I.L.O. and Berne Conventions placing restrictions on women as earners. To give support to a treaty means supporting its ratification. Organisations which say they "approve the principle" are not thereby asking for political action. To ratify a treaty is a definite legal act.

A new, alarming, and dangerous situation had been created by the interpretation put upon the expression "equal rights" by many people who support the Montevideo Treaty and are not in agreement with the O.D.I. When a Court is asked to interpret a law, or treaty, it asks what was meant by those who adopted it. Ten years ago, everybody thought that a right was a right whether it referred to men or women. But in the last two years the O.D.I. had been continually hearing of people who supported the Montevideo Treaty, but who were opposed to the O.D.I. policy. At a recent Conference of the British Commonwealth League she heard an Australian woman state that she had been asked by women in Australia to support on their behalf the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty. She had said that some of these Australian women were in favour of what she called "protection" for women workers, and some were opposed, but both groups supported the Treaty. (That woman was to go to the 16th Assembly of the League of Nations as a Substitute Delegate). This meant either that they denied that the economic rights for which the O.D.I. was working are rights, or that the Montevideo Treaty does in fact include such rights. This created a very serious situation. A law must have one meaning and a treaty must have one meaning, and the States which ratify it must interpret it in the same

way. In 1933, the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty was signed by Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Cuba had since adopted, in October, 1934, a law prohibiting night work to women in the terms of the Washington Convention of 1919, and imposing the restrictions detailed in the resolution. It was true that there was a new Cuban Government since December, 1933, but the I.L.O. in its report of this Decree said: "Apart from these special measures for the physical protection of women workers, the Decree recognises the equality of women as regards the right to work." It is not clear whether these words are in the Decree, or are the comment of the I.L.O. The Government delegates of both Cuba and Uruguay had voted in the 1935 International Labour Conference for the adoption of the Convention prohibiting the underground work of women. This looked as if both these countries were putting a different interpretation on the term "equal rights" from that held by the O.D.I. Many countries had Legal Codes divided into "Political Rights," "Civil Rights," and a Labour Code. It looked as though labour law was being considered as outside political and civil rights, and omitted when other rights were dealt with. It was tragic, she said, to see women working for "equal rights" and denying that economic rights are included in that term. And it was like seeing a woman strangle her own child, when women who really desire equal economic rights allow the very meaning of the word "rights" to be undermined, by accepting support from such people as real support for "equal rights."

REBEKAH GREATHOUSE (U.S.A.) moved the amendment given on page 42. This amendment, she said, fell into two parts, which would be put to the vote separately. The first was an alteration of wording on the lines of a resolution adopted by the British Open Door Council in March, 1935. The second was an addition, to explain clearly what the O.D.I. understood by "equal rights" and to endorse the Montevideo Treaty. Chrystal Macmillan had rightly said that the difference was one of method and not of aim. She agreed with her also that a treaty is a legal act, and that interpretation of treaties is given in accordance with the meaning attached when the treaties were made, and the Montevideo Treaty ought to be supported on the theory that it included full equal rights. This Treaty had been endorsed by at least 11 international women's organisations, some with qualifications, and the question of "protective" legislation had always been raised in connection with the Treaty. It was astonishing to have to argue the matter of support for this Treaty with the O.D.I. The resolution appeared to her to condemn the Montevideo Treaty. It was alarming that Cuba should have adopted the Decree of 1934, but the Government of Cuba had changed since 1933, and if Cuba violated the Treaty, was this a reason for abandoning the treaty?

In the U.S.A. the National Woman's Party had worked for 15 years for an Equal Rights Amendment to the American Constitution, in almost the same words. No one in the U.S.A. had raised a doubt as to what this meant. But if supporters of "protection" learned that the O.D.I. was giving a different interpretation of the term "equal rights" this would be a calamity, and the work of the National Woman's Party would be gravely hindered. The National Woman's Party had always had economic equality on its programme, and this had caused its exclusion from another woman's international organisation, as a result of the opposition of an American pro-"protection" organisation. She appealed to the Conference to maintain the full meaning of the term "equal rights," and not to yield the position which had been won.

The Conference then adjourned.

EIGHTH SESSION.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23RD. 10 a.m. to 1-0 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT in the Chair.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT. (contd). (See also p. 41).

The PRESIDENT said that the accounts of money received and spent in London had been audited, and that a Bank Certificate had been received with respect to the money in Prague.

ERNA KJELDSKOV (Denmark) moved, and JULIE ARENHOLT seconded, the adoption of the Financial Statement, which was carried unanimously.

Nominations for the Board of Officers.

SYBIL BURLS (Returning Officer) read out the nominations for the election of the Board of Officers, as follows:

ELIZABETH ABBOTT nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

JULIE ARENHOLT nominated by Denmark.

GERTRUD BAER nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

ERICA BUTLER-BOWDON nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Sweden.

LOUISE DE CRAENE VAN DUUREN nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

MARIE LENOEL nominated by Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

PAULINA LUISI nominated by Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

RUTH VANDEER LITT nominated by Norway, U.S.A.

LINDA P. LITTLEJOHN nominated by Australia.

THYRA VON BEETZEN-OSTMAN nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

*FRANTISKA PLAMINKOVA nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

INGEBORG WALIN nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

ANNA WESTERGAARD nominated by Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden.

There were 13 nominations, and 11 places to be filled. Julie Arenholt who had been nominated had refused to accept nomination. A message had been received from Frantiska Plaminkova (Czechoslovakia) saying that she was willing to accept nomination for the Board, but was not able to act again as Hon. Treasurer.

Visit of U.S.A. Minister to Denmark.

The President welcomed Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen (U.S.A. Minister to Denmark) who attended this Session of the Conference as an invited Guest.

* The President of the British Branch asks us to state that, by a misunderstanding on the part of the British delegate who wrote out its nomination form, the name of Frantiska Plaminkova, whom the British delegation had decided to nominate, was unfortunately omitted.

Resolution XI. Women's Right to work for pay in relation to the Whole Status of Women and the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty. (Continued). (See p. 65).

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France) seconded the National Woman's Party amendment. She thought it dangerous and regrettable for the O.D.I. not to support this Montevideo Treaty. The O.D.I. ought to let the public know that it wanted equal rights, and that equality of rights includes the same 'protection' for men and women workers. Over and above interpretation is the law. The Equal Rights Treaty would imply making laws equal. And they must in their own countries take care that it was interpreted as they wished. It was very dangerous to follow the false interpretation given by certain people. The task was to convince public opinion that the Treaty meant what they said it meant. As for the action of Cuba, it had signed the Treaty, but had not yet ratified. The women of Cuba must make the Government ratify, and give real equality of rights.

LINDA LITTLEJOHN (Australia) said that the Australian Alternate Delegate to the 16th Assembly of the League of Nations had no mandate to say that Australian women were for or against "protection." As President of the Equal Rights International Linda Littlejohn supported the Montevideo Treaty, but as a member of the O.D.I. she realised the need for definition.

THYRA VON BEETZEN-OSTMAN (Finland) wished to explain her position. She had supported the Montevideo Treaty on the understanding that it would give complete equality, including the policy of the O.D.I. She had been greatly shocked by the action of the Cuban Government, and by the fact that the Treaty was being supported by people who do not interpret equality as the removal of restrictions based on sex. In these circumstances she could not support the amendment, but as the Union of Finland itself supported the Treaty she would abstain from voting.

SYBIL BURLS (Great Britain) opposed the amendment, and supported the resolution. Any equal rights treaty must be incapable of misinterpretation, or it would be as useless as the Sex Disqualification Removal Act in Great Britain. The National Union of Women Teachers there had tried to get the Act applied so as to give real equality, but had lost an action brought against a Local Authority for dismissing women teachers on the ground of marriage. If it was essential that a national law should be absolutely clear, it was doubly necessary that an international law should be absolutely clear and definite.

MARGRETHE MATHIASSEN (Denmark) said that the amendment weakened the resolution.

MARGARETE BONNEVIE (Norway) supported the amendment. She felt that it harmed the O.D.I. not to be willing to co-operate with others working for economic emancipation.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) opposed the amendment. The O.D.I., she said, was not concerned with other rights; its sole interest, as an organisation, was to secure economic emancipation, and in this connection to make sure that economic rights were recognised as included in "equal rights." The debate had proved the necessity for a clear text. The mover of the amendment had said that some organisations had endorsed the Montevideo Treaty outright, and others with qualifications. The situation had been confused by the acceptance of divided and muddled support. The danger was not, as had been said, that the O.D.I. "might seem to oppose the Treaty." The real danger was that the O.D.I. should not be clear on its own Object. The most important

question was not what other people were saying "equal rights" meant, but what the Governments would say it meant.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) said that it seemed to her a strange idea that the way to induce Governments, none of which were willing to remove restrictions on women in their countries, to give complete equality to women, was to urge them (for the League of Nations was made up of Governments) to adopt a Treaty repudiating conventions of its own I.L.O. concerning women. Desirable though it would be if this were done, it seemed to her highly improbable that by this means the O.D.I. would attain its Object. A great deal of confusion seemed to have been created on the situation. Support for the Treaty as a whole seemed to her quite outside the scope of the O.D.I. and of its Branches, which worked for a single limited Object. The position of societies which were affiliated to the O.D.I. was different. They worked for other things as well as for the O.D.I. Object, and might consider that the Montevideo Treaty as a whole was within their scope.

DAGNY BANG (Norway) considered that the action of Cuba arose from want of understanding. She had always admired the workers for equality in the National Woman's Party of America, but she felt that it was a mistake to have brought the question of an Equal Rights Treaty before the League of Nations at this time. It was too early to expect the League to understand the women's claims, and to bring it before the League now would not help the attainment of equality, since this was not the right forum in which to have it discussed. She realised that there was a great risk of the League dealing in a wrong way with this matter, but she sympathised greatly with the promoters of the amendment, and therefore would abstain from voting.

REBEKAH GREATHOUSE (U.S.A.), in reply, said she objected to the words "can only do so" in the resolution, as implying that unless the text included removal of restrictions, such removal was not made necessary by the Treaty. She asked the Members of the Conference whether, if such a Treaty were before their own Governments, they would not be prepared to urge their Governments to ratify it.

CHRYSAL MACMILLAN (President) said that the resolution did not either support or not support the Montevideo Treaty. The duty of the O.D.I. was to do all it could everywhere to secure its own Object. The mover of the amendment had asked for support "on the theory" that the Treaty included the O.D.I.'s Object. The seconder had said that it was the task of equalitarians to secure that when adopted it was properly interpreted. This would be to "buy a pig in a poke." When it came to legislation one needed to know what every single country was going to say that it meant. She appealed to the O.D.I. to stand firm by its Object, and not to accept the amendment.

The Chairman then put the amendment in two parts, and the voting was as follows:—

For the first part of the amendment	.. ..	14
Against the first part of the amendment	.. ..	37
For the second part of the amendment	.. ..	4
Against the second part of the amendment	.. ..	42

Both parts of the amendment were declared lost.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) asked for a unanimous vote for the resolution. She pointed out that this was worded to deal with the situation at the moment, setting out the facts as to the actions of Cuba and Uruguay, and the divided interpretation being given by supporters of the Treaty, and ending with the words: "The O.D.I. therefore de-

clares,' etc. This declaration had been drafted as a result of the existing circumstances.

The resolution was then put, and carried by 44 votes for the resolution, and 2 against.

The President took the Chair.

REPORTS FROM GENEVA REPRESENTATIVES.

The General Council accepted the Report of Edith Rodgers, who had been the O.D.I. representative at Geneva until January, 1935. The Report was as follows:

All meetings of the Governing Body were attended and reports sent to Headquarters and to Marie Lenoel and Frantiska Plaminkova. An additional meeting of the Governing Body held during the International Labour Conference in June was a private one.

By the invitation of the members of the Board the Geneva Representative had the privilege of attending the meetings of the Board of Officers in Brussels, March, 1934.

At the 18th Session of the L. Conference (June 1st to 23rd, 1934) the Geneva Representative had the invaluable help of Marie Lenoel (member of the O.D.I. Board) and Erica Butler Bowdon (Hon. Financial Sec., O.D.I.). Plenary Sessions and Meetings of the Commissions on the Partial Revision of the Convention concerning the Employment of Women during the Night, Employment of Women Underground work in Mines of All Kinds, and the Reduction of Hours of Work were attended by the three members of the O.D.I. Letters on these subjects, signed by the President and the Hon. Secretary, were circulated to the members of these Commissions and delegates were interviewed. The presence of Julie Arenholt, President of the Danish Branch of the O.D.I., as Technical Adviser to the Danish Delegation, was particularly helpful in opportunities of personal contact with other delegates to the Conference.

By personal invitation of the Geneva Representative some members of the O.D.I. met for dinner at the Pension Tschiffeli, to discuss the policy of the O.D.I. during the Conference.

On June 14th the Geneva Representative arranged a reception, and a large number of invitations were sent out to the Conference delegates, representatives of Women's Organisations and others interested in O.D.I. policy. Unfortunately the attendance was small. There is great difficulty in arranging such a meeting on a day and at a time when delegates to the Conference can be free and when other events will not clash. The speakers at the Reception were Marie Lenoel and Erica Butler-Bowdon. The Chair was taken by the Geneva Representative. Julie Arenholt spoke at the close of the meeting and several members of the audience made brief speeches.

At the invitation of Mlle. Hage of the I.L.O. and Miss Henneker (International Federation of Business and Professional Women) the O.D.I. representative attended separate reunions to meet the women delegates to the International Labour Conference.

It is with great regret that the Geneva Representative feels bound to relinquish her work. She is, however, convinced that now is the moment for the O.D.I. to have a more active Representative in Geneva, who will have sufficient physical strength and moral energy to undertake the large amount of work which is very obviously possible to the O.D.I. in Geneva. During the past five years only a foundation has been laid and the way is now open for more definite and constructive work.

The Conference sent a special message of thanks for the excellent work she had done, and sincere regret at her absence.

ERICA BUTLER-BOWDON, who had taken up the work so well begun by Edith Rodgers, said that she greatly appreciated the honour paid to her by the O.D.I. in appointing her its Geneva Representative. She would endeavour to the best of her ability to carry on the great work

started by her predecessor, Edith Rodgers. She realised the importance of the work and the opportunities for service to countless women in many lands by endeavouring to clear away some of the prejudice and confusion of thought with regard to women's work that had always surrounded the International Labour Office. The I.L.O., instead of raising the status of women, had, by its restrictive measures, rather depressed their condition materially, physically, morally and spiritually. She then gave her report, which was as follows:—

The meetings of the Governing Body, held in January, April and June of this year, were attended and reports sent to Headquarters and to members of the Board.

The January meeting was marked by the attendance for the first time of American and Russian delegates. The agenda for the International Labour Conference was discussed. The Geneva Representative interviewed the American delegates, explaining the policy of the Open Door International.

At the April meeting the chief item of interest to the O.D.I. was the discussion of the Chairman, Monsieur de Michelis' proposal for a general convention that would give a minimum of protection to all workers, as Monsieur de Michelis maintains that there are to-day numbers of workers who are unprotected by any convention. A letter from the O.D.I. to the Director of the I.L.O., pointing out that any such general convention should embody the principle of equality between men and women, was circulated by him to the members of the Governing Body. At this meeting the Russian delegate, Mr. Markus, was interviewed.

At the 19th Session of the International Labour Conference, held from June 4th to 25th, 1935, yet another restrictive convention for women was adopted—the Convention which prohibits all women working underground mines and which allows States to make certain specified exceptions. The question was referred to a commission, under the chairmanship of Mlle. Steinberg, substitute delegate for the Netherlands, and it was in this commission that Madame Gloerfelt-Tarp, technical adviser from Denmark, speaking in her own personal capacity and not in the name of her government, defended the right of women to work in mines. The Geneva Representative circulated to all the delegates a letter from the O.D.I. The question of Unemployment Among Young Persons was also on the agenda of this Conference and in this connection the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions presented a petition asking that as remedies for the unemployment among the young there should be:

Regulation of married women's employment which would facilitate the return of mothers to their homes, and

Prohibition of any replacement of male labour by female labour.

A counter petition was organised by the International Alliance for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship and signed by the Open Door International and several of its branches and any other national and international organisations. When the Recommendation was finally adopted, the proposals of the supporters of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions were not formally put forward. At this Conference the Geneva Representative had the help of our member, Helen Romnicio. Some thirty delegates, representing 14 countries, were interviewed. These delegates represented the following countries: Cuba, Ecuador, Great Britain, India, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Russia, South Africa, Switzerland, and the U.S.A.

The Geneva Representative attended the reception given by the President of the I.L.O. and a lunch given by our member, Helen Romnicio, to some of the women delegates and to members and friends of the O.D.I.

The President said that the O.D.I. was to be congratulated on having in Erica Butler-Bowdon such an energetic and capable successor to Edith Rodgers.

The Reports were accepted, to be printed in the Report of the Conference.

NATIONAL DIFFICULTIES.

Sweden: GERTRUD BERGSTRÖM asked why it was more difficult to work together nationally than internationally. One of the great difficulties to be overcome was the want of solidarity among women. For example, the educated personnel of a Swedish prison said that they preferred to have a man Governor. New methods were needed, and to get hold of the young women. Members in joining should have a clearly defined purpose, and it would be good to require each member to sign a statement on joining, supporting the Object of the O.D.I. There was too much willingness to compromise, and women who did so were chosen by Governments and Trade Unions to represent women.

The Conference then adjourned.

NINTH SESSION.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23RD, 2-30 p.m. to 5-45 p.m.

The PRESIDENT asked the Conference to give authority to reword the opening phrase of each resolution so that they should begin "The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled." This was agreed.

REPORT OF THE ADMISSIONS COMMITTEE. (Concluded). (See also p. 20).

French National Branch: INGEBORG WALIN (Chairman of the Admissions Committee) reported that the Admissions Committee and the Board of Officers recommended the admission of a French Branch, called "Open Door International (Section française)."

New French text of the Constitution of the O.D.I. (See p. 70.)

The PRESIDENT, before putting to the vote the admission of the new French Branch, put to the Conference a recommendation of the Admissions Committee and the Board of Officers that a new French text, which did not alter the meaning, and which was approved by Louise de Craene van Duuren (President of the Groupement belge de la Porte Ouverte) and Andrée Lehmann (President of the new French Branch) should be accepted as the official French text of the Constitution of the O.D.I. This was agreed.

The new French Branch was admitted, and welcomed by the President in the name of the Conference.

Latvia. Association lettone de Protection des Droits de la travailleuse.

INGEBORG WALIN reported that the words "Open Door" were attached (in brackets) to the title of the new Latvian Affiliated Society and were used in its constitution. As this was to be an Affiliated Society, and not a Branch, the Admissions Committee asked authority to seek to have these words removed. The Conference gave the Admissions Committee power to deal with this point as it thought best.

Uruguay. National Branch: INGEBORG WALIN reported that a letter had been received from PAULINA LUISI (Uruguay) saying that she had formed a Branch of the O.D.I. which accepted the full Object of the O.D.I., but she had not sent a copy of the constitution. INGEBORG WALIN asked the Conference to authorise the Admissions Committee to admit this new organisation as a National Branch if, on further information being received, its constitution was found to be in order.

The PRESIDENT said that Paulina Luisi as National Corresponding Member for Uruguay had been appointed in order to form such a Branch, and this gave reason to believe that it would be acceptable.

The General Council gave the required authority to the Admissions Committee, and sent a warm message of thanks and greetings to Paulina Luisi, with regrets for her absence.

Associate Members and Societies in arrears: INGEBORG WALIN reported a recommendation of the Admissions Committee that Societies and Associate Members who had not paid their dues for three years should cease to be Members of the O.D.I., if they failed to respond to a final notice to be sent.

This was approved by the General Council.

New Board of Officers.

SYBIL BURLS (Returning Officer) reported the result of the Ballot for the Board of Officers as follows: 57 votes cast and 2 spoilt papers.

Elected.

Gertrud Baer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54
Anna Westergaard	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54
Elizabeth Abbott	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	52
Winifred Le Sueur	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	49
Ingeborg Walin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	48
Thyra von Beetzen-Östman	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38
Louise de Craene van Duuren	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38
Erica Butler-Bowdon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37
Frantiska Plaminkova	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	36
Marie Lenoel	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34
Paulina Luisi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31

Not elected.

Linda Littlejohn	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29
Ruth Vandeer Litt	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9

Resolution VII. Minimum Wage Rates. (See p. 62).

REBEKAH GREATHOUSE (U.S.A.) moved this resolution in an amended form recommended by the Board of Officers.

She said that in the U.S.A. many of the Codes of Fair Competition had laid down minimum wage rates for women only. These Codes, however, had all been swept away by a decision of the Supreme Court. Such legislation was particularly vicious as it imposed a burden even on women receiving adequate wages, since it entailed for the employer of women a great deal of bookkeeping. Many people who had previously supported minimum wage rates for women only were beginning to see how dangerous they were. So long as women scrub office floors, and prostitutes walk streets, one could not be sure that they had not been kept out of other paid work by such restrictions.

ALISON HUNTER (Great Britain) seconded formally. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Resolution XII. Recent publications of the I.L.O. (See p. 67).

LINDA LITTLEJOHN (Australia) welcomed the improvement in the attitude of the I.L.O. since the publication of the article on "Women's Work" in "Occupation and Health." She asked leave, however, to add a paragraph based on the section of the President's Address in which M. Henri Fuss was criticised for defending restrictions on the ground that they are protection, and for asserting that part of the programme assigned to the I.L.O. was to impose such restrictions. And to add a regret that the article was not to be published in German.

WINIFRED LE SUEUR (Hon. Secretary) seconded formally. The resolution was carried, with authority to the Board to include the additions proposed by the mover.

Resolution VIII. Equal Work AND Equal Pay. (See p. 62).

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France) said that it was generally recognised that it was just to give equal pay. Even those who did not give equal pay acknowledged that it was unjust not to do so. Women were not so much given unequal pay for equal work, as prevented from doing equal work. There was an attempt to keep them in the grade of unskilled workers in all kinds of work.

SYBIL BURLS (Great Britain) seconded and gave examples of unequal pay in the British Civil Service and teaching profession. She stressed the importance of being given the opportunity to do equal work, and to have a chance of promotion. The door at present was far from open, but the O.D.I. had its foot in the crack of the door.

MARGARETE BONNEVIE (Norway) raised the question of allowances for children, saying that although Norway had a most liberal marriage law, it was still difficult to get equal pay, owing to the idea that a man must have a wage on which to keep his family. The present wage system must be changed, or women would always be kept down. She begged the O.D.I. to study this question.

GRACE COTTELL (Great Britain) said this question should not be allowed to confuse the issue of equal pay. She considered family allowances quite outside the scope of the O.D.I.

ERNA KJELDSKOV (Denmark) considered the discussion out of order.

INGEBORG WALIN (Sweden) said she was much interested in the question of family allowances.

ELIZABETH ABBOTT (Great Britain) said that family allowances had nothing to do with equal pay, and there was great danger in allowing the two to be confused.

INGEBORG WALIN (Sweden) pointed out that in Great Britain the campaign for family allowances came later than the demand for equal pay, but in Sweden the historical development had been different, and the campaign for family allowances was helping the fight for equal pay.

ANDRÉE LEHMANN (France) said that the French system of a wages pool and allowances was a lighter burden than insurance, but she considered the question no concern of the O.D.I.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Resolution X. Women put outside the law. (See page 63).

THE PRESIDENT read a new resolution proposed by the Board of Officers protesting against the growing practice in many countries of giving arbitrary powers to a Minister or an official to prohibit or limit women's work, so putting women outside the law. Even Denmark, she said, had recently put into effect such a law which had been on the Statute Book for many years, but had lain dormant, and of which the O.D.I. had remained in ignorance when it issued the call to the 4th Conference.

DAGNY BANG (Norway) seconded, saying that there was great danger of such a law being passed in her country. She objected, however, to a sentence in the draft which said that countries which adopted such legislation failed to pass the "first test of civilisation."

INGEBORG WALIN took the Chair.

CHRYSAL MACMILLAN (President) urged that the reference to the "first test of civilisation" should be retained, since for all nationals to be within the rule of law was surely the characteristic of a civilised nation.

It was agreed that the resolution should contain a statement to the effect that such was a test of civilisation, but omitting the statement that countries which put women outside the law failed to pass this test. The Board of Officers was authorised to redraft the resolution and to add examples of countries which put women outside the law.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The President took the Chair.

Resolution XIII. Statement by the Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker on the de Michelis proposal for a minimum protection for all workers. (See page 68).

THE PRESIDENT from the Chair asked authority for the Board to draw up a statement with reference to M. de Michelis' proposal that the I.L.O. should seek to secure a minimum standard of protection for all workers. This statement would make clear that a minimum standard for women workers must be the same as that for men workers, and would be sent to the I.L.O. in the name of the General Council.

This authority was given.

Unfinished Business.

The General Council authorised the Board of Officers to deal with all unfinished business.

Votes of Thanks.

FLORENCE KEY (Great Britain) proposed very hearty votes of thanks to the following:

To the Prime Minister of the Danish Government for having appointed Mr. Borgbjerg, Minister of Education, to welcome the Conference to Denmark, and for having placed the Conference Hall and other rooms at the disposal of the Conference;

To the Municipality of Copenhagen for having entertained the delegates to tea in the Town Hall;

To the Press of Denmark for the splendid reports of the Conference;

To the Radio for having broadcast the public meeting and the talk by the Honorary Secretary;

To the Directors of Tivoli for giving privileges to members of the Conference;

To the Conference attendants for their courtesy to the delegates;

To "Sig det med Blomster" for the artistic flower decorations of the Conference hall.

To the Observers from Governments and Women's International organisations for being present at so many of the discussions;

To Julie Arenholt and the Danish Aabne Dør for making such splendid arrangements for the Conference and for having entertained the delegates to the luncheon at Bellevue and dinner at Langelinie; to Anna Westergaard and Margrethe Mathiassen of the preliminary press Committee for the splendid press work in Denmark and internationally; to the many workers who did the preparatory work and office work, typing and translating behind the scenes including Etly Jensen, Kirsten Schroeder, Aagot Lading, Ellen Jacobson, Karla Thunbro, Edith Kalkar, Olga Wium and Gudrun Michelsen; and the Hospitality Committee;

To the Conference marshalls and pages, Gerda Thornton, Nelly Hostrup Pedersen, Gertrud Salomonsen, Anne Lise Salomonsen, Lis Anderson, Birte Pape, Esther Larson.

To Piet Hein for writing the O.D.I. song and to Denis Le Sueur for writing an English version of the Danish Open Door Song.

To the Interpreters, Anna Westergaard, Ingeborg Walin, Julie Arenholt, Winifred le Sueur, Nora Coggin, Florence Wilson, Else Enekjoe and Gerda Thornton.

To Elizabeth Abbott, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and its members Julie Arenholt and Ingeborg Walin.

To Sybil Burls, Returning Officer; Helen Taylor, Assistant Returning Officer and the tellers, Nelly Hostrup Pedersen, Grace Cottell and Olga Wium.

To the chairman of the Press Committee, Linda Littlejohn, and its members Margrethe Mathiassen and Andrée Lehmann.

To the Recording Secretary, Eva Hartree, and to Alison Hunter, chairman of the Press Committee, and its members, Margrethe Mathiassen and Erica Butler-Bowdon.

This was carried with acclamation.

The PRESIDENT thanked the delegates for helping to get through the crowded Agenda. She paid special tribute to the alertness of the Pages who had helped, by their prompt attention, to finish the business of the Conference. She was glad, too, she said, to notice the frequent attendance and interest of the Government observers. The O.D.I. had been increased by the admission of Societies in countries so far apart as Australia, France, Latvia, Norway, and Uruguay—the first in South America. The O.D.I. had to meet the dangerous new methods now being used against women, especially that of giving arbitrary powers to ministers and officials, which put women outside the law. Our Conference here in Copenhagen had been most helpful. It had given its members fresh contacts and renewed encouragement. She declared the 4th Conference of the O.D.I. closed.

Public Meeting and Broadcast Talk.

A well attended public meeting was held at Grundtvigs Hus on the evening of Thursday, August 22nd. The speeches were broadcast from Kalundborg and so reached a large international audience.

Julie Arenholt, President of Den Aabne Dör, the Danish Branch, took the Chair and the other speakers were:

Chrystal Macmillan President O.D.I.	Thyra von Beetzen-Ostman (Finland).
Stella Kornerup (Denmark Young Women's Association)	Linda Littlejohn (Australia) Andrée Lehmann (France).
Ingeborg Walin (Sweden)	Dagny Bang (Norway).
Miloslava Hrdlickova (Czechoslovakia)	Elizabeth Abbott (Great Britain). Anna Westergaard (Denmark).

Winifred Le Sueur, Hon. Secretary of the O.D.I., broadcast a talk from the same station on the afternoon of Friday, August 23rd on "Why we want Economic Emancipation" which was afterwards broadcast in Danish by Anna Westergaard. (See p. 14.)

Social Events and Week End Holiday.

The delightful hospitality shown to the members of the Conference by the Danish Aabne Dör and the people of Denmark gave a pleasant background to the more serious work of the Conference. The members of the Board who arrived some days before the Conference were entertained to dinner in the home of Anna Westergaard and Margrethe Mathiassen, and

on Saturday, August 17th, all the members of the Board enjoyed the hospitality at dinner of Julie Arenholt, President of Den Aabne Dör. On Monday the Municipality of Copenhagen entertained the delegates to tea in the stately Town Hall, and were welcomed by Burgomaster Pedersen.

On Wednesday came a welcome break when the delegates were entertained to lunch by Den Aabne Dör at Bellevue and much enjoyed the drive, the sea air and lovely sea view. Here they sang the song of the Danish Branch, written by Anna Westergaard, the English version having been translated by Denis le Sueur.

The farewell dinner at the famous Langelinie (Yacht Club) restaurant overlooking the harbour with many lights was a splendid wind-up to the proceedings of the week. There representatives from all countries present: Ingeborg Walin (Sweden), Elizabeth Abbott (Great Britain), Andrée Lehmann (France), Rebekah Greathouse (U.S.A.), Linda Littlejohn (Australia), Thyra von Beetzen-Östman (Finland), Miloslava Hrdlickova (Czechoslovakia), Dagny Bang (Norway), Chrystal Macmillan (President, O.D.I.) and Winifred Le Sueur (Hon Secretary, O.D.I.), were able to express their gratitude for all that the Danish Branch, their hosts of that evening, had done and their admiration and affection for its President, Julie Arenholt. This was shown by the presentation to her of many flowers and an enamel and coral cigarette case inscribed with her name and the date and the sign of the O.D.I. Others who spoke were Julie Arenholt, Anna Westergaard, Helen Clay Pedersen, Margrethe Mathiassen, Stella Kornerup, and Mr. Dryer, all of Denmark.

In connection with the Conference the Board of the O.D.I. gave tea to the members of the Press in Copenhagen on Sunday, August 18th, and the All-Peoples Association gave a tea on the same day.

About forty delegates and members of the Board spent a delightful **Week-end at Hornbaekhus**, in the north coast of Zealand, in radiant sunshine, and enjoyed the good bathing, the well thought out comfort and beauty of the surroundings there. On the afternoon of Sunday, August 25th, about 80 members of the new **Scandinavian Young Women's Feminist Society**, led by Stella Kornerup, came out from Copenhagen to greet the members of the O.D.I. at Hornbaekhus and took tea with them. Speeches were made by Julie Arenholt, Stella Kornerup, Chrystal Macmillan, Aagot Lading, Margarete Bonnevie and Piet Hein, whose humorous song, specially written for the visitors, was sung.

BYE-LAW. (Adopted, August 20th, 1935.)

A ballot for the election of the President shall be held before that for the other members of the Board and the Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer shall be elected by the Board at its first meeting.

THE OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL.

for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker.

FOURTH CONFERENCE, CHRISTIANSBORG CASTLE,
COPENHAGEN, AUGUST 19TH-23RD, 1935.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

RESOLUTION I.

THE RIGHT TO WORK IS THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled *condemns* the continued systematic policy of taking from women, unmarried or married, the right to engage in paid work, from whatever quarter it is put forward—Governments, Local Authorities, Employers, Trade Unions, etc.—or under whatever pretext—unemployment, economic pressure, religion, interests of the family, pseudo-protection, etc.—since this is, in fact, to attack the woman's right to live.

The O.D.I. *reiterates its demand* that the woman worker shall have the same right as a man to enter and to remain in paid work;

and *calls upon the women of the world* to awake to this danger to their very right to life and independent livelihood, to realise the need for solidarity between married and single women, and to unite in resisting with all their strength these attacks, wherever they occur, from whomsoever they come, and in the pretended interest of whomsoever they are put forward.

Recent examples of such attacks are:—

- Belgium.** (a) The circular of the Prime Minister of 12th April, 1934, stating that the Government had decided, until further notice, to reserve for men all available posts in public administrative departments, including shorthand-typists' posts.
- (b) The Royal Order of 8th December, 1934,* which authorises the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare to fix a percentage for the number of married or unmarried women in each branch of industry, with a view to the possible replacement of the surplus by involuntarily unemployed men.
- Germany.** The Act of July 8th, 1934, which forbids married women doctors to practice except when this is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families.
- Irish Free State.** Clause 12 of the Conditions of Employment Bill, 1935, introduced by the Irish Free State Government in the Dail Eirean, which would give to the Minister of Labour and Commerce power to make regula in respect to any form of industrial work either prohibiting the employment of any female in such work, or fixing the proportion of female to male workers employed by any employer in such work.
- Italy.** (a) The Legislative Decree of 28th November, 1933, authorising Government Departments to limit the number of women allowed to compete for posts or to exclude them altogether from competing.
- (b) The decision of the Fascist Corporation of Industry and the Fascist Confederation of Industrial Workers, in the Agreement of 11th October, 1934, to examine the possibility of replacing women by men in the case of work normally done by women.

* On September 19th, 1935, in the discussion in the first Commission of the 16th Assembly of the League of Nations, M. Rolin, delegate from Belgium, declared that the Decree had not been put into force and that the present Government did not intend to put it into force but was about to abrogate it.

Luxembourg. The Grand Ducal Order of 14th April, 1934, providing that a special permit must be obtained from the Director General of Labour and Social Welfare for the engagement of female office not only in public administrative departments but also in private undertakings.

Netherlands. The circular of the Minister of the Interior, dated 19th March, 1934, recommending local authorities as far as possible to replace women by men in posts not specifically requiring female labour.

Yugoslavia. The Order of 31st March, 1934, which limits the number of posts reserved for women in the postal, telegraph, and telephone services.

RESOLUTION 2.

THE WORLD CRISIS AND WOMEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled *points out* that unemployment is not a problem more especially concerning men than women, but that it affects workers of both sexes; *and declares*

(a) that the policy of trying to remedy men's unemployment by aggravating women's is not only unjust, but socially and economically unsound, and

(b) that to dismiss women in order to replace them by men, or to seek to limit the field of female labour in order to provide work for men

(i) does not reduce unemployment but merely shifts its incidence from male to female workers,

(ii) further overcrowds and further cheapens the pool of cheap labour and thus produces further instability in the unemployment situation, and tends to increase rather than to diminish unemployment in general, and

(iii) by thus treating women not as human beings and ends in themselves but as pawns to be moved in the interest of others obscures the real issue, which is the improvement of the employment situation for workers of both sexes alike.

RESOLUTION 3.

THE POLICY WITH REGARD TO MATERNITY OF THE OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL FOR THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION OF THE WOMAN WORKER.

THE O.D.I. IS NOT AGAINST A TRUE PROTECTION OF MATERNITY, BUT IS AGAINST MEASURES FALSELY CALLED "PROTECTIVE" WHICH ARE EITHER (A) DIRECT RESTRICTIONS ON WOMAN'S RIGHTS AS WORKER OR (B) INDIRECT RESTRICTIONS IN THE FORM OF BURDENS ON HER EMPLOYER, SINCE SUCH RESTRICTIONS ARE AGAINST HER INTEREST AND SUCH BURDENS ARE BORNE BY THE WOMAN HERSELF.

The two parents of each child, the mother and the father, are equally responsible for its birth and for any incapacity for work attaching to the mother in connection with the birth of the child. They are equally responsible morally for providing the money and other assistance needed in connection with such incapacity of the mother, and the birth and extreme youth of the child. Public authorities which provide such assistance as, for example, money, doctors, midwives, crèches, etc., help both the mother and the father to carry out these responsibilities.

They are giving real protection to maternity, both in connection with the child of the woman who works for pay, and of the one who does not. Indeed they are truly protecting both maternity and paternity. They are relieving both parents of part of their responsibilities.

The Open Door International is not opposed to such protection, but does not work for it, since that is a matter outside the scope of the limited object of the Open Door International, which is to secure the same rights as a man for the woman as a worker for pay. Organisations dealing with the welfare of children and incapacitated persons may appropriately work for such reforms.

The Open Door International, however, rejects and works against laws and regulations which purport to protect the working mother by restricting (1) directly, or (2) indirectly, her right to work. Such restrictions do not protect the woman, and it is a misuse of the word "protection" so to describe provisions which damage the woman worker.

(1) *Direct restrictions which deprive a woman of her right to decide for herself whether or not she shall work for pay generally take the form of forbidding her to work during a certain time before and after childbirth.*

For example, the Washington Childbirth Convention, 1919, proposes that in industrial and commercial undertakings

"a woman shall not be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement and during this time she shall be paid benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance."

(2) *Indirect restrictions which place special burdens on a woman's employer because she is about to bear, has just borne, or is nursing a child generally take the form of requiring the employer (a) to modify his legal position as an employer, (b) to lose the full service of his employee, or (c) to incur additional expense.*
For example:

(a) the Washington Childbirth Convention, 1919, provides that when a woman is absent from work * "or remains absent from work for a longer period as a result of illness medically certified to arise out of pregnancy, or confinement, and rendering her unfit for work, it shall not be lawful, until her absence shall have exceeded a maximum period to be fixed by the competent authority in each country, for her employer to give her notice of dismissal during such absence";

(b) that Convention also provides

(i) that every woman "shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks," and

(ii) that every woman shall "if she is nursing her child be allowed half an hour twice a day during her working hours for this purpose," and

*i.e., during the six weeks following her confinement when by the Convention she is not permitted to work (see (1) above) and during the period before her confinement when by the Convention she has the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks (see (b) (1) below).

(c) National legislation in some countries provides

(i) that the employer of more than a prescribed number of women shall provide a crèche for the children of such women; and/or

(ii) that the employer shall pay the wages or part of the wages of a woman employee for a prescribed number of weeks during her absence after and sometimes before the birth of her child.

There are two assumptions underlying these measures, both of which are erroneous.

The first of these erroneous assumptions is that the authorities have the right to restrict a woman's right to work for pay because she is about to bear, has just borne, or is nursing a child.

The adult woman is a free and responsible human being and ought in all circumstances to be treated as such. Maternity can only be fairly and effectively protected when the woman is left in full possession of her rights as an adult human being. Neither marriage, nor pregnancy, nor childbirth, nor nursing a child are reasons for depriving her of the human right to decide for herself whether or not she shall engage in paid work. To refuse this right to a woman, or to impose restrictions on her exercise of it, does not help her; and so is not really protection, but is a serious attack on the economic interest of the woman earner.

The second erroneous assumption is that such so-called "protective" measures do benefit the woman.

Restrictions or prohibitions (a) direct or (b) indirect, are no protection.

(a) *A direct prohibition cannot prevent any woman working. It may be possible in certain undertakings to forbid her to continue in her usual work, but the effects of that will be:*

(i) to deprive the woman of her usual earnings;

(ii) to drive the woman to take up other work which may be more fatiguing and/or less well paid than her usual work;

(iii) to depress her mentally, the recognised result of exclusion from a normal way of living and surroundings.

(b) *Indirect restrictions in the form of burdens on the employer are against the economic interests of the woman.*

(i) *Special measures which prevent the employer from dismissing a woman, or which give her special right to leave her work when pregnant, even when she is not incapacitated, encourage the employer to dismiss her as soon as she shows signs of pregnancy, if this is in his interest; and he will continue to employ her, or will re-employ her, if this is in his interest.*

(ii) *Special measures which require the employer to give time off for nursing a child mean loss to the employer of her working hours and the impossibility of giving her certain jobs. Special measures which require the employer to provide crèches for the children of his women employees, or require him to pay wages, in whole or in part, during the absence from work before or after childbirth, cost him money. The result in all these cases is that women's pay is kept low and that some women lose, or fail to get, paid work.*

It is thus seen that every burden specially imposed on the employer because his employee is pregnant or has just borne, or is nursing a child, is, in fact, borne by the woman herself. When it pays the employer to dismiss these women, it damages the women concerned; when it is more profitable for the employer to make special provisions for women employees, or be subject to special disabilities because he employs women, he recoups himself by paying a low wage-rate to his women employees. This not only damages their economic interests, but also depresses the wage-rates of all women in the labour market.

Thus neither direct nor indirect restrictions are true protection but are a serious injury to the economic interests of the woman earner.

The Open Door International therefore declares that the position of the woman worker who is pregnant, or has just borne a child, and who is incapacitated for her usual work by reason of such pregnancy or confinement, should be assimilated in law, particularly as regards insurance, to that of any worker who is incapacitated for his usual work on account of accident, or illness; and where a medical certificate is required in the one case, it should also be required in the other.

RESOLUTION 4.

RIGHT OF THE MARRIED WOMAN TO EARN.

The Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker in Biennial General Council assembled reiterates its demand that marriage shall not be a ground for depriving a woman of the right to engage in paid work on the same terms as a man or an unmarried woman.

RESOLUTION 5.

DANGEROUS TRADES AND WELFARE REGULATIONS: SO-CALLED "PROTECTION" OF THE WOMAN WORKER.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled *points out* that a trade which is dangerous to the health or morals of a woman is also dangerous to the health or morals of men. The O.D.I. *condemns* "protective" legislation in the form of prohibitions on the work of women not placed on that of men, or burdens placed on the employer of women, in their supposed interest (for example, the requirement to provide seats, special heating, ventilation, dust extraction, etc.), since this

- (a) excludes women from a great variety of employments, and further overcrowds the occupations still open to women;
- (b) stifles the public conscience by leaving male workers still exposed to the dangers, and obscures the need for adequate protection for them;
- (c) turns the trades and processes from which women are excluded into monopolies for the male worker, and they tend to continue to be so even if later adequate regulation or new inventions turn the process into a safe occupation.

The Open Door International *condemns* in particular legislation or regulations based on a double moral standard prohibiting on the ground of morals work to women which is not prohibited to men.*

It *further condemns* the practice of giving to a minister or official powers arbitrarily to schedule certain posts as dangerous for women's health or morals, thus leaving all women at the mercy of a power which may suddenly deprive them of the work which they have chosen.

The O.D.I. *further rejects as fallacious* the supposition that the health of the future generation can be protected by forbidding women to work in certain trades and processes which involve the use of poisonous materials, and *points out* that industrial poisons can adversely affect the health of the future generation through the father as well as through the mother, and that the only certain and scientific method of protecting the future generation is so to regulate these dangerous trades and processes as to reduce to a minimum and eventually eliminate the danger for all workers, whether men or women.†

RESOLUTION 6.

WOMEN AND THE NIGHT WORK CONVENTION OF 1934.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled would welcome the release of any group of women workers from the prohibition to work at night provided that this were effected in such a way that other groups were not put in a still worse position. It *points out*

(a) that neither the adoption by the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1934 of the revised Night Work Convention, which proposes to prohibit night work to all women industrial workers with the exception of those in responsible positions of management and not ordinarily engaged in manual work, nor its ratification by any State, nor the passage of legislation to implement it by any ratifying State, will release any such managerial women from the prohibition to work at night under the Washington Night Work Convention of 1919, which applies the prohibition to all women industrial workers;

(b) that the only way in which such managerial women or any women can be freed from the prohibition under the 1919 Convention is for their Government to denounce that 1919 Convention and (after the expiry of 12 months) to alter its national legislation;

(c) that it is open to any Government which has ratified the 1919 Convention at any time so to denounce the 1919 Convention and alter its national legislation; but

(d) that under the terms of the 1934 Convention it will not be possible for a ratifying State to denounce that Convention until ten years from the time of its coming into force, and after that ten years it will only be possible to denounce the 1934 Convention once in every ten years during a period of 12 months.

The O.D.I. therefore *declares* that the 1934 Convention, by making it so much more difficult to free themselves, places all women industrial workers with the exception of the small managerial group in a worse

* Such legislation, for example, as is to be found in Bolivia, China, France, Germany, Greece, Peru and Venezuela.

It is to be noted that all these countries either have official provision of houses of prostitution for the "benefit" of the male population, or afford prostitution the utmost official toleration on the ground that it is a necessity.

† In the typographical industry of Denmark regulations, scientific precautions, and the understanding of the significance of the personal hygiene of the worker have eliminated the danger of lead poisoning.

position that that which they occupy under the 1919 Convention, and calls upon its Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members to bring pressure to bear on their respective Governments to secure (a) that the 1934 Convention shall not be ratified; (b) that the 1919 Convention shall be denounced.

RESOLUTION 7.

MINIMUM WAGE RATES.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled calls attention to the increasing practice

(a) of adopting legislation which lays down lower minimum rates of wages for women than for men, and thus tends to standardise the rate of women's wages at a low level and consequently to depress the level of all wages by forcing women to undercut men; and

(b) of fixing minimum rates of wages applicable to women only, which results in men supplanting women in jobs offered at lower than the minimum rates,

and points out

(i) that such legislation is damaging to the attainment of an adequate and equal wage rate for all workers, men as well as women, in the trades concerned, and

(ii) that the minimum wage system can only be of real benefit to workers when it is applied, irrespective of the sex of the workers, to any trade or part of a trade.

RESOLUTION 8.

EQUAL WORK AND EQUAL PAY.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled points out

(a) that in the mechanised processes of mass production in modern rationalised industry a large percentage of the workers can acquire all the skill necessary in a few weeks, and

(b) that industry always has been and still is largely organised on the basis of segregating women in low-paid jobs, and of permitting only men to acquire the higher degree of skill necessary for the decreasing number of well-paid skilled jobs.

The O.D.I., therefore, while it reiterates its demand for "equal pay for equal work" made at its First Conference in Berlin, 1929, and at its Second Conference in Stockholm, 1931, demands also that women shall have equal opportunities to do equal work; and points out that it is not sufficient to ask for "equal pay for equal work," but that the demand of to-day must be "Equal Work, AND Equal Pay."

RESOLUTION 9.

PROHIBITION OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN ON UNDERGROUND WORK.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled condemns the action of the 19th Session of the International Labour Conference in adopting a Draft Convention which provides:—

"Article 2. No female, whatever her age, shall be employed on underground work."

"Article 3. National laws or regulations may exempt from the above prohibition:

- (a) females holding positions of management who do not perform manual work;
- (b) females employed in health and welfare services;
- (c) females who, in the course of their studies, spend a period of training in the underground parts of a mine; and
- (d) any other females who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation.

The Open Door International declares that this new international restriction on women's right to work for pay is cruel to such women as will be deprived of their jobs as the result of the ratification of this Draft Convention, and unjust both to those women who are prevented from entering this work, and to all women who suffer by this limitation of the field of female labour.

RESOLUTION 10.

WOMEN PUT OUTSIDE THE RULE OF LAW.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled learns with consternation

(a) that a number of States have conferred* or are proposing to confer arbitrary powers on a Minister or official to make orders to prohibit, or to regulate the employment of women in industries, trades and/or occupations, or to fix quotas of the women to be employed therein, and

(b) that a number of States have conferred arbitrary powers† on a

*See examples from Belgium, Italy (a) and Luxembourg. Footnote to Resolution 1.

†See example from Ireland. Footnote to Resolution 1.

Norway. In a proposal for a Bill soon coming before Parliament, the Chapter dealing with the protection of women and affecting both industrial workers and business women, paragraph 25 reads:

"If any trade or work is found to be particularly fatiguing or dangerous to the life and health of women, or should other reasons make it desirable, the King may order special measures to be taken, and the King may wholly forbid women to be employed in the work in question."

‡Argentine. By an Act No. 11,317, dated 30th September, 1924, Chapter II. 9: "women may not be employed in dangerous or unhealthy industries or occupations" to be specified by regulation. I.L.O. Legislative Series, 1924.—Arg. 1.

Bolivia. By a Presidential decree dated 21st September, 1929, the General Directorate of Public Health shall issue regulations "in order to ensure protection of health, safety, education and morals" of women. I.L.O. Legislative Series, 1929. Bol. 2.

China. By the Factory Act promulgated by the National Government on December 30th, 1929, Chapter II., certain specified work and (§7) "other dangerous or indecent work" is forbidden to women. I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1929—China 2.

Chile. By a Legislative Decree, No. 178 (49), to ratify the Labour Code of 13th May, 1931, which prohibits women's employment in works specified as beyond their strength or dangerous to their physical or moral welfare in view of their sex. I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1931.—Chile.

Cuba. By a Legislative Decree of October 16th, 1934, which prohibits the employment of women in certain specified dangerous and unhealthy work the National Health Board is empowered periodically to specify the classes of work regarded as dangerous and unhealthy in accordance with scientific progress. I.L.I. June, 1935. Pp. 325-6.

Minister or official to prohibit or to regulate women's employment in kinds of work vaguely described as heavy or dangerous to the health or morals of women, and that others § are now beginning to exercise such powers which have been long left dormant, and *points out* that the requirement made in some cases that the legislature shall give its consent to such orders is an ineffective and illusory safeguard and a camouflaging in legal dress of an arbitrary power with undefined limits, against the exercise of which a woman can have no legal redress.

The O.D.I. *calls attention to the facts*

(i) that the first test of civilisation in a State is that no persons in its territory shall be subject to an arbitrary power, but that all shall be within the protection of law, and

(ii) that, while the position of women may be bad under laws which clearly define the prohibitions and restrictions on their rights as workers, they at least can ascertain the limits of these rights, and can (with exceptions in the cases of married women in some countries) appeal to the Courts against the infringement of these rights,

Estonia. By an Act relating to the employment of children, young persons and women, dated 20th May, 1924, power is given to the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare to draw up, in agreement with the other Ministers concerned, a list of unhealthy and heavy occupations in which women must not be employed. I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1924.—Est. 1.

France. By an Act to amend Section 72 of Book II. of the Code of Labour and Social Welfare dated 7th December, 1926, employments "which involve danger or excessive exertion or are prejudicial to morality and which are prohibited . . . for women shall be specified by public administrative regulations for " . . . inter alia "wage earning and salaried employees in any industrial or commercial establishment." I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1926.—Fr. 10.

Great Britain. By the Factory Act, 1901, sec. 79, the Secretary of State is empowered to regulate any manual labour of women in factories or works if he is satisfied it is dangerous or injurious to health or dangerous to life and limbs subject to enquiry into objections made within 21 days and to neither House of Parliament resolving to annul order which may be done within 40 days of the order being laid on the table. Under this many processes have been forbidden to women including any process in a brass coating shop (S.R.O. 1908, No. 484); work in the manufacture of electric accumulators (S.R.O., 1925, No. 28); lifting more than 65 lbs. in woollen and worsted textiles (the man is allowed 150 lbs.) (S.R.O., 1926, No. 1463).

Japan. By an Act, No. 33, of the 29th March, 1923, women are prohibited from performing certain specified dangerous work and any other dangerous work. I.L.O., Leg. Series, 1923.—Jap. 1.

Peru. By a law of 25th November, 1916, women may not be employed on any work which, in the opinion of the Executive Authorities, presents danger to their health or morals. Lehmann, 1924, p. 143.

Portugal. By a Decree, No. 14498, of October 29th, 1927, the employment of pregnant women and nursing mothers is prohibited otherwise than in light work of short duration, not harmful to their physical and intellectual development or their morals. I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1927.—Port. 6.

Sweden. By an Act of 29th June, 1912, amended by an Act of 12th June, 1931, the Crown may prohibit the employment of women in occupations involving special risk of accident or which are specially exhausting or dangerous; or may prescribe the conditions under which they may work in such occupations. I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1931.—Swe. 5.

Venezuela. By a Labour Act of 23rd July, 1928, section 16 prohibiting the employment of women in any undertakings likely to be detrimental to their morals or decency. I.L.O. Leg. Series, 1928.—Ven. 2.

§*Denmark.* By the Law No. 173 of April 29th, 1913, paragraph 23, the Director of Supervision of Work and Factories is empowered to prohibit to women (subject to an appeal to the Minister) work which is specially fatiguing or dangerous, and work in which the worker's carelessness may endanger other workers.

and declares that the position of women becomes intolerable when they are put outside the rule of law and made subject to an arbitrary power with undefined limits against the exercise of which it is impossible for them to obtain any legal redress.

The O.D.I. *therefore urges*

(a) that national legislation which delegates such powers specially to prohibit or to regulate the work of women shall be repealed, and

(b) that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall recommend the International Labour Conference to adopt a resolution declaring that arbitrary powers specially applicable to women should not be conferred on any minister, official, body or combination of bodies.

RESOLUTION II.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO WORK FOR PAY IN RELATION TO THE WHOLE STATUS OF WOMEN AND THE MONTEVIDEO (1933) EQUAL RIGHTS TREATY.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled *calls attention* to the following facts:

- I. The Open Door International is an organisation with the definite and strictly limited object of securing that a woman, irrespective of marriage or childbirth, shall be free to work and protected as a worker on the same terms as a man, and that legislation and regulations dealing with conditions and hours, payment, entry and training shall be based upon the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker.
- II. Within the field of this Object, namely, within what relates to the status and rights of the worker for pay, the O.D.I. is working to secure equality as between men and women.
- III. Work for equality as between men and women in relation to other rights and other aspects of status does not fall within the scope of the O.D.I.
- IV. The O.D.I., therefore, is concerned with that Item on the Agenda of the 16th Assembly of the League of Nations dealing with "the whole status of women with special reference to a Convention on the subject of equality of rights for both sexes which was signed at Montevideo in December, 1933, by Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay"* only in so far as that item comprises the status and rights of the woman in her capacity as a worker for pay.
- V. Among the particular rights in regard to which the O.D.I. is working to secure such equality are:
 - (i) the right to work by day or night, above ground or underground, and in particular the right to undertake heavy or dangerous work, or work in dangerous materials such as lead, subject to no greater restrictions on herself or her employer in the interest of health, welfare, or morals, than those to which a man or his employer is subject;

* The operative Article of this Treaty reads:

"The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

- (ii) the right to work subject to no restrictions by reason of marriage;
- (iii) the right to decide for herself whether she shall work for pay before or after childbirth, and the right to work for pay before and after childbirth subject to no restrictions on herself or her employer by reason of pregnancy or childbirth.

VI. An international convention or treaty is not a statement of an abstract principle, but an effective legal act, and ratification by a State of necessity implies that that State must release itself from obligations under other treaties which are inconsistent with it, and bring its national legislation into line with it.

VII. Among international conventions or treaties which are inconsistent with equality of rights as between men and women are

- (a) the *Berne (1906)*, *Washington (1919)*, and *Geneva (1934)*, *Nightwork Conventions*, which prohibit the industrial employment of women at night, with certain exceptions;
- (b) the *Washington (1919) Childbirth Convention* which prohibits the industrial employment of women for six weeks after childbirth, and places special burdens on the employer of pregnant or childbearing women;
- (c) the *Geneva (1921) White Lead (painting) Convention* which prohibits the employment of all women in any painting work of an industrial character involving the use of white lead or sulphate of lead or other products containing these pigments;
- (d) the *Geneva (1935) Underground Work (Women) Draft Convention* which prohibits the employment of women in underground work in mines, subject to certain exceptions which may be made by a ratifying State.

The O.D.I. is alarmed at certain recent occurrences which indicate that individuals and Governments have failed to appreciate the fact that equality of rights as between men and women of necessity includes equality of rights in their capacity as workers, as outlined above. Among these occurrences are the following:

- (1) Cuba and Uruguay, two of the States which signed the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty in 1933, have not (so far as the O.D.I. has been able to ascertain) taken any steps to denounce the *Washington (1919) Conventions* prohibiting the employment of women during the night and for six weeks after childbirth and imposing restrictions and burdens on the employers of pregnant and childbearing women, and the *Geneva (1921) Lead Paint Convention* (see section VII above).
- (2) Cuba, in October, 1934, ten months after it signed the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty, issued a Legislative Decree with the following provisions:
 - (i) Employment of women during the night is prohibited in the terms of the *Washington (1919) Nightwork Convention*.
 - (ii) Admission of women to industrial or commercial employment must be preceded by a medical examination carried out by an official doctor, who will issue free of charge a certificate of

fitness for the work they are to do. Women admitted to employment must be examined annually and on the occasion of each change in the nature of their work.

- (iii) Women employed in industrial undertakings may not be given work to do at home.
- (iv) Employment of women is prohibited on certain specified dangerous and unhealthy work and carrying loads. The National Health Board will periodically specify the classes of work regarded as dangerous and unhealthy in accordance with scientific progress.

(3) The Government Delegates of Cuba and Ecuador voted at the International Labour Conference (Geneva, 1935) for the adoption of the Draft Convention to prohibit the underground work of women in mines.

(4) Many women who hold the fallacious belief that certain restrictions on the work of women are not a derogation of rights, and serve to protect women workers, support the Montevideo Equal Rights Treaty. In so doing, in effect they either (aa) affirm that that Treaty fails to give equal rights to the woman in her capacity as a worker for pay, or (bb) deny that certain rights are rights where women are concerned, though recognised as essential rights of a man in his capacity as a worker for pay; and thereby undermine the true meaning of the word "rights."

The Open Door International therefore declares that any international convention or treaty which is intended to propose general equality of status and rights as between men and women can only do so if its text is so worded as to make it clear that a State which ratifies such convention or treaty is obliged

- A. to denounce other international Conventions which it has ratified and which are inconsistent with equality of rights as between men and women in their capacity as workers for pay.
- B. to alter its national laws so as to bring them into line with equality of status and rights as between men and women in their capacity as workers for pay.

RESOLUTION 12.

RECENT PUBLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council Assembled welcomes the tendency towards a change of outlook on the part of the International Labour Office in its approach to the present-day problems of the work of women, since it appears to give more weight than formerly to the fact that a woman is a person, and an end in herself.

This change of approach is shown, among other things,

- (a) in the statement of the Director of the International Labour Office that "the whole subject of women's work merits closer and more unprejudiced analysis than it has yet received." (Report of the Director, 1935, page 76.)
- (b) in the publication under the auspices of the International Labour Office of three pamphlets:

"The Economic Depression and the Employment of Women," by Marguerite Thibert, Research Division, I.L. Office. 1933.

"Rationalisation and the Employment and Wages of Women in Germany," by Dr. Judith Grünfeld. 1934.

"Unemployment and Employment among Women," by Henri Fuss, Chief of the Unemployment, Employment, and Migration Section of the I.L. Office. 1935.

These pamphlets, by stating the case for the right of the married woman to earn, for the need for basing wage rates on capacity instead of on the sex of the worker, and for repudiating the common fallacy that the unemployment of men can be remedied by aggravating that of women, show in their approach to the modern problems of women's work a new consciousness of present-day economic realities.

The O.D.I. *regrets* that, although the article by Dr. Fuss has been published both in English and in French, it has not been, and is not to be, published in German.

The O.D.I., however, *deplores the facts*

(i) that M. Henri Fuss, an official in the position of Chief of Section of the I.L.O., should not yet have disabused his mind of the false doctrine that women's constitution has special peculiarities which justify, in their supposed interest, special restrictions of their right to work for pay;

(ii) that he should wrongly assert that this doctrine is part of the programme assigned to the I.L.O., an opinion which rests on confusion of thought, apparently due to the question-begging use of the word "protection" to describe the special restriction in their supposed interest of their right to work for pay.

RESOLUTION 13.

STATEMENT BY THE OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL FOR THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION OF THE WOMAN WORKER, ON THE DE MICHELIS PROPOSAL FOR A MINIMUM PROTECTION FOR ALL WORKERS.

The Open Door International in Biennial General Council assembled *takes note* that M. Michelis, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, proposed that all possible steps should be taken to provide a minimum standard of protection for workers who are not protected by any national or international regulations, either because they belong to categories excepted from the provisions of Conventions, or because they belong to countries where social legislation is inadequate or even non-existent.

The Open Door International *calls attention to the facts*

(1) that a minimum standard of protection can only be enjoyed by all workers when the same minimum standard is enjoyed by women as by men,

(2) that in no country does the minimum standard of protection for women workers reach the level of the minimum standard attained by male workers in that

(i) in many countries the woman worker, especially the married woman, does not have the protection of existing laws which are taken for granted as necessary for safeguarding the interests of the male worker, and which therefore afford him protection which is denied to women,

(ii) in many countries women workers are subject to special restrictions wrongly described as "protection," but which, in fact, cannot give real protection to women so long as they do not apply equally to men;

and *points out* that the establishment of the same minimum standard for women as for men involves the enjoyment by women of all rights enjoyed by men which afford men protection as workers, and the removal of any special restrictions on women workers or the application of restrictions equally to male and female workers, and involves in particular the recognition of the following rights for women, namely:—

(a) the right, without requiring an authorisation from her husband, or the court, or any other person, personally to enter a contract of employment or a contract to work for pay, and personally to receive and control her own earnings, and the capacity personally to enforce such contracts and payments by process of law;

(b) the right to be within the rule of law and not to be put outside this rule by being made subject to any arbitrary power specially applicable to women to prohibit or to regulate their employment;

(c) the right to enter any trade, profession, calling or occupation or to sell her labour for gain under the same conditions as a man;

(d) the right to work for pay by day or night, above ground or underground, in heavy or dangerous work, or in dangerous materials, subject to no greater restrictions imposed on a woman or her employer, by reason of age, health, welfare, morals, or for any other reason, than those to which a man or his employer is subject;

(e) the right to be subject to laws which ensure that the rates of minimum wages, and of benefits, pensions, and allowances and contributions under national insurance schemes for unemployment, sickness, invalidity, or old-age, shall be the same for women as for men, and be receivable or payable under the same conditions including the same age conditions;

(f) the right to equal opportunities with men for general technical and professional education and for equal apprenticeship, entry, promotion, and pay;

(g) the right to be subject to no restrictions on her work by reason of marriage;

(h) the right to decide for herself whether she shall work for pay before and after childbirth, and the right to work for pay before and after childbirth subject to no restrictions imposed on herself or her employer by reason of pregnancy or childbirth.

OPEN DOOR INTERNATIONAL.

Pour l'Emancipation Economique de la Travailleuse

STATUTS ADOPTÉS A L'UNANIMITE A BERLIN, LE 15 JUIN, 1929, ET AMENDES A PRAGUE LE 27 JUILLET, 1933.

(Texte français révisé à Copenhague le 23 Aout, 1935).

Préambule. — Nous, hommes et femmes, de toutes les nations, nous croyons que les hommes et les femmes appartiennent à une même humanité et nous les considérons comme des fins en soi et non comme des moyens.

Nous croyons par conséquent que la liberté et la possibilité de se livrer à un travail rétribué constituent un droit humain qui appartient à la femme comme à l'homme, et que ce droit doit être exercé par les deux sexes dans les mêmes conditions.

Que ce droit ne doit être ni dénié, ni restreint en raison du sexe, du mariage ou de la maternité.

C'est pourquoi nous nous réunissons en une association internationale destinée à poursuivre l'émancipation économique de la travailleuse.

Article I. Titre. Cette association prend pour titre l' "Open Door International." Le sous-titre explicatif suivant pourra être ajouté: "pour l'émancipation économique de la travailleuse."

Article II. But. Le But de l'Open Door International est d'obtenir que toute femme ait la liberté de travailler et qu'elle soit protégée comme travailleuse dans les mêmes conditions que l'homme.

Que la législation et les règlements relatifs aux conditions et aux heures de travail, au salaire, à l'admission aux emplois, métiers, professions et fonctions, ainsi qu'à leur préparation, soient basés sur la nature du travail et non sur le sexe du travailleur.

Que la femme, indépendamment du mariage ou de la maternité, ait en tout temps le droit de décider elle-même si elle se livrera ou non à un travail rétribué.

Que ni les lois ni les règlements ne la privent de ce droit.

Article III. Moyens d'action. Les moyens d'action sont:

- (1) L'éducation populaire sur le plan national et international. La création d'un mouvement d'opinion au moyen de réunions, de publications et de propagande par la presse.
- (2) La constitution de branches nationales.
- (3) L'envoi à l'Organisation Internationale du Travail de la Société des Nations de questionnaires, projets de conventions et recommandations tendant à atteindre le but poursuivi par l'Open Door International.
- (4) L'action continue auprès du Bureau International du Travail.

- (5) L'entretien d'un Bureau Central pour organiser et diriger la propagande dans le monde entier, grouper et diffuser tous les éléments d'information, faire paraître une publication internationale.

Article IV. Membres. (1) Pourront être affiliées les associations désignées ci-après:

- (a) Une branche nationale si elle satisfait aux conditions suivantes:
 - (i) Si elle poursuit uniquement le but prévu à l'article II.
 - (ii) Si elle a une organisation nationale.
 - (iii) Si elle n'admet comme membres individuels ou si ses groupements locaux n'admettent comme membres individuels que des hommes et des femmes qui, indépendamment de leur parti politique, poursuivent le but de l'Open Door International.

La branche nationale et ses groupements locaux peuvent admettre comme affiliées des associations poursuivant le but de l'Open Door International pourvu que ces associations affiliées n'aient à l'assemblée générale de la branche nationale qu'un droit de vote qui ne pourra dépasser 10% du nombre total des voix.

- (iv) La branche nationale paiera à l'Open Door International une cotisation annuelle de
 - une livre sterling jusqu'à 500 membres;
 - deux livres sterling de 501 à 1,000 membres;
 - trois livres sterling de 1,001 à 1,500 membres et ainsi de suite.

- (b) Une société affiliée si elle satisfait aux conditions suivantes:
 - (i) Elle doit avoir à son programme le but poursuivi par l'Open Door International ou bien avoir adopté, en assemblée générale, une résolution conforme à ce but.
 - (ii) Elle doit avoir une organisation nationale ou internationale.
 - (iii) Elle doit verser une cotisation annuelle d'une livre sterling à l'Open Door International.
- (2) Peut être élue membre national correspondant, dans tout pays où il n'existe pas de branche nationale, toute personne qui remplit les conditions suivantes:
 - (a) Défendre les principes de l'Open Door International.
 - (b) Entreprendre la propagande dans son propre pays, s'efforcer d'organiser une branche nationale, envoyer régulièrement des rapports au secrétaire de l'Open Door International.
 - (c) Payer une cotisation annuelle de 10 shillings à l'Open Door International.
- (3) Une association peut être admise ou nommée membre associé si elle défend les principes de l'Open Door International et lui verse une cotisation annuelle d'une livre sterling.
- (4) Toute personne peut devenir membre associé si elle remplit les conditions prévues au paragraphe 3.
- (5) Les branches nationales, sociétés affiliées, membres nationaux correspondants, sociétés associées, ou membres individuels associés peuvent être admis provisoirement comme membres par le Comité Central. Cette admission doit être ratifiée par l'Assemblée Générale conformément à l'article V.

- (6) Les branches nationales, sociétés affiliées, membres nationaux correspondants, sociétés associées ou membres individuels associés auront droit chacun à un exemplaire de toutes les publications de l'Open Door International.

Article V. Assemblée Générale.

- (1) COMPOSITION. L'Assemblée Générale se compose de:
- La Présidente et onze déléguées de chaque branche nationale.
 - Une déléguée de chaque société affiliée. Cependant, si dans un pays déterminé il n'existe aucune branche nationale mais seulement une société nationale affiliée à l'Open Door International et poursuivant les mêmes buts, elle pourrait avoir des déléguées supplémentaires mais sa représentation serait limitée à six déléguées.
 - Les membres nationaux correspondants.
 - Les membres du Comité Central.
- (2) POUVOIRS ET DEVOIRS.
- L'Assemblée Générale sera l'organisme dirigeant de l'Open Door International et comme tel il en gèrera les affaires, administrera les fonds sociaux et dirigera l'action.
 - L'Assemblée Générale élira les membres du Comité Central.
 - L'Assemblée Générale décidera de l'admission des associations ou des membres individuels. Elle décidera également de leur exclusion éventuelle.
 - L'Assemblée Générale peut accorder des déléguées supplémentaires aux sociétés nationales affiliées ainsi qu'il a été prévu au paragraphe (1) (b) du présent article.
- (3) RÉUNIONS. L'Assemblée Générale se réunira tous les deux ans et l'ordre du jour comprendra:
- L'élection des membres du Comité Central.
 - Le rapport du Comité Central.
 - Le rapport financier.
 - Les rapports des branches nationales et des membres nationaux correspondants.
 - L'admission de nouvelles branches nationales, de sociétés affiliées, de sociétés nationales associées, de membres associés, de membres nationaux correspondants.
 - Le rapport du Comité d'Administration.
 - Résolutions et vœux.
- (4) RÉUNIONS EXTRAORDINAIRES. Une Assemblée Générale extraordinaire peut être convoquée par le Comité Central chaque fois qu'il le juge nécessaire, et obligatoirement à la demande écrite du quart des branches nationales. La discussion ne pourra porter que sur les sujets inscrits à l'ordre du jour ou, s'il n'y a pas d'opposition, sur les affaires déclarées urgentes par l'Assemblée Générale.

Les convocations à une Assemblée Générale extraordinaire doivent être envoyées par la secrétaire ou sa déléguée et partir du siège social trois mois avant la date de la réunion.

- (5) SOCIÉTÉS ASSOCIÉES ET MEMBRES ASSOCIÉS. Tout membre associé et une déléguée fraternelle de chaque société associée a droit de recevoir les convocations et d'assister aux réunions de l'Assemblée Générale aux mêmes conditions que les déléguées ordinaires mais sans droit de vote.

Article VI. Comité Central.

- Le Comité Central se compose d'une Présidente, d'une Secrétaire, d'une Trésorière, et de neuf autres membres.
- Toute candidature aux différentes fonctions ou au Comité Central sera présentée par une Branche nationale ou une société affiliée. Les élections se feront au scrutin secret.
- Le Comité Central exercera ses fonctions jusqu'à la fin de la réunion biennale de l'Assemblée Générale qui suivra son election.
- Le Comité Central prendra la direction de l'Open Door International et administrera les fonds entre les réunions biennales conformément aux directives adoptées par l'Assemblée Générale. Le Comité Central pourra pourvoir aux places vacantes par cooptation.
- Le Comité Central établira un Bureau Central. Il pourra nommer un Comité d'Administration pour en assurer le fonctionnement.
- Le Comité Central pourra admettre provisoirement des associations et des personnes comme membres de l'Open Door International. Il pourra désigner un Comité d'Admission dont la Présidente de l'Open Door International sera membre de droit. Ce comité aura le pouvoir d'admettre provisoirement les associations ou les personnes qui satisfont aux conditions prévues aux articles IV et V.
- Le Comité Central se réunira au moins une fois entre les réunions biennales de l'Assemblée Générale.

Article VII. Modifications aux Statuts. Les modifications aux statuts ne pourront être votées que par une majorité des deux tiers. Elles ne pourront être faites que par l'Assemblée Générale biennale, ou par une Assemblée Générale extraordinaire. Les modifications proposées devront être indiquées dans la convocation de l'Assemblée Générale extraordinaire.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

July 1st, 1933 to June 30th, 1935.

	July 1. 1933		July 1. 1934	
	to	to	to	to
A. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS.	June 30. 1934	June 30. 1935	June 30. 1934	June 30. 1935
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
(1) NATIONAL BRANCHES.				
Australia: Open Door Council	—	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
Belgium: Groupement Belge de la Porte Ouverte	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Czechoslovakia: Groupement de l'O.D.I.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Denmark: Den Aabne Dør	1 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0
Great Britain: Open Door Council	1 0 0	—	1 0 0	—
Sweden: Svenska Open Door Gruppen	1 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0
(2) AFFILIATED NATIONAL SOCIETIES:				
Denmark: Post og Telegrafkontoristforeningen	1 0 0	—	1 0 0	—
Finland: Union	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
France: Ligue française pour le Droit des Femmes	—	—	—	—
Great Britain: National Union of Women Teachers	5 5 0	—	5 5 0	—
St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Hungary: Feministak Egyesulete	—	—	—	—
Sweden: Central Council of Women Officials Association	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
U.S.A.: National Woman's Party	1 0 0	—	1 0 0	—
(3) ASSOCIATE SOCIETIES:				
Australia: United Associations of New South Wales	—	—	—	—
Sweden: Central Council Women's Organisations, Göteborg	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
U.S.A.: Women's Business Legislative Council of California	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
(4) ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.*				
Abbott, Elisabeth, 11, Lawrence St., London, S.W.3.	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0
Abergsson, Anna, Blockhussuden, 20 Stockholm	—	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
Archdale, Helen A., Wrotham Heath, Kent, England	2 0 0	—	2 0 0	—
Archdale, Helen E., 25A, St Peters Square, London, W.6.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Arenholt, Julie, Frederiksgade 9, Copenhagen	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Baker, Vera B. Langton's Meadow, Farnham Common, Bucks., Eng.	—	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
Bang, Dr. Dagny, Drammensveien 97, Oslo	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Baty, Dr. Tama, 9 Arakusumigaseki, Tokio	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Bellby, Lady, 29, Kidderpore Ave., London, N.W.3.	—	3 0 0	—	3 0 0
Bergstrom, Gertrude Vesterled 23, Appelvikén, Sweden	1 0 7	1 0 7	1 0 7	1 0 7
Bethune Baker, Edith, 23 Cranmer Road, Cambridge, England	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
Bowerman, Elsie, 1, Temple Gardens, Temple, London, E.C.4.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Bradford, F. M. Grace, Fairacre, Grayshot, Hindhead, England	2 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0
Braae, Karen, Limfjordsvej, Copenhagen	1 0 0	—	1 0 0	—
Butler-Bowdon, Erica, 4, rue Michel, Chauvet, Geneva, Switzerland	1 0 0	3 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0
Clay, Beatrice Meldreth, Royston, Herts., England	—	2 0 0	—	2 0 0
Craene de, van Duuren Louise, 48 rue du Lac, Brussels	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Craene de, Dr. Ernest, 48, rue du Lac, Brussels	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Cranfield, Lillian C., Thorpe Grange, Trimley St. Martin, Ipswich, Suffolk, England	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Cullis, Prof. Winifred, 8, St. Martin's Place, London, W.C.2.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Daelander, Elizabeth, Skepparegatan, 68, Stockholm	1 4 6	1 4 7	1 4 6	1 4 7
Dokoupilová, Olga, Závobresky, Brno, Czechoslovakia	—	12 0 0	—	12 0 0
Drummond, Flora, 27, Princes Gds., W. Acton, London, W.3.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Evans, Dr. Eirie, Brynkynallyt, Bangor, N. Wales	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Fawcett, Phillipa F., 2, Gower St., London, W.C.2.	10 0 0	—	10 0 0	—
Freese, Karin, Coldinuttrappan 1, Stockholm	1 0 8	1 0 0	1 0 8	1 0 0
Froud, Ethel E., 41, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.7	—	3 0 0	—	3 0 0
Fuller, Genevieve Merrill, 976, Ranelagh Avenue, Milton, Mass, U.S.A.	18 4	1 0 0	18 4	1 0 0
Gabriellova, Anna, Nerodova 60, Prague XII	—	11 0 0	—	11 0 0
Gibbs, Dr. Aimee, M.B., Ch.B., Haeremai, Manscombe Rd., Livermead, Torquay, England	1 0 0	—	1 0 0	—
Gilman-Jones, K.A., Girls Grammar School, Anderson St., Tooras, Melbourne, Victoria	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Gjorgjevic, Dr. Julka Chlapec, Revolucni II, Prague	49 1	8 1	49 1	8 1
Hansen, Nelly, Griffenfeldsgade 54, Copenhagen	1 16 0	—	1 16 0	—
Hartree, Eva, 21, Bentley Road, Cambridge, England	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0
Heymann, L. G. Case Postale 286, Rive 3 Geneva	—	2 12 1	—	2 12 1
Holmberg Hanna, Vasagatan 43 a Goteborg, Sweden	2 11 4	—	2 11 4	—
Hrdlickova, Miloslava, Perstyn 9, Prague	—	12 0 0	—	12 0 0
Hunter, Dr. Alison, 4, Clifton Place, Glasgow, C.3.	6 6 0	5 5 0	6 6 0	5 5 0
Johnson, Florence, Rowfant, Crawley, Sussex, England	—	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
Kock, Karin, 69, Herman Ygbergsvag Appelviekn, Sweden	1 0 8	1 0 7	1 0 8	1 0 7
Laidlaw, Daisy, Seventy Haven Avenue, New York, U.S.A.	1 3 10	—	1 3 10	—
Lenoel Marie, 72, Ave de la Bourdonnais, Paris	3 0 0	1 0 0	3 0 0	1 0 0
Lindeblad, Anna, Hagaberg, Ostertalje, Sweden	—	5 3 1	—	5 3 1
Lloyd, Lola Maverick, 455, Birch Street, Illinois, U.S.A.	—	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
Lutz, Alma, 22, River St., Boston, U.S.A.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Macmillan, Chrystal, 4, Pump Court, Temple, London, E.C.4.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Mamourian, Gladys, 67, Stalybridge Road, Ashton-under-Lyne	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Mathiassen, Margrethe, Egehoj, Egehojvej, Charlottenlund, Denmark	1 0 0	2 3 6	1 0 0	2 3 6
Merrifield, F. de G., c/o Mrs. Salter, The Crown House, Newport, Essex, England	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Montgomery, E. S., 26, College Green, Belfast, Ireland	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Norbelie, Georgina, Drottning-Holmsvagen 11, Stockholm	1 0 8	—	1 0 8	—
Pedersen, Helen Clay, Aalykke, Kolding, Denmark	1 0 0	—	1 0 0	—
Pethick Lawrence, Emmeline, 11, Old Sq. London, W.C.2.	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Phillips, J. M., Sudbury Lawn, Honiton, Devon, England	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Pinto, Candida de Souza Madeira, Campo dos Martires da Patria, Lisbon, Portugal	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0

* For names of new Associate members who joined at Copenhagen see page 77.

	July 1. 1933 to June 30. 1934	July 1. 1934 to June 30. 1935
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Plaminkova, Frantiska, Staromestske nam, 8, Prague ..	—	†2 0 0
Reeves, Marian, Minerva Club, 28, Brunswick Sq., London W.C.1. ..	1 0 0	—
Rhondda, Viscountess, 32, Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.2... ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Road-Muller, Augusta, Amager Blvd. 118, Copenhagen ..	10 0	1 0 0
Romniciano, Helene, 9 Ave. Soret, Geneva. ..	—	1 0 6
Roper, Esther, 14, Frognal Gardens, London, N.W.3. ..	—	1 0 0
Shacklock, May, Dueshill, Carisbrooke Road, Harpenden, England. ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Schager, Ingerborg, Vasterled 23, Appelviken, Sweden ..	1 0 7	1 0 7
Smith, Emily, c/o J. P. Morgan, 14, Place Vendome, Paris ..	—	18 7
Smith, Esther S., 305, Porter Ave., Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A. ..	1 19 5	2 0 0
Smith, Jane Norman, 103 East 75th St., New York, U.S.A. ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Smith, A. Marguerite, 22 River St., Boston, Mass. U.S.A. ..	—	3 2 1
Sneiden von, J. Vanersborg, Sweden ..	5 0 0	—
Soddy, Winifred, 131, Banbury Road, Oxford, England ..	—	1 0 0
Spoof, Dr. Karin, Slottsgatan 11a, Abo, Finland ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Street Jessie, 2, Green Oaks Ave., Edgecliffe, Sydney, N.S.W. ..	1 0 0	—
Le Sueur, Winifred, 66, Latymer Court, London, W.6. ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Sundquist, Dr. Alma, Subelgaten 23, Stockholm ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Tamm, Elizabeth, Fogelstad, Julita, Sweden ..	—	1 0 0
Thomas, Lillian, 7, Blomfield Crescent, London, W.2. ..	1 0 0	—
Uniacke, J. Robie, Eastfield, Whitechurch, Oxon ..	2 0 0	2 0 0
Velander, Jenny, Atlasgatan 16, Stockholm ..	1 0 0	—
Vorsing, Johanne Lyshojalte 8, Kobenhavn Vally, Denmark. ..	1 0 0	—
Walin, Ingeborg, Appelviken, Sweden ..	1 0 7	1 0 0
Walker, Dr. Jane, 122, Harley St., London, W.1. ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
Waller, Marie, Bravallagatan 8, Stockholm ..	1 0 8	1 0 10
Westergaard, Anna, Egehoj, Egehojvej, Charlottenlund, Denmark ..	2 10 0	1 6 0
Wifstrand, Henny, Alviksvagan, 148, Appelviken, Sweden ..	1 0 3	—
Wlum, Olga, Ordrupsvej, 173, Charlottenlund, Denmark. ..	—	1 0 0
Wolfova, Marie, Karlova 8, Prague ..	—	1 0 0
(5) OTHER ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS:		
Czechoslovakia:		
Cervena, Anna, Husova 18, Prague XVI ..	—	†1 0 0
Finland:		
Ostman, Thyra von Beetzen ..	—	8 0
Great Britain:		
Dodgeon, Miss J. ..	5 0	5 6
Gordon, Miss C. M. ..	2 6	2 6
Mamhead, The Lord ..	—	10 0
Nielans, Miss Alison ..	10 0	—
Rodgers, Edith ..	5 0	—
Sladen, Winifred ..	5 0	5 0
Italy:		
Sacchi-Simonetta, Prof. ..	10 0	10 0
Sweden:		
Forenigen kvinnor i statens tjanst ..	—	1 0 0
Kvinnliga Postforengen ..	—	1 0 0
Lindhagen, Anna ..	10 4	—
Lundh, Clara ..	5 5	5 4
Lundh, Hulda ..	5 2	5 4
Lundh, Ingeborg ..	5 2	—
Nathorst, Anita ..	5 2	—
Nordin Petterson, Ida ..	5 2	5 0
Switzerland:		
Hoagg H. Emogene ..	5 9	—
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Denmark: Den Aabne Dor. ..	4 0	—
Mathiassen, Margrethe ..	10 0	—
Finland:		
Ostman, Thyra von Beetzen ..	1 0 0	—
Great Britain:		
Drummond, Flora ..	10 0	—
Gordon, Dame Maria Oglivie ..	10 0	—
Hartree, Eva ..	—	15 0 0
Holtby, Winifred ..	2 2 0	—
Scott, Mrs. Mary ..	—	2 6
Thorburn, Miss M. G. ..	—	2 6
Thorburn, Miss M. ..	—	2 6
Holland:		
Rutgers-Hoitsema, Mrs. (the late) ..	1 0 0	1 0 0
South Africa:		
Lady Steel ..	—	10 0 0
(2) In response to appeal before the Prague Conference for that Conference and Future Work ..	Total	134 19 6
(The names and subscriptions have already been published in the Report of the 3rd Conference held in Prague).		
(3) In response to appeal at Prague Conference for Future Work ..		15 0 0
(The names and subscriptions have already been published in the Report of the 3rd Conference held in Prague).		
		3000 Cz. Kr.
		400 Dan. Kr.

† The approximate equivalent of this sum was received in Prague in Czech kroners before August 5th, 1935.

DONATIONS IN RESPONSE TO APPEAL BEFORE THE CONFERENCE FOR THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE AND FUTURE WORK. (*)

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Den Aabne Dör ..	—	—
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Great Britain:		
Allan, Janie ..	5 0 0	
Allen, Miss L. ..	5 0	
Abbott, Elizabeth ..	5 0 0	
Ashton, Miss Margaret ..	1 0 0	
Astor, Viscountess ..	5 0 0	
Birtles, Mrs. ..	5 0	
Bradford, F. M. Grace ..	1 0 0	
Bradshaw, Edith ..	10 0	
Bruce-Dick, Mrs. ..	2 6	
Burls, Sybil ..	5 0	
Coldwell, Dorothy ..	10 0	
Cottell, Grace ..	10 0	
Donze, Isobel ..	1 0 0	
Fawcett, Philippa G. ..	5 0 0	
Firth, Lucy ..	2 0	
Gordon, C. M. ..	5 0	
Gordon, Dame Maria Oglivie ..	15 0	
Holme, B. M. ..	10 0	
Hovell, Mrs. Fanny ..	1 1 0	
Hughes, E. ..	5 0	
Hunter, Dr. Alison ..	5 5 0	
Johnson, Florence ..	5 0 0	
Key, Florence ..	1 1 0	
Lansdell, Constance ..	5 0	
Lawson, Mary ..	5 0	
Le Sueur, A. D. C. ..	1 1 0	
Lightman, Nancy ..	5 0	
Lorsignol, Mrs. B. ..		
Lowe, F. M. ..	—	1 0 0
Macmillan, A. ..	—	5 0 0
Moore, M. E. ..	—	10 0
National Union of Women Teachers ..	—	5 2 6
Pearson, Beatrice ..	—	5 0
Pethick Lawrence, Emmeline ..	—	10 0 0
Rhondda, Viscountess ..	—	1 0 0
Rodgers, Edith ..	—	1 0 0
Shacklock, May ..	—	2 0 0
Sinclair, Elsa M. ..	—	10 0
Soddy, Winifred ..	—	1 0 0
Solomon, W. ..	—	5 0
Taylor, Nettie ..	—	2 6
Thomas, Lillian M. ..	—	5 0
Uniacke, Jane ..	—	5 0 0
Vulliamy, Mrs. ..	—	1 1 0
Walker, Dr. Jane ..	—	2 2 0
Wilby, E. N. ..	—	10 0
Yates, Mrs. Lamartine ..	—	2 2 0
India:		
Faridoonji, Mrs. ..	—	1 1 0
Japan:		
Tama Baty ..	—	1 1 0
South Africa:		
Lady Steel ..	—	10 0 0
Sweden:		
Lindeblad, Mrs. ..	—	5 3 1
Svenska Open Door Gruppen ..	—	5 3 1
Tamm, Elizabeth ..	—	10 3 0
U.S.A.:		
Lutz, Alma ..	—	1 0 0
Smith, A. M. ..	—	1 0 0
Smith, Esther ..	—	1 0 0
Smith, Jane Norman ..	—	19 5

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Donations Received.			
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Nilsson, Anna ..	5 0	Le Sueur, Winifred ..	2 5 6
Pedersen, Clay ..	2 0 0	"Union" of Finland ..	2 0 0
Den Aabne Dör ..	500 Danish Kroner.*	Walin, Ingeborg ..	1 5 0
Maria Larsen ..	5 Danish Kroner.	Wlum, Olga ..	1 0 0

New Associate Members.		Subscriptions promised.	Money paid.
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Aldridge, Olive, 239, Friern Road, Dulwich, London, S.E.22 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Andersen, Anna, Brandstoy, Ingelstrade, Sweden ..	—	1 0 0	—
Bonnevie, Margarete, Dahlgate, 19, Oslo ..	—	1 0 0	—
Burls, Sybil, 21, Wigram Road, Wanstead, London ..	—	1 0 0	—
Coggin, Nora, Field House, Fulbourne, Cambridge, England ..	—	1 0 0	—
Cottell, Grace, Chirton Vicarage, Devizes, Wilts., England ..	—	1 0 0	—
Dahl, Mildred, Fernbang 16, Tönder, Denmark ..	—	1 0 0	—
Farmer, Dorothy, 35, Alderbrook Road, London, S.W.12 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Gillman, Ethel, 20, Plashet Road, London, E.13 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Harburn, E. F., 88, Boundary Road, London, N.W.8 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Karling, Karin, Viktoriagatan 11, Goteborg, Sweden ..	—	1 0 0	—
Key, Florence E., 37, Wellington Buildings, Bow, London, E.3 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Kihlman, Karin, Karl Gusstavsgaten 4, Goteborg, Sweden ..	—	1 0 0	—
Krok, Anna, Inzelstrade, Sweden ..	—	1 0 0	—
Kjems, Rymer, Middelfort, Denmark ..	—	1 0 0	—
Lidman, Elsa, Blockhusudden, 20, Stockholm ..	—	1 0 0	—
Littlejohn, Linda, 52, Prince's House, London, W.1 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Pearson, Beatrice, 27, Bethune Road, London, N.16 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Pedersen, Dagny, Ahlmanns Allé, 22, Copenhagen ..	—	1 0 0	—
Pethick, Dorothy, 44, Howard Road, London, N.W.3 ..	—	1 0 0	—
Rand, A. M., Ashford, Kent, England ..	—	1 0 0	—
Taylor, Helen E., Marmion, Manning Road, Double Bay, New South Wales ..	—	—	1 2 0
Thornton, Gerda, Hall Place, St. Albans, England ..	—	—	2 2 0

* This does not include the valuable donations from the Danish Aabne Dör who took over the financial and other responsibilities for making all the arrangements for the Conference in Denmark including much preliminary national and international press work, receiving towards this the Conference fees. Every member of Den Aabne Dör doubled her subscription during this conference year and many gave special donations not detailed here.

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President—HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

20 MAY 1936 193

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