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DEMAND AND ACHIEVEMENT

The International Women's Suffrage Movement.

BY

ALICE ZIMMERN.

Published by the

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S
SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,

14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

Price 3d.

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THE DEMAND.

THE Women's Suffrage Movement is of world-wide extent. Far away in the Antipodes women have the vote; in the New South African Union Boer and Britain alike are claiming it; in Norway the battle is won; in Sweden it approaches victory. In French and German, in Portuguese and Dutch, in Italian and Icelandic, petitions are drawn up and signed, asking that the women who speak these tongues may share the responsibility of choosing the men who are to guide the destinies of their country. In every civilised land the demand is being heard, and it will grow louder and louder till it is conceded everywhere.

Where the movement actually began is not easy to determine. France of the Revolution and America struggling for her independence alike claim the honour. As a continuous and conscious movement it doubtless originated in the United States, for in a sense it began in 1787 with the beginnings of the constitution. The first definite stimulus to action was afforded by the Anti-Slavery campaign, into which all the best of America's women were drawn. From out their ranks came the pioneers who in 1848 summoned the first Women's Convention, and drew up that famous Declaration of Rights which furnished the programme for sixty years of work. In 1869 the enfranchisement of the negroes and the refusal to add the words "nor sex" to the amendment to the Federal Constitution, which declared that colour should henceforth be no bar to citizenship, led to the foundation of the National American Women's Suffrage Association.

Happily that very year afforded an opportunity for putting Women's Suffrage to a practical test. Wyoming, which was being organised as a territory, agreed to try the experiment, and when in 1890 it was admitted as a state, became the first suffrage state. Colorado followed in 1890, and Idaho and Utah in 1896. For fourteen years they were the only suffrage states. But the movement in America was growing and spreading, and the seeds of future success being sown. To change the constitution of an American

state is no light matter; it is harder even than to soften the heart of an English Prime Minister. First the amendment must pass the Legislature by a majority of two-thirds, then it is submitted by referendum to the whole male population, a process in which it invariably attracts the opposition of the liquor interest, which is often strong enough to wreck it. Again and again have suffrage amendments passed the Legislature and been thrown out by the referendum; yet in spite of difficulty and discouragement American women continue their arduous labours. And at last their efforts are winning their reward. In the United States as in Great Britain the Suffrage idea is spreading into all circles and all districts. It has been taken up by College women, by the Trades Unions, by the Women's Clubs, by women in society as by the sweated worker. Men's Leagues are giving their valuable help, the press which long avoided the subject has discovered that it is now "good copy," and we in England know what that means to a cause. Already the first fruits of this success have been gathered in. In 1910 the important state of Washington enfranchised its women, and scarcely were the rejoicings ended than a far greater victory was announced, for in October, 1911, the Great Pacific State of California decided for Women's Suffrage.

This victory is regarded by those best informed as the turning point of the American movement, and it is confidently expected that all the states west of the Mississippi will before long follow California's lead. This year Oregon, Kansas and Wisconsin will submit a Women's Suffrage amendment to their voters, and the Nevada Legislature will decide whether to follow a similar course in 1914. Nor are the hopes of suffragists confined to the West, for Ohio and New Hampshire will shortly decide whether a Suffrage amendment shall be submitted to the voters in the course of this year. Even in the South women are stirring; and far-sighted persons, men and women alike, are coming to realise the value of the women's literate vote in counteracting the effects of the illiterate negro vote. Wherever the suffrage has been granted, the result is bringing fresh friends to the cause; and the streams of help and sympathy, springing up in all parts of the States will presently combine and produce a flood of good-will that must bear it on to final victory.

SWEDEN.

From America the inspiration of the Suffrage movement came to England and to other lands as well. Frederika Bremer, the high-souled authoress, bore the torch to Sweden, and kindled a mighty flame which to-day burns more brightly than ever. It was through her inspiration that the education of Swedish girls was improved and the position of Swedish women raised, so that, as her brilliant successor, Selma Lagerlöf, reminds us in her wonderful fantasy, "Mademoiselle Frederike," she put an end to the whole race of down-trodden and useless old maids, and found a place of usefulness for even the childless and homeless woman. Her name will be for ever linked with the Swedish Women's Movement, for the association founded in 1884 to promote it bears the name Frederika Bremer Union.

In Sweden as in England Women's suffrage has been before the country for half a century. As early as 1862 women received a partial instalment of municipal suffrage, and this was gradually extended till in 1909 they were made eligible to all municipal boards and town and county councils excepting the *Landsting*.

The question of the parliamentary suffrage was raised as early as 1884, but made no real advance till 1901, when Mr. C. Lindhagen moved in the Lower House that Parliament should call upon the Government to undertake an investigation of the question of Women's Suffrage. This was rejected; but in 1906 Parliament accepted a proposal made by the Constitution Committee to undertake the enquiry, the results of which have recently been published.

The Suffragists, however, had made good use of the interval. Suffrage associations had sprung up all over the country, and had been united into a National Union of Suffrage Societies, which continues to increase with amazing rapidity and has carried its activities even into the Arctic circle. In 1909 a Women's Suffrage bill passed the Lower House by a unanimous vote, though a similar bill was rejected in the Upper House by 104 votes to 25.

The International Women's Suffrage Congress, held at Stockholm, in June, 1911, marks an epoch in the history of the Swedish movement. The interest aroused throughout the country by the presence of women from so many different

lands, all intent on political freedom, the co-operation of so many distinguished men, the vote of a sum of money by the Stockholm town council towards the entertainment of the foreign guests, the presence on the platform of Sweden's best loved writer, Selma Lagerlöf, all this helped to arouse interest and win sympathy. Immediately afterwards Swedish women were forced to reconsider the policy of their Union. The elections for the Lower House were imminent, and the Liberals and Socialists had pledged themselves to make Women's Suffrage an item in their programme, while the Conservatives had made a definite pronouncement against it. As a result the Swedish N.U.W.S.S. decided at the annual council meeting to throw in its lot with the two friendly parties. Swedish suffragists worked hard at the polls and had the satisfaction of seeing their friends victorious. 101 Liberals and 64 Socialists were returned in a house numbering in all 230. The Conservative Cabinet resigned, and Mr. Staaf, an ardent Suffragist and a member of the Men's League, became the new Prime Minister. Women's Suffrage has now been included in the Government programme, and the King's speech on January 16th announced a bill conferring suffrage and eligibility on women on the same terms as men. The enfranchisement of Swedish women can therefore not be delayed much longer.

DENMARK.

Though Denmark has not yet achieved victory like Norway, nor come so near attainment as Sweden, Danish women may boast that they have a larger proportion of suffragists to population than any other country. Two large societies are at work, with a membership of over 23,000, and that in a country whose whole population numbers 2½ millions, not much more than a third that of London.

Already one great victory has been achieved by these societies, for it is through their endeavours that in 1908 municipal franchise and eligibility were won. This was conferred on all tax-payers whose income amounts to 800 kroners (about £50) in Copenhagen and rather less in the country districts, who have lived in the municipality for over a year, are 25 years of age and of untainted reputation.

When the husband pays taxes from the joint income both husband and wife are entitled to vote. Even servants are included, as their board and lodging are considered in calculating their income.

The granting of municipal suffrage has helped greatly to arouse interest in public affairs among the women of Denmark and is an excellent preparation for the parliamentary vote which is the natural corollary. But this can only be given by an amendment to the fundamental election law, carried in two successive parliaments. Each of the many political parties in Denmark now appears willing to give the vote to women in some form or other; and here as in England the question seems to be whether women shall receive the franchise as part of a general electoral change or whether it shall be conferred on them by a separate Act. The present Government is friendly, and prospects are bright. There seems every likelihood that a women's suffrage bill will pass its final stages in the session 1913-1914.

ICELAND.

In little Iceland the battle is all but won. The municipal franchise was granted to women in 1907 and immediately afterwards four women were elected on the Reykjavik Town Council. In 1911 a bill to confer the suffrage on all men and women over 25 passed the Althing. Here, as in Denmark, a constitutional change must be passed by two successive parliaments and therefore the new law still awaits the second confirmation as well as the assent of the King of Denmark. An extraordinary session will be held this year and if the bill is then passed without amendment the women will at once be enfranchised. Otherwise they will have to wait till the next ordinary session in 1913. Of the final result apparently there is no doubt.

THE NETHERLANDS.

In Holland, too, Women's Suffrage has become a burning question, after a quarter of a century spent in educational work. In 1883 Dr. Aletta Jacobs, now President of the Women's Suffrage Association, applied as a tax-payer to be

placed on the list of communal voters, and sent up a petition to the States-General in favour of the parliamentary franchise for women. A negative answer was received and the direct result of her action was the insertion of the word "male" in the new state constitution of 1887. The indirect result was the initiation of the Women's Suffrage movement in the Netherlands.

In 1905 the women's opportunity came in the shape of a proposed revision of the constitution. Suffragists took an active part in the elections and demanded the inclusion of women in the commission appointed to report on the proposed changes. When this request was refused they prepared a report of their own, which was printed and widely circulated and favourably received by the press.

The report of the Commission, which appeared in 1907, evaded the difficulty of the franchise by recommending that article 80, which deals with the parliamentary suffrage be left to the decision of the Cabinet. Before any action was taken, a ministerial crisis led to the resignation of the Liberal Cabinet and the postponement of the constitutional revision.

But here, as in all countries where there is a Suffrage movement, each seeming set-back only calls forth fresh enthusiasm and brings in new friends. The National Suffrage Association now numbers 11,000 members, backed by an enthusiastic and influential Men's League; while the Bond for Women's Suffrage is helping to educate and enlighten new sections of the public. Dutch women will be ready for action when the turn of the political scale revives the prospects of franchise reform.

GERMANY.

Though the cause of freedom does not advance as fast in Teutonic as in Scandinavian lands, progress is being made even here. For many years the women's movement in Germany was chiefly concerned with the improvement of educational and economic conditions. The first Suffrage Association was founded in 1902 and re-organised after the Berlin Congress of 1904. Hamburg, a free city, unhampered

by the Association Laws, was its headquarters; and a very successful congress organised at Frankfort in 1907 first aroused the interest of the press and the country at large. A vigorous campaign against these Association Laws, which in many of the states, notably Prussia and Bavaria, forbade women to organise political associations or attend public meetings, was at last crowned with success, and in 1908 a new law uniform for the whole Empire and putting men and women on an equality, came into operation. It now became possible to organise a really national Suffrage Association. Since then rapid progress has been made.

The work before German suffragists is no slight one. As yet there are but few towns where women have a municipal vote. In a few places they vote for Church councils. Everywhere they have a vote and are eligible for the boards of public insurance against illness and invalidity. In some towns they may be guardians of the poor, and they are occasionally placed on school boards. Indeed the work of women is winning more and more appreciation in Germany, and of late years the idea that every girl should be educated for some definite trade or profession is gaining ground. All these changes must sooner or later lead to the Suffrage.

Of course the movement in Germany is complicated by the division into states with varying conditions for the franchise. In Prussia in particular an antiquated indirect system prevails which confers special privileges on wealth. An agitation against this and in favour of direct and secret uniform voting is now being carried on; and Prussian Suffragists are claiming that women too should find a place in a reformed system. At the same time they are working for an extension of the municipal suffrage, while always keeping before their eyes, as the ultimate goal, the vote for the Reichstag. During the recent elections some of the suffrage societies took an active part, supporting those candidates who expressed themselves in favour of the women's vote.

AUSTRIA.

Austria presents a special problem of its own, for many of its numerous diets are engaged in "reforming" themselves, a process attended by depriving women of such

privileges as they had formerly possessed. The Imperial Parliament completed this process five years ago, when a so-called universal franchise was substituted for the vote of the four classes. The first class, which consisted of the great proprietors, included some women, who lost their right of vote in 1906. Protest on the part of women was of little use, for here too the Association Laws, even now unrepealed, made any serious agitation impossible.

The reform of the Imperial Parliament was followed by that of the separate diets, a process that is still going on. In Lower Austria women who had had the right of voting for over thirty years were disfranchised. In Bohemia they not only had the right to vote but even to be elected. In order to protest against the loss of these rights several women have during the last few years come forward as candidates and obtained a very fair proportion of votes. The new election law is still pending here, and suffragists are rightly anxious to procure the election of at least one woman to the Diet before the final decision. Bohemian Suffragists have friends in all parties except the Conservative, which is very weak. We may hope therefore that at any rate they may not lose their old established rights. In Galicia too "reform" is pending, and the women suffragists are earnestly pleading for real universal suffrage. A Galician Committee has recently been affiliated to the International Women's Suffrage Alliance.

An interesting contrast is afforded by the action of the little province of Vorarlberg, which has granted the right of vote to unmarried women tax-payers, and of Bosnia and Herzegovina where women have obtained the right to vote by proxy.

HUNGARY.

If the suffrage movement in Hungary is a new one, it makes up for its youth by its extraordinary vigour, for Hungarian women have thrown themselves into the cause with an ardour and enthusiasm which must almost carry the fortress by the force of its onset. Yet here too the difficulties are increased by the impending democratisation of the male franchise. Indeed one bill introduced by a Radical government explicitly proposed the disfranchisement of women. Fortunately it

did not pass, and Hungarian women are using every effort to procure inclusion in any future bill. Their endeavours to educate the country are meeting with success. The press is growing more favourable, a Men's League has been started, the country is beginning to realise the meaning of the demand, and the International Congress which is to meet at Buda-Pest in 1913 should give a great impetus to the cause, since Hungarians, unlike our own countrymen, attach special importance to the views of other nations. If the electoral law is postponed till after the Congress the success of Hungarian women should not be far off.

ITALY.

In Italy there is a strong and growing demand for women's suffrage. The question has been discussed in Parliament, and attention was called to it a few years ago by the claim made by several hundred women to a place on the register. Their claim was upheld by the local courts, but reversed by a superior commission. Suffrage societies are now being formed in all the chief towns, and throughout Italy there is a growing opinion in favour of giving women the municipal franchise. At the same time the suffrage societies are protesting against a proposal to introduce manhood suffrage into Italy with the exclusion of women.

OTHER COUNTRIES.

SWITZERLAND has a Women's Suffrage Association which is increasing in numbers and influence. But its work is hindered in a sense by the very completeness of the liberties enjoyed by men. They see no reason to disturb the franchise, and on this ground the women may have to wait the longer.

BELGIUM too has a National Suffrage Association, which reports that the question of Women's votes is at last meeting with serious consideration. But the movement here is complicated by the opposing forces of Clericalism and Socialism.

In SPAIN the question has been seriously discussed; in PORTUGAL the political changes have called into being the "Republican League of Portuguese Women," the first

political association of women in the country. When the new electoral law declared all citizens over twenty-one electors, one woman, Dr. Beatriz Angelo, took them at their word and claimed to be placed on the register. The Tribunal which tried the case conceded her right, and she actually registered her vote in May, 1911. Though this was not allowed to serve as a precedent, it gave a stimulus to the Suffrage movement, and Portuguese women have good hopes of a victory at a not too distant date.

In BULGARIA and SERBIA too there is an active movement. In Bulgaria a league of men and women has been formed to promote women's suffrage; in Serbia the question is as old as the constitution, indeed a proposal in favour actually passed the State Senate in 1902, though subsequent political events prevented its being carried into effect.

In RUSSIA and POLAND men and women may be said to have equality of wrongs, yet in both there is an active women's movement, and in 1907 Russian women received a small instalment of suffrage, since married women, with the necessary property qualification, were allowed to exercise a proxy vote through their husbands and sons.

THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Of the self-governing colonies, Australia and New Zealand already give votes to women; in Canada and South Africa they are still demanding them.

CANADA, where for some years much indifference prevailed, has of late been completely roused and during the last two years the advance has been very encouraging. The press has grown friendly, interest throughout the country is increasing, and new suffrage societies are being organised in every province. In SOUTH AFRICA the question of women's suffrage will have to be considered when the Union Parliament fixes the franchise qualifications for the whole Union. It rests with this Parliament to give it if it pleases. It rests with South African women to show that they desire it. When the mass of women, British and Boer alike, show that they demand it in earnest, the cause will be won. And the recent growth of interest in the question encourages the belief that this date may not be very far distant.

THE ACHIEVEMENT.

NORWAY.

How the Vote was won in Norway is a record honourable to both men and women. In 1905, the year of the separation from Sweden, a census of the whole male population was taken on the question. As the women, though no less patriotic, were excluded from the enquiry, they resolved to take their own referendum. The Suffrage Association collected the signatures of 300,000 women, practically all of full age in the country, expressing adhesion to the resolution of separation. These were presented to the Storting with an address. When the President reported the matter officially all members rose in their places as a mark of respect for the women. They accepted them as citizens and carried the matter to its logical conclusion. In 1907 a bill was passed conferring the franchise on all women, married or single, who paid taxes on an income of 400 kroner (about £22) in towns, or 300 kr. (about £16) in the country, thus finding a way out of the difficulties which attend adult suffrage in countries where the women are more numerous than the men. It is important to notice that the right is conferred on the married women personally and not as the wives of their husbands.

Even before Norwegian women had an opportunity of voting they received an instalment of justice, for the pay of men and women in the postal service was equalised. The change in the position of women due to their citizenship was thus shown at once. In 1911 the limited municipal franchise of women was changed to full womanhood franchise. A bill has just been passed throwing open to women all state offices except those in the Government itself, the Diplomatic and Consular Service, the Army and Navy, and the State Church.

FINLAND.

Finland was the first European country to enfranchise its women, and for a brief while it seemed as though we might point to it as the pioneer land of freedom. Unfortunately this state of things was not to last. The equality remained, but it was an equality of unfreedom, for the gradual Russification of Finland is making her diet the mere sport of Russia, and till this sad state of things is changed Finnish women will have little opportunity of showing what they can do for their country.

Yet even with the constant dissolutions of the diet and the frequent elections, something has been achieved by women as voters and Members of Parliament. Measures for the protection of women and children, the reform of the marriage laws and the protection of the wife's property have been introduced and some of them passed. Enough has been done to show how much more may be done when the happy day of freedom dawns once more for Finland.

THE AMERICAN SUFFRAGE STATES.

If Europe has as yet little of achievement to show, the land in the West is bright and growing ever brighter. There are now six Suffrage states and their number will soon be increased.

What is the effect of the women's vote in these enfranchised states? From the first four eloquent testimony has already reached us. In Wyoming the assembly that gave women the franchise, without even awaiting their vote, passed an act giving married women absolute right over their own property and one giving men and women teachers equal pay for equal work. In 1892 the House of Representatives passed a resolution unanimously declaring that the exercise of the suffrage by women had done nothing but good and as the result of experience urging "every civilised community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay." Of Colorado, Judge Lindsey, the great reformer and founder of the Juvenile Courts, says: "Woman Suffrage in Colorado for over ten years has more than demonstrated its justice. No one

would dare to propose its repeal; and if left to the men of the state, any proposition to revoke the right bestowed upon women would be overwhelmingly defeated. Many good laws have been obtained in Colorado, which would not have been secured but for the power and influence of women." The testimony of Utah and Idaho is no less eloquent and it is worth noting that in both the pay of men and women in the Civil Service and the teaching profession is made equal.

Interesting as is the testimony to Women's suffrage in these four states, even greater importance attaches to the two latest additions. Washington and California enfranchised their women at a time when the full blaze of publicity was turned on the suffrage movement throughout the world. Any little mistake or disadvantage would be eagerly seized upon by the enemy. Yet with scarcely an exception the testimony is all in favour. Here, as elsewhere, the prediction that women would not take the trouble to vote was abundantly falsified. In both states women registered at the earliest opportunity and in large numbers. In the United States the axiom holds good that the greater contains the less, and the grant of State suffrage carries with it the right to vote at municipal, school board and all other elections. Hence it was not long before the women of the two states were called upon to discharge many of their duties. In Seattle, the chief city of Washington, 23,000 out of 25,000 women on the register went to the poll on the famous occasion when they initiated and carried through the "recall" of a corrupt and vicious mayor, an event almost without parallel in the history of the United States. It was the counterpart to the re-election of Judge Lindsey by the women of Denver, Colorado, when the forces of reaction would have driven him from office. In California the same eagerness to register and vote was apparent and so far the women's vote has been cast everywhere in the cause of pure government, clean cities and the abolition of vice.

In U.S.A. as in England the voter is liable to jury service, and this objection sometimes raised against the enfranchisement of women has proved to be another argument in favour. In both Washington and California the men were very ready to set the women to work, and the result has already brought some fresh converts to the cause. In California an "all

woman" jury was empanelled, but in Washington they serve with men, thus providing the advantage of the different point of view. Probably the citizens of both states will presently wonder how it was possible for so long to continue the one-sided system.

Suffrage also includes the right to vote for President, and at the next election at least half a million women will be able to exercise this right. Henceforth these will vote for the assemblies that make the laws as well as for those which execute them and also for the Head of the whole Republic. Unless all signs mislead, these votes will be cast on behalf of electoral purity, good government, cleanliness in the city and the home, justice to women and children and so to the whole community.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

Of the struggle for the vote in Australia and New Zealand little need be said. It is forgotten in the completeness of the victory and the success of the achievement. New Zealand women won the vote in 1893; in 1894 the cause was led to victory in South Australia by Sir John Cockburn, that faithful friend who, as President of the International Men's League for Women's Suffrage, is still fighting the battles of the Suffrage cause and leading its banners to victory. Western Australia followed in 1899; and the lead thus given was followed by the Federal Parliament, constituted in 1900. New South Wales followed in 1902, Tasmania in 1904, Queensland in 1905; though Victorian women, who for various reasons had special difficulties to overcome, were not enfranchised till 1908.

For all Australian Parliaments women vote on equal terms with men. In the Federal Parliament, South Australia and Queensland they are eligible for both Houses, in West Australia and Tasmania for the Lower only, and in New South Wales for neither. The position in Victoria appears still uncertain. The fact however remains that though women vote on equal terms with men, no woman has yet been elected to any parliament, and very few have stood for election.

With this complete equality Australia and New Zealand offer the most favourable ground for studying the effects of Women's Suffrage. As to the much discussed question of which party would be the gainer, it is interesting to note that there is but little change. "To add a million women to the parliamentary register is the same as to add a million men," says Miss Goldstein. "Each party gets its share. The proportion remains the same, but the quality of the vote changes. Women bring into the organised parties the same qualities that they manifest in the home, and the party programmes henceforth include political questions that are of special interest to women." . . . "The political reforms for which Women Suffragists ask, such as equal marriage and divorce laws, equal custody and guardianship of children, equal pay for equal work, raising the age of consent, are not party questions. The majority of men in all parties believe in these reforms, and the non-party women endeavour to obtain their practical support in putting them on the statute book." As for the women themselves they find that M.P.s will make time to attend to the claims of women voters, though the voteless woman in the past often invoked their sympathy in vain. For now "their guns are loaded."

All the social reform legislation in which Australia has taken the lead in recent years has been vigorously supported by the women voters. The most important reforms are:— On the Federal domain, equal pay for equal work in Government departments, equalising the naturalisation laws for men and women, a Federal marriage and divorce bill.

In the separate states:—wages boards, children's courts, old age pensions, protection for wage-earning children, married women's property acts, help for the illegitimate mother, and reforms in the drink trade.

The most striking result of Women's Suffrage in Australia is the conversion, through its effects of its bitterest opponents. Former friends and foes alike regard it with favour; and the final blessing was pronounced by the Commonwealth Senate in November, 1910, when the beneficial results due to the extension of the Suffrage to women were enumerated. In the words of the resolution unanimously adopted: "It has led to the most orderly conduct of elections, and at the last

Federal elections the women's vote in a majority of the states showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of defence and Imperial concerns they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women."

Surely the day should not be too far distant when the parliaments of the world endorse this resolution.

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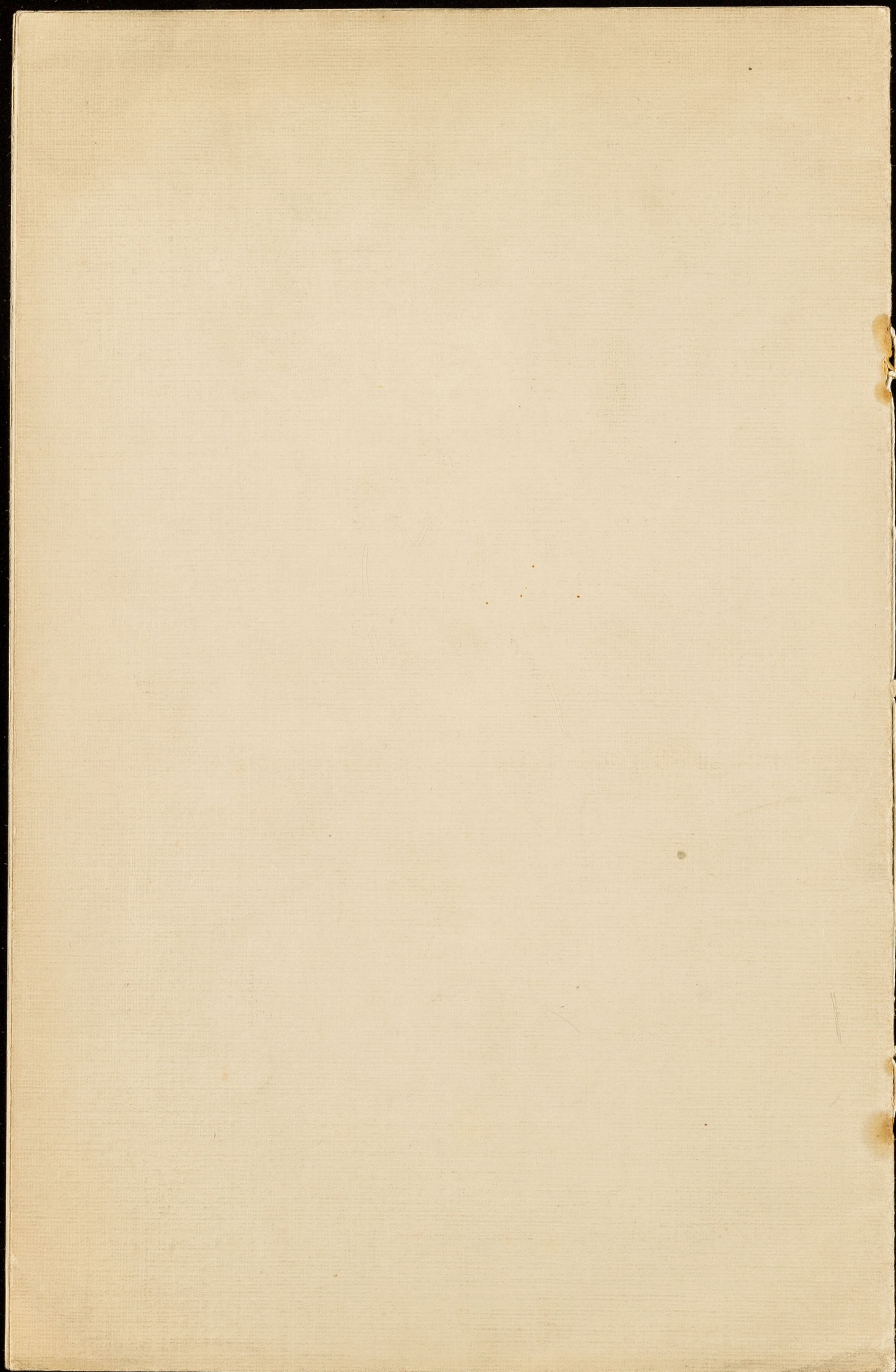
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To the Liberator's Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,
14 Great Smith Street, London, E.C.4.

Table with columns for Title, Price, and other details. The text is mirrored and difficult to read.

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LAW-ABIDING. NON-PARTY.

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An Ounce of Fact is worth a Pound of Theory.

Australian Senate

— ON —

Women's Suffrage

You British men and women hear from the Anti-Suffragists many prophecies of the terrible calamities that will happen if women get the vote, but what is the *experience* of that Britain under the Southern Cross where women have been enfranchised for the last 18 years? In 1893 women first voted in New Zealand; since then they have gradually won the suffrage in every Australian State and for the Commonwealth Parliament. Do we find any signs that it has "wrought such havoc in the home and family" as to make them "thankfully abandon their experiment," as the Anti-Suffragists predicted? On the contrary! They put themselves about to *urge* it on us. *The Australian Senate itself has twice sent resolutions recommending the Enfranchisement of Women to the Home Parliament.*

One of these resolutions was sent on December 4th, 1909, and the other on November 17th, 1910. Below is a text of the resolutions passed last November, the first by a

unanimous vote, the second by a majority of 11 to 4, and **cabled to Mr. Asquith** :—

(1) That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the Women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliament has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and at the last Federal election the women's vote in a majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given **a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children**, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. **In matters of defence and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as farseeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good**, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

(2) That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be cabled to the British Prime Minister.

Is not the advice of the Australian Parliament worthy to be followed in ours? **Australian Men trust their Mothers and Sisters and Wives**; why should not Englishmen do the same?

What light do **FACTS** throw on the working of Women's Suffrage in Australia and New Zealand?

(1) **Imperial Affairs have not suffered :**

New Zealand was the first Colony to offer a Dreadnought for Imperial defence. Australia and New Zealand generously helped the Mother Country in the South African War.

(2) **The whole Community has benefited :**

(i.) **The Temperance Cause has gained :** e.g., in New Zealand by the institution of Local Option.

(ii.) **The Cause of Purity has gained :** Lady Stout says :—“It is now recognised . . . that no man has a chance of election unless his character as a husband and father will bear investigation.”

One of the first Acts passed in most of the States of Australia and New Zealand after the enfranchisement of women was to protect girls under 16 or 18 years of age instead of under 14. The legal standard of morality and conditions of divorce have been made equal for both sexes.

Acts were passed for the Suppression of Indecent Advertisement, &c.

(3) The titles of a few Acts the women's vote has helped to pass, will show that **Women and Children benefit by Women's Suffrage**; and by the spirit of equality of which the enfranchisement of women is an earnest.

NEW ZEALAND.

JUDICIAL SEPARATION ACT (by which legal separation from worthless husbands can be obtained summarily and without expense).

TESTATOR'S FAMILY MAINTENANCE ACT (which prevents a man from willing away his property without making suitable provision for his wife and children).

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION ACT.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT.

AFFILIATION ACT.

LEGITIMATION OF CHILDREN.

EARLY CLOSING.

FACTORY ACTS AMENDMENTS. (Sweating).

STATE CHILDREN'S AMENDMENT.

And a host of other bills dealing with children.

The Infant Mortality in New Zealand is the lowest in the world (77 per 1,000 in 1906).

There is at last serious consideration of Equal Pay for Equal Work.

It has been said that *women will not use the Vote if they get it*. Australasian experience shows this to be NOT TRUE. Here are the figures of the New Zealand elections :—

YEAR.	PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORS VOTING.	
	MALES.	FEMALES.
1893	69·61	85·18
1896	75·90	76·44
1899	79·06	75·70
1902	78·44	74·52
1905	84·07	82·22
1908	81·11	78·26

These figures point to *a deepening of the sense of National Responsibility amongst men, and that it is already deep amongst women.*

Women of Britain, are you content that the women of Australia should care more effectively for their country and their unfortunate sisters and their children than you ?

Men of Britain, will you allow the men of Australia to be more just than you ?

If not, demand the Suffrage for Women.

Honorary President
Belva A. Lockwood. LL. D.

Advisory Council

Mrs. Miles Poindexter, Washington.
Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, Oregon.
Mrs. Alice Park, California.
Mrs. Philenda Spencer, California.
Mrs. Burton French, Idaho.
Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, Wyoming.
Mrs. Mary Smith Hayward, Nebraska.
Mrs. Sarah Clay Bennett, Kentucky.
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H. Parker Willis, New York.
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Mrs. F. Carl Smith.
Mrs. W. D. Bigelow.
Mrs. Jennie L. Monroe.
Mrs. Charlette Emerson Main.
Wm. C. Lee.

Federal Suffrage Association

President, Rev. Olympia Brown, Racine, Wisconsin.
Corresponding Secretary, Clara Bewick Colby, Ph. B., Portland, Oregon.
Office Address, 522 6th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Charles Morton, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. B. H. Ransom, Washington, D. C.
Recording Secretaries, Martha Mitchell Hoyt, Washington, D. C.
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HEADQUARTERS: 522 6TH STREET N. W.

PHONE, MAIN 5426

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Honorary Vice-Presidents
[REPRESENTING THE FREE STATES]

Wyoming: Senator Clarence D. Clark.
Hon. Frank W. Mondell.
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Utah: Hon. Jacob Johnson.
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Kansas: Senator W. H. Thompson.
Hon. P. P. Campbell.
Arizona: Senator H. F. Ashurst.
Hon. Carl Hayden.
Alaska: Hon. James Wickersham.
Illinois: Hon. W. H. Himebaugh.

Washington, D. C.,

1914

DEAR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS:

The Federal Suffrage Association was formed in 1902, as the Federal Woman's Equality Association to continue the effort to obtain Federal Suffrage for women, which had been initiated by Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and others, ten years before. By change of name, March 25, 1914, it related itself to the former work of the Federal Suffrage Association of the United States.

BILLS IN CONGRESS.

As chairman of the Federal Suffrage Committee of the National Suffrage Association, Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby secured the introduction of bills to enable women to vote for members of the House of Representatives in 1892 and 1894, and hearings were given upon these bills.

Since 1902 this Association has had bills in each Congress. In 1904 hearings were given by the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, and by the House Committee on Election of President, Vice-President and Members of the House of Representatives. The latter gave a hearing on our bill in January, 1913. A sub-committee was ordered to prepare a report on it, but this failed through adjournment of Congress.

In this Congress the bill introduced by Hon. Burton L. French and Senator Shafroth includes the vote, for United States Senators. The House Committee gave a hearing on this March 24, 1914. Ten members of the Committee were present, and a favorable report is expected.

NATIONAL AMENDMENT WORK.

We have not, so far, in this Congress asked for a Senate hearing on the Federal Suffrage bill, as we wished to focus our efforts on the passage of Joint Resolution No. 1: Senator Chamberlain and Hon. Frank W. Mondell, at the request of our Association introduced this bill with such management that it became No. 1 in both Senate and House. On this measure the Federal Suffrage Association had a hearing before the Senate Committee April 21, 1913, and before the House Judiciary Committee, March 3, 1914.

During the past year several rallies have been held in the interest of Joint Resolution No. 1 including a Lawn Fete with all-day speaking to celebrate the favorable report of the Senate Committee.

A Committee of our Association secured at the Gettysburg Anniversary several thousand names to petitions for the passage of Joint Resolution No. 1, which, with many others, secured elsewhere, were presented to the Senate on February 6, 1914, by Senator George E. Chamberlain who had them given to 84 Senators according to the States from which they had come. This presentation and the Memorial from the Committee, Mrs. C. W. MacNaughton and Mrs. Anna Harmon, were printed in the *Record*.

STATE CAMPAIGNS.

This Association aided its Corresponding Secretary to speak in the campaigns of 1912 in Oregon, Kansas, and Wisconsin, and bore the full expense of one month's work in Michigan in 1913. It is now raising a fund to aid the five State campaigns now pending. Since it is expected there will be eight in all, the situation calls for every effort that can possibly contribute to success. Contributions for this fund are earnestly solicited.

ANNUAL MEETING.

A special session was held in the interest of the State campaigns March 23; March 24, the hearing and an evening reception to Rev. Olympia Brown; March 25, Members' meeting, officers were elected and Constitution adopted as here given.

A PERSONAL APPEAL.

With this showing of work accomplished we ask memberships, contributions and co-operation in this distinctive line of suffrage agitation. Our statement in the Constitution of the Association has good argument to back it. If told the courts have decided against us, you must be able to explain that the celebrated cases of women voting and the arguments and decisions in those cases were all based on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which do not concern our claim. Members will be supplied with hearings and other explanatory matter. Send memorials of organizations and meetings asking the Committee to make a favorable report on House Roll 9393.

While we must work along all lines until full Suffrage is secured for all women, this claim based on the Constitution adds dignity to our movement and lays upon men the responsibility not to *give* but to *secure* to women their inheritance of liberty according to the foundation principles of our Government.

CLARA BEWICK COLBY, *Corresponding Secretary*.

CONSTITUTION OF FEDERAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Women as citizens have the right to vote under the Constitution of the United States as originally adopted.

Congress has the power by direct Act to protect this right and bring it into activity as far as it relates to members of Congress.

This Association is named THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Its objects are: To obtain such forms of suffrage as Congress can give; and to work for the general enfranchisement of women.

Membership is open to all persons. Fee, One dollar annually; sustaining membership, ten dollars annually; life membership, fifty dollars.

Elected Officers are: Honorary President, President, two Vice-Presidents, Corresponding Secretary, two Recording Secretaries, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, and two Auditors. These form a Governing Board.

Officers appointed by the Governing Board: Honorary Vice-Presidents in Congress from the free States. An Advisory Council (no name shall be used without the persons consent).

Headquarters shall be in Washington where the annual meeting shall be held during session of Congress. Other meetings may be held by order of the Governing Board.

This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any annual meeting.

UNITED STATES MISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
CHECK TEXT AGAINST DELIVERY

Press Release #1883
March 23, 1954

Statement by Mrs. Lorena B. Hahn, United States Representative
on the Commission on the Status of Women, on Political Rights of
Women.

Our study of political rights in this Commission has matured
into a series of valuable documents. I wish to speak about the first
three of the reports listed under our agenda item on political
rights, namely -

1. The Secretary-General's Memorandum, document A/2462
2. The report on Ways in Which Equal Political Rights
for Women may be Achieved and Made Effective
3. The reports on the Status of Women in Trust and in
Non-Self-Governing Territories

At a later point I may want to discuss the other documents under
this item. The last of these, on Fellowships and other Assistance
for the Training of Persons interested in improving the Status of
Women is closely related to the development of technical assistance
in this field, and it will be more rewarding, I believe, to discuss
it under the item on technical assistance.

Rapid progress since 1900

The fact that stands out in these documents is the amazing
progress which has been made. In 1900 women could vote in only
one country - New Zealand - and in four of the states of the United
States. Today women vote on equal terms with men in 60 countries.
Two countries - Mexico and Syria - have moved from the limited
suffrage to the full suffrage column since we last met. The
Secretary-General's memorandum lists only 17 independent countries
in which women are denied the vote. All this progress has come in
a brief half-century -- for many of us, within our own lifetime.
This should be a source of great encouragement to us, for it means
that the peoples of our world are ready for change and are seeking
more participation by women in public life.

This progress is even more amazing when we realize, as we
can from Table V, that 24 countries have taken action favorable to
woman suffrage since the signing of the Charter in 1945 - only nine
years ago. Many of the countries listed have been members of our
Commission -- or are members now. China, long one of our members,
took action in 1947, Costa Rica and Syria in 1949, Haiti in 1950,
Greece and Lebanon in 1952, and Mexico in 1953. The report shows
that every country which has become a member of this Commission with-
out woman suffrage has granted women the right to vote, at least in
part, before leaving our Commission. This is a proud record -- not
that we can take credit for the persistent leadership which has won

MORE

the vote for women in these areas, but because we feel that this Commission has had a part in encouraging governments to take the formal action recognizing the capacity and the wisdom of including women in their electorate.

Importance of further work

Because today women vote almost everywhere, we must guard against a feeling that we need not concern ourselves about those 17 countries where women lack political rights. The principle of equality is as important in one country as in any other, and we cannot relax until women have equal suffrage in all countries. Legislative action has been started in some of these countries.

Gains in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories

I have been especially interested in the documents on the status of women in trust and non-self-governing territories. I had not realized, for instance, the extent to which the people in these areas are exercising suffrage, and, again, how rapidly the opportunities to share in the election process is being extended. In the French Cameroons, for instance, our report shows that suffrage has been extended equally, and that in the brief space of eight years it has been possible to increase the number of persons exercising the vote from less than 16,000 to 580,000. In some of these areas we find that there is already universal and equal suffrage. It is extremely difficult to generalize about the status of women in areas which differ so vastly. In each of the reports, however, one feels that the administering authority is working to encourage women to participate in public life. It was gratifying to note that in the South Pacific Conference last year there were women in official delegations.

The next task - a climate of acceptance

All this makes it evidence that our Commission can now concentrate more on establishing a climate of acceptance for women as voters. I have heard of places where the first women to go to the polls were jeered as they passed -- not just by men, but by women also. Developing a climate of acceptance is a long-range job. It needs doing where women have voted for many years, as well as in countries where the vote is new. We are still working toward this goal in the United States. The pamphlet on Political Education of Women is designed for this purpose.

Suggestions on how to achieve the vote

The document on Suggestions on Ways in which Equal Rights for Women may be achieved and made Effective is a timely and useful collection. It is another contribution to our work from interested non-governmental organizations, and I hope the resolution we adopt on this item will include an expression of our appreciation. The examples of recent legislation in the Annex are also practical helps. This document, taken together with the Secretary-General's memorandum on political rights, and our pamphlet on Political Education of Women, gives us a unique and thoughtful store of advice which governments and organizations can use to their advantage. I would like to point up some of the methods suggested in these documents which may be particularly useful:

1. Some countries have established equal suffrage for men and women when they adopted a new constitution. New countries have often done this at the start. It is important that new constitutions should not prohibit woman suffrage.

2. Some countries have granted women suffrage in two steps: first, the right to vote in localized elections, and, later, the right to vote in national elections. The method used in Haiti seems a happy one -- the same act which granted women local suffrage set the time when they would participate in national elections.

3. A good way to start women as candidates is in local office, on school boards and as local officials.

4. Where women are voting for the first time, there should be some women among the election officials at each poll.

5. Exchange programs and fellowships can be useful in giving women who have never voted a chance to see an election in another country, and to prepare suggestions for better use of suffrage.

6. Organization experience helps women to speak in public, to discuss public issues, and to plan community activities. The administering authorities in some of the trust and non-self-governing territories encourage women's organizations. Organizations in neighboring countries can help each other.

7. Citizenship training is needed -- everywhere, not just where the vote is new. Girls and boys should both be required to study civics. The complementary functions of men and women in the family and in the life of the country should be part of the teaching.

8. Governments can aid new voters by providing free pamphlets and other study material.

You will recognize the source of these suggestions. Some have been lifted almost verbatim from our documents. These are only a sample of what is there.

Making our documents working tools

Now I want to say something about this excellent documentation on political rights. The difficulty is that too few people are aware of it, and there are not enough copies for general use. It is probably time for the memorandum on suffrage to be fully revised and brought up to date, for changes are coming so fast in this field that it is hard to find out what has happened. Perhaps this can be done next year.

I would like to suggest also that we consider ways this document might be sold or circulated as a supplement to our pamphlet on Road to Equality. There are other documents which may be equally useful. We might start our consideration by asking the Secretary-General to tell us how the two pamphlets on Road to Equality and Political Education of Women are selling, and in what languages. Any plan we make should of course be self-supporting, without additional expense to the United Nations. One possibility might be including some of our material each year as an annex to our reports, which appears as a sales document. The charts on suffrage would be adapted for such use. We will want comment on this from our non-governmental organizations. We should also find out what UNESCO is planning, both in citizenship education and in reporting on seminars and conferences where the status of women has been discussed.

Equal suffrage, a basic right

In closing, I want to quote again from this new collection of suggestions. Once women are able to vote on an equal basis with men they are in a position not only to make their full contribution as citizens, but to grow into greater freedom through their own efforts. The World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations points out that in most countries, recognition of political rights has developed as a corollary to the recognition of other rights. In working for equal suffrage, we are therefore encouraging a general advance. Equal suffrage is a symbol and a test, as well as a tool. The principle is already well established. What remains are the specifics, the practical bits of information and planning by which governments and organizations can help each other to equip women with this first and basic tool of the right to vote. We have already done useful work. But we have more to do.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
1, Sedding Street, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1

ER.113-04

November 1955

TO COUNCIL MEMBERS
FOR ACTION

CIRCULAR No.283

United Nations Convention
on Political Rights of Women

The Charter of the United Nations proclaims the "equal rights of men and women" and the Status of Women Commission of the United Nations has insisted that all States which have signed the Charter should, in virtue of their signature, grant to women equality in the fields of political rights. They drafted in 1950 a "Convention on Political Rights of Women" but not until 1952 was this accepted by the Economic and Social Council^{and} passed on to the Assembly. In December 1952 the Assembly accepted the Convention and opened it for signature and ratification by member states or accession by non-member States.

Although the originally expressed intention was to produce a Convention dealing with the political rights of women, the final result is an instrument of much wider implications requiring in fact equality of treatment of men and women in the whole field of public office and appointments. Article I covers the right to vote in elections on equal terms with men; Article II, the right to be eligible for election; Article III reads, "Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law on equal terms with men, without any discrimination". It is clear that this Article covers among other things all offices in local as well as central governments, the civil services, the judiciary and magistracy and jury service. In the discussions in the Third Committee of the Assembly several members expressed their understanding that "public office" and "public function" did not include military service, and that interpretation was not questioned.

The Draft Convention which was passed by the Third Committee to the Plenary Meeting of the Assembly, contained an Article which would enable any State ratifying the Convention to stipulate that the Convention should not apply to certain of its territories, an Article designed to cover the difficulties which for various reasons might arise in respect of States having non-metropolitan or colonial territories. This Article was passed by the Assembly with a majority of 32 in favour 18 against and 7 abstaining. The President however ruled that the subject was "a question of importance" under Rule 84 and that a two-thirds majority was therefore required for acceptance. It was consequently declared lost and deleted from the Convention. As a result none of the States having substantial colonial territories has accepted the Convention. France in signing but not ratifying the Convention has made use of Article 7 which permits a Government to submit a reservation to any Article. France has submitted the following general reservation:

"The French Government, having regard to the religious customs and traditions existing in certain territories, reserves the right to postpone the applications of this Convention in respect of women living in those territories who invoke such customs and traditions".

The view of some other Governments is that the Article on reservations can only be used to make reservations with regard to the subject matter of the Articles and not to exclude any territories from their scope. The elimination in the Assembly of the Article enabling territories to be excluded seems to confirm this view.

A Government which signs a Convention thereby gives notice of their intention and desire at some subsequent date to conform with its provisions. Ratification implies in the strictest interpretation that the laws of the State ratifying are in conformity, and that any necessary changes have already been made. Not all Governments in the past have accepted this strict interpretation and in some quarters the initiation of the necessary steps to bring the laws into conformity is regarded as justification for ratification.

Appendix I is the full text of the Convention. Appendix II is a list of all the States which have either signed or both signed and ratified the Convention. It will be seen that 40 States have signed, and that of those 20 have also ratified or acceded to the Convention. On the other hand 60 States are listed in U.N. document A 2952 as those in which women may vote in all elections on equal terms with men. This document contains much useful information on progress in political rights of women.

The Committee on the Legal and Economic Status of Women wishes to study how far this Convention has resulted in changes in the rights and status of women in political and public affairs. Will you therefore please answer the following questions:-

1. If your Government is one of those that has SIGNED and RATIFIED the Convention,
 - a) What changes in laws were necessary to enable them to do so?
 - b) Did your National Association take any action, alone or in association with other bodies, to secure that these changes were made?
 - c) Are you satisfied that all discriminations against women in the field of political rights and the right to hold public office have been removed?
11. If your Government is one that has SIGNED BUT NOT RATIFIED the Convention, or has NOT SIGNED,
 - a) What are the discriminations in your country's laws against women which might prevent your Government from ratifying the Convention?
 - b) Have any changes been made or proposed since your Government signed?
 - c) Is your National Association either alone or in co-operation with other Associations taking any action to secure the elimination of the discriminations?
 - d) Are there any other reasons than discriminations against women in laws or practise, for your Government's failure to sign or to ratify the Convention?

A reply at as early a date as possible will be appreciated as study and collation of the replies takes time, but March 1st should be regarded as the final date.

J. M. BOWIE
Covenor, Legal and Economic Committee.

CONVENTION ON THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

CONSIDERING that the peoples of the United Nations are determined to promote equality of rights of men and women, in conformity with the principles embodied in the Charter,

BELIEVING that an international convention on the political rights of women will constitute an important step towards the universal attainment of equal rights of men and women,

REAFFIRMING its resolution 56 (1) of 11 December 1946,

DECIDES to open the attached Convention for signature and ratification from the end of the present session.

CONVENTION ON THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN

The Contracting Parties

DESIRING to implement the principle of equality of rights for men and women contained in the Charter of the United Nations,

RECOGNIZING that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through freely chosen representatives, and has the right to equal access to public service in his country, and desiring to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

HAVING RESOLVED to conclude a Convention for this purpose,

HEREBY AGREE as hereinafter provided:

ARTICLE I

Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

ARTICLE II

Women shall be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

ARTICLE III

Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

ARTICLE IV

1. This Convention shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and also on behalf of any other State to which an invitation has been addressed by the General Assembly.

2. This Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE V

1. This Convention shall be open for accession to all States referred to in paragraph 1 of article IV.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE VI

1. This Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification or accession the Convention shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE VII

In the event that any State submits a reservation to any of the articles of this Convention at the time of signature, ratification or accession, the Secretary-General shall communicate the text of the reservation to all States which are or may become parties to this Convention. Any State which objects to the reservation may, within a period of ninety days from the date of the said communication (or upon the date of its becoming a party to the Convention), notify the Secretary-General that it does not accept it. In such a case, the Convention shall not enter into force as between such State and the State making the reservation.

ARTICLE VIII

1. Any State may denounce this Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

2. This Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date when the denunciation which reduces the number of parties to less than six becomes effective.

ARTICLE IX

Any dispute which may arise between any two or more contracting States concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation, shall at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless they agree to another mode of settlement.

ARTICLE X

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in paragraph 1 of article IV of this Convention of the following:-

- (a) Signatures and instruments of ratification received in accordance with article IV;

- (b) Instruments of accession received in accordance with article V;
- (c) The date upon which this Convention enters into force in accordance with article VI;
- (d) Communications and notifications received in accordance with article VII;
- (e) Notifications received in accordance with article VIII;
- (f) Notifications of denunciation received in accordance with paragraph 1 of article IX;
- (g) Abrogation in accordance with paragraph 2 of article IX.

ARTICLE XI

1. This Convention of which the Chinese, English, French Russian and Spanish texts shall be equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit a certified copy to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in paragraph 1 of article IV.

Appendix II to Circular No. 283

Countries which have signed, ratified or acceded to, the
Convention on the Political Rights of Women as of 15th August, 1955.

Country	Date of Signature	Date of deposit of instrument of ratification	Date of deposit of instrument of accession
Albania			12 May 1955
Argentina	31 March 1953		
Bolivia	9 April 1953		
Brazil	20 May 1955		
Bulgaria			17 March 1954
Burma	14 September 1954		
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	31 March 1953	11 August 1954	
Chile	31 March 1953		
China	9 June 1953	21 December 1953	
Costa Rica	31 March 1953		
Cuba	31 March 1953	8 April 1954	
Czechoslovakia	31 March 1953	6 April 1955	
Denmark	29 October 1953	7 July 1954	
Dominican Republic	31 March 1953	11 December 1953	
Ecuador	31 March 1953	23 April 1954	
El Salvador	24 June 1953		
Ethiopia	31 March 1953		
France	31 March 1953		
Greece	1 April 1953	29 December 1953	
Guatemala	31 March 1953		
Hungary	2 September 1954	20 January 1955	
Iceland	25 November 1953	30 June 1954	
India	29 April 1953		
Indonesia	31 March 1953		
Israel	14 April 1953	6 July 1954	
Japan	1 April 1955	13 July 1955	
Lebanon	24 February 1954		
Liberia	9 December 1953		
Mexico	31 March 1953		
Norway	18 September 1953		
Pakistan	18 May 1954	7 December 1954	
Paraguay	16 November 1953		
Philippines	23 September 1953		
Poland	31 March 1953	11 August 1954	
Romania	27 April 1954	6 August 1954	
Sweden	6 October 1953	31 March 1954	
Thailand	5 March 1954	30 November 1954	
Turkey	12 January 1954		
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	31 March 1953	15 November 1954	
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	31 March 1953	3 May 1954	
Uruguay	26 May 1953		
Yugoslavia	31 March 1953	23 June 1954	

POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

1935

WE think that in a civilised world men and women, having a common humanity, should enjoy the same rights.

WE hold that it is essential that women's viewpoint should be expressed in all legislation for only thereby can a balanced judgement be obtained, and the dignity and status of women be maintained and their sense of responsibility developed.

WE therefore hold that women of all countries should be entitled to vote at all municipal and parliamentary elections and be eligible for election to all Councils and to the Legislatures of their respective countries.

THE past records of those countries where women have had the vote for any considerable period have shown a definite advance in all humanitarian and welfare work.

WE believe that women have a valuable contribution to offer to the work of the world in the promotion of Peace, Stability and Good Government—this contribution cannot be given unless full suffrage in all respects is accorded to them.

WE state herewith the facts relating to the position of women as regards suffrage in self-governing countries in the hope that governments which have not so far done so, will soon grant women their full political rights :-

Women have Suffrage identical with men in the following Countries:-

South Africa (for the white population), Germany, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada (except Quebec), China, Cuba, Denmark, Dantzig, Ecuador, Spain, United States of America, Esthonia, Finland, Great Britain, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, New Zealand, Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Siam, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Uruguay.

Women have Suffrage with certain restrictions in the following:-

Belgium, Hungary, Portugal, India.

Women have the right only to Municipal Suffrage in the following :-

Chili, Peru.

Women have the right only to Municipal Suffrage with certain restrictions in

Greece, Italy, Roumania.

In the following countries women have neither the right to vote nor eligibility for election :-

Argentine, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, Guatamala, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Switzerland, Venezuela, Yugo-Slavia.

Prepared by the Liaison Committee of Women's International Organisations,

26, Eccleston Street, London, S.W.1.

STATUT POLITIQUE DES FEMMES.

Nous pensons que dans un monde civilisé les hommes et les femmes, en temps qu'être humains, devraient avoir des droits égaux.

Nous tenons à affirmer qu'il est essentiel dans toute législation que l'opinion féminine soit prise en considération afin d'obtenir un point de vue équitable qui respecte à la fois la dignité et le statut de la femme et aide à développer en elle le sens de ses responsabilités.

Nous maintenons que les femmes de tous les pays devraient avoir le droit de vote à toutes les élections municipales et parlementaires et pouvoir être élues dans tous les conseils et les assemblées législatives de leurs pays.

Dans les pays où les femmes votent depuis assez longtemps il est facile de montrer qu'un progrès notable a été accompli dans le domaine humanitaire et social.

Nous croyons que les femmes peuvent contribuer d'une façon importante à la cause de la paix et à la stabilité gouvernementale et que cette contribution ne peut être efficace si le suffrage intégral ne leur est accordée.

Nous donnons ci-après les faits concernant la position des femmes au point de vue du suffrage dans un grand nombre de pays, espérant que les gouvernements qui ne l'ont pas encore fait, accorderont bientôt aux femmes de leurs pays des droits politiques complets.

Les femmes votent dans les mêmes conditions que les hommes dans les pays suivant :-

Afrique du Sud (population blanche), Allemagne, Australie, Autriche, Brésil, Canada (Québec excepté), Chine, Cuba, Danemark, Dantzig, Equateur, Espagne, Etats Unis, Esthonie, Finlande, Grande Bretagne, Irlande, Lettonie, Lithuanie, Luxembourg, Norvège, Nouvelle Zélande, Pays Bas, Pologne, Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques, Siam, Suède, Tchecoslovaquie, Turquie, Uruguay.

Les femmes votent avec certaines restrictions

en Belgique, en Hongrie, au Portugal, aux Indes.

Les femmes ont le droit de voter aux élections municipales

au Chili et au Pérou.

Les femmes ont le droit de voter aux élections municipales avec certaines restrictions en Grèce, en Italie, en Roumanie.

Dans les pays ci-après les femmes n'ont pas le droit de voter ni d'être élue :-

Argentine, Bolivie, Bulgarie, Colombie, Costa-Rica, Egypte, France, Guatemala, Iran, Iraq, Japon, Libérie, Mexique, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Suisse, Vénézuéla, Yugo-Slavie.

Rédigé par le Comité de Liaison des Organisations Féminines Internationales,

26, Eccleston Street, Londres, S.W.1.