

CHAPTER III

THE WOMEN'S ADVOCACY TOWARD INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

A. League of Nations and Women's

After the first world war, there have been influences on social and political conditions, not only in European countries but also influence other countries, especially for women. The end of the first world war was marked by the conference formulating the international forum, there is the League of Nations. The League of Nations is the important international organization to face the changing conditions of the world during the first world war, as well as being the reducer of war through the negotiation ways. At the same time the women's movement in the world also take space in political momentum to influence the international agenda through the international organizations, which mean the intervention of women's movement in the formulation of international agenda, be able to formulate the international policies that are in line with the values that stand for women's movement. (Azizah, GENDER dan POLITIK, 2017, p. 28)

The end of world war I, make the women's organizations in Western Europe and North America struggle women's right in terms of suffrage by using the issues of peace as the point of their agenda, women's needs at that time were united with the issues of women's right, after the suppression against women in the centuries through the legal and cultural structure. In this case, make the women in various countries convinced through the democratic politics women's right can influence the public policy. (Joachim, 2007, p. 49)

The League of Nations is an international organization headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland which establishes after the world war I to resolve international problems affect the world war, in determining the international agenda in the league of nations, there are several influential actors in international agenda formulation, there are international

organization, heads of state, and Non-governmental organization (NGOs). The establishment League of Nations is the first step the entry (intervention) of women's movement in the international organization. In this case, women's movement as the non-governmental organization has the opportunity to be involved in the international agenda formulation. Through the League of Nations, access then leads women's organizations to have access and political opportunities to enter and influence the United Nations and also struggle by international institutions. (United States Department of State, 2002)

The establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 has created the new relations among country, the establishment League of Nation has begun to organize of government collaboration and inter-governmental collaboration that never exist before. The formation League of Nations become the first step in the joining of foreign policy between governments toward supra-national interest, there is about security and also peace, which is the common goal to achieve. With the aim of ending the wars and disputes through the negotiation process has become the main objective of women's groups to take part in this case, this is the reason for women's struggle after destruction of the World War I. The main reason women's movement convinced and committed to inter-governmental collaboration because women's movement sure the progress of women's movement requires policies from government and democratic opportunities to influence the policy. With the collaboration of women's movement cross-border in the terms of promoting a collective action of peace, this is a great opportunity that can achieve through inter-governmental cooperation. (Pietila, 2007, p. 4)

In 1919 was held the peace conference in Paris, in this conference, the representatives from the government not only discuss the establishment the League of Nations but also discuss the International Labor Organization (ILO). At the peace conference in Paris, there are several women representative who takes part in the discussion. In this case, the women establish women's alliance organization so that

women have delegation and the right to participate in the peace conference in Paris. The name of women alliance is "inter-allied Suffrage Conference". In the opportunity the commission convenes, the women's delegation argues that women have to access to League of Nations decision-making, and they create the proposal on women's issues that struggle by women's movement to include in the League of Nations programs. In this case, women representative propose that League of Nations establish and promote universal suffrage in the member of states, the determination of married women citizenship status, abolition of slavery and human trafficking, and also creation an international health and international education and reduction/supervision the use of weapons. (Pietila, 2007, p. 4)

At the same time, representative of women from American and British trade unions urge to establish International Labor Organization (ILO), they create the draft of proposal, the proposal accepted, but the ideas too radical. However, their struggle has successfully influence and input the redaction of justice and humanity for all female and male workers and children. After the formation League of Nations and International Labor Organization, women's representative organization massive to find the information regarding sustainability inter-governmental institutions and also contribute to submitting the proposal for government representative. The women's organization then establish the other organization to struggle the women's issues, the organization is Liaison Committee of Women's International Organization then become the Voice of Women in Geneva. This organization campaign in 1920-1930 to ensure that what is the point of their struggle accept and will hear by all elements of society including domestic and international level, the campaign is the formation League of Nations is an international institution which aims to protect human rights including minority groups. And this case made the beginning of the dialogue pattern between Inter Non-governmental Organization and Inter-governmental organization accommodate in League of Nations forums and become the

next step of women's movement participate in the United Nations forum. (Pietila, 2007, p. 3)

In 1930, League of Nations organizes the International for the Codification of International Law in Hague, in this conference the women's movement focus on the issues of equality and citizenship status for women. These issues struggle by women's movement because of the bad impact of human especially women after World War I, where the effect of World War I has resulted in the loss of women's citizenship status because lots of women married with soldiers from other countries and have to follow the husband citizenship status. (Joachim, 2007, p. 42)

The organization that also voice and struggle the issue of citizenship status of women is the International Alliance of Women (IAW), International Alliance of Women submitted a proposal regarding the issue of women status, the proposal disagree because it was too radical to apply in European countries, the rejected the proposal of women status struggle by International Alliance of Women not the final step of women's struggle to fight women's right in international forum, in 1930s, with the help from other state delegation, the concept of gender equality and citizenship status become an opportunity to re-discuss in the other conference. This propose by the Cuba delegation, Orate Ferrar, and the delegation from Peru and Venezuela urge a repeat conference, and the conference will be held in Pan American conference. (Joachim, 2007, p. 59)

Pan America is an organization formed in 1890 to advance Latin American and United State countries, with the support from Latin American Women, the International Conference of American State was held in 1928 as the instrument the establishment of Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW). Inter-American Commission of Women is the first international corporation to raise the issues regarding the status of women. Inter-American Commission of Women adopted the Montevideo convention on married women's citizenship status in 1933. In 1935 League of Nations

approved the convention and urge all members states to adoption (Joachim, 2007, p. 59).

In 1938, the Inter-American Commission of Women also prepared the declaration of "five in Favor of Women's Right". Un this declaration Inter-American Commission of Women urge the member states to establish a women's bureau to revise the law that discriminates society, especially women, and also women's can take a part in (initiative) in discussing the issues in League of Nations as the real struggle of women's movement. The long process of women's movement struggle the formation League of Nations, and determining the response of issues to women as the process of women's movement influence international politics, the most concrete struggle of women's movement is establish legal status of women commission by League of Nations that later become Commission on The Status of Women in United Nations period. (Joachim, 2007, p. 59)

In the relation between women's movement organization and League of Nations, according to Carol Miller in Hilikka Pietila, there are two achievements of gender issues. First, women's organizations have succeeded in creating a model of cooperation and interaction between NGOs and IGOs, which were initially only heads of state (president), foreign ministers, and diplomats who can be involved in the discussion of international agenda. In this case women's organizations have succeeded in urging for the right and access of women in international conference, and women get right to voice and give their opinions in international forums through communication with other delegations, or in another term as the lobbying process that becomes the first experience of women's movement in League of Nations conferences. (Pietila, 2007, p. 6)

Second, Carol Muler also argue, through the convincing action and the readiness of proposal, women's organizations can influence and develop the women's issue becomes the issue that can influence international agenda. The issues must be the international issues not only the domestic issues, as the principle that has been struggle by women's

movement before, the lobbying process of women's movement as a delegation of women's organization and support of other delegations from other countries successfully influence international agenda and open political opportunities to spread the goals of peace, human right, and gender equality around the world. (Pietila, 2007, p. 7)

B. The Establishment of United Nations and Women's Movement

The beginning the World War II is the end of the existence League of Nations, however, the emerging League of Nations during World War I has to show the concept of collaboration between institutions has become a form of international organization that perfectly to create the peace condition. The experience in the 1920s and 1930s has important momentum for women's organizations, which is the experience and expertise in the international forum and gets new networks, not only women's networks in government delegations or representatives of women's organizations but also build networks between women around the world and have important positions in League of Nations to promote common interest. (Pietila, 2007, p. 9)

The failure League of Nation in stopping the second world war because there are lots of involvement European and Asia Pacific counties violate the main international goals and involve in warfare, responsible for this problem, League of Nations initiated to establish a new international organization, the new international organization is United Nations, and Franklin D. Roosevelt as the first people to introduce United Nations term. (United Nation, 1942)

When the United Nations began to be initiated to reduce the occurrence of war, the experience of women that have to participate in League of Nations very important to contribute to the established United Nations. Therefore in the establishment United Nations in San Francisco conference lots of women involved as conference delegates. There is four representative from Latin American, namely Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic. Two of them made as

advisors, meanwhile, the United States sent four women as delegates, and three of US delegates become advisors, and also two delegations from Britain. (Pietila, 2007, p. 9)

With the experience of the lobbying process and the networks that have built by women's organization in League of Nations conference before, women massively lobbying in San Francisco conference, During the discussing of the formation UN Charter, women also urge the strengthening of basic right and the honor of individual dignity, and most important they urge the equal right between men and women to be included in United Nations establishment agreement.

But what the women's movement struggling is not integrated with the San Francisco conference decision, so need a long struggle for women's movement. In fact, there are four different articles in the treatment. Namely the validating of basic right and freedoms for human, but there is not diversification about racial, sex and religious. Responding this case, Jessie Street, as a delegation from Australia who has great and support from women's organizations networks, Jessie Street had a big influence on the San Francisco conference, she urged the United Nations to include the article from League of Nations relating the position in the United Nations, there is the equality between men and women (Pietila, 2007, p. 10). this is formulated as article 8:

“The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.”

The submission of article 8 by women has including in the final text of the UN charter. Although many parties are opposed, just in the few years provide evidence that the agreement with this article has encouraged the participation of women in the United Nations position. (Pietila, 2007, p. 11)

In 1946, the issue of women's right which is the issue that has struggle in League of Nations period become the interesting issue to discuss as the major issue on the

international agenda, which is this issue is the first issue discuss after the second world war. The female delegation that prepare the document, this document is "An Open Letter to the Women of the World". This document introduces the United Nations to all women around the world that the United Nations is the second attempt by the world community to live peacefully in a democratic community. And call on women to take important opportunities and responsibilities in promoting the goals of the United Nations in their countries. (Pietila, 2007, p. 11)

Through the collaboration of women's networks, the document spread around the world, with the initiate by French delegation and support by Mrs. Roosevelt as a United State delegation, she urged the US government to implement and also promote to all women in the world to take part in creating world peace, she argue that "United Nations can if we have to it as many works as we have given in the past to winning the war be an instrument to win the peace". This document then becomes the first female voice articulation in the United Nations and it is the description of women role in influence cooperation and international politics. (Pietila, 2007, p. 12)

In the UN Charter, there are three crucial elements that are important for women that are nothing in the League of Nations before, there are:

First, in political duties, the United Nations give the mandate to encourage the progress of the social economic development, the important organs are Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nation Development Program (UNDP), Food and Agricultural Organization (FO), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and World Health Organization (WHO)

Second, the attention to the human right, the United Nations encourage universal respect and human right, and also the fundamental freedom for all without exception racial, sex, language and differentiation of religion.

Third, the legitimacy of collaborative relations between NGOs and the United Nations. In article 71, this agreement provides a framework that NGOs can obtain consultant status with ECOSOC, and all of the women's organizations have active collaboration. (Pietila, 2007, p. 13)

In United Nations structure there is also a Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), which is same as the structure League of Nation before, firstly the position of Commission on the Status of Women is under commission ECOSOC, and after the struggle by women in 1947, CSW finally become independent commission, that leads by Bodi Begtrup and Jassie Strees as the deputy chairman of the commission. (Pietila, 2007, p. 13)

In 1946-1963s Commission on the Status of Women focused on mapping the legal status of women as citizens. Although CSW has just a few staff, however, the organization has a very significant role in preparing recommendations and report to ECOSOC. Its main purpose is to promote and encourage the women's right in politics, economics, education, and citizens. Beside making recommendations on certain issues in the international community, especially women, the Commission on the Status of Women had been successful to cooperate with 12 international women's organization in 1947. The organizations which were involved in the League of Nations conferences, are also organizations those had active role in the formation of the United Nations, CSW has a mission to cooperate with organizations, includes non-women's movement organizations, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), it is the strategy of CSW to build networks as partner to campaign issues, and the issue become UN recommendations, and to achieve this mission needs the collaboration between NGOs and Government and also United Nations. (Pietila, 2007, p. 15)

The long struggle of Commission on the Status of Women is to improve the quality of human right, especially to promote women's right. There are several focus commission on the Status of Women studies to improve the quality of human right, that is including the study of the political right,

the right of law for women, women's access to education and work. This four aspect is become the concern CSW and UNESCO and also ILO in international conventions.

On the perspective of women, all of the conventions and the struggling women's movement to achieve women's right, there is the important convention that has achieved the target of women's movement, it is the convention in UN decade that result in the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) or in another term "Convention on Right of Women". This convention initiated by CSW in 1963, then continue with several occasions where the general assembly believes the human right in realization not fair between women and men. In 1963, CSW prepares a declaration and then offer a recommendation. In 1967 the declaration ejects and was adopted. The convention began in 1973, The result the adoption draft by the General Assembly, and become the international law for the country that modified the declaration. Nevertheless, the struggle of women's movement needs three years to make sure the member states agree on the draft as a basic principle. In 2006, 184 countries participate to apply CEDAW. This is the most human right convention on United Nations that implement by the countries around the world, although in the reality not all aspect of CEDAW can be able to implement by same countries but it is the concrete example of the women's movement struggle to deliver the gender equality norm as the indicators that considered by the international community.

C. United Nations Decade and Women's Role

After having the important role in the United Nations formulation forum, and the experience of women's struggle in League of Nations forum, women's organizations continue to influence the international agenda. In 1970 women movement struggle to influence international agenda, the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) led by Kuusinen from Finland, representing the organization as one of the CSW observers, Kuusinen proclaim the proposal to commission

about the "International Women's Year". This proposal initiated by Kuusinen and the member of the Women International Democratic Federation, which is to bring the women's need and the women's views toward the United Nations system. The proposal can be rejected by UN because the support by another observer, Women International Democratic Federation get support from Romanian NGOs because the relation of Romanian NGOs and the government is close so that the proposal brought by WIDF support by Romanian NGOs and Romanian government to commission. Finally, with help from Romanian government and NGOs, the proposal rejected by the commission and the commission bring the proposal to the general assembly, and the general assembly proclaims in 1975 as "International Women Year" which adopted by the general assembly in December 1972. (Pietila, 2007, p. 39)

Women's International Democratic Federation is the feminist group that struggle for the women's right. Women's International Democratic Federation established in 1945 and acknowledge pro with communist organization. Women's International Democratic Federation firstly based in Paris, but in 1945 this organization banned from the Paris government because Women's International Democratic Federation is the biggest women's organization and very influential organization in Cold War era. After banned from Paris, Women's International Democratic Federation relocated to Berlin and gets the support from communist regime in East German. Women's International Democratic Federation also has support Gerwani, as the women's movement delegate from Indonesia as the women's movement struggle for women's right. (Wieringa, 2010, p. 251)

The main concerns of Women's International Democratic Federation are anti-fascism, world peace, child welfare and women's right. The activities of Women's International Democratic Federation in publishing the monthly magazine of Women of the Whole World in several languages has spread the women's issue around the world, and the main concerns of Women's International Democratic Federation and also the strategy to spread the ideology and women's issues as

the main struggle of WIDF has effectively unite the different women's movement groups around the world. By the support of women's movement from several countries has successful emerge the International Women's Years as the engine for change. (Lanza, 2013, pp. 62-65)

Women struggle finally get the best result, through the idea of International Women's Year can be open the opportunities for women's movement, adopted International Women's Year by general assembly emerge the UN decade for women, wherein a decade, women's organization and United Nations focus on the women issues, and the issue will discuss in several women conference in 1976-1985, which was held in different place, there are:

1. Mexico Conference

The Mexico conference becomes the first conference International Women Years in 1975, this conference is the first world conference to discuss specifically on women issues and the world issues but analysis by women perspective. 73% of the participants in this conference are women, and the conference attended by 133 female leader delegates. The agenda in Mexico conference discuss three major issues that become the big issues discussed in UN decade there are equality, development, and peace (Pietila, 2007, p. 42)

The impact of UN decade for women is the improve condition of women in the world, where the condition of women batters than before. For a decade the UN focus collects the information, fact and all issues related to women from different countries to solve the problem of women around the world.

At the first conference in Mexico, there is the result that becomes the foundation of women struggle in another conference, that is formulated "world Plan for Action", there is three aspect that focuses to achieve by United Nations and women's movement, first. the fulfillment of gender equality and elimination of discrimination against women, second. The integration and participation of women in development. And

third. The improvement contribution of women in strengthening world peace.

2. Copenhagen Conference

After the first conference in Mexico, the second conference of women held in Copenhagen in 1980, the conference attended by 7000 delegates. 145 members of the state gather in this conference to evaluate the development of the implementation result of the previous conference. Not only to evaluate the conference of women in Copenhagen also discuss about the gap of women's right that guarantee by the law and the ability of women to use their right that guarantee by the law, to overcome this case, the conference in Copenhagen identified three aspect to concern, (United Nations, 2005) there are:

- 1) Equal access to education
- 2) Equal access to employment opportunity
- 3) Equal access to adequate health care service

The action program produces by the Copenhagen conference determine several actions that have to apply to countries. There are guarantee the ownership and control right of women on property especially land and house, strengthening the women right to inheritance, care, and citizenship, and the last encourage the changing of prejudices (habits) of attitudes of women and men.

3. Nairobi Conference

The Nairobi conference attend 1600 participants, since the women conference the NGOs began to organize UN conference, as well as the women participants very enthusiast in discussing and giving her idea toward the conference as the experience of women did lobbying in other conference before, the outcome of the third women conference is the adoption of Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (NFLS) toward the advancement of women, which is the achievement gender equality in national level and encourage women's participation in development and peace. In this case, there are new approaches to overcome the obstacles faced by women, the

NFLS strategy is a renewal of the blueprint for women in the future. (United Nations, 2005)

In the NFLS strategy make all of the issues that discussion is related to women issues, NFLS recognize women as "intellectuals, policy-makers, decision-makers, planners and contributor, and beneficiaries of development" which have place women as the important role as consideration for countries to consideration of political policies and political practices, this meant of women perspective in all aspect. In this case, the government encourages to be responsible by the taking legal and constitutional action, equality and social-political participation and decision making, as well as united nations, encourage to create the focal point on women issues.

4. Beijing Conference

In 1995, United Nations held the fourth women conference after a decade of women, from the Beijing conference get the formulate of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA), (United Nations, 2005) there are:

- 1) Women's Right is Human right
- 2) The lack of women awareness about human right in lots of countries is an obstacle that prevents women to enjoy the human right and achieve equality as well as equality and justice in family and society
- 3) Need to change the women issues become the concept of gender, by reevaluating the social structure and the relations between men and women in society
- 4) Need the education on women human right for society, including the knowledge of institutions that can provide legal assistance processes and procedure for obtaining assistance in human right violations against women.

There are 12 critical that become the concern in Platform for Action (United Nations, 2005), there are:

- 1) Women and poverty
- 2) Education and training of women
- 3) Women and health

- 4) Violence against women
- 5) Women and armed conflict
- 6) Women and the economy
- 7) Women in power and decision-making
- 8) Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- 9) Human rights of women
- 10) Women and the media
- 11) Women and the environment
- 12) The girl child.

Figure 3. The United Nations World Conference on Women

1975	<p>Mexico City, 19 June–2 July</p> <p><i>The World Conference of the International Women's Year</i></p> <p>Outcome: The Declaration of Mexico and the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year</p> <p>Attendance: Conference, 133 States, c.1,200 delegates NGO Tribune, 6,000 (4,000) participants</p>
1980	<p>Copenhagen, 14-30 July</p> <p><i>The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women</i></p> <p>Outcome: Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women</p> <p>Attendance: Conference, 145 States; c. 2000 delegates NGO Forum, about 6,000-7,000 participants</p>
1985	<p>Nairobi, 15-26 July 1985</p> <p><i>The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace</i></p> <p>Outcome: The Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women 1986-2000</p> <p>Attendance: Conference, 157 States NGO Forum, about 16,000 participants and attendants</p>
1995	<p>Beijing, 4-15 September 1995</p> <p><i>The Fourth World Conference on Women</i></p> <p>Outcome: Beijing Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace; Beijing Declaration</p> <p>Attendance: Conference, 189 States, c.17,000 delegates and observers; NGO Forum, c. 35,000 (40,000) participants</p>

The UN Decade for women in 1976-1985 was the most successful decade of the other UN decade, with the adoption of International Women's Year has become the important indicator to achieve the UN decade target. IWY is the concrete example of the women struggle that prepare in 1970 and realization in 1975 in Mexico, World Plan of Action as the outcome of Mexico conference, then follow by the Copenhagen Program of Action, and also Nairobi Forward-

Looking Strategies have become a most powerful strategy for women struggle to establish a consistent and systematic policy process for advancement of women in the future. (Pietila, 2007, p. 39)

The participation of women in the international agenda of United Nations increase after the UN decade, the participation of women toward the international conference show how attractive women about the international issues and peace. NFLS has become the key for women, NFLS has influence women in the world, that all of the problems in the world are an important issue for women attention, and women have equal right to participate and involve in the decision-making process in all aspect policies. NFLS has influenced many women in the world to improve the intervention of women to solve the international problem not only in women issues, including in the United Nations system. in 1980s UN reports, programs and UN resolutions have reflected the participation of women, not only a legitimate right for women, but it is a social and political need for a better world and the future quality of human right. (Pietila, 2007, p. 40)