

R
U
B
I
K
O
N

Comparative Study of Women's Activities in the Inter-War Intergovernmental Organizations: the League of Nations, the International Labour Organization and the Pan American Union.

International Forum of Electronic Publications, Rubikon. ISSN 1505-1161, May, 2002

Women in the inter-war period used the opportunities created by the emergence and existence of universal and regional intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) to strengthen their advocacy position at the international level and push for policies, which, for various reasons, could not have been pursued at the national levels. The inter-war IGOs were vehicles for advancing

The literature on the women's activities carried out within the framework of intergovernmental organizations during the inter-war period is relatively scarce¹, provides rather descriptive accounts of women's participation on the international arena[2], tends to make generalizations about women's international activities[3] and explains failures or successes of the women organizations' influence within international organizations in broad terms, thus failing to provide a sound account for a diversity of impacts of women activities on different interwar intergovernmental organizations[4].

This paper intends to fill in the gap in the scholarship by trying to explain varied levels of successes brought about by women's lobbying in the three intergovernmental organizations: the League of Nations (LN), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Pan American Union (PAU)[5] in the interwar period.

Reinalda has already suggested that, among the analyzed intergovernmental organizations, the LN was the most conservative in its dealing with the women's issues and that the ILO and the PAU had a more progressive position on women than the League[6]. This study wants to present a much more complex view on that issue explaining not only whether there were

differences in the success of women's lobbying in connections with the three inter-war intergovernmental organizations but also what accounted for these differences.

This paper has an exploratory goal and will use detailed descriptive accounts as an instrument enabling comparative-driven conclusions about the women's activities in the three intergovernmental organizations during the inter-war period. Such an approach will, first, demonstrate the achievements and failures of women's movements in relation to the activities of the three international organizations. This, in turn, will help to determine whether women's influence over the analyzed organizations differed and if so, what factors led to these differences. Going beyond the argument that prevailing (negative) gender images were seen as constituting the main factors of the women's (un)successful lobbying in the interwar period^[7], this study will claim that the state, organizational and situational factors related to the support of the member states, to the openness of intergovernmental structures to non-state actors, functions of intergovernmental organizations, to the international cooperation among women organizations and specific issue areas, they all mattered and eventually determined the effect of the women's lobbying.

The structure of this paper is based on a two-tier division, where a descriptive part is followed by analytical explanations. First, the study will present specific constitutional provisions of the League Covenant, the ILO Constitution and the Convention on the Pan American Union, which were adopted as a result of the women's lobbying. Then, a comparative analysis will follow, which will account for relatively similar achievements of the women's activities in connection with the League Covenant and the ILO Constitution and explain a lack of any reference to women in the case of the Convention on the Pan American Union. Subsequently, the research will focus separately on the ILO, the LN and the PAU work in relation to issues, which were considered important for women's organizations during the interwar period. After each section dealing with particular intergovernmental organization, a detailed analysis of reasons for successes and failures of women's lobbying will follow. In conclusion, it will be recognized that differences in the outcomes of women's lobbying in connection with the LN, the ILO and the PAU did exist and a summary of the

causes for these differences will be provided.

The conclusions of this paper are important for the current efforts of the women organizations within IGOs

Constitutional provisions: the ILO Constitution, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Convention on the Pan American Union

Margaret Bondfield, a member of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, managed to win the support of George Barnes, who was a member of the British War Cabinet and the British representative in the Commission on International Labor Legislation responsible for preparing a **Constitution of the International Labour Organization**[8]. It was Barnes, who proposed the “pro-women” provisions be included in Art. 3 and Art. 9 of the ILO constitution[9]. On one hand, the Commission recognized the importance of the protective legislation and inserted in the Preamble of the ILO Constitution an urgent call for the protection of children, young persons and women. However, on the other hand, the Commission also made important steps to promote women’s equality by including in the Preamble of the ILO Constitution the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value. Other women’s proposals, for example, inclusion of women to the ILO Governing Body or the demands connected with the welfare of working women such as maternity benefits, social insurance for women, elimination of night work for women etc., were not inserted into the constitution. These proposals, however, were not abandoned and became part of a program of future advocacy carried out by the women’s organizations during the interwar ILO Conferences.

Meanwhile the women representatives from the International Council of Women (ICW) and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance led by Lady Aberdeen, the president of the ICW, were lobbying the Commission drafting the **Covenant of the League of Nations** (the Commission of the Peace Conference). The Commission was headed by the US President Woodrow Wilson,

who was a strong supporter of the women's cause and eventually approved the "representation of women's interest" at the peace conference[10]. The Commission of the Peace Conference granted a hearing for the women's delegation in April 1919[11]. The women delegation presented seven resolutions, which covered issues ranging from women's employment in the organs of the League of Nations (LN), fighting trafficking in women and children, reduction of armaments to the recognition of women suffrage.[12] The Commission declined to deal with the women suffrage viewing it as belonging to the member-states' competencies. It also stopped short of addressing the problem of discrimination. Nevertheless, some requests were transformed into legal provisions and were included in the League Covenant in Art. 7 (3), which was related to the equality of women employment in the organs of the LN[13] and in Art. 23 (a) and (c) connected with labor conditions and trafficking in women and children respectively[14].

During the Pan-American Conference in Havana in February 1928, the delegates adopted the **Convention on the Pan American Union**, which can be viewed as the charter or the constitution of the Union[15]. In this document, at no point is there a reference to women's issues. Even Art. 4, which refers to the executive officials and the appointments of the PAU personnel is silent on the issue of equal opportunity employment for men and women[16], which constituted, as was already discussed, a characteristic feature of similar provisions in the League Covenant and the ILO Constitution.

Explaining relative "sameness" of the outcomes of women's lobbying in connection with the League Covenant and the ILO Constitution and accounting for a lack of similar gains in relation to the Convention on the Pan American Union.

In the context of the constitutional gains made by women in their lobbying to introduce certain pro-women measures to the ILO Constitution and the League Covenant, one can plausibly claim that women achieved similar results in both cases. Women's organizations were present and actively participated, although informally, in the Peace Conference. They had access to the commissions responsible for drafting the League Covenant and the ILO Constitutions via the delegates, who were members of these

bodies. In the case of the Commission of the Peace Conference, women even gained an official hearing. In both the LN and the ILO, women's organizations skillfully employed a "window of opportunities" for promoting their interests and securing constitutional provisions favorable for women. In the case of the Pan American Union, drafting of the Convention was strictly confined to the governmental delegations sitting in the Committee on the Reorganization of the Union and there were no outside consultations with non-state groups[17]. Additionally, already in 1923, at the Fifth International Conference of American States in Santiago, Chile, the PAU agreed to include women in national delegations at future conferences[18]. This declaration (although only politically, rather than legally binding) was more progressive than the provisions of the ILO Constitution included in Art. 3 (2), which merely called for the participation of women advisors and only in the situations when the issues dealt by the ILO Conference concerned women. The PAU conference of 1928 in Havana, where the Convention was enacted, saw women preoccupied with other issues such as the Equal Rights Treaty and the establishment of the Inter-American Commission of Women, whose significance and the amount of attention these issues attracted, greatly overshadowed other things, including the Convention. Thus, a combination of various elements serve to explain the non-involvement of women in drafting the Convention and, subsequently, the lack of "women's provisions" in the Convention on the Pan American Union, similar to the ones, which were included into the League Covenant and the ILO Constitution. These elements include: confinement of the discussion on the Convention to the state delegates, a relative success of women to win tangible concessions during the previous Pan American Conference in 1923 and the focus of women's activism on other issues related to ERT and IACW.

Women issues and the ILO legislation in the 1920s and the 1930s

In Washington D.C., 1919, the first International Congress of Working Women took place, which was organized by the American working women's organization: the National Women's Trade Union League of America. The Congress established the International Federation of Working Women (IFWW) to represent the interest of working women within the ILO constituent: the

workers' group. During the first ILO Conference held in 1919, the IFWW proposed special legislation to regulate employment of minors. It supported a minimum age limit of sixteen years for general employment and an eighteen-year minimum limit for work in mines. IFWW pressed for the introduction of administrative provisions connected with work permits and inspections in order to supervise the implementation of the ILO Conventions at national levels. The women working in different commissions of the ILO Conference (e.g. Commission on the Employment of Women and the Commission on Employment of Children) were actively involved in drafting the Maternity Convention and the Night Work Convention, which were subsequently approved by the ILO Conference. In these conventions, the ILO Conference of 1919 agreed on a six weeks' leave provision for women before and after the baby's birth[19], during which time, a woman would still receive payment "sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of her child"[20]; on a minimum age at fourteen for admission to industrial employment and a prohibition (with certain exceptions) of night work for children under eighteen. The ILO Conference also enacted non-binding documents[21] such as a Recommendation on lead poisoning of women and children and a Resolution concerning protection for women after confinement and heard the Report on the employment of women and children in connection with the Berne Convention of 1906. During the next ILO Conference in 1921, the two other recommendations were adopted, which were drafted by the Agriculture Committee, composed predominately of women[22]: the Maternity Protection (agriculture) Recommendation and the Night Work of Women (agriculture) Recommendation. Additionally, the ILO Bureau prepared the Report on the adaptation to agricultural labor of the Washington decisions, concerning the protection of women and children. Thus, the ILO, which was later affirmed in the Advisory Opinions of the Permanent International Court of Justice issued between 1922 and 1932, extended its regulatory competence to cover not only industry and workers but also people employed in agriculture, trade (e.g. sailors and fishermen) and administration[23]. Thus, the notion of "nothing that concerns labour is alien to the International Labour Organization"[24] reaffirmed universalistic goals of the organization and indirectly strengthening its role in the regulation of women's employment conditions regardless of the employment sector. In 1923, a Recommendation was adopted in connection with the participation

of women in the inspection teams. This Recommendation provided that “the labor inspectorate should include women as well as men, that they should have the same powers and duties as the men and equal opportunity for promotion”[25]. In 1926, the Migration Recommendation was adopted, which introduced provisions connected with the protection of females at sea[26]. In 1926, the section responsible for women's questions (women's service) was created within the ILO Bureau and a woman (Marguerite Thibert, a specialist in the French women's movement) became its head[27]. In 1929, the ILO agreed upon a Resolution concerning employment of women and young persons underground and prepared a comparative study of the legislation relating to the employment of women in the member-states of the ILO[28].

At the end of the 1920s, women's organizations promoting the principle of equality started organizing themselves internationally (e.g. the Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker was established in Berlin in 1929) and pressed for less protective and more equality legislation. Thus, the emphasis on equality of wages and opportunities shifted the debate from “women and children” to female and male workers and from economic “exploitation” to “discrimination” issues[29]. The ILO policy would stress equality issues, yet it was, virtually silent during the economic depression and became only visible in the second half of the 1930s. Although, during the period of Great Depression, some ILO officials criticized restrictive national legislations designed to fight unemployment of men with legal measures, which, at the same time, restricted employment of married women and working mothers[30], officially ILO reports kept a distance from the states' labor policies and never condemned the states for their practices during the period of depression[31]. From 1936 onwards, an active role by the ILO regarding equality principles was played by the Conference of American States Members of the ILO, which during its meeting in Santiago, in 1936, adopted a Resolutions concerning the conditions of employment of women. In 1937 the ILO, for the first time, enacted a Resolution, which acknowledged the importance of women's economic rights and the right to work and to equal pay[32] and in 1939, 8 Resolutions connected with women's issues were adopted at the second Conference of American States Members of the ILO in Havana, Cuba[33]. In general, the 1930s saw an important shift of international legislative output from

dealing with issues of protection of women's workers towards promotion of equality principle.

Accounting for the work of the International Labor Organization in connection with the women issues

An interesting question can be raised in connection with the ILO's initial push for a protective legislation for women, rather than for equality and non-discrimination measures: what factors can account for the fact that the ILO was primarily dealing with a protective labor legislation? The answer seems to lie in the tripartite system, which is used in the ILO decision-making. This system refers to three ILO constituents: government representatives, workers' and the employers' groups, whose consent (the qualified majority of two thirds) is required to approve a binding legislation, e.g. the conventions. The tripartite system enabled the women trade unionists, who successfully organized themselves in the IFWW, to participate actively in the workers' group or to lobby the ILO workers' group to gain support for certain labor legislation that would provide social protection for women. Working women were also actively lobbying their governments and government representatives within the ILO. The women's organizations, which favored equality instead of protection, emerged as an international force only at the end of the 1920s and did not have an institutionalized position with the structures of the ILO, similar to the one enjoyed by the women trade unionists. Thus, their voices could be heard only indirectly via national government delegates, provided that the governments were willing to promote the equality principle, which was not often the case. In other words, women's trade unionists organized themselves internationally more quickly than their equal rights "sisters" and gained official access to the ILO via its tripartite system, which, in turn, enabled them to push for a protective labor legislation. In the early 1930s, one could see a gradual shift in the focus of the women activities from anti-exploitative to anti-discriminatory labor legislation. In 1934, the women from the governments' delegation as well as the women from the workers' group supported and eventually managed to adopt the provisions revising the 1919 Night Work Convention, which loosened certain protective measures in order to provide for greater flexibility in employment opportunities for both women and men[34]. Between 1936 and 1939, the Conferences of American States Members of

the ILO enacted several resolutions, whose subjects also addressed the issue of equality. A slight but nevertheless visible refocusing of the ILO work in the 1930s, from protection to more equality-based legislation, may be accounted for by the fact that after achieving certain progress in the introduction of anti-exploitation legislation, even the women unionists were increasingly eager to move to other issues connected with equality and non-discriminatory measures. This shift was particularly discernable during the Great Depression, when the states used certain discriminatory policies to promote men's employment. Additionally, the American National Women Party, largely responsible for shaping the "equality agenda" of the American countries in the PAU, had also influenced the "equality policies" of these states in the ILO, which was reflected in the resolutions enacted during the Conferences of American States Members of the ILO between 1936 to 1939.

The involvement of the League of Nations in women's issues in the 1920s and the 1930s

The LN, from its onset, started energetically dealing with the issues related to Art.23 of the League Covenant. Under the umbrella of the League, the International Conference on White Slave Traffic was held in 1921 and the International Convention on Traffic in Women and Children was adopted. In the same year, the LN established a permanent body: Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, which was in 1925 divided into two separate committees: the Child Welfare Committee and the Traffic in Women and Children Committee. In 1933, with the help of these committees, the LN conveyed another international conference, which succeeded in the adoption of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age[35]. In 1936, the Traffic in Women and Children Committee was transformed into the general Advisory Committee on Social Questions[36].

The LN (more precisely the Council of the League) used its power to address "any matter (...) affecting the peace of the world"[37] in order to intervene in the affairs of particular countries. In one of such intervention, which concerned Turkey, the LN established ad hoc commissions: a Commission of Enquiry on Deported Women and Children and a Commission for Reclamation of Women and Children, which were made responsible for the prevention of

deportation of women and children on political and military grounds[38].

At the end of the 1920s, women's organizations were directing their activities and attention towards the up-coming LN conference on nationality at the Hague, which the League convened in order to codify and specify the development of international law in the area of nationality. Women's organizations lobbied the preparatory committee for the conference to include an equality principle in the treaty on nationality, particularly in connection with the provisions affecting married women and the nationality of their children. The preparatory committee and, later, the Hague conference itself, failed to include the equality principle in the convention, recommending the governments to have the principle of equality between the sexes embodied in national laws, dealing with nationality[39]. Despite this set-back, women's organizations kept the issue of equality and equal rights treaty alive throughout the 1930s. However, they were unable to convince the LN to agree on any international document, which would address the equality issue. The only response of the LN was to agree to conduct the study on legal status of women. In September 1937, a committee, charged with conducting the study, was established. The existence and the work of this committee were cut short due to the outbreak of the second World War. Nevertheless, the committee laid down the fundamentals for the later establishment of the Status of Women Section of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations[40]. In the 1930s, women were also involved in the peace initiatives connected with the disarmament talks. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom submitted over seven million signatures collected around the world in support of disarmament to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1932. However, the Conference ended in failure and the process of disarmament collapsed on the eve of a growing re-militarization in Europe[41].

Accounting for the work of the League of Nations on women's issues

The LN was a multi-purpose universal organization, focusing on "highly-political" issues connected, among other things, with interstate wars, ethnic minorities or the mandate (colonial) system. Thus, the main priorities of the world organization were far from

women's issues such as equality and non-discrimination. Additionally, in contrast to humanitarian affairs such as helping women and children refugees or dealing with trafficking in women, which were seen as being less politically controversial and enjoyed a considerable support in the LN, the issue of equality in certain international legislations raised important (and politically-charged) questions about LN competence. The reasons why the women were unsuccessful in lobbying the Hague Conference and its preparatory committee to include the principle of equality in the nationality convention were very much connected with the weakness of the intergovernmental forum (the LN) and the power of the main actors (the nation-states). The principle of equal treatment of men and women was viewed by the LN as desirable, yet to be regulated at national rather than international, levels. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries and understanding state sovereignty rights in absolute terms was the main reason why women were unsuccessful in pushing the LN to adopt the principle of equality into the Nationality Convention. Since the LN was pronounced as unable to "legislate nationally"[\[42\]](#), women's issues related to the equality principle in the Nationality Convention went beyond the scope of the LN responsibilities and were eventually left for individual member-states to regulate[\[43\]](#). This outcome reflected "the often repeated argument that it is not (the role of the LN or any of its organs) but that of the state to deal with equality between men and women"[\[44\]](#). Thus, the principle of non-interference triumphed over the principle of equality. At the same time, the American countries, allied with the women's cause, were not numerous enough to be a driving force behind the Hague Conference. Finally, one should not ignore the fact that structural and leadership weaknesses, as well as the power and particularistic interests of states eventually turned the League into the "Fig of Nations". Women were unsuccessful in disarmament talks, not only because the issues were jealously guarded by the nation-states, having their own national and security interests, but also because the League of Nations itself, (which had similar objectives in terms of a general peace to the ones advocated by women), was unable to propose and enforce certain (punitive) measures, which would encourage states to pursue disarmament policies.

Women's issues and the Pan American Union in the interwar period

In 1890, the First International Conference of American States was held in Washington, D.C.. The Conference established the International Union of American Republics and its secretariat, the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics. The organization was subsequently renamed as the Pan American Union (PAU) in 1910. In 1948, the Pan American Union became the Organization of the American States.

In 1923, the Fifth International Conference of American States was held in Santiago, Chile. One year earlier, the first Pan American Conference of Women met in Baltimore in 1922, and was able to agree upon certain priorities connected with the legal status of women and their right to the franchise. Thus, the Pan-American women's movement by 1923 was well organized and its delegates engaged in an active lobbying campaign during the Santiago Conference. The Pan American Conference in 1923 adopted a resolution, which agreed to include a discussion of the rights of women at future conferences[45]. The member-states also declared that the Pan American Union should study ways of eliminating the constitutional and legal discrimination of women, who were entitled to enjoy the same civil and political rights as men[46]. The sixth Pan American Conference was convened in Havana, Cuba, in 1928. By that time, the leadership of the American feminist movement was assumed by the US-based National Woman's Party (NWP), which strongly pushed for the Equal Rights Treaty[47]. Women's organizations eventually succeeded ("after a month of protests and active campaigning"[48]), in persuading the delegates to include the Equal Rights Treaty, drafted by the Alice Paul of the NWP[49], on the agenda of the next, seventh conference scheduled for 1933[50] and to agree on the establishment of the first intergovernmental body, which would be responsible for the women's issues: the Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW).

At the Pan American Conference in Montevideo in 1933, the IACW drafted and brought about the adoption by the twenty one PAU member states of the Convention on the Nationality of Women, which was based on the equality principle and included the statement: "There shall be no distinction based on sex as regards nationality"[51]. Additionally, the Commission presented to the delegates in Montevideo the study of the legal status of women in each of the twenty-one American countries. This was

the first study of its kind carried out by an intergovernmental organization. Pan American Conference in Montevideo was also the first Conference, in which women were included in the participating delegations as was envisaged in the 1923 resolution. The Conference did not manage to adopt the Equal Rights Treaty[52], however four countries (Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay) signed it, although none of them had ratified the Treaty in the 1930s[53]. During the eighth Pan American Conference in Lima, 1938, the IACW was successful in proposing a resolution, which advocated that “women have the right to the enjoyment of equal civil status”. Despite weakening of the position of the IACW within the framework of the PAU (its status became that of a subsidiary unit of the PAU), the IACW proceeded with its work and was behind the success of incorporating, to the future Charter (its Preamble) of the United Nations, a paragraph on the equal rights of men and women.[54]

Accounting for the work of the Pan American Union in connection with the women’s issues

Before embarking on the explanation of why women were successful in lobbying the PAU for the inclusion of the principle of equality to the PAU conventions, it needs to be highlighted, once again, that this successful lobbying was limited to the Convention on the Nationality of Women and did not include the Equal Rights Treaty, which, eventually, did not gain the support of the PAU. Nevertheless, the puzzle remains: why were the women successful in pressing PAU to introduce principle of equality into the nationality convention, (“the first international instrument ever adopted concerning the rights of women”[55]) whereas, on the same issues, women achieved little during the League of Nations Conference in Hague?

There are several reasons. The first is connected with a good record of international cooperation among women’s organizations in the Americas. Thus, although the direct influence of the NWP cannot be underestimated with regards to the Equal Rights Treaty, nevertheless, the success of women in winning over delegates to the Nationality Convention and gaining some support for the Equal Rights Treaty should be seen in the broader perspective of Pan American cooperation between women. This cooperation can be traced back to the Latin American Scientific Congresses that

started its activities at the end of the nineteenth century. The results of this cooperation have been aptly described by Francesca Miller:

By 1922, the essential components for an effective, formal international exchange among women of the Americas were in place. A continuing organizational structure with an accumulated history of international activity was established; funding sources had been identified; a communications network was in place^[56].

Another explanation for the success of American women lobbying can be found in the spill-over effect following the establishment of the Inter-American Commission of Women in 1928. This institutionalized body within the structure of the intergovernmental organization was able to participate officially in drafting the Convention and to push for its enactment (similar effects were already noted in connection with another institutionalized phenomena—that of the workers’ group in the ILO). Moreover, the fact that the most important member-states of the PAU such as the United States, Chile and Brazil already had “national laws that embodied the equality of nationality principle”^[57] meant that powerful nations of the organization were, if not pressing other states to accept the Nationality Convention, at least not opposing the idea of the equality of nationality principle. The support of the United States for specific measures should be seen as critical, particularly in the PAU, which was often criticized for being too dominated by the United States. The example of the fate of the Equal Rights Treaty, “which was strongly opposed by the United States diplomatic delegation”^[58] shows that without the push from certain, usually the most powerful, states, a pro-women international legislation did not have chance of being adopted within the framework of intergovernmental organization. Additionally, as the example of the Equal Rights Treaty suggests, there is a certain tendency on the government representatives’ side to vote for or to sign a convention, which subsequently gets stuck in the parliamentary committees and either is “strangled” in the committees’ procedures or eventually fails to receive a parliamentary majority necessary to ratify a document. Thus, often the conventions are easily to agree upon in the framework of intergovernmental organization but more difficult battle awaits them at national levels. This explains the fact that none of the four American states, which signed the Equal Rights Treaty, ratified the conventions until the end of the 1930s.

Conclusion

From the outcomes of women activities in relation to the three inter-war intergovernmental organizations, it is possible to conclude that there were certain difference of degree in the success of women's lobbying. The only discernable similarities of the outcomes of successful women's lobbying were present in connection with constitutional gains over certain women's issues in both, the ILO Constitution and the League Covenant. Otherwise, specific differences did exist. The PAU was ahead of the LN and the ILO in terms of enacting binding instruments, which addressed the issue of equality of women. The ILO seemed to be much more progressive in its protective legislation over working women, whereas the LN was more successful in dealing with the humanitarian agenda, which included, among others, women refugees and trafficking in women. What these differences may imply, is that every analyzed organization can be regarded as being progressive in its own right. However, this view would be too simplistic if one did not consider the various attempts to broaden the scope of the LN legislation in connection with women's issues. Thus, for example, the women's activities towards the League of Nations went beyond humanitarian issues and included, as the analysis showed, a promotion of the Equal Rights Treaty and the attempt to enact the principle of equality into the Nationality Convention, both of which proved to be unsuccessful. In short, this paper suggests that differences in the outcomes of women's lobbying within the LN, the ILO and the PAU did exist and that the LN, the ILO and the PAU differed in the nature of each organization's progress over a given issue-area.

The question remains: what factors can account for the difference in the outcomes of the women's lobbying? This study, from the beginning, has sought to go beyond the explanation based on a negative gender image existing in the interwar period. It was assumed that prevailing negative gender images cannot fully account for the differences in the outcomes of women's lobbying in particular intergovernmental organizations. Negative gender images do explain why women were likely to encounter strong opposition towards their proposals but cannot provide a plausible explanation why, for example, on the same issue (nationality convention based on the principle of equality) women made tremendous progress in PAU and achieved virtually nothing in LN.

This study shows that women's success was frequently dependent on organizational and situational contexts, related to the quality of international cooperation among women's organizations, the institutional design of the intergovernmental organizations (connected with the openness of the structure to the non-state actors), their organizational functions (highly political as in the LN or more functionally-oriented as in the ILO), specific issues, which were considered in a given moment and, last but not least, the support coming from the most powerful states.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Since the list of the literature on the topic under consideration is fairly limited it will be useful to cite the most relevant works: Nitza Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship. Women's Rights and International Organizations*, The Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore 1999); Carol Riegelman Lubin, and Anne Winslow, *Social Justice for Women. The International Labor Organization and Women*, Duke University Press (London 1990); Deborah Stienstra, *Women's Movements and International Organizations*, St Martin's Press (New York 1994); Carol Miller, "Geneva- the Key to Equality": Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations, *Women's History Review*, Vol.3, No.2 (1994): 219-245; Sandra Whitworth, *Feminism and International Relations. Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions*, St. Martin's Press (New York 1997); Francesca Miller, Latin American Feminism and the Transnational Arena, in *Women, Culture, Politics in Latin America. Seminar on Feminism and Culture in Latin America*, University of California Press (Berkeley 1990); Paula Pfeffer, 'A Whisper in the Assembly of Nations': United State's Participation in the International Movement for Women's Rights from the League of Nations to the United Nations, *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol.8 (1985). Other writings refer to the impact of women's activities on the policies of the inter-war intergovernmental organizations within the broader frameworks of investigation related to women's movements and women's organizations, existing and working during the inter-war period and after. See, for example, Bob Reinalda, The International Women's Movement as a Private Political Actor Between Accommodation and Change, in Karsten Roint and Volker Schneider eds., *Private Organizations in Global Politics*, Routledge (London 2000). Carol Miller, Women in International Relations? The Debate in Inter-War Britain, in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland eds., *Gender and International Relations*, Open University Press (Buckingham 1991). Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women. The Making of an International Women's Movement*, Princeton University Press, (Princeton, New Jersey 1997). Susan Becker, International Feminism Between the Wars: The National Woman's Party versus the League of Women Voters, in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen eds., *Decades of Discontent. The Women's Movement, 1920-1940*, Greenwood Press, (Westport, Connecticut 1983). International Council of Women, *Women in Changing World. The dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888*, Routledge (London 1966).

[2] For example, the study of women's participation in the ILO by Lubin and

Winslow (1990).

[3] See Reinalda (2000)

[4] Ibid.

[5] It should be noted that the term Pan American Union, in reality, referred only to the administrative organ, (which had his name changed quite often. Between 1890-1902 it was called the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics and between 1902-1910 the International Bureau of American Republics) of the Union of American Republics (earlier known as the International Union of American Republics). See Clifford B. Casey, The Creation and Development of the Pan American Union, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol.13, Issue 4 (November 1933). For the purpose of this paper, I used the term Pan American Union very broadly and I applied it to whole intergovernmental framework (which included, among others, the International Conferences of American States and a Governing Body) of cooperation between the American states.

[6] Reinalda (2000): 172-173.

[7] Berkovitch (1997): 73

[8] Lubin and Winslow (1990):21. and Whitworth (1997):125.

[9] These provisions were related to the advisors in the national delegations (Art.3, paragraph 2) and the employment in the ILO (Art.9). Art. 3 (2) of the ILO Constitution reads: “Each delegate (from the government, employer and worker sides- M.B.) may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. *When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman*”(my emphasis). Art 9 (2) of the ILO Constitution states: “So far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, the Director-General shall select persons of different nationalities”, and Art 9 (3) of the ILO Constitution adds: “*A certain number of these persons shall be women*”(my emphasis).

[10] Berkovitch (1999):73.

[11] Lubin and Winslow (1990): 24 and International Council of Women, *Women in Changing World* (1966): 45.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Art. 7 (3) of the League Covenant states that “All positions under or in connexion with the League, including the Secretariat, *shall be open equally to men and women*” (my emphasis).

[14] Art.23 (a) of the League Covenant calls upon the members of the LN “to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and

children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend (...)”. Art.23 (c) of the League Covenant stresses that the members of the LN “will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children (...)”.

[15] Before the adoption of the Convention, the legal bases of cooperation between the American states were set on various resolutions, which were enacted during the five conferences, which took place between 1890 to 1923. See Casey (1933). These resolutions were designed to regulate administration and operation of the union of the American states. In this way, the Convention was seen as a necessary tool not only to clarify and modify the procedures and functions of the PAU but also to consolidate the existing regulations into one, a statute-like, document. The Convention on the Pan American Union was subsequently annulled by the establishment of the new organization: the Organization of American States (OAS) and the adoption of the OAS Charter and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man in 1948 in Bogota, Columbia.

[16] In this specific context, article 4 only states: „The Director General shall appoint, with the approval of the Governing Board, the personnel necessary to the work of the Pan American Union, endeavoring as far as possible to distribute the positions among nationals of the countries members of the Union”. See The Convention on the Pan American Union in American Journal on International Law. Vol.2, Issue 3, (July 1928): 162.

[17] Casey (1933): 452-454.

[18] Organization of American States: www.oas.org. Accessed on the 10th of March 2002.

[19] Whitworth (1997): 129.

[20] Lubin and Winslow (1990): 29.

[21] ILO standard setting activities is based on various documents, which can be divided into binding and non-binding instruments. Conventions belong to the group of binding instruments once they are ratified by the states and create international legal obligations for the signatories. The ILO also enacts recommendations, resolutions, reports, which constitute non-binding documents, serving as guidelines or as aspirational goals, which the countries should strive to (rather than ought to) follow and achieve.

[22] Ibid.,33.

[23] Victor-Yves Ghebali, *The International Labour Organisation. A Case Study on the Evolution of U.N. Specialised Agencies*, Martinus Nijahoff Publishers (London 1989):10 and Bolesław Paździor, *Wpływ Międzynarodowego Biura Pracy na Konwencje i Zalecenia Międzynarodowej Organizacji Pracy*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, (Wrocław 1975): 30.

[24] Ghebali (1989):11.

[25] Lubin and Winslow (1990): 34.

[26] Maryse Gaudier, The Development of the Women's Question at the ILO, 1919-1994. 75 Years of Progress Towards Equality. Labour Institutions and Development Programme, 1996. www.ilo.org. Accessed on the 20th of February 2002.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Berkovitch (1999): 91.

[30] Whitworth (1997): 136.

[31] Berkovitch (1999): 96.

[32] Ibid., 98.

[33] This included: Resolution concerning the right to work of married women, Resolution concerning home work, Resolution concerning conditions of work of women, Resolution concerning administration relating to the work of women and juveniles, Resolution concerning the preparation of statistics on women's work, Resolution concerning the protection of women employed in domestic service and agriculture, Resolution concerning women's right to representation and Resolution concerning women's general rights.

[34] The attempt to revise the Night Work Convention was already made in 1931 but it did not manage to secure the necessary two-thirds needed for the approval of the revision, although a majority voted in favor (54 to 43). See Lubin and Winslow (1990): 40.

[35] Berkovitch (1999):78.

[36] Reinalda (2000):172.

[37] Article 4 (4) of the League Covenant.

[38] Berkovitch (1999): 79.

[39] Ibid., 80-81, Miller (1994): 227 and Stienstra (1994): 70.

[40] Miller (1991): 68, particularly footnote 23

[41] Rupp (1997): 218.

[42] Miller (1994): 231.

[43] One should not be surprised by the unwillingness (or weakness) of the LN in dealing with women issues, since the LN (or, as it was later called, the “Fig of Nations”) was not even able to deal with the matters specifically under its competence (e.g. Japanese attack in Manchuria or the invasion of Ethiopia, a member of the LN, by Italy).

[44] Berkovitch (1999): 80.

[45] Becker (1983): 229.

[46] Reinalda (2000): 172.

[47] Becker (1983): 229.

[48] Organization of American States: www.oas.org. Accessed on the 10th of March 2002.

[49] Miller (1990): 25, footnote 17.

[50] In the context of the Equal Rights Treaty and the Havana conference of 1928, Francesca Miller suggested that the Equal Rights Treaty was “ratified by only four member countries”. Francesca Miller (1990):16. This statement constitutes a chronological as well as a “legal” mistake. The Havana conference decided only to put the Equal Rights Treaty on the agenda of the next Montevideo conference. See: www.oas.org and Becker (1984): 229. As it will be described later in the text, four countries (government representatives) signed, but none of them ratified the treaties till the end of the 1930s. See Carol Miller (1994): 243, footnote 44.

[51] Miller (1990): 20.

[52] Berkovitch claims that the Pan American Conference in Montevideo saw “the adoption” of the Treaty on the Equality of Rights, which mistakenly suggests that the whole organization enacted the treaty. See Berkovitch (1999): 81. However, only four out of twenty one countries, members of the PAU signed the treaty during the Montevideo Conference.

[53] See Miller (1994): 243, footnote 44.

[54] Miller (1990): 21.

[55] Organization of American States: www.oas.org. Accessed on the 10th of March 2002.

[56] Miller (1990): 14.

[57] Stienstra (1994): 70.

[58] Miller (1990): 16.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Becker Susan, International Feminism Between the Wars: The National Woman's Party versus the League of Women Voters, in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen eds., *Decades of Discontent. The Women's Movement, 1920-1940*, Greenwood Press, (Westport, Connecticut 1983): 223-242.

Berkovitch Nitza, *From Motherhood to Citizenship. Women's Rights and International Organizations*, The Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore 1999).

Casey Clifford B., The Creation and Development of the Pan American Union, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol.13, Issue 4 (November 1933): 437-456.

Gaudier Maryse, The Development of the Women's Question at the ILO, 1919-1994. 75 Years of Progress Towards Equality. Labour Institutions and Development Programme, 1996. www.ilo.org. Accessed on the 20th of February 2002.

Gheballi Victor-Yves, *The International Labour Organisation. A Case Study on the Evolution of U.N. Specialised Agencies*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers (London 1989).

International Council of Women, *Women in Changing World. The dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888*, Routledge (London 1966).

Lubin Carol Riegelman, and Winslow Anne, *Social Justice for Women. The International Labor Organization and Women*, Duke University Press (London 1990).

Miller Carol, Women in International Relations? The Debate in Inter-War Britain, in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland eds., *Gender and International Relations*, Open University Press (Buckingham 1991): 64-82.

Miller Carol, "Geneva- the Key to Equality": Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations, *Women's History Review*, Vol.3, No.2 (1994): 219-245.

Miller Francesca, Latin American Feminism and the Transnational Arena, in *Women, Culture, Politics in Latin America. Seminar on Feminism and Culture in Latin America*, University of California Press (Berkeley 1990): 10-26.

Paździor Bolesław, *Wpływ Międzynarodowego Biura Pracy na Konwencje i Zalecenia Międzynarodowej Organizacji Pracy*, (Influence of the International Labour Bureau on the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organization), Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, (Wrocław 1975).

Pfeffer Paula, 'A Whisper in the Assembly of Nations': United State's Particpantion in the International Movement for Women's Rights from the League of Nations to the United Nations, *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol.8 (1985)

Reinalda Bob, The International Women's Movement as a Private Political Actor Between Accommodation and Change, in Karsten Roint and Volker Schneider eds., *Private Organizations in Global Politics*, Routledge (London 2000): 165-186.

Rupp Leila J., *Worlds of Women. The Making of an International Women's Movement*, Princeton University Press, (Princeton, New Jersey 1997).

Stienstra Deborah, *Women's Movements and International Organizations*, St Martin's Press (New York 1994), Carol Miller, "Geneva- the Key to Equality": Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations, *Women's History Review*, Vol.3, No.2 (1994).

Whitworth Sandra, *Feminism and International Relations. Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions*, St. Martin's Press (New York 1997).

Documents:

ILO Constitution of 1919 with the amendments: www.ilo.org

Covenant of the League of Nations of 1919

Convention on the Pan American Union of 1928 in American Journal on International Law. Vol.2, Issue 3, (July 1928): 161-166.

Other sources:

Organization of American States: www.oas.org.

International Labour Organization: www.ilo.org.
