Towards a women's agenda for a culture of peace

Edited by Ingeborg Breines, Dorota Gierycz and Betty Reardon

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Towards a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace

Edited by Ingeborg Breines, Dorota Gierycz and Betty A. Reardon

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW)

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Preface

On the threshold of the third millennium, women's full participation in social and economic development and in the democratic process – at the local community level as well as in national and international bodies – is a moral imperative and a matter of justice and human rights. It is urgently needed throughout the world. Violence and repression within an autocratic framework have failed. There can be no doubt that a new equilibrium based on gender equality would greatly enhance the promotion of peace and tolerance.

In today's world of growing violence, increased tensions and social asymmetries, the continued marginalization of women represents one of the most serious threats to democracy as well as a flagrant waste of human ingenuity and creativity. Women's visions, intelligence, energy and experience are indispensable to the creation of a more just, prosperous and peaceful world.

We are therefore proud to present this example of fruitful interagency co-operation, which was itself strengthened through the organization of the 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. We invite you to join us in the further elaboration of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace as we are convinced that such an agenda would guide both women and men in realizing their aspirations and hopes for the future.

Angela King
United Nations Division
for the Advancement
of Women

Federico Mayor
United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural
Organization

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Introduction

The Beijing Process

This book is part of the ongoing flow of events and initiatives to promote women's participation in the political discourse that determines human security, and efforts to actualize women's potential in bringing about the profound global transformation implied in the vision of a culture of peace. As such, it addresses both the visionary aspects of women's conceptualizations of peace and the practical implications of their frequently powerful actions for peace. It is this combination of the visionary and the practical that has infused the ongoing flow through the years of the United Nations Decade for Women and subsequently the Beijing Process.

The 4th World Conference on Women, while a global event of incalculable significance to world society, was far more than the gatherings which constituted the nongovernmental forum and the intergovernmental conference which took place in China in September 1995. It was the convergence of the energies which had been flowing through the world's women's movements since the preparations for the first conference in 1975. Those energies were shaped into the force that women, aided by some limited but essential support from men, brought to Beijing and from which they projected an agenda for birthing an authentically human future. That agenda, articulated in part in the Platform for Action produced by the intergovernmental conference, is for the most part the product of women's actual struggles and projects in civil society, and of the growing collaboration among these civil-society actors and the United Nations Specialized Agencies charged with the implementation of policies to achieve gender equality. This book reflects a significant aspect of the present phase of the Beijing Process, carrying forward the agenda through action towards the emergence of a culture of peace.

The collaboration that has produced this joint publication of UNESCO and the United Nations Division for the Advancement of

Women (DAW) demonstrates the constructive possibilities of interagency collaboration around issues that are the concern of various United Nations bodies. It also exemplifies the fruitful co-operation that is occurring between United Nations Specialized Agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Most of the contributors are members of research institutes and/or organizations that are co-operating with the United Nations in efforts to overcome women's exclusion from the peacemaking process. The volume has been jointly edited by members of the staffs of UNESCO and DAW and a member of the International Peace Research Association.

While peace was from the beginning one of the three themes of the International Women's Year and the subsequent decade, it was only in the decade following the 1985 End of Decade conference in Nairobi that it was given any significant attention in the formulation of policy priorities. The symbolic and substantive success of the Peace Tent at the Nairobi Forum demonstrated that peace was a women's issue, and that women had something particular and constructive to contribute to the achievement of peace, in so vibrant and vigorous a manner that the issue could no longer be kept at the margins of the discourse on women's human rights that emerged from the themes of equality and development. The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies made it quite clear that the three themes were an integral whole, and women proceeded to make it even more clear that they saw the issues of peace and violence as the core of many of the problems they faced in their daily lives, especially the continuous and systematic violation of their fundamental human rights.

DAW and UNESCO responded to the need to place peace and women's perspectives on the issue in the centre of the policy discourse in the preparations for the Beijing Conference. Each of these agencies organized an expert group meeting on the theme, two in a series of four related meetings that are part of the Beijing Process. The two pre-conference meetings took place, respectively, at United Nations headquarters in New York in December 1994, organized by DAW, and in Manila in April 1995, organized by UNESCO. Two post-conference meetings were held, one in Santo Domingo, organized by DAW in September 1996, and the other in Oslo in October 1997, organized by UNESCO. This book comprises papers selected from those prepared for the two pre-conference meetings, the December 1994 meeting on 'Gender and the Agenda for Peace' which explored from a gender perspective *An Agenda for Peace*, the Secretary-General's 1992 report to the General Assembly, and the April 1995 meeting on 'Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace', an inquiry into the nature of the culture of violence and the potential of women's contributions to and strategies for achieving a culture of peace. The reports of both meetings appear as appendices to the main text of this volume.

One of the most significant outcomes of Beijing was the 'mainstreaming' of gender as a factor to be considered in all United Nations projects and policies. Clearly this means that a gender perspective, and the glaring lack of women's participation and women's concerns in the peace and security activities of the world body revealed by a gender analysis, must be given the urgent attention they require. This is a requirement based not only on the fundamental principle of the equality between men and women articulated in the United Nations Charter, but on the dire need for new perspectives and untapped experiences in effectively carrying out those activities that form the core of the founding mission of the United Nations, 'to avoid the scourge of war'. Indeed, as Beijing has called for the mainstreaming of gender, UNESCO calls in its Culture of Peace Programme for the mainstreaming of peace and security issues. Without addressing the fundamental realities of the culture of violence which now pervades the world system, no other global problems can be resolved. The sense of both these meetings was that without the full and equal participation of women neither the culture of violence nor any of the major world problems can be adequately addressed. Thus, the mainstreaming of peace as well as gender should become an essential part of the ongoing Beijing Process.

Partnerships for transformative action

The purpose of this volume is to contribute to that mainstreaming, to carry forward the Beijing Process towards the development of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace. This agenda is envisioned as a framework and plan of action to guide civil society, in partnership with the United Nations, towards the realization of the global cultural transformation without which we cannot hope to bring forth a culture of peace. Intended as a contribution to the International Year for a Culture of Peace, to be celebrated in 2000, and the proposed Platform of Action for a Culture of Peace, it is to be addressed both to the United Nations and to civil society. In this United Nations–civil society partnership, the editors of this volume see the greatest hope for the formulation and realization of the practical, daily, grass-roots actions, politics and programmes conceived and carried out in a global framework that we believe must comprise this agenda.

Clearly there are women's movements and initiatives that have profoundly affected women's lives that have no association with the United Nations. Many of them are not NGOs, nor even associations of any kind. We recognize that these initiatives are a significant contributing factor to the flow of events that can lead us towards the transformation. However, it is also palpably clear that without the United Nations, there would be no worldwide, coherent women's movement in the present, essentially patriarchal, international system. This system has not been a welcoming host to the celebration of women's political potential. We do not idealize

the global Organization; indeed, readers will find some strong criticisms among the essays included here. Yet we do insist that the history of the last half-century has revealed that the United Nations has been the main venue and inspiration for most of the major policy changes that have provided some measure of advancement for the world's women, including international gender equality standards (Jeanne Vickers and Hilkka Pietila, *Making Women Matter*, London, Zed Books, 1996).

Moreover it has also provided the meeting-ground for the various women's movements, in all their diversity, to come together and explore their differences, as well as those commonalities that have produced these international standards. Most importantly the occasions for those meetings, notably the four world conferences and the annual meetings of the Commission on the Status of Women, have been the stage on which the scenario of the United Nations–civil society partnership was first performed. We continue to write the script seeking a denouement that will change the fundamental structure on which the patriarchal drama of war and women's subordination has been played out through the centuries. As a creature of the international system, the United Nations has the potential to influence that system towards changes that become ever more evidently in its own interest. Nothing is more in the interest of the world community than the renunciation of war. The partnership between women's movements and the United Nations, tested through the years of struggle for women's rights and peace, can be a strong and persuasive force towards that end. Much of the material in this collection goes to illustrate that potential. It does not shrink from the hard questions and, most especially, it raises the ethical issues so often ignored in questions of peace and security policy. In that respect this publication fully embraces the ethos of UNESCO's 'Towards a Culture of Peace' transdisciplinary project to challenge the hardest problems, to face the ethical implications and to search for alternatives that are both ethically sound and practically achievable. Thus, this is a partnership of like-minded actors seeking the same goal through the formation of a common agenda for transformative action.

It is important to note that this partnership is made up of both men and women. Within this movement to illuminate women's perspectives and experience, there are many supportive men. So, too, the patriarchal system which has excluded and marginalized these perspectives and perpetuated war has been willingly supported by many women. This movement for women's inclusion in peacemaking and security policy formation is not a struggle between the sexes. It is a struggle of both with a system that has prevented them from working together and using their differences for the benefit of society. It is a struggle which indicates how deep and how personal the transformation process must be.

Multiple perspectives

Most of the examples, and the language in which the material is presented here, are drawn from women's perspectives. We want to emphasize, however, that we see and hope our readers will consider all of the perspectives contained herein: women's perspectives, a gender perspective and various feminist perspectives. A women's perspective which aims primarily at inclusion and equality has been the traditional United Nations perspective to deal with the 'status of women' and work towards the amelioration of that status. A gender perspective accounts for the roles of and effects upon both men and women of events and policies. It illuminates the critical need to change the status quo as it identifies the obstacles to change in rigid gender roles. This perspective has been a response to the realization that only through knowledge of the attitudes toward and implications for both sexes of all social initiatives and public policies can authentic equality be achieved. A feminist perspective is taken by those women and men who espouse feminism as a belief both in the equality of women and men and in the assertion that most social systems discriminate against and oppress women. It calls, therefore, for challenges to and the reform or restructuring of social systems. Because there are differences among feminists about the fundamental causes of women's subordination, as well as about the strategies for overcoming it, there are various feminist perspectives, several of which are represented here. Some are pacifist. Some are not. But all agree that violence is the centre of our concern and that women's participation is fundamental for dealing with the systematic, pervasive violence of the present world social system. All also agree that women's participation will make both a substantive difference in policy discourse and a strategic difference in policy-making and implementation. This book is an argument for observing and acting upon that difference and a call for the conceptualization and articulation of forms of action derived from that participation to comprise a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

Fundamental purposes

We consider the essays published here to be the first stage in the longer process of the formulation of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace. We use 'women' to denote the perspective because we wish to be fully inclusive both of the traditional perspective of the United Nations and of the various women's and feminist perspectives that have, as we have noted, emerged over the years of the struggle for the full equality and participation of women in society. The agenda we seek should reflect the richness and diversity of the range of women's experience and potential. And it is with the experiential that we have initiated this inquiry. We sought to know what women were doing for peace, what events and conditions had motivated them to do so, and how their experiences and perspectives had led them to think about peace and security issues and influenced their

assessments of current policies and systems for resolving conflict and maintaining security. We verified what earlier research and experience had indicated regarding women's distinct views, modes of analysis, policy-planning and strategies for action. One of the purposes of this volume is to inform readers of these distinct views that women bring to conflict, peace and security.

A second purpose is to encourage others, men as well as women, to become involved in the same inquiry so as to broaden participation in public discussion on these matters, and hopefully in action to limit and reduce violence. We seek to encourage in the present the social and political changes that can ultimately eliminate violence as a common factor in most societies and as an accepted mode for resolving conflicts among nations. From the time of its endorsement of the Seville Statement on Violence, UNESCO has vigorously pursued this goal and has made it a major focus of the Culture of Peace Programme. We hope that reading this volume will engage others in the same pursuit. Most of all, we wish to persuade more and more members of civil society to join the active movement for a transformation to peace; and to begin to do so by engaging in the indispensable process of reflection and discussion of the issues and problems that could lead to more effective strategies and a stronger, more broadly based, active movement. We hope that this collection of essays will be used by many citizens, educators, women's groups and other organizations as a tool to initiate such reflection, discussion and action.

To facilitate the achievement of our second purpose and establish a process through which to carry out the third and central purpose, we have provided a framework to use this book as such a tool. This third and central purpose is the formation of the agenda, the process that is the conceptual organizing principle of the book. Our title is *Towards a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace* because we see this volume as a preliminary work, a 'pump-primer' which will enable us to present the fruit of the discussions of this work as *A Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace*. This second work that we aspire to elicit from the process we initiate now is intended to serve as a statement of women's visions of peace, articulated in terms which lend themselves to the planning and implementation of actual, specific goals and strategies, comprising the agenda, the sum of which could bring us to a culture of peace. We urge all our readers to involve themselves in this process, and to send us the results of their reflections and planning so that we may integrate them into the agenda.

The framework for facilitation of the process used in this book focuses on the particular issues and concepts dealt with by the various authors that we believe to be most relevant to the inquiry. This focus is offered in a preliminary statement, or 'Editors' prologue', before each selection and is intended to call the reader's attention to aspects of the substance of the chapter.

The inquiry itself is suggested in the material that follows each piece under the title 'Peace talks – peace tasks'. These sections are lists of topics and questions for discussion and exploration and questions and issues for further research and action. Thus this section is to serve as an aid for use in educational settings, as a set of suggestions for researchers and as a preliminary agenda for action towards the changes we deem so necessary.

In sum, what we offer here is a kind of handbook for action towards the next phase in the formulation of the agenda, and even more importantly for beginning to change the social and political climate to one that is more conducive to a culture of peace.

The substance of the content

This preliminary inquiry into the possibilities for a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace is constructed of three parts: they address issues and problems of women's roles in peace and security practices and policies, gender critiques of United Nations peace and security concepts and actions, and women's actions and initiatives for peace. It is in these three areas that, we believe, we will find the most transformative possibilities for our proposed agenda. When analysed in terms of the prescriptions required to respond to the diagnosis of the problems of the culture of violence, most especially the war system, the core of the culture and the ultimate arbiter of issues of conflict and contention in global society, the material presented here points towards some significant transformative potential. The authors for the most part subscribe to the theory that the full and equal participation of women in peace and security policy-making is essential to the transformative process of transcending the war system. We have selected from among the many papers prepared for the two expert group meetings those contributions that specifically focus the inquiry on the need and the possibilities for transformation.

Part One (on issues and problems) offers five chapters which outline some of the main considerations to be factored into the development of the agenda. Dorota Gierycz lays out the fundamental facts about the limited number and relatively low positions of women in peace and security decision-making, while Ingeborg Breines offers arguments about the essential need to take gender into account when conceptualizing and drawing up a strategy for a culture of peace. Dan Smith provides an overview of the consequences to women of armed conflict and some of their actions to prevent or terminate it. Angela Raven-Roberts describes the nature of contemporary armed conflicts and the strategies that are being proposed and attempted to lessen their harmful effect on women and families. In pointing out the current widening of the traditional female role and narrowing of the male role, Evelin Lindner calls attention to the potential for change in modes of conflict resolution towards less violent 'female' styles.

Part Two presents gender critiques by four feminist peace researchers of the Secretary-General's *Agenda for Peace*, the United Nations peacekeeping operations, and the fundamental assumptions and mechanisms of the current global security system. Carolyn Stephenson criticizes the neglect of non-violent conflict intervention and resolution, and Hanne-Margret Birckenbach points to the male dominance in security matters as a cause of this neglect. Judith Hicks Stiehm argues that the equal participation of women in United Nations peacekeeping operations would increase the success and effectiveness of the operation, while Betty Reardon challenges the dependence of the security systems on force and weaponry as at the core of the problems of peace and gender equality.

A more generalized critique on the exclusion of women from United Nations security policy-making is to be found, together with some specific remedial recommendations, in Appendix 1, *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace.*

Part Three describes various actions and campaigns that women have undertaken in the face of political and military violence in various parts of the world. María Elena Valenzuela recounts the start of Latin American women's significant and courageous political resistance to the militarist governments of the 1970s. The history and strategies of the Soldiers' Mothers Movement in Russia in their efforts to save their sons from the brutality of the armed forces is chronicled by Elena Zdravomyslova. Finally, Jacqueline Adhiambo-Oduol suggests possibilities for alternatives to violent conflict in her description of African women's traditional conflict-resolution practices.

Appendix 2, *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace*, summarizes the wide range of the imaginative and forceful initiatives women throughout the world are taking to challenge the war system and to struggle towards a culture of peace. It is in this report that we can glimpse the constructive and hope-inducing possibilities for the actual achievement of a culture of peace that are the fundamental essence of the global women's movements.

Please join us in the development and implementation of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

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Part One

Issues and problems of women's roles in war, peace and security

Chapter 1

Women in decision-making: can we change the status quo?

Dorota Gierycz

Editors' prologue

This chapter focuses on the practical political realities in public decision-making and peace and security policies and operations. Gierycz unequivocally documents the extreme limits on women's representation in the ranks of decision-makers on the major political and security issues. Moreover, she illustrates that in spite of the many advances women have made in the last two decades, they are still excluded from the highest ranks of power at which the crucial decisions on peace and security are made. We encourage you to reflect critically on the implications of the state of women's political power, their lack of influence over security operations and policy-making, and the obstacles and impediments to full political equality. You might also speculate on the various ways, in addition to office-holding, that women have affected politics and whether there may be a parallel and complementary women's politics which could be reflected in a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace. Multiple approaches may be needed for the further development of the positive consequences of women's participation that are anticipated in this project to devise a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

Introduction

The 1992 *Agenda for Peace* was conceptualized and elaborated without the participation of women. Its practical implementation, at least at government level, has been undertaken almost exclusively by men, who constitute the great majority of the staff of the United Nations peace and security operations. Until recently, there have been only two women in charge of United Nations missions: Margaret Anstee, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, and Angela E. V. King, the Chief of Mission in South Africa and later Deputy Special Representative. In 1997 the Secretary-General appointed Elizabeth Rehn as Special Representative and Co-ordinator of the United Nations Operations in Bosnia and

Herzegovina. This situation corresponds to the reality at the national level, where women continue to be grossly under-represented in the highest echelons of power in political areas, particularly in foreign affairs, defence and security.

The reflections below are intended to highlight some aspects of this situation; raise the issue of the paradox of stagnation in the movement for gender equality in peace and security policy, in the face of significant progress in other areas; and present some ongoing attempts to redress the situation.

The principle of equality and political participation

The principle of equality was enshrined in the United Nations Charter (Article 1)[1] in 1945. The terms of reference of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, formulated at its first session in 1947, emphasized that its function is to 'prepare recommendations and reports for the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, social and educational fields'.[2] The aims of the commission stressed women's equal participation in government and the possibility of their exercising all rights of citizenship, irrespective of race, language or religion, and assuming all the duties of a citizen.

One of the first outcomes of the work of the commission was the 1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women, which stated explicitly that 'Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men without any discrimination' (Article 1). They should also, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, 'be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, established by national law' (Article 2) and 'be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law' (Article 3).[3]

As of May 1997, 161 countries were parties to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and had undertaken the obligation:

> to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, to ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government . . . (Article 7) [and] to take appropriate measures to ensure to women on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations (Article 8).[4]

The fact that very few countries have entered reservations to Articles 7 and 8 is confirmation that the principle of equality in political participation is

well accepted, at least in theory. The few countries which reserved on those articles related their reservations to the participation of women in military service or linked their reservations to traditional practices of inheritance of the crown. Moreover, at various United Nations forums women's right to participate in political life, including decision-making, seems to be generally accepted and the debates focus on measures to be undertaken to implement this principle in practice. In practice, however, progress during the last fifty years has been very slow and a wide gap remains between de jure and de facto equality.

Parliaments

Women have the right to vote and hold office in almost every country of the world. Although the length of time they have had these rights ranges from 104 years in New Zealand to 17 in Vanuatu, most women have had these rights for almost their entire adult lives. Women make up half of the electorate and regularly exercise their right to vote in a proportion which is in general similar to that of men. Despite this, relatively few women have been elected in the democratic process to the national legislatures and even fewer have reached top posts.

According to data compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), as of 1 January 1997[5] the percentage of women in parliament (both houses combined) was relatively low and constituted on average 11.7 per cent. Compared with 1 July 1995, when the figure was 11.3 per cent, this indicates very slow progress. Only in 22 out of 179 national parliaments (either in the lower or a single house) did women constitute between 20 and 40.4 per cent. The highest representation (at 40.4 per cent and above) was found in Sweden. In 17 countries women were speakers of parliament or of one of the chambers; and in one case, Antigua and Barbuda, of both houses. There is no information on the distribution of women among parliamentary committees and commissions, but there is an indication that most women are concentrated in the 'traditional' female committees dealing with social issues, education, labour or health. The proportion of women in committees concerned with foreign affairs, military matters and the interior is, on average, very low.

There appears to be a relationship between party rules, habits, structures, internal policies and the situation of women within the party. Factors such as openness and flexibility of structures, age limits and the incompatibilities of certain political positions with gender equality have proved favourable to the increased participation of women. Where women are equitably or favourably represented in party structures and promoted as candidates, the proportion of women elected to parliament is similarly high. The situation of women is also affected by how candidates are chosen, whether by local bodies or at the national level, as well as by the electoral system, whether single-member district or party list.

Women's participation in parliament is closely linked to their participation in political parties and the role of women in parliamentary elections, as both voters and candidates. The proportion of women who stand for election is generally low and the proportion of women elected, therefore, is also low, although this differs from country to country and between regions. Because voting is secret in most places, there are few data that would indicate whether women's voting patterns are different from men's. However, there are indications that in some countries women are beginning to vote differently, and in close elections, determine the outcome. Argentina, Colombia, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Germany and Poland are cases in point. In all these countries women, at least on some occasions, voted differently and gave a clear preference to those parties which put forward female candidates and candidates who clearly presented women's interests and perspectives, especially with regard to women's reproductive rights, social support services and participation in decision-making.[6]

Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain why women do not use their electoral rights more effectively to decide on the political agendas and to ensure more gender-balanced representation within national parliaments.

Governments

Head of state and head of government, as well as government (cabinet), are the highest decision-making institutions in the executive branch. Since the end of the Second World War, twenty-eight women have been elected as head of government or head of state.[7]

Ultimately, government decision-making takes place at ministerial level, where decisions are formally taken by the members of cabinet; and at sub-ministerial levels, where most decisions are prepared and where key political advisers, long-term managers and experts are located. These include vice-ministers, permanent under-secretaries, deputy secretaries and directors. The latter in most cases have risen to their posts through a career ladder as permanent civil servants or experts in their respective fields.

At these higher levels of government, the participation of women is even lower than in parliament, although the number of female ministers worldwide doubled in the decade 1987–1996 from 3.4 per cent to 6.8 per cent. In 1996 the percentage of women ministers reached 30 per cent or above in five countries only – Barbados, Finland, Liechtenstein, Seychelles and Sweden. Forty-eight countries had no women ministers at all. Women ministers remained concentrated in social areas (14 per cent) and legal areas (9.4 per cent), with political affairs at 3.4 per cent. In 136 countries women held no ministerial positions concerned with the economy.[8] Globally, the situation was not much better at the sub-ministerial level, where women held 9.9 per cent of positions, with the highest concentration in the social and legal fields.[9]

There are two paths to government positions: through the political process and through the civil service. The first is the main path to positions as elected head of state or government, as well as nominations to cabinet minister or other top political functions. This path is often linked to the outcome of the parliamentary elections. The second leads through a civil service career to high positions within management and administration, including sub-ministerial levels. These are, in principle, non-political positions, although in practice they are often politically influenced, especially at the top levels. Thus, the proportion of women in ministerial positions primarily reflects political appointments, while their participation at sub-ministerial levels reflects women's advancement through careers in the civil service.[10]

The professional career path appears to be most relevant at the decision-making level in political areas, where most high-level functionaries in foreign affairs, defence and the interior arrive at these positions through long-term career development, in the foreign or diplomatic service, the armed forces, the security services and/or the police. They also constitute the main skill pool for recruitment for international organizations from which international peace negotiators, peacekeepers and security and disarmament experts are derived.

The data on the participation of women in diplomacy have been fragmented and weak. Despite references made to their participation in diplomacy by the previous World Conferences on Women, no worldwide survey has been carried out in order to assess the current situation. Only a few countries reported on women in diplomacy within the 1994 review and appraisal.[11] They emphasized that women's participation in the foreign and diplomatic service did not match their substantive contributions to peace at the nongovernmental level. The number of women ambassadors remained very low and only a few women diplomats have been involved in peace or disarmament negotiations worldwide. Even in the Scandinavian countries, where the participation of women in decision-making is among the highest, their participation in diplomacy remains relatively low, especially in political areas. Thus, the qualitative and quantitative aspects of women's participation in diplomacy remain largely undocumented and unknown. If the samples of women's participation in multilateral diplomacy are used, however, it can be concluded that women continue to be largely absent from the highest ranks of the permanent missions to the United Nations in New York. As of mid-1997 only 7 out of 185 such missions were headed by women: the Dominican Republic, Guinea, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Liechtenstein and Turkmenistan.

Throughout the history of the United Nations, the vast majority of delegates selected by their national governments and representing their countries at various United Nations bodies have been male. Very few women have participated, particularly at the decision-making level and in

political areas. For example, of the fifty-two presidents of the General Assembly elected since 1945, only two have been women: Vijaya Lakshimin Pandit of India in 1953 (8th session) and Angie Brooks of Liberia in 1969 (24th session). Among the numerous United Nations World Conferences headed by appointed senior officials of the United Nations and held since 1945, only six have been headed by women, of whom four headed World Conferences on Women.[12]

Obstacles and incentives to women's participation

Existing data, research and the expert group meetings organized by the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW)[13] have provided some information on the obstacles to the participation of women in political decision-making and civil service careers, including those specifically pertaining to the areas of peace and security. In general, the obstacles include the prevailing unequal division of labour within the household between women and men; the lack of adequate provision of child care and care for the elderly, which is undertaken almost exclusively by women; women's economic dependence; and the prevailing inequalities in all spheres of life, including violence against women as its most extreme form. With regard to political parties, the obstacles include the long and non-flexible time requirements of political parties and parliaments, preventing women from being more politically active. Prevailing negative attitudes towards women's political participation and a lack of confidence in and support for female candidates on the part of the electorate, including women, constitute other obstacles. In addition, some women do not like to take part in politics, which they consider distasteful. They do not wish to be subjected to political campaigns and media stereotyping, including the fact that higher demands may be made on them (and less tolerance shown to them) than would be the case with men. The under-representation of women in the professions from which politicians are recruited (lawyers, university teachers, political scientists), at least in some countries, creates another disadvantage.

The data on the participation of women in the civil service are limited, but they show constraints on the participation of women at the senior levels of the civil service, owing to specific obstacles. These obstacles include: a lack of adequate recruitment and promotion mechanisms which prevent women from entering the civil service at levels corresponding to their qualifications and from being promoted without discrimination; the prevalence of 'closed' recruitment and promotion systems, often based on patronage, without clear requirements to entry or promotion; bias in job evaluation and classification; insufficient appeal mechanisms and a general absence of women from appeal bodies as well as selection, appointment and promotion panels; unequal opportunities for career and training development; and the marginalization of women in some areas of the civil

service traditionally considered as related to women, or in positions intended to implement affirmative action policies. Most of these factors are particularly pertinent to women's career path in the diplomatic service, the armed forces and the police, where cases of discrimination and harassment are becoming increasingly apparent.

An examination of the characteristics of those countries where women have an above-average level of participation suggests several factors that might be related to better access. One of them is the positive correlation between the percentage of women in parliament and in high-level government positions, in particular in ministerial-level positions. This means that there is an interdependency between the number of women in parliament and in government. It is most visible in the Western industrialized countries, where parliament is a major source of recruitment of ministers.

Another factor is education, in particular at university level, and the extent to which women are able to participate in the formal economy. Despite regional variations, women are more likely to be in parliament in those countries where they are also in the workplace. Other important factors conducive to the participation of women in political life are: the democratic tradition of the country; public concern for women's legal rights; open attitudes to discussing women's issues; a tradition of respecting women's rights to free choice in all spheres of life; a high level of literacy; and knowledge and recognition of women's reproductive rights. There is also a correlation between the participation of women in decision-making, and adherence to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Countries which adhered to the convention without religious and cultural reservations had higher percentages of women in decision-making.[14]

Some countries have introduced special measures and programmes that aim at a qualitative and quantitative increase in women's political participation. They target political parties, parliaments, trade unions, governing boards of various institutions in the public sector and the civil service. The political parties in some countries have established percentage quotas for women, including their governing bodies (Austria, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Finland, the Netherlands, Venezuela, Spain, Israel). In other countries, some parties have introduced women's sections to promote women's interests (Cameroon, Canada, Gabon, Japan, Mexico, Rwanda, Spain, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe). According to some sources, however, these measures merely contribute to women's alienation within political parties rather than to an increase in their role through training and the elaboration of women's strategies.[15] Other regulations include quotas reserving a minimum number of seats in parliament for women. In general, setting quotas for various bodies remains a controversial measure. Although the successful application of 40:60 quotas in the Nordic

countries has made a noticeable contribution to the high participation of women in decision-making, it should be seen in the context of that region, where equality and proper group representation are rooted in the political tradition, and where the initiative came from the grass-roots level upwards. There is, however, an increasing consensus that some corrective measures are needed to redress the prevailing inequality.[16]

The United Nations

The United Nations as a global, intergovernmental organization reflects national mechanisms of power and decision-making. It consists of parliament-like organs, to which representatives are designated by their respective countries, and it represents an international bureaucracy which manifests some of the characteristics found in national bureaucracies, including its organizing principles related to recruitment, promotion and career development. While top political appointees are selected by international organizations from the candidates proposed by governments or even regional groups of states, lower-level experts and administrative personnel are internationally recruited and pursue their professional careers through promotion within international bureaucracies.

In the United Nations Secretariat, which is part of the international civil service, women have always constituted a minority of the professional staff and only a few have been appointed to the decision-making level. However, some recent progress can be noted. As of 1 January 1998, women in posts subject to geographical distribution constituted 36.8 per cent. Five women held posts at the Assistant Secretary-General level and above in the United Nations Secretariat (13.3 per cent). They were: Angela King, Assistant Secretary-General, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women; Gillian Sorensen, Assistant Secretary-General for External Relations; Rafiah Salim, Assistant Secretary-General for Human Resource Management; Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; and Louise Frechette, the first woman Deputy Secretary-General in United Nations history. Five women headed United Nations special funds, programmes and Specialized Agencies: Carol Bellamy, Executive Director, United Nations Children's Fund; Nafis Sadik, Executive Director, United Nations Population Fund; Catherine Bertini, Executive Director, World Food Programme; Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; and Gro Harlem Brundtland, Director-General of the United Nations World Health Organization. Besides, Elizabeth Rehn was appointed Special Representative and Co-ordinator of the United Nations operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and Judge Griche Kir McDonald was appointed President of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.[17] While these are, indeed, significant advances the equality between men and women espoused in the United Nations Charter is still far from a reality.

The armed forces and the police

The participation of women in military service has been a controversial issue. Many countries continue to prohibit women from military service and only a few allow women to serve in combat roles. No systematic data exist on women in the armed forces at the national level. For example, women's eligibility for military service has rarely been reported by the states parties to CEDAW and some countries have made reservations to Articles 7 and 8 of the convention with regard to women's participation in the armed forces. However, twenty-five countries reported to the United Nations on women in the armed forces in the context of the second *Review and Appraisal of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies* in 1994.[18] Thus, the topic was one of the most covered under the 'women and peace' chapter in the governmental national reports submitted to the United Nations Secretariat.

A similar lack of coherent policies characterizes police forces. In most of the countries which reported on the topic in 1994, the participation of women in the police, both in terms of numbers and of rank, was on the increase. Most women in police forces were specifically assigned to areas dealing with violence against women, including rape, as well as female prisons and women prisoners. The special contribution of policewomen in these areas, although highly recognized, seemed to restrict their opportunities for promotion and career advancement. As a result, women were kept out of the mainstream of police work at both national and international level, including the United Nations peace and security forces.

The issue of women's participation in the armed forces and the police takes on a particular significance in the context of the United Nations peace and security operations, the main purpose of which is to avoid or defuse conflicts and to work out peaceful solutions. The absence of women among the military personnel in the United Nations peacekeeping forces often reflects the absence of women in the military forces of those countries which provide troops to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Women, however, have always been active (though highly under-represented) participants in peacekeeping operations in civilian roles, while performing a variety of functions as medical and administrative personnel; in supply and logistics; in supervising elections; and as negotiators and trainers for national reconciliation and democracy-building.[19]

Similar conclusions were drawn with regard to the participation of women in international military structures (NATO) and operations (the 1990–91 Gulf war), in particular 'Operation Desert Storm' in Kuwait, where women represented 7 per cent of the military forces. They worked in all locations, including undeveloped desert areas, as clerks, mechanics, health-care providers, fuel handlers, intelligence analysts, helicopter pilots and military police. They were banned from combat but received all relevant allowances and medals. Perceptions of women's performance were

very positive. They endured harsh conditions similar to men. Their physical strength was not an issue. Gender was not a deterrent to a unit's cohesion, co-ed units sometimes performing better.[20]

In general, women – whether military, police or civilian, and at all levels of international peacekeeping and other operations – had proven to be efficient, dedicated and ready to endure hardship and undertake any assignment. However, women are far from being treated on equal terms with men regarding recruitment to peace and security operations, placement, assignment of responsibilities and full utilization of their skills. With increased police, civilian and political functions in these operations, the explanation that women's very limited participation results from their almost complete exclusion from the national military contingents is neither acceptable nor correct. The continuing under-representation indicates the de facto discrimination against women and the waste of creativity and talents so needed in implementing the *Agenda for Peace*.

Conclusions and recommendations

So the question remains, how to strengthen women's participation in peace and security operations and how to mainstream gender through all stages of those missions. The answer requires long-term, thorough research and information, but some preliminary conclusions can be formulated. On the basis of the anecdotal information from previous missions and 'lessons learned', some obstacles and incentives to women's participation can be identified and addressed.

Factors conducive to women's participation in peace and security operations should be encouraged. Such factors include the commitment of the leadership of the mission; respect for the United Nations principles of gender balance and equal opportunities for career development and employment throughout the process of planning of the mission, its conduct and assessment; and transparency in recruitment, placement and evaluation of staff involved in the mission. Interdependency between the conduct during the mission and career development prospects should be established. In addition, the following should be mandatory: an active approach to recruiting qualified women for mission service within the United Nations system; the issuing of policy directives encouraging governments to submit female candidates; and the inclusion of a gender component to the training of United Nations staff and national contingents.

Further work related to gender mainstreaming and the participation of women in the implementation of the *Agenda for Peace* at all stages should concentrate on the following:

(a) *With regard to women's participation in political life and decision-making:*

- analyses from a gender perspective of the functioning of political parties and electoral processes and identification of those which are conducive to the involvement of women;

- changes in the functioning of political parties/electoral systems so they can better accommodate the working and living styles and attitudes of women;
- based on the analyses of existing experience and 'success stories', suggestions of measures to ensure gender balance in government and at the senior level of the civil service, in particular in political areas, with time-bound targets;
- undertaking a thorough analysis of the situation of women in the diplomatic service, aimed at the elimination of all de jure and de facto discrimination.

(b) *At the international level:*

- collection of relevant statistical data and information on the participation of women in peace and security operations and gender-specific contributions and obstacles;
- analyses of the selected peace and security operations from the gender perspective with the objective of applying the conclusions in practice, in the planning, implementation and assessment of future operations;
- analyses of all relevant United Nations policies and practices, and elaboration of detailed recommendations on how to change quickly and effectively the status quo and ensure gender balance in the composition of political departments and peace and security operations;
- analyses of records, policies and attitudes of member states related to the participation of women in decision-making in the political and diplomatic fields and in the armed forces and the police, at national and international level, including the implementation of the *Agenda for Peace*;
- feminist critique of the *Agenda for Peace*;
- promotion of gender-sensitive studies and research on the implementation of the *Agenda for Peace* and the alternative concepts of peace, security and democracy.

Notes

1. *Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice*, New York, United Nations (doc. DPI/511-93234).
2. Doc. E/90, 1 July 1946.
3. Resolution 640 (VII), annex.
4. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, New York, 1996 (published by UN/DPI).
5. *Men and Women in Politics. Democracy Still in Making: A World Comparative Study*, Geneva, United Nations, 1997. (Reports and Documents, 28.)
6. Analysis of Articles 7 and 8 of the Convention. Report by the DAW Secretariat, p. 6, 30 November 1993 (doc. CEDAW/C/1994/4).
7. 'Women and Decision-making', *Women 2000*, p. 6, October 1997 (doc. UN/DAW/DESA).
8. *Fact Sheet on Women in Government*, data compiled by DAW, UN Secretariat,

based upon information from the Worldwide Government Directory, Maryland, January 1996 (doc. UN/DAW/DESA).

9. Ibid.; see also UN/UNOV, *Women in Politics and Decision-Making in the Late Twentieth Century*, Dordrecht/Boston/London, Martinus Nijhoff Publications, 1992; K. Mavilec, *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making*, New Jersey, Zed Books, 1995.
10. *Equality in Political Participation and Decision-Making: Report of the Secretary-General*, 13 December 1990 (doc. E/CN.6/1990/2).
11. *Looking Back Moving Forward: Second Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*, New York, 1995 (doc. E.95.IV).
12. 'Power and Influence', in *The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics*, New York, United Nations, 1995.
13. Doc. E/CN.6/1990/2, op. cit.; doc. CEDAW/C/1994/4, op. cit.; see also G. Ashworth, 'Gendered Governance: An Agenda for Change', *Gender in Development*, New York, UNIDP, 1996. (Monograph Series, 3.)
14. Doc. CEDAW/C/1994/4, op. cit.
15. Ibid., p. 14.
16. Ibid.; see also G. Sidhu, 'Quotas Will Change the World' (14 January 1997) and 'Reaching for Real Equality' (26 January 1997), Women's Feature Service; H. Skjeie, 'From Movements to Governments/Two Decades of Norwegian Feminist Influence', *New Left Review*, No. 187, May/June 1991.
17. *Network: The UN Women's Newsletter*, Vol. 2, No. 1, April 1998.
18. Doc. E.95.IV, op. cit.
19. Ibid.; *Women in International Decision-Making. Peace and Security Areas*, Background Paper for United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace, New York, 5–9 December 1994 (doc. GAP/1994/BP.1).
20. Doc. E.95.IV, op. cit.

Peace talks – peace tasks

Many of the contributions to this volume refer to women's exclusion from the policy discourse and decision-making that determine how societies and states will seek to achieve and defend their security. The present chapter deals more fully with the issue, yet there is still much more to consider and more data required to design and implement the strategies for the full political gender equality all authors here argue to be essential to the emergence of a culture of peace. As Gierycz does in this chapter, we focus in these suggested topics and issues for discussion and research on the acquisition and exercise of power within the present international institutions, structures of government and political parties. However, as suggested in the Prologue, we also believe that alternatives should be considered for women's politics and peace politics and for the strengthening of the convergence of the two. Should all candidates running for public office be assessed also on the basis of their stands on war/peace issues?

1. **What other information may be available with regard to women's political participation? For example, in elections in various countries in 1997, many more women ran for office than has generally been the case. Further research is needed on what accounted for this trend. Did the media give adequate coverage to these women candidates and their positions on the issues at stake, especially those related to violence, peace and conflict? Did they provide reasonable and unbiased explanations for the increase in women candidates? What do we need to know about women's motives for seeking office, the bases of their election platforms, their modes of campaigning and the sources of their voter and financial support to assess them as authentic peace candidates? Should a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace include a set of criteria for peace candidates to be applied equally to men and women candidates? Formulate a model set of such criteria and designate the methods by which the data might be acquired and applied.**
2. **Although the United Nations has declared its commitment to full equality in representation of women and men in all areas of its activities and all levels of the Organization, and has recently made some high-level appointments, it seems unlikely that a 50:50 balance will be reached in the immediate future. Other than the obstacles cited by Gierycz, what other factors might account for these limits to equality and the slowness in eliminating them? Make a list of as many of the possibilities as you can identify under the categories of political, economic, social and cultural barriers to equal power, and, if possible, research the factors which would determine the validity of the conditions identified as barriers under each category. What kind of strategies might be devised on short-term and long-term bases in order to overcome the obstacles cited by the author and the barriers you have identified and validated? How can new strategies for immediate change be devised? Which strategies would be most appropriate to each of the following: the United Nations Secretariat, United Nations Specialized Agencies and programmes, member states' delegations, member states' governments and citizens, NGOs in general and women's organizations in particular? How might a general strategy for equal representation and participation in the United Nations and government decision-making be integrated into a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?**
3. **What consequences and differences resulting from women's increased participation in political and security decision-making other than those described by Gierycz can be documented? What specific policy changes and different modes of addressing public issues might be expected from a 50:50 gender balance in politics? What might be the difference in peace and security strategies and operations if the balance also pertained to diplomacy? On what data, theories and arguments could speculations on such consequences be based? Is the work of feminist international-relations scholars, political theorists, economists and peace researchers useful and relevant in making the case for the efficacy, desirability and necessity of full**

political equality? Compile a list of such sources to be used to establish the arguments and build the movement.

4. What analysis can we make of the paradox of women's continued exclusion from the very highest ranks of national decision-making, the armed forces and security policy in particular when significant progress has been made in other areas of politics and the human rights of women? Speculate on and describe women's proposals for alternative institutions and modes of politics for peace.

Chapter 2

A gender perspective on a culture of peace

Ingeborg Breines

Editors' prologue

A gender perspective on any issue calls us to see it from the point of view of the roles that society has assigned to women and men. It also leads to a critical assessment of the ways in which the roles contribute to the fulfilment and the denial of human rights, and to the need for constructive partnerships between the sexes for the achievement of mutually advantageous social goals. Breines makes the case that a culture of peace is such a goal, and that a gender perspective illuminates both obstacles to and possibilities for its achievement. Many who study gender and its significance to the quality of human society have come to agree with the argument long advanced by women peace activists that gender is integral and essential to any consideration of matters of peace, and, as most of the authors represented in this volume would argue, to all public-policy matters. Breines and Gierycz both document that argument with United Nations-derived data. In the present chapter, Breines explicates some dimensions of gender that reveal male privilege as she highlights the need for cultural as well as political and structural change that is being addressed by UNESCO's 'Towards a Culture of Peace' transdisciplinary project. We hope that readers will give serious attention to issues of cultural change that must be addressed by a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

Introduction

Only together, women and men in parity and partnership, can we overcome obstacles and inertia, silence and frustration and ensure the insight, political will, creative thinking and concrete actions needed for a global transition from the culture of violence to a culture of peace.[1]

This, the last paragraph of the UNESCO Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace (Appendix 3), underlines the

importance of gender-balanced, dynamic relations between women and men in the building of a culture of peace. The statement was developed on the basis of the Expert Group Meeting in Manila in 1995 (Appendix 2) and presented to the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing. It clearly asserts that a gender perspective is concerned equally with men and women, and upholds the contention that gender roles and relations are of significance for peace and security. The statement was signed initially at the highest level of the interstate system by women heads of state and government, women Nobel Peace Prize laureates and women heads of United Nations organizations, and continues to gather broad support from both women and men who adhere to the principles of a gender-sensitive culture of peace.

The same principles were espoused by the participants in the 1995 4th World Conference on Women, where this statement influenced the wording of para. 146 of the Beijing Platform for Action, Strategic Objective E.4: 'Promote Women's Contribution to Fostering a Culture of Peace'.[2] The Beijing Platform for Action thereby became the first United Nations document outside UNESCO to use the concept of a culture of peace, bearing witness to women's generally strong interest in peace issues, and their belief that peace is essential for the full realization of the human rights of women, as well as the other goals set forth in the Platform for Action.

The concept of a culture of peace was first introduced into UNESCO's work in 1993. Following its further development, it was defined and formalized in UNESCO's 'Towards a Culture of Peace' transdisciplinary project in the UNESCO Medium-Term Strategy (1996–2001). During these years of development, the idea of a culture of peace has caught the imagination of large sectors of the world's citizens and reinvigorated the belief in the possibilities of a peaceful world.

Towards a culture of peace

Spearheaded by UNESCO with strong support from global civil society, the concept of a culture of peace has been accepted by the larger United Nations system. The General Assembly resolutions 52/13 and 52/15 (November 1997) proclaimed the Year 2000 as the International Year for a Culture of Peace and requested a draft United Nations Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace for the 53rd General Assembly. The process of transforming societies away from expressions of war and violence towards a culture of peace and non-violence has become a system-wide challenge. In July 1998 Nobel Peace Prize laureates suggested to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) that a Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence should follow the International Year, and all member states will be encouraged to develop their own respective National Programmes of Action for a Culture of Peace.

As we approach a new millennium, the 'culture of peace' concept provides us with an opportunity to reflect and to refine our visions for the future, and to confront such fundamental questions as: Why is the world seemingly more willing to pay the costs of war than the costs of peace? How can we reduce the enormous gaps between military and social expenditure? What are the main obstacles to a global culture of peace? Who benefits from the culture of war and violence? How do we learn to live together? While these fundamental questions are not new to the human quest for peace, never before in history have they had the same urgency; and never before have they been considered from a gender perspective.

It has been asserted that in this century more than 100 million people have died due to war and warlike activities. This decade alone has seen some 100 armed conflicts and growing violence in countries that are not war-torn. Although the data might not be totally reliable, there is nevertheless growing evidence of a tendency in modern warfare for civilian victims, mostly women and children, to largely outnumber casualties among war combatants. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 1997 *Statistical Overview*, women and children account for approximately 80 per cent of the world's refugees. In just one decade, the number of soldiers engaged in United Nations peacekeeping operations has risen from 10,000 to 85,000. The costs of these operations have increased tenfold, shifting resources away from preventive peacebuilding missions. Peacekeeping and the vast amounts of money used for in-conflict and post-conflict humanitarian assistance illustrate our failure to meet basic human needs and concerns in an adequate and timely manner.

The goals, ideals and strategies that comprise the movement from a culture of war to a culture of peace are drawn from and seek to revitalize major international, normative instruments which are basic to the United Nations' mission to secure peace in the world community, and to protect the human rights of all.

The United Nations Charter declares in its preamble, 'We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . .' The same commitment to peace is articulated in the UNESCO Constitution, which states in its preamble that 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.[3]

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights highlights in its preamble the integral relationship between peace and human values that is essential to the concepts of social and gender justice, and which inform a culture of peace: 'Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.'

In the spirit of these normative instruments, UNESCO's 'Towards

a Culture of Peace' transdisciplinary project insists on the prevention of violent conflicts; and on acting in a timely manner with long-term preventive measures to radically attack the root causes of violence: poverty, exclusion, ignorance, inequality and injustice, and to avoid the terrible waste of human lives and material resources.

UNESCO's definition of a culture of peace perceives peace not only as the absence of war, but focuses on the content, the substance and the conditions of peace. In the words of the Director-General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor, 'The culture of peace is a *transition from the logic of force and fear to the force of reason and love*'. In a culture of peace, dialogue and a respect for human rights replace violence; intercultural understanding and solidarity replace enemy images; sharing and the free flow of information replace secrecy; and partnership and the full empowerment of women succeed male domination.

UNESCO's 'Towards a Culture of Peace' transdisciplinary project builds on the mandate and the activities of the Organization that for more than fifty years has contributed to the building of peace through international and intercultural co-operation within its fields of competence. While assuming a new and dynamic role in conflict and post-conflict areas, UNESCO remains faithful to its moral and intellectual mission, its original mandate of long-term peacebuilding and the prevention of violent conflict, and to its commitment to education for the fulfilment of human rights, including the equal rights of women and men.

In the light of that commitment, the previously quoted Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace was recognized by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1995 as one 'of the basic texts to guide the conception and implementation of activities relating to women and peace', thus recognizing the significance of gender issues to the very essence of a culture of peace. Bearing in mind that 'girls and women constitute a large majority of the world's educationally excluded and unreached', it calls for equality in education as a key. The statement takes as a point of departure the idea that 'equality, development and peace are inextricably linked: that there can be no lasting peace without development, and no sustainable development without full equality between women and men'.[4] In view of the growing religious fundamentalism, it further 'opposes the misuse of religion, cultural and traditional practices for discriminatory purposes'; and it strongly underlines the fact that women in leadership positions 'bring a source of innovative and much-needed approaches to peacebuilding'. Women's initiatives for peace stand as testament to the potential of this leadership, and women's groups have contributed to the strength of the movement for a culture of peace by focusing much of their recent peace activities on this concept.

The strength of the 'Towards a Culture of Peace' project, besides the broad partnerships, the co-ordination and networking of different peace

initiatives and projects, and the establishment of national reconciliation and peacebuilding programmes, notably in post-conflict areas, is in itself a concept which inspires hope and brings about new visions.

In a culture of peace, people would assume a global identity which does not necessarily replace, but rather builds upon other multiple identities such as gender, family, community, ethnicity, nationality, profession and age. Building a sense of global, multiple identities, underlining the growing interdependence among all countries and peoples, is likely to bring us closer to intercultural understanding, which is vital for peaceful relations. Such an identity would also provide a sense of common humanity among all the peoples of the world, as individuals and groups. It is this universal human identity which could provide the strongest assurance for the protection of human rights and for an end to the habitual gender discrimination that denies the universal human rights of women. The extent of that denial is clearly documented when issues of social and economic justice are examined from a gender perspective, clearly revealing the fundamental disparities that characterize the subordination of women. The universal human identity envisioned as the hallmark of a culture of peace would not tolerate such disparities among any groups of human beings.

Building a culture of peace entails unlearning such habits of discrimination and the codes of the culture of war and violence that have pervaded our existence in a myriad of ways. It also entails questioning the institutions, priorities and practices of this culture as well as the destructive production, trafficking and use of arms and drugs. It further entails challenging a series of concepts and notions. These include the current notion of development based primarily on economic criteria; and the narrow concept of security, which equates security with military strength, measured by the stockpile of arms and tanks, instead of human security, measured by social and economic well-being. The notion of power as power *over*, rather than shared power, as well as other sophisticated types of injustice, discrimination and exclusion, and the assumptions of human inequality on which they are based, are widespread, particularly the assumption of male superiority. Feminist research and the women's movement have been in the forefront of the challenge to such assumptions and in encouraging critical reflection on social transformation for a better quality of life for everyone, achieved without the use of force and arms. Women have also been the foremost advocates and practitioners of peace education as a means for the unlearning and new learning required for the realization of a culture of peace.

Education: a leading modality

UNESCO considers that peace must be sustained through democratic participation, good governance and creativity. For UNESCO, education for all is the key to democracy in everyday life and a guarantee of a sufficiently

broad basis for recruitment to decision-making positions. Education, both formal and non-formal, in schools, in the family, through the mass media and social institutions, is the most important process by which people can gain the values, attitudes and behavioural patterns of a culture of peace. Education is the leading modality to promote a culture of peace – provided, however, this education includes the excluded, is relevant to different sociocultural contexts, is of high quality, is gender-sensitive (i.e. it recognizes the differences between women and men, honours their fundamental equality and seeks to overcome gender inequities) and encourages interpersonal, intercultural and international dialogue.

UNESCO considers education – notably education for human rights, peace, democracy, non-violence and tolerance – as the main modality for bringing about a change towards a gender-sensitive culture of peace as defined by people themselves on the basis of their sociopolitical, economic and cultural conditions.[5] The world's ministers of education, meeting on the occasion of the International Conference on Education (Geneva, 1994), in adopting the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, and endorsed by UNESCO's General Conference, underlined their intention to:

> take suitable steps to establish in educational institutions an atmosphere contributing to the success of education for international understanding, so that they become *ideal places* for the exercise of tolerance, respect for human rights, the practice of democracy and learning about the diversity and wealth of cultural identities. [They also pledged] to pay special attention to improving curricula, the content of textbooks, and other educational materials including new technologies, with a view to educating *caring and responsible citizens*, open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve them by non-violent means.

In the report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, *Learning, the Treasure Within* (UNESCO, 1996),[6] four pillars of education are outlined: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to *live together*, with the greatest emphasis placed on the last of these challenges. Learning to live together is seen as a 'second literacy', as indispensable to a culture of peace as literacy itself. A sub-category of the 'second literacy' might well be 'gender literacy' – learning to interpret the nature of the gendered world which separates women and men in what some have called 'gender apartheid', and to read the significance of the gender-disaggregated data now gathered by the United Nations as it 'mainstreams' a gender perspective.

The World Commission on Culture and Development underlined its report *Our Creative Diversity* (1996)[7] the importance of recognizing and respecting the diversity of cultures in order to learn to live peacefully together. There is also a need to reflect upon the ways in which culture

determines concepts of gender and the relations between women and men. Both cultural and gender perspectives on the issues at hand are essential to education for a culture of peace.

Mainstreaming a gender perspective

Since the Beijing Conference, the United Nations has been committed to the inclusion of gender in all activities and policies. The achievement of the goals of the Platform for Action, indeed of most of the goals espoused by the world body, would be impossible without consideration of this crucial factor in human relations. Thus, gender analysis is an essential tool for effective policy-making. Mainstreaming a gender perspective requires compilation and analysis of statistical data showing the life conditions of women and men respectively, how women and men are involved in society at different levels, what they each contribute, their particular needs and interests; and how each gender benefits or suffers from policies and projects, including how resources and power are distributed and used.

The very strong emphasis on the importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective throughout the twelve Critical Areas of Concern of the Beijing Platform for Action indicates that member states of the United Nations system are ready to take the so-called 'women's issues' out of their marginalization; to see women not only as victims of injustice, but also as important agents of change; and to study the interchange and dynamics between women and men, and their roles and status in society.

The ECOSOC session of July 1997 (doc. E/1997/L.) further highlighted the importance of the mainstreaming of a gender perspective and provided the following clarification of the concept:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes, in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

UNESCO holds that this goal is essential to a culture of peace.

ECOSOC also drew the attention of other bodies of the United Nations system to:

> the need to mainstream a gender perspective systematically into all areas of their work, in particular in areas such as macroeconomics questions, operational activities for development, poverty eradication, human rights, humanitarian assistance, budgeting, disarmament, peace and security, and legal and political matters.

Until recently, these areas have been considered gender-neutral or domains where gender has simply been a non-issue, with the exception of the

feminist critiques such as those that appear in this volume. The limits to gender sensitivity seem most excessive in the areas of international politics, security and defence.

UNESCO, in keeping with its mandate and the values of a culture of peace, and through its Agenda for Gender Equality (1995),[8] places special emphasis on the importance of a gender perspective within all its fields of competence: education, science, culture and communication, in accordance with the triple approach of the Medium-Term Strategy (1996–2001):

1. mainstreaming a gender perspective in all planning, programming, implementation and evaluation;
2. full use of women's visions, competencies, experiences and potential in meeting world challenges;
3. specific programmes, projects and action to benefit girls and women.

Why focus on women's contribution to a culture of peace?

UNESCO's Women and a Culture of Peace Programme was established in 1996 to mainstream a gender perspective in the 'Towards a Culture of Peace' transdisciplinary project and to fulfil the requirements of the Beijing Platform for Action, which states that the 'full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace'.

The programme strongly underlines: (a) gender equality as a precondition for a culture of peace; and (b) the need to make full use of women's experience, talents, visions and potential at all levels of society.

A programme on women and a culture of peace has the advantage of women's generally strong interest in and support for issues related to peace. It suffers, however, from the disadvantage that women, being largely outside political and economic decision-making, have hardly any say in decisions leading to war or peace.

Two questions often occur in relation to the topic 'women and peace': Do women in a decision-making capacity make a difference? And what do women bring to the cause of peace?

Women have only to a limited degree participated in the description and analysis of political and economic reality and have therefore, on a general basis, hardly influenced policy-making. It is essential to involve women in the description of reality and in policy-making. It is further necessary to listen carefully to how women define their visions of a culture of peace. Inspiration can be found from early twentieth-century publications such as Robeya Sakhawat Hussain's remarkable utopia, 'Sultana's Dream' (originally published in India in 1905),[9] where she describes a peaceful 'Ladyland' with women in political decision-making positions; it is a society with a high level of education, basing its energy

consumption on solar power, and living without any violence and in close contact with and respect for nature. A modern-day example is Charlotte Gilman Perkins' *Herland* (Magnolie, Mass., Peter Smith Pub., 1992).

Do women in positions of power make a difference?

It would be any feminist's nightmare to have a 50:50 distribution of women and men in political decision-making but for there to be no difference in policy and practice. Historically and scientifically, we do not yet have enough experience and evidence of women in political decision-making positions to be able to undertake a proper analysis.

There are only 1 per cent of women elected heads of state and government, 7 per cent of women ministers (with very few women heading powerful departments such as ministries of foreign affairs, defence, the interior or finance) and some 11 per cent of women parliamentarians. This century has seen fewer than thirty women prime ministers or presidents, and 99 per cent of the top political power is in the hands of men, as well as some estimated 99 per cent of the world's resources.

Studies have shown that a 'minority group' can only effectively influence mainstream policy if it constitutes a so-called 'critical mass' of some 33 per cent. Although there are some notable exceptions, it is likely that several women in political positions will have to comply with the existing structures and policies in order not to be marginalized.

Only a very few countries have recently approached a critical mass of women in parliament, and only the Nordic countries have for some years had a critical mass of women in both parliament and government. There is as yet no critical mass of women in areas important to policy-making such as industry and finance, the armed forces and the Church.

There is some evidence, as that cited below, that women give priority to what are generally called 'feminine values' such as social security and ecological security, notably clean drinking water and food for children, and that due to hardship they have developed strong survival skills and flexibility. Women are, in general, also questioning the tremendous gap between military and social expenditure. So there is the promise, if not yet the reality, of women making a significant difference in encouraging a politics of peace.

Even though we do not yet have irrefutable evidence that women in a critical mass would make a difference in political and economic decision-making positions, we cannot afford to continue to under-utilize half of humanity. We require all the human talents that are evenly distributed between women and men to help solve the global problems that impede the realization of a culture of peace. Moreover, it is an acknowledged human right of both women and men to participate on equal terms in democratic processes at all levels of society. The exclusion of and discrimination against women cannot be tolerated, whether in the name of freedom of expression,

the market economy or cultural traditions and practices, nor through the interpretations of any religion.

Women and men are generally socialized differently. In most societies women are educated for the caring functions, not only to care for children, but also for the sick and the old, and even for able-bodied men. The world is desperately in need of this experience, what we could appropriately call women's 'rationality of care'. Women, as a majority, are also outside the present power structures and are therefore free to provide a substantial critique and needed alternatives as well as a rethinking of existing structures, institutions and practices.

It should be noted that there is some research data indicating that women's participation does make a difference. A study of Norwegian women parliamentarians in 1989[10] showed that women did make a difference in both working methods and political agendas. According to the study, women work more easily than men across party boundaries, and values traditionally linked to women, such as social welfare, health care, education, environment and international co-operation and solidarity, are high on their political agendas.

A 1993 study on differences in attitudes towards foreign policy and defence issues between Swedish women and men[11] showed considerable gender differences. Women were more positive than men to continuing foreign aid, to receiving refugees and to decreasing defence costs. Women were more negative to Swedish participation in European defence co-operation and in peacekeeping operations if it meant a risk of involvement in acts of warfare. The greatest difference was found on the issue of exports of war equipment, where more women than men wanted a total ban on Swedish arms exports.

Moreover, a study of the political/ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley, Kenya (1991–94)[12] showed huge gender differentiation in issues related to conflict. The study points out that 'society since time immemorial, has dictated that war making (and even peace making) remain the domain of men who, since childhood, have been trained mentally and physically for violent resolution of conflict'. The resort to violence as a means of resolving a conflict, often mobilizing the entire society's material, human and spiritual resources, is, according to the study, justified by the internalization of 'the other as enemy' and the stimulation of the sense of nationalistic pride. Such a process effectively negates the attributes and notions that the author sees as traditionally feminine: caring across sociocultural boundaries, sharing, talking, preservation of life, tolerance, patience and moderation.

Other studies also describe foreign policy, and notably defence issues, as areas in which women and men are deeply divided in their attitudes and policy preferences. Women are said to be more pacific and 'dovish', and men more 'hawkish', more often advocating the use of violence in international conflicts.

It is imperative, however, not to romanticize or essentialize (i.e. attribute to nature or female biology) the 'peacefulness' of women in a way that undermines the overriding goal of an egalitarian partnership between women and men, as expressed at the Beijing Conference. Nor should we disregard the possibility that changes in the gender socialization that encourages competition and aggression in men and co-operation and accommodation in women can help to bring about equality. There is a need to gather data and analyse carefully the gender differences both in the North and the South, in order to obtain more evidence as to what the differences are and how they can be explained, and how we can educate for change. While some researchers have presented data attesting to biological explanations for gender differences, the preponderance of the evidence underlines the importance of socialization, social structures, role models, education, tradition, culture and media as the greatest influences on gender-identity formation and gendered behavioural patterns.

Only because he is a man – the question of quotas

While there is broad agreement on the need for practical measures in order to ensure gender equality, the question of quotas (i.e. calling for specific percentages of women in various political and economic bodies and other public institutions) remains politically sensitive. It is, however, interesting to note that many of the countries that have a comparatively high percentage of women in political decision-making positions have obtained it through some kind of quota system or preferential treatment. Until recently, quotas have mainly been used in social-democratic, socialist or communist countries. With the breakdown of the Soviet Union, central and eastern European countries abandoned their previous quota systems, resulting in an immediate, drastic fall in the number of women in political decision-making capacities. In this and other areas of the world, progress towards women's political equality has been neither continuous nor permanent.

The world community renewed and strengthened its commitment to the fundamental principles of equality between men and women in adopting by consensus the Beijing Platform for Action (although some forty countries made some reservations). It further recommended taking 'positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions' (para. 192a) and mentioned 'structural and attitudinal barriers that need to be addressed through positive measures' (para. 186). Reference was also made to some countries where affirmative action has led to 33.3 per cent or greater representation in local and national government. However, different countries, organizations and institutions are left to set more specific quotas for themselves.

Recognizing that even within the United Nations system, progress

towards gender equality had lagged, the 50th Session of the General Assembly took the decision (A/C.3/50/L.23) to improve the status of women in the Secretariat. Member states also called upon the Secretary-General to fulfil his target of having women hold 50 per cent of managerial and decision-making positions by the year 2000.

Yet there is clearly a reluctance to institute concrete, practical, measurable steps to undo the injustices that are strongly embedded and correctly referred to as 'gender apartheid'. The situation forces us to question why, by and large, the status quo has not changed. Is it because the full picture of gender inequality is not widely known, or is there an assumption that much more has been achieved than is actually the case? Is it that the majority of men and some women are still not gender-sensitive and therefore opt for keeping things the way they are? Or is it that some men are afraid of partnership and real equality with women and are not ready to give up their privileges? Could it be that some women because of privileged circumstances, and others because they have not been socialized to ask for anything for themselves or their sisters, have not sought change? Or is it that in periods when jobs are scarce, women are not encouraged to seek work or positions? Could it be that quotas for women are not always practised satisfactorily? Or do some women find quota systems demeaning when there should be fair distribution and human rights?

The question of quotas would benefit from being turned upside down as men continue to inherit a series of advantages and preferential treatments that no longer have any justification – it is just because they are men, and seem to have a quota of their own. There might be historical, cultural, religious, economic and biological explanations for this situation, such as men's physical strength, traditional role as providers/heads of families, god images, and most role models of authority being male. However, the prevailing gender disparities are no longer acceptable to a modern world, and the challenges confronting humanity on the eve of the twenty-first century necessitate the full utilization of all human potential, and the joint efforts of women and men in full and equal partnership.

A growing number of countries (161) are parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW),[13] and are beginning to address the need to work towards the legal and political equality that is required as the basis of a full and equal partnership. Many countries have integrated the principle of gender equality into national legislation. A few countries have introduced equal status laws/acts or made protocols defining ways to achieve equality, while instituting an equal status ombudsman to guarantee the right to lodge a legal complaint if these regulations are violated.

Some organizations, institutions and political parties have also developed specific regulations and measures in favour of equality between women and men. These regulations mostly favour women who are, by far,

the sex that suffers most from gender discrimination. The wording of these regulations is – and rightly so – ususally in favour of the 'under-represented sex'.

It is interesting to note that in Norway, a country with one of the best records on equality between women and men,[14] quotas were introduced in favour of boys/men at the local level long before quotas for women were established. These quotas related to access to secondary education in Oslo where girls had better grades, and it was argued that boys ought not to be held back because they were more interested in extracurricular activities at that age. The quotas also applied to access to pre-school teacher training colleges and nursing schools, where it was argued that there was a need for both sexes to have relevant role models. However, when the suggestion of quotas for women was introduced, a fierce debate ensued, with some people arguing that it was contrary to the idea of equality to put presumably 'unqualified' women in positions where they would not be able to do a good job.

The preferential treatment that is most often practised requires that women be as qualified as men for the posts and opportunities in question. Sometimes, but less frequently, it is only required that the under-represented sex has the necessary qualifications. In practice, the question of qualifications is more often interpreted in men's favour, since men are dominant in decision-making positions. In addition, both women and men have a tendency to ask more of a woman in the same position than they would of a man equally placed. Despite the trend towards more democratic societies, women remain largely outside mainstream decision-making and men continue to 'inherit' privileges, only because they are perceived to have a higher status.

Superwomen?

Men control not only most of the world's resources, but also most of its power. Women, much more than men, have had to prove themselves worthy of citizenship. In the statistical data provided by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the distribution of seats between women and men in national parliaments from 1945 to 1991,[15] huge gender imbalances were observed, as in the conditions for obtaining the right to vote and standing for elections. Even when conditions linked to race, property, profession, age and education appeared as obstacles to full citizenship for some groups of men, the burden of proof for women was much heavier. The following are but a few examples of the disparities in the franchise conditions applicable to women and men:

Military affiliations: from a culture of peace as well as a gender perspective, it is interesting to note how military and racial factors have affected political rights.

In Australia, whereas most women obtained the right to vote in

1902, Aboriginal women – and men – received full franchise only in 1967. Some states gave the Aborigines the right to vote in 1949, but in Queensland and Western Australia, for example, Aborigines were only entitled to enrol and vote if they were serving or had served as members of the Australian Defence Force. This condition effectively excluded Aboriginal women.

In Canada, women who served in the armed forces or who had a close male relative serving (i.e. a father, husband or son) were granted the right to vote at the federal level in 1917. All non-Indian women won the right to vote in 1919. Indian women and men were included in adult suffrage in 1960, except for Quebec which did not remove its restrictions until 1969 when Canada adopted universal adult suffrage.

Belgium gave the right to vote in national elections in 1919 to the widows and mothers of servicemen killed during the war and of citizens shot or killed by the enemy, and to women political prisoners. Universal suffrage for men was introduced in 1919 and for women in 1948.

Property: because by law and custom, women's right to hold property has traditionally been limited, this, too, has served as a disenfranchising element. Adult male suffrage was introduced in Bahamas only in 1959. Bahamian women obtained the right to vote in 1962, and only in 1964 were all property qualifications abolished. In Norway, between 1907 and 1913 it was necessary for a woman to have private means, property, a good position and income, in order to be an elected member of parliament. Due to the peerage system in the United Kingdom, under which the eldest son inherited titles of nobility and estates, women could not enter the House of Lords until 1958.

Literacy/education: in that the majority of the world's illiterate are women, and education is more often available to boys and men than girls and women, lack of education has also been an impediment to women's political participation. Literate women in Bolivia were given the right to vote and to be elected in 1938, these rights being extended to all women in 1952. In Portugal, it was necessary for women to have completed secondary or higher education to have the right to vote, while men only had to know how to read and write, until total equality was written into the constitution of 1976. In the Syrian Arab Republic, the right to vote was at the outset given to women who had reached the educational level of Class Six, and then to literate women, before all restrictions were lifted.

Age: in most cases, men reached voting age with their legal majority, usually at 21; but here, too, the requirements for women were more stringent. In the United Kingdom, the right to vote was given to women over 30 years of age in 1918, and in 1928 women obtained full voting equality with men.

Race and marital status: in post-colonial societies, women also suffered delays in receiving voting rights granted earlier to men. In

Zimbabwe, the right to vote was extended to black married women only in 1957. In the case of polygamy, this privilege applied only to the first wife. Wives were also required to be literate in English.

Local/national level: throughout the world, women have obtained suffrage very slowly, and often in stages that include geocultural factors as well as those noted above. Several countries have for many years restricted electoral rights for women. The right to vote was often first granted at a local level, while the right to stand for elections to parliament or for president in some countries was the last to be granted.

Solidarity

The preparations for the Beijing Conference brought to the forefront a new solidarity among women. At the same time the call for working partnerships between women and men grew stronger. While there is not yet enough evidence to draw conclusions as to how this new solidarity, women–men, is developing, it is seen as a necessary complement to women–women solidarity, and an essential condition for a gender-sensitive culture of peace.

Women's solidarity has traditionally been strongest in times of difficulty and distress, where women shoulder each other's burdens, share survival strategies and actions, take care of children, the elderly and the sick, or support each other when men are absent. There is less proof of solidarity with women in positions of power and authority. The reason might be a lack of experience with women in powerful positions, a lack of efficient networks and support groups, and also the tough competition to get through the 'glass ceiling'. Recruitment to higher positions has often been from among women from privileged backgrounds. The few women who have risen to positions of power have usually had to adapt to existing patterns in order not to be marginalized by the rest of the power structure, thereby risking alienation from other women. It is evident that conditions have not always encouraged solidarity among women in power, nor between them and other women. In order to encourage the process leading towards gender equality in political decision-making, it is important to strengthen this new type of solidarity, both through a broad women's support for women in decision-making positions and through the accountability of 'empowered' women towards their female constituencies. The formation of women's caucuses in representative bodies, and international associations such as Women Parliamentarians, are significant developments in this process.

In the development of women–men solidarity, it is important to encourage men's involvement in so-called 'women's issues' and to support their initiatives such as the new networks of young men against violence, notably violence against women, that are being established in many countries. These pro-feminist men acknowledge the insights and expertise

they have acquired through feminist research and the women's movement and are ready to form the egalitarian partnerships that arise from and strengthen this new cross-gender solidarity.

Women and a culture of peace

UNESCO's Women and a Culture of Peace Programme, in co-operation with other UNESCO programmes and projects, and with outside partners, sets out to explore the gender-related factors that hamper or inspire development towards a culture of peace.

In addition to the importance given to mainstreaming a gender perspective, and to the advocacy of and information about gender equality, three priorities have been defined for the programme:

1. Support women's initiatives for peace.
2. Enhance women's participation in democratic processes, notably in political and economic decision-making.
3. Encourage new expectations of men, and egalitarian partnerships between women and men.

These priorities have been developed due to concerns stemming from:

- the acceleration of physical violence and its persistent root causes: poverty, injustice and exclusion;
- the growing number of armed conflicts, including intra-national conflicts;
- the persistence of gender stereotypes and various forms of discrimination against women.

The programme relates to the Beijing Platform for Action, notably the Strategic Objective E.4: 'Promote Women's Contribution to Fostering a Culture of Peace', as well as to other priorities of the platform such as equal access to relevant, quality education; research into the causes, consequences and prevention of violence against women; reduction of military expenditure and armaments; promotion of non-violent conflict resolution; participation in power structures and decision-making; protection of human rights and elimination of discrimination; and participation and access to expression and decision-making in and through the media.

The programme further acknowledges the importance of increasing 'the participation of women in preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, pre- and post-conflict decision-making and reconstruction, and meeting the specific needs of women affected by armed conflict', as underlined by the Commission on the Status of Women (March 1998).

UNESCO's focus on Africa is reflected through a Special Project on Women and a Culture of Peace in Africa for 1998–99. The special project includes sending interagency women's peace missions to certain conflict areas in order to strengthen women's roles as peace promoters and help amplify local women's voices for peace, for example through the provision

of adequate gender-sensitive training based on traditional conflict resolution and mediating skills and practices.

A series of case studies is being undertaken in different subregions of Africa on how women contribute to the building of a culture of peace; on women's survival skills in times of crisis; and on women's traditional mediating techniques and best practices and how they can be applied to present-day situations. Teaching materials for gender-sensitive education and training for a culture of peace are being developed with the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) and the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).

UNESCO's Women and a Culture of Peace Programme actively encourages different groups of women to define, refine and share their visions of a culture of peace, to identify the main obstacles and to develop strategies to overcome these obstacles. To this end, a competition for a logo symbolizing women's contribution to a culture of peace was launched in 1997 under the slogan: 'Visualize your vision of a culture of peace.' Artists and art students from all over the world participated in great numbers. The logo chosen by the jury shows a wounded dove being cared for and caressed by women's hands: an attempt to revitalize the symbol of peace – and peace itself.

Support women's initiatives for peace

UNESCO supported women's initiatives for peace even before the establishment of the Women and a Culture of Peace Programme. This support was primarily directed towards women's NGOs or to special women-related activities of other NGOs. Identification of new projects and assistance to networking and information-sharing are among the various initiatives being undertaken. The establishment of a directory of women working in emergency situations is being supported through the Women's International Network for Emergency and Solidarity (WIN) in Italy.

The 'Women and a Culture of Peace' radio programme in El Salvador is among the most successful national culture of peace programmes. Through the Buenos Tiempos Mujer Project, former opposing factions work together on building a gender-sensitive culture of peace, based on the development of self-esteem, dialogue and the overcoming of violence both in the family and in society. A number of women correspondents ensure that the content of the radio programmes is relevant to the population, notably in deprived areas. They also ensure that a broad variety of women's voices are heard. The radio programmes are broadcast on a regular basis on more than thirty radio stations, including former guerrilla stations. Innovative educational material and popular games accompany the transmissions.

A series of round tables on 'Women in the Service of Civil Peace', organized in Latin America by the Cultural Sector of UNESCO, provides

an important contribution to networking among women researchers and activists in the building of active citizenship and the consolidation of peace in the region. A publication on the findings is forthcoming.

UNESCO has honoured some outstanding women with peace prizes:

Seven women have received the UNESCO Peace Education Prize: Helena Kekkonen (Finland), 1981; Laurence Deonna (Switzerland), 1987; Rigoberta Menchú Tum (Guatemala), 1990; Ruth Leger Sivard (United States), 1991; Mother Teresa (India), 1992; Madeleine de Vits (Belgium), 1993; and Chiara Lubich (Italy), 1996.

No women have yet received the Education for Human Rights Prize, but the following have received an honourable mention: Tayhong Lee (Republic of Korea), 1981; Bonnie Capucchino with Fred Capucchino (Canada), 1988; Jeanne Hersch (Switzerland), 1988; Crescencia Souer Lucero (Philippines), 1990; Eva Latham (Netherlands), 1990; Francine Best (France), 1992; and Gloria Ramírez (Mexico), 1996.

The Félix Houphouët-Boigny Prize for Peace Research was given in 1989 to the High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, and UNHCR.

The first UNESCO Mayors for Peace Prize (now Cities for Peace Prize) was awarded in 1996 to Gloria Isabel Cuartas Montoya, Mayor of Apartado, Colombia.

The UNESCO Madjanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-violence was awarded for the first time in 1996 to a consortium of thirty-five women's organizations in Rwanda, Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe. The UNESCO film *The Doves of Rwanda* documents women's courageous efforts in the rebuilding and reconciliation process in Rwanda.

Some of these UNESCO laureates are among the ten women to have received the Nobel Peace Prize, established in 1901: Bertha von Suttner (Austria), 1905; Jane Addams (United States), 1931 (shared with Nicolas Murray Butler); Emily Greene Balch (United States), 1946 (shared with John R. Mott); Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams (Northern Ireland), 1976; Mother Teresa (India), 1979; Alva Myrdal (Sweden), 1982 (shared with Alfonso García Robles); Aung San Suu Kyi (Myanmar (Burma)), 1991; Rigoberta Menchú Tum (Guatemala), 1992; and Jody Williams (United States), 1997 (shared with the International Organization against Landmines).

Enhance women's participation in the democratic process, notably in political and economic decision-making

Many women's initiatives for peace have come out of their frustration and anger over public-policy decisions that they have not been able to influence due to their poor representation in decision-making bodies.

The Women and a Culture of Peace Programme gives priority to support for:

- strategies to enhance women's full participation in the democratic process, notably women's access to decision-making positions;
- networking among 'empowered' women, notably parliamentarians, mayors and local leaders, to strengthen their roles as promoters of a culture of peace.

These priorities are particularly relevant due to the tendency in many countries presently facing hardship which want to solve the economic and political issues first and then deal with gender equality at some later stage. These countries have not taken full account of the interrelationship between equality, development and peace, or the fact that women, because of their socialization and experience, might bring fresh ideas, alternative solutions and new visions.

A main challenge is how to convince more men of the importance of gender equality and that 'empowering' women would not lead to 'disempowerment' of men, but that new types of sharing and partnership would be rewarding for both sexes.

UNESCO has in this context contributed actively to a series of meetings, such as: Political Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution, the Impact of Gender Difference (DAW, Santo Domingo, 1996); the Women's Leadership Forum for Peace (OAU, Johannesburg, 1996); the Pan African Conference on Peace, Gender and Development (Kigali, 1997); the interagency workshop on 'Best Practices of Women in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution using Non-Violent Methods' (Addis Ababa, 1997); Democracy and Equality between Women and Men (Council of Europe, 1997); and the Regional Symposium on Gender, Politics, Peace, Conflict Prevention and Resolution (Commonwealth Secretariat, Brighton, United Kingdom, 1998). Through these and other such events and initiatives, close co-operation is developed with the relevant United Nations organizations and NGOs.

Initiatives are being taken both by UNESCO field offices and by National Commissions for UNESCO to strengthen the role of 'empowered' women as peace promoters and to encourage their internal networking. To this end a meeting entitled 'To Enhance Women's Representation and to Promote the Consideration of Gender Issues Within Parliaments' was organized in Malawi for empowering women in southern Africa in April 1996. Another regional meeting on women and culture took place in New Delhi for the countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) region in June 1998; and one is planned for Central America and the Caribbean, to be held in Santo Domingo in 1999. These initiatives should be seen in the context of UNESCO's efforts to strengthen democratic principles and good governance, notably in co-operation with the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Parliamentarians for Global Action.

Encourage new expectations of men and more egalitarian partnerships between women and men

The first programmatic attempt by the United Nations to bring into focus male roles and masculinity's relationship to peace issues on the world agenda was made by UNESCO, when it organized an Expert Group Meeting on Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace in Oslo in September 1997. The theme of the meeting, which brought together an equal number of women and men, gender researchers, peace researchers and activists, stemmed from the realization that a culture of peace can only be established within the context of egalitarian, partnership-oriented gender roles. Male roles rooted in the stereotypical views of masculinity based on dominance, force and aggressiveness require serious study if change is to be achieved. Such changes should reflect the understanding that rigid and stereotyped gender roles prevent all individuals, male and female, from realizing their full potential and run counter to the principle of participatory democracy.[16]

The participants acknowledged that while women's roles and status have been widely debated over the last decades, men have been seen as the standard human being – the norm – and men's roles and positions have hardly been discussed, and far less questioned.

The stress in the Beijing Platform for Action and its follow-up strategies on the importance of mainstreaming a gender perspective calls for a new focus on men. This is all the more important since, in a world of rapid transformation (characterized by the high risk of unemployment, marginalization and exclusion), the linking of the male identity primarily to work relations, and positions of power and decision-making in public and private life, seems to create frustration and severe problems that counteract and put at risk transformations from a culture of war and violence to a culture of peace and non-violence.

The Oslo Expert Group Meeting further addressed the harmful consequences of rigid and stereotyped definitions of masculinity and femininity, roles of dominance and submission. The meeting explored the social, cultural, economic and political conditions producing violence among men, and developed some practical strategies for reducing men's violence, including the possibility of raising boys in ways that emphasize qualities such as emotional response, caring, and communication skills, vital for a culture of peace. It undertook the task of formulating recommendations for practical measures that enhance the development of a gender-sensitive culture of peace, in relation to society and its major institutions. Since some groups of men are becoming a risk factor, not only for themselves, but for society at large – notably the poorly educated, the unemployed, demobilized soldiers and groups rigidly linked to power structures – special emphasis should be given to developing insight, and training to address the uncertainties, conflicts, frustrations

and feelings of 'disempowerment' to prevent a recourse to violent behaviour.

Some of the main points underlined at the meeting are summarized in the following:

- There is a broad diversity of masculinities. However, one kind of masculinity, the so-called hegemonic masculinity, tends to be dominant in different social or institutional contexts and excludes women and other men.
- Most men feel entitled to dominant or powerful positions through their upbringing and react negatively when this entitlement is not fulfilled. These reactions may lead to domestic violence, violence in schools or on the street, adherence to extremist gangs and sects, or wanting to join legitimate structures which use force such as the police and the armed forces. They may also lead to reinforced structural violence like exclusion, or the refusal to vote on concrete measures towards gender equality in the workplace or in different levels of society.
- Gender relations are dynamic and can change rapidly though they are widely believed to change slowly or not at all.
- There is a general masculinization of societies, including the emergence of militarized masculinities in communities under threat. This masculinization has in some societies even reached young girls, who have started using violent methods in their search for equality and recognition.
- There is a clear link between masculinity and violence. According to existing statistics, men (often young men) cause almost 90 per cent of all physical violence. However, it was emphasized that most men are not violent – nor are men naturally violent.
- Participants agreed that work on men's issues related to violence and peace can only be successful in the context of a broad movement towards gender equality and non-violence.

Thus, there was a philosophical and strategic convergence between the UNESCO Expert Group Meetings of Oslo and Manila, pointing towards possible options for a post-patriarchal future.

Notes

1. *UNESCO Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace* (1995).
2. *Beijing Platform for Action of the 4th World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace.*
3. Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, adopted on 16 November 1945.
4. The importance of fostering a culture of peace has also been recognized through several other UNESCO statements and recommendations, such as the following:

   The Statement on Violence (Seville 1986). An international team of scientists met in Seville, Spain, in 1986 to issue a Statement on Violence which counters the commonly held myth that war is inherent to human nature. The statement was

adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 1989. Speaking from the relevant disciplines of animal behaviour, psychology, brain research, genetics and anthropology, the scientists rejected the idea that war is genetically programmed into human nature or inherited from animal ancestors. They concluded: 'the same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us.'

The Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of a Culture of Peace (Barcelona, 1994). Representatives of different religious traditions adopted the declaration at a meeting sponsored by UNESCO in Barcelona, Spain, in 1994. In this declaration the participants committed themselves to transform conflicts without using violence, and to prevent them through education and the pursuit of justice.

A Declaration of Principles on Tolerance. Adopted within the framework of the United Nations Year for Tolerance at the 28th Session of the UNESCO General Conference, the declaration defines tolerance as 'an active attitude' and a 'responsibility that upholds human rights, pluralism, democracy and the rule of law'.

The Declaration on the Safeguarding of the Future Generations. This declaration is based on the recognition that the actions of present generations have inevitable consequences for future generations, and expresses deep concern that the perpetuation of humanity may be endangered by irresponsible actions undertaken today (UNESCO, 1997).

The Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights. This bioethical text seeks to protect humanity from abuses rendered possible by genetic research and practice, while simultaneously encouraging research with great medical potential (UNESCO, 1997).

5. A series of recommendations guide UNESCO's work on peace education: *Recommendation on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace, and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1974), *World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy* (Montreal, 1993), *Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy* (adopted by the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 1994), *Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights* (Vienna, 1993) and *Plan of Action for the UN Decade for Human Rights Education, 1995–2004.*
6. *Learning, the Treasure Within*, Report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, headed by Jacques Delors (1996).
7. *Our Creative Diversity*, Report by the World Commission on Culture and Development, headed by Pérez de Cuéllar (1996).
8. *UNESCO Agenda for Gender Equality*, Position Paper of the Director-General to the 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995).
9. 'Sultana's Dream', in J. Vickers and H. Pietila (eds.), *Making Women Matter*, London, Zed Books, 1996.
10. Scheie, *Den Politiske betya'ningen av Kjönn. En studie av norsk topp-politikk*, Oslo, Institute for Social Research, 1989. (Report 92-11.)

11. Ulf Bjereld, Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, 1993.
12. B. Jommo, unpublished study, Kenya, 1996.
13. Figures on CEDAW (1998) from the UN Division for the Advancement of Women.
14. *Human Development Report*, 1995.
15. Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Distribution of Seats Between Men and Women in National Parliaments, Statistical Data from 1945 to 30 June 1991*, Geneva, 1991.
16. The *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace* exists in English, French, Spanish and Russian and can be ordered from the Women and a Culture of Peace Programme, UNESCO.

Peace talks – peace tasks

A gender perspective on policy issues is a fairly new concept. While the United Nations Agencies charged with 'women's issues' have for some time been gathering the gender-disaggregated data that so vividly illustrate gender inequities, the argument that Breines presents here of the centrality of gender to all issues, the notion that gave rise to gender mainstreaming, has only recently gained general acceptance. Thus, there is a need for further work on the conceptualization and implementation of a gender perspective, if it is to provide the data and knowledge necessary to formulate policy proposals for our agenda. The following set of issues and questions may help to initiate research and discussion to facilitate mainstreaming, and to develop and refine a gender perspective.

1. **Reflect on the *practical meaning* of gender mainstreaming in relation to peace issues.**
2. **How could a gender perspective be factored into images that articulate visions of a culture of peace? Should these visions be articulated separately from the perspectives and experiences of men and women, or jointly from both perspectives? How can gender differences and human commonalities be given equitable consideration in the formulation of a Woman's Agenda for a Culture of Peace? Beyond the need to compensate for the perennial exclusion of women's perspectives from future projections and policy-making, what arguments can be made for the need and usefulness of women's perspectives? How would it differ conceptually from an agenda drafted from a gender perspective or a feminist perspective?**
3. **What would comprise the social purposes, learning goals and pedagogical approaches of gender-sensitive education for a culture of peace? What new learning will be required? List the habits and attitudes which must be unlearned. Formulate descriptions of each of these three dimensions, purposes, goals and pedagogy and various ways in which they can be introduced into present education systems. Outline roles and particular tasks for educators in the conceptualization and development of a culture of peace.**

4. Breines calls attention to the conclusions of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, formulated in terms of learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together. Educational research is needed to propose and outline some sample learning objectives for each of these categories, conceptualized and stated from a gender perspective. Readers in the educating professions might address this need. Those concerned with curriculum and pedagogy might address themselves to the topic of learning to live together, and propose learning goals and pedagogical approaches to enable men and women to live together in ways that are gender-sensitive, equitable and based on gender equality.
5. Among other research topics to develop tools for applying a gender perspective and to devise gender-sensitive strategies to achieve a gender partnership for a culture of peace are the following: strategies to enable women in positions of power to maintain their own values and perspectives and to avoid being marginalized within the present power structure; political and learning strategies to expose the sexist assumptions that underlie male privilege and preference in the political and economic arenas, and to overcome behavioural discrimination against women; strategies to persuade people in general, and men in particular, of the unquestionable need for gender equality; and modes and mechanisms to broaden and strengthen women–women and women–men solidarity and to apply their co-operative energies to the achievement of gender justice and stable peace.

Chapter 3

Women, war and peace

Dan Smith

Editors' prologue

Smith's essay focuses on significant issues of 'negative peace', the notion of peace that arises when war is the central problem of violence to be faced. The reader will find here a brief inventory of some of the gender-specific aspects of war and armed conflict which fall most heavily on women. We see as particularly significant the accounts he gives about the use of rape as an intentional military strategy and what that tells us about the nature of the institution of war and the challenge the continued acceptance of the institution presents to those who seek to bring about a culture of peace.

This inventory of war's particular forms of violence against women is complemented by a review of some of the innovative initiatives women have undertaken to manifest their opposition to war, organized violence and the violation of human rights. We might reflect on how his interpretation of women's peace actions compares with that offered by Valenzuela in her account of the actions of Latin American women.

The chapter also demonstrates how the stereotypes of gender roles continue to affect women's participation in and relation to armed combat and the forces, challenging us to think about what changes in that relationship should be called for in a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace. It would be useful to contrast the conclusions Smith draws about women in the armed forces with those drawn by Stiehm in her chapter on peacekeeping.

Introduction

At any one time during the first half of the 1990s, somewhat more than thirty Third World countries were experiencing wars; in each year from 1990 to 1994 inclusive, there were a further thirty to thirty-five countries undergoing serious, systemic social and political violence.[1] These were all

civil wars. Most of them – especially those that did not receive sustained attention from the media – were long, slow conflicts that intermittently erupted viciously. More than half the ongoing wars in 1994 had lasted more than a decade. They employed relatively low-tech weaponry and much of the violence was inflicted at close quarters.

Most information agencies pay only sporadic attention to these conflicts and there is little systematic information on many important issues. This chapter provides a sense of what information is available about two important and under-reported aspects – the impact of the conflicts on women and women's role in them – before looking at women's actions for peace.

Casualties of war

Bringing war home

There is almost no reliable information on the number of dead, wounded and refugees in today's wars, including the major conflicts that receive widespread media attention. Virtually all figures cited on the scale of suffering are estimates; sometimes these estimates are made in good faith, sometimes they are pure propaganda, and much of the time they are something in between. Taking a conservative view of the available figures, it seems likely that, in all, rather more than 20 million people have died in war since 1945. Ongoing wars in 1994 may have killed a cumulative total of around 5 million people. Of an estimated world total of displaced persons and international refugees of over 46 million people,[2] it is possible that not far short of 40 million have fled their homes because of the impact or the fear of war.

There are many reasons for the uncertain nature of the data, including political sensitivity and the demands of propaganda. But there is also a genuine, non-political uncertainty, which exists for a simple, almost banal reason: nobody has the job of counting most of the victims. In most wars, the fighting forces – even guerrilla forces – generally have a reasonably accurate (if private) figure for their own casualties. However, civilians who get caught up in war will, if they can, seek safety in flight; if possible, they will bury their dead first; at all times, they will try to stay out of the way of the fighting forces. Relief agencies care more for those who have survived than for those who did not. It is not a priority for them to put resources into obtaining an accurate overall death toll.

Making allowances for the uncertain nature of the information, it is generally accepted that in wars around the turn of the century, 85–90 per cent of casualties were in the armed forces. A small minority were civilians who got caught in the crossfire or killed in atrocities. In the Second World War, civilian fatalities as a proportion of all war deaths have been variously estimated as between a half and two-thirds; these estimates include all the theatres of war and include victims of death camps, massacres and bombing raids. Today, it is generally reckoned that about three-quarters of war

deaths are civilian. If we include refugees and the wounded, this puts the proportion of civilian casualties at well over 90 per cent.[3]

In other words, in the twentieth century, war has been brought home to the civilian population. This has happened through the strategic bombing of cities and both revolutionary and counter-insurgency warfare – any form of war in which people rather than just the armed forces are the target. Since 1992 the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has introduced the term 'ethnic cleansing': there, and equally in the use of famine as a strategic weapon in southern Sudan in recent years, we see new versions of centuries-old terror tactics.

As war is brought to the civilian population, so the numbers and proportion of women casualties of war rise. Although there is a feeling in many cultures that it is particularly shocking when war victimizes women and children (for whom it is normally women's social responsibility to care), most casualty figures do not distinguish between genders or ages. Even if they did, of course, the information available about the impact of war on women would be as suspect as the casualty figures as a whole.

On one aspect, there is slightly more information. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has reported that about 80 per cent of international refugees are women and children, compared with the 70 per cent of the population of an average Third World country that is constituted by women and children.[4] That is, about 16,400,000 women and children are refugees. Whether this is also true among displaced people who do not cross international borders is not known, though it is a reasonable inference, and one drawn by, for example, the United Nations Development Fund for Women.[5] If so, there are approximately 20,400,000 women and children who have had to flee their homes but have not crossed international borders. In all, these estimates indicate that forcibly displaced women and children number almost 37 million.

Grief and the family

That there are disproportionately more women and children than adult males among refugees reflects the particular burden on women in time of crisis. This in turn leads to new vulnerability for women and special needs for their protection. One element of this that is often referred to is emotional. Media reports on the 'human element' in conflicts almost invariably turn to the pain of women at the suffering and loss of their children or husbands. There is no difficulty in finding terrifying and moving stories about women in war and their grief.

Of course, men also grieve. In part, this emphasis on the grief of women is the other side of the warrior myths of manhood that so often come to the fore in times of war. It implies that there is a sort of emotional division of labour between men and women, the former locking their grief away, the latter taking on the burden of expressing it for all. The social and

political structure of virtually all countries and cultures means that women actively participate in war and in military organizations in lesser numbers than do men (see below). Men are more likely to have to leave their home and their village or town in order to join armed units in which they will be trained, among other things, not to heed their emotions if that would impair military discipline and efficiency. Thus there is a practical basis for this emotional division of labour.

A further element is that grief expresses not just a sense of loss but the agony of powerlessness to change what has happened. Thus the emphasis on the grief of women in war reflects upon the powerless of the situation in which most women find themselves – a general lack of power as a group, compared with men as a group, that is intensified by war. For men – many men, at least – there is the comfort of striking poses and claiming the right of revenge. For most men, the prospect of exacting revenge will probably turn out to be an illusion but at least it is a comforting illusion; in many societies women are effectively unable to gain that odd comfort from that illusion, or they are regarded as mentally unbalanced if they try to do so.

To the extent that women remain closer to their home – unless forced into flight – than men do and keep up their familial responsibilities in war and crisis, they become in a sense bearers of their communities. It is not just the individual home's metaphorical hearth to which women tend while the men go to war, but the community's cultural and social hearth. The responsible authorities in a small community may still be men but the responsibility for its spiritual well-being and solidarity, for looking after those who are mourning or who need special assistance with procuring the basic necessities of life, may well shift more towards the women. In this context, one aspect of several modern wars that particularly affects women (though men also suffer from it) is the direct attack upon the family.

'Ethnic cleansing' has divided many communities. Couples who married without regard to what were until recently irrelevant details of genealogy have had to flee. Children and adults have been made to choose whether to define themselves by their mother's or their father's ancestry. In Rwanda and Burundi, Hutu–Tutsi marriages have ended in the slaughter of one spouse by men claiming ethnic kinship with the other spouse. There have been reports of husbands being forced to kill their wives. In Somalia's patrilineal clan system, women who married into a clan other than the one they were born into have been told in the latest phase of the long war to choose where their loyalty lies: with the clan of their parents or with the clan of their children and husband. Many women have not been given the choice: they have simply been divorced and expelled.[6]

Rape

In all the forms of war-related suffering discussed above, men are involved as well as women. Men are still more likely than women to be killed in armed conflict even though, as war has brought death to civilians in increased numbers, it has also come closer to women. Although there appear to be more female than male refugees, that is no reason to forget or downplay the suffering of men as refugees. It may be that women grieve and suffer emotionally more than men – or at least more openly – and may carry a heavier burden of some kinds of community responsibility. If it is true that women as a group suffer more than men in these ways, the differences are relative and in some cases marginal. There is, however, one form of violence that targets women alone.

Rape is a largely gender-specific assault whose use as a weapon in war is solely directed against women.[7] Rape of women has long been part of war and is often regarded as, if not acceptable, then so inevitable that there is no need to make a fuss about it. In her classic study and polemic, Susan Brownmiller quotes a conversation in General Patton's memoirs in which he tells his interlocutor that '[I]n spite of my diligent efforts, there would undoubtedly be some raping'. Brownmiller adds:

> It's funny about *man's* attitude toward rape in war. *Unquestionably* there shall be some raping. Unconscionable, but nevertheless inevitable. When men are slugging it out among themselves, conquering new land, subjugating new people, driving on toward victory, *unquestionably* there shall be some raping.[8]

In fairness, Brownmiller might have placed more emphasis on the last part of General Patton's sentence (which she quotes in full), in which he continues by recording that he said, 'I should like to have the details as early as possible so that the offenders could be properly hanged.' It might even be that proper hanging could merit as much irony as an unquestionable prospect of being raped. But there can be no doubt that Brownmiller correctly pinpoints an oddly inconsistent attitude to wartime rape, as to many other kinds of rape and abuse of women. Though illegal under every military code and often punishable by death, acceptance of the inevitability of rape by soldiers is often so fatalistic as to amount to complaisance.

Rape piles vulnerability on vulnerability, most clearly dramatized in the case of refugee women who are attacked and raped. It is reported that hundreds of Somali women and girls in the UNHCR camps in north-eastern Kenya have been raped by armed bandits, including groups from the former Somali army.[9] A different version of this all too common crime was reported from Croatia, where there were several instances of Croatian (HVO) soldiers on leave approaching the daughters of Muslim men held in HVO detention centres in Bosnia: 'The HVO troops brought photographs of the imprisoned men, and told the girls that if they did not accede to the

soldiers' demand for sex, they would never see their fathers alive again.'[10]

Now there is a new dimension to rape in war. Perhaps the fact that it has been criminalized and punished but never effectively prevented has contributed to the emergence of this new aspect. In some wars, rape has been practised on such a scale that observers have concluded that it is systematic, planned and a deliberate weapon of war.

The best-known case is Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees states that in Bosnia, 'All the warring parties have been implicated, though to varying degrees,' in 'rape being used as a weapon to further war aims'.[11] Amnesty International confirms this and likewise confirms the evidence of numerous press reports and personal accounts that the worst offender is the Bosnian Serb side; it appears that Muslim women in particular have been subjected to these attacks.[12] Amnesty and UNHCR both say that the data on how many rapes have occurred are very incomplete. One source which claims to have some reliable data is the Zenica Documentation on War Crimes, which in mid-1993 reported that it had data on 40,000 raped women.[13] If this figure is accurate, it presumably does not cover all cases of women who have been raped and it certainly does not indicate the number of rapes, since all reports concur on the prevalence of multiple rape.

In the massacres in Rwanda in 1994, there is evidence that the incidence of rape of Tutsi women and girls by Hutu militiamen was even higher than the rape figures in Bosnia. A French researcher has assessed the situation as follows: 'It seems that nearly every Tutsi women who survived a massacre was raped.'[14] A high level of sexually transmitted diseases has been reported and it is expected that there will be a sharp increase in the already high numbers of women infected by HIV. According to the Rwandan Ministry of Population, moreover, by the end of February 1995, between 2,000 and 5,000 women had given birth or were about to; in Bosnia the estimated number of 'rape pregnancies' was between 100 and 200.[15] And the figures in Rwanda do not include what may be a large number of clandestine abortions induced by taking dangerous herbal concoctions. In addition, there have been many infanticides, though the exact number is not known.

Other war-torn countries and areas in which widespread and apparently systematic rape has occurred in the recent period include the following:

- Peru, where Amnesty has reported that women in the emergency zones have been widely subjected to rape by government troops;[16]
- Myanmar, where the army's 1992 campaign to force 250,000 *rohingya* Muslims into Bangladesh in 1992 plumbed the depths of brutality and inhumanity, including the systematic use of rape. In one refugee camp of 20,000 people, 'Almost every woman interviewed said she was gang-raped before being allowed to cross the border';[17]

- the north Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, where reports of widespread rape by Indian security forces, especially during crackdown operations, were backed up by a monitoring group that documented fifteen rape cases occurring in as many days;[18]
- Uganda and the Philippines.[19]

This deliberate and systematic use of rape is, in part, simply an extension of the use of rape as a means of torture. There are numerous accounts of this barbarity over the years in many different states. The first extension is to use rape not simply to attack women but, through them, another target – the guerrillas with whom the women are accused of sympathizing, for example, or the other militant sympathizers in that village. This tactic appears to play not only on the women's physical vulnerability but also on their sense of shame and 'contamination'; and also, in far too many cultures, on the sense of shame of the close male relatives. Thus rape is not just a physical aggression; there is the fear and the possibility of pregnancy; and there is the stigma that wrongly attaches to the woman.

One reason that Muslim women have been particularly targeted in Bosnia may be because those who planned the assault on them knew of the organized mass rape of Bangladeshi women in 1972. This was a well-publicized atrocity that occurred over a period of about nine months. The generally accepted estimate is that 200,000 women were raped by Pakistani soldiers. The Government of Bangladesh made no secret of the difficulty it was having in persuading most husbands of raped women to accept their wives after the war.[20] Thus mass rape is a way both to terrorize communities – there are reports that UNHCR regards as reliable of rapes being carried out in front of the rest of a village's population[21] – and, if done on a large scale, to punish a whole ethnic group.

Participants in war

Government forces

Cynthia Enloe remarks that, 'One of the most striking characteristics of the militaries themselves is that they are almost exclusively male.'[22] This is both a question of numbers and of culture.

As to numbers, Table 1 sets out the available information on women's participation in the armed forces of nineteen states (women serving in insurgent forces are discussed below). In addition, women serve in the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Israel and the Russian Federation. The total number of women serving in the armed forces shown in the table is 412,475, less than 2 per cent of the world's 22,822,500 regular military personnel. In those countries where women are drawn into the military, mostly as volunteers and, in Israel at least, as conscripts, they still constitute a marked minority – less than 1 per cent in some cases, around 4 or 5 per cent in most, and a little over 10 per cent in just five cases – Australia, Canada, Israel,[23] New Zealand and the United States.

TABLE 1. Women in regular armed forces (where data available)[1]

Country	Total active armed forces[2]	Women in the forces[3]	
		Number	Proportion of total (%)
Australia	61 600	7 600	12
Belgium	63 000	3 000	5
Brunei	4 000	250	6
Canada	78 100	8 700	11
China	2 930 000	136 000	5
Cyprus	10 000	445	4
Denmark	27 000	1 000	4
France	409 600	16 400	4
Germany	367 300	280	0.08
Greece	159 300	5 900	4
India	1 265 000	200	0.02
Ireland	13 000	100	0.8
Japan	237 000	8 000	3
Netherlands	70 900	2 600	4
New Zealand	10 000	1 150	12
South Africa	78 500	4 200	5
Spain	206 500	200	0.1
United Kingdom	254 300	17 650	7
United States	1 650 500	198 800	12

1. In addition to these nineteen countries, *The Military Balance* records that women conscripts serve in the armed forces of Israel and volunteers in the forces of Russia. The fact that a country's forces are not shown in this table does not mean its forces exclude women – only that *The Military Balance* has no information to the contrary. There are women in Bosnian government forces, for example, but they are not mentioned by this source.
2. Total regular armed forces of all services but excluding paramilitary units as well as reserves.
3. *The Military Balance* does not indicate how many women are in each service or what roles they fulfil.

Source: The Military Balance 1994/1995, London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1994.

Fears that the recruitment of women would change the armed forces' internal culture have been expressed by politicians and servicemen. But women would not be allowed, even in such small numbers, if there was a serious risk that they would challenge – let alone change – the basic culture of the military forces they join. Indeed, the reason that they are only recruited in such small proportions is precisely to avoid challenge and change.

Nobody knows what a mostly female modern military force would be like, whether it would function differently, if the differences would be strategically and politically germane; nobody knows and no modern armed force is offering to conduct the experiment to find out. The point of recruiting women is not to change the armed forces but simply to utilize women's skills and motivation and thus obtain a wider recruitment base.

The combat/non-combat distinction

Where and when women have been recruited into the armed forces, there have always been controversies and sometimes embarrassment about their proper role. There is, of course, one set of controversies about the sort of women who want to join the armed forces in the first place: Is this a suitable place for a woman? Is a woman in uniform necessarily promiscuous? Or is she really half-male? The second level of controversy, once it is accepted that there may be a place for women in the forces, is to define that role.

Women's unsuitability for combat roles is widely taken for granted. The views of one senior United States army psychiatrist are representative. Arguing that men and women have different capacities for 'certain kinds of things', he goes on:

> One of these things is fighting, certainly in the forms required in land combat. The male's greater vital capacity, speed, muscle mass, aiming and throwing skills, his greater propensity for aggression and his more rapid rises in adrenaline make him more fitted for physically intense combat.[24]

An argument along these lines can just about be sustained for the infantry but it can hardly be thought relevant to the rest of the modern, mechanized and increasingly computerized military forces. The physical intensity of combat even in the modern mode is undeniable but the strength that is required is not dependent on muscle mass, adrenaline or other features of explosive strength; rather, what is required above all is stamina, in which women often outdo men.

These arguments do not necessarily mean that it is desirable to take more women into the armed forces. The point is that arguments against having women in the forces or, if they are in them, against allotting them combat roles, claim to be based on what is 'natural' but they lack both empirical basis and logic. They are based on socially constructed assumptions that, in other contexts, are now rightly seen as grossly outdated attempts to protect male power and privilege. The imagery of man 'the strong', 'the warrior', 'the protector' remains more important to men's sense of their own identity than many are prepared to admit. This imagery has lasted into an age when reality has changed (and reality was in any case always more complex, nuanced and contradictory than the images). The

shallowness of the arguments reflects the increasing desperation with which this power and privilege and these images are defended.

Though it is common to define women's proper military role as 'non-combat', there have always been interesting and sometimes entertaining complexities in the definition of 'combat' and 'non-combat'. A common-sense expectation, once we have got the 'muscle mass' problem out of the way, might be that the distinction hinges on whether women are taking part in activities directly intended to use weapons against enemy personnel or other targets, or taking part in activities that incur a serious risk of violent death or injury, or both. In other words, most people would probably expect the key marker of combat and non-combat roles to be the basic question of killing and being killed. That expectation is much too simple and the definitions and distinctions are often delicate and elusive. Especially under the pressure of war, there can be large 'grey areas'. In the Second World War, for example, British air defence employed mixed-gender anti-aircraft artillery crews. Among their duties, the women operated searchlights and the fire-control systems that aimed the guns at the target aircraft; actually firing the guns, however, was a task reserved for men. The men in these AA crews were designated as combat personnel; the women standing next to them, sharing the same risks of being killed and doing as much as the men to kill enemy personnel, were designated as non-combat personnel.[25] During the Gulf war of 1991, all the American women soldiers who were killed were assigned to roles designated as 'non-combat'.[26]

None the less, it is generally true, especially in peacetime, that women are confined to 'support roles' – for example, medical, secretarial and clerical, transport and communications – in which they neither carry nor are expected to use weapons. It is at the margins that the definitions and distinctions have been most blurred. Both the United States and the Israeli armed forces deploy women in direct combat roles. There are women in combat roles in some units of the Bosnian army, including the 17th Brigade which is often reported as one of the most effective Bosnian units.[27] In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Revolutionary Guards appear to include arms-bearing women.[28]

Insurgent forces

It is not only the regular forces of established states that have both employed women in military roles and found it difficult to define which of the range of military roles are suitable for them. If the combat/non-combat distinction becomes most blurred for government military forces under the impact of war, insurgent forces are established in war and know of no period without pressure. It is therefore particularly likely that insurgent forces will bring women into active roles.

Not surprisingly, information on women in insurgent forces is far

from complete. At the beginning of the 1990s there were reported to be over 3,000 women serving in the Tamil Tigers – the secessionist forces in Sri Lanka.[29] The Sandinista forces in Nicaragua employed women in relatively large numbers, both during the insurgency against Somoza in 1978 and 1979 and in the 1980s war against the 'Contras'. In 1992 there were reports of the organization of a group of 200 women, many of them former Sandinista soldiers, some of them wives of former 'Contras', preparing to take up arms against the government of President Violeta Chamorro.[30] The Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador recruited large numbers of women guerrillas, as did the Eritrean People's Liberation Front during its thirty-year war of independence against Ethiopia that ended in 1991. The armed wing of the African National Congress in its war against the South African apartheid regime included smaller numbers of women. Women have served in various of the armed organizations that have fought for the Palestinian cause over four decades. In many other revolutionary and insurgent forces, women carry out functions that are not quite those of the front-line fighters, but which cannot be regarded as non-combatant, such as courier and intelligence work.

The role of women in revolutionary wars has often been seen as a reflection of revolutionary egalitarian ideals. This was deliberately played up by the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) during the war for independence from France. A senior figure has described how women fighters were excluded from late 1957 and women took only support roles: 'moral support for resistance fighters, information liaison, food suppliers, shelter, and aid to families and children of resistance fighters and prisoners'. Because of the romance and sense of liberation attached to women fighters, they were often displayed in parades and in supportive documentary films. Behind that, however, lay the conviction among many ordinary FLN members that if women wanted equality with men, it was a sign of 'loose morals'.[31]

Demobilization

That the relatively high profile and more equal role of women in insurgent forces is more often the result of military exigencies than of revolutionary ideals is demonstrated by the situation that usually follows a rebel victory. Demobilization can result in attempts to deny women the equality they thought they had gained or deserved as a result of their labours during the struggle. Women veterans of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front discovered that the respect they had won during the war of independence was secondary when their male comrades-in-arms embraced traditional expectations of a woman's role.[32] These dilemmas are only part of the challenges facing Eritrean women in general. While entrenched social attitudes and the weight of custom and tradition threaten to eat into the

gains made during and since the independence war, the experience of the independence struggle and the women's organizations that developed during it nevertheless offer some prospects of progress.[33]

This is today's Third World equivalent of the 'Rosie the Riveter' story in the United States in the Second World War, paralleled also in the United Kingdom. Women are summoned from the home to industry for the duration of the emergency, there to learn new skills, new roles and, for many, effectively a new identity. The war over, the almost wholly male leadership has no compunction about pressing women to return to traditional homebound roles. After the war in El Salvador ended, leaders of the FMLN who had previously wanted women to give their all to the armed struggle began to indicate that the real role for women who supported social and political progress was somewhat different: 'Now that the war is over, Esmerelda has had her IUD removed.'[34]

Participants in peace

Women and peace

Women are commonly depicted as having a special feeling for peace, which is itself traced to the role of women as mothers who have physically carried their children. As a Russian dissident Tatyana Mamanova puts it, 'It is natural for women, who give life, to be opposed to war and violence – war of any sort, be it in Vietnam or Afghanistan, and violence against any being.'[35] Or as expressed by the prominent Australian anti-nuclear activist, Helen Caldicott: 'As mothers we must make sure the world is sage for our babies. . . . I appeal especially to the women . . . because we understand the genesis of life. Our bodies are built to nurture life.'[36] Whether this speaks to the feelings and views of women who have not had children is one of many reservations worth raising. Another is whether there is a place within this point of view for those men who have objected to war, avoided military service at the cost of their freedom, and participated in non-violent protest and mobilization against war, violence and injustice. Yet many different cultures hold the view that women have a particular role in relation to the question of peace – they are more likely to incline to peace than conflict in any given political situation, and are more likely to become active in peace activities and movements. And there are many who argue that not only are women more likely to choose peace than war, but they are also more likely to want those movements to be genuinely peaceful and to invent new forms of protest, such as those inspired by the women's peace camp at the Greenham Common Cruise missile base in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, and the women's actions in the early 1980s at the Pentagon.[37]

For all the reservations, many will agree with some aspect of this point of view – at least that women incline less to war and more to peace, if not necessarily with the view that this derives from the biology of motherhood. If it is true that women's role as mothers – either in being

mothers or through the years of cultural education and preparation for motherhood – encourages more pacific views and emotions, it is likely to be one among several contributory causes.

One additional way of explaining this is to turn the issue round and to think not of women's commitment to peace but of the profound depths of violence in masculine culture. It may be that it is as much the absence of this element in the upbringing of girls as the presence of any particular 'peaceful' qualities that explains the widely claimed relationship of women and peace. In other words, the point can be understood as a lesser orientation to violence rather than as a greater orientation to peace.

A further explanation turns on the relative exclusion of women from full political commitment and activity. As a result, women in general may have less investment in the political order and in the political issues from which conflict grows. It may be less important to many women than it is to large numbers of men to display appropriate political attitudes, standing up for one's country at the expense of values such as peace and fairness. If there is a female propensity to peace, it may be due to the male propensity to exclude women from power.

Women's actions for peace

There is, as some peace feminists claim, a distinctive character about many women's actions for peace – though it has not proved impossible or even difficult to absorb into the wider peace movements those elements which create this distinctive character. It often challenges older notions of what political action should and can be about, in the same way as the mass non-violent actions for Indian independence did. Indeed, non-violence is one of the key themes of this type of women's action.

This non-violence should not be thought of at any superficial level. Non-violence in this context does not just concern action but also the way people relate to and address each other; it is about attitude and mood. Demonstrators attempt to relate peacefully even to the police who come to control or break up the demonstration. Beyond that, non-violence is taken to mean an absence of hierarchy, a commitment to democracy that extends to complete equality and absence of authority. This, of course, often gives rise to a certain degree of disorganization but it can also be extremely creative.

The women's actions at the Pentagon in the early 1980s deliberately avoided the rally-and-speech style of activity. Women were encouraged to bring, not placards bearing a pre-agreed set of slogans, but tombstones with personal messages. The actions were organized, but not in a way that gave rise to a sense of leaders and followers. In *Carry Greenham Home,* a loving film about the women's peace camp at the Greenham Common missile base west of London, this anarchic creative spirit is captured in everything from the women's often fractious meetings to their inventive publicity-

grabbing actions, such as the Easter intrusion into the base by a group of women dressed as Easter rabbits, or the famous dance on top of a missile silo. In the movement against nuclear weapons during the 1980s, peace camps became a tactic of many women's peace groups – Greenham Common, Seneca in New York state, Pine Gap in Australia.[38]

These are a small part of the actions that women from many different countries and cultures have carried out together on issues of peace and justice. Foremost among other actions have been those organized in ways that do not challenge fixed notions of political activism so clearly, yet explicitly use the symbolism of the motherhood role for both moral authority and political mobilization. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina began in 1977 as a group of mothers demonstrating in the square of the same name, demanding to know the fate of their children who had 'disappeared'. When democracy returned to Argentina, the Mothers continued to seek information and also demanded justice, insisting that criminal proceedings be initiated against those responsible for the disappearance of at least 9,000 people (the government estimate in 1986) and perhaps as many as 30,000 (the Mothers' estimate) in the 'Dirty War' from 1976 to 1983.[39] Through the 1980s, the Mothers were one of the important bulwarks against the return of a military dictatorship.

The Mothers are not the oldest or the only such organization: the Chilean Association of the Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared, primarily run by women, was formed in 1974.[40] In Uruguay, women made the first protests against military rule in the 1970s, beginning with 'an ant-like resistance, made of patience, words, gestures, and especially marked by the absence of silence'.[41] In Sri Lanka, in the aftermath of the suppression of the Marxist-nationalist JVP in 1989 and 1990, it was the Mothers Front that emerged as a human rights organization capable of challenging the government over the fate of an alleged 40,000 'disappeared' people.[42]

In the Balkans in 1991, during the Serbian-Croatian war, when the violence was horrifying yet far less than the brutality later seen in Bosnia, two women organized a Belgrade rally of 3,000 women from all over the former Yugoslavia. They took a delegation of 900 women to Brussels to raise the plight of the war-torn areas of Croatia at the European Parliament.[43]

In August 1976, when a driver was shot by a British army unit in Belfast and his car veered out of control and killed three small children, an eyewitness, Betty Williams, organized a petition demanding an end to the conflict. In two days, it collected 6,000 signatures. Joined by the children's aunt, Mairead Corrigan, the next step was a peace march of 10,000 people – no small achievement in Northern Ireland at that time – and the creation of a new peace organization, 'Peace People'. Without excluding men, the organization shrewdly managed to gain authority from the gender of its two leading figures. In 1976, they won the Nobel Peace Prize.[44]

Two other female winners of the Nobel Peace Prize are Aung San Suu Kyi (1991) and Rigoberta Menchú Tum (1992). Aung San Suu Kyi is the acknowledged leader of the democratic movement in Myanmar (Burma). Her father was leader of Burma's nationalist movement in the 1940s; six months before independence from the British in 1948, he was assassinated by members of a right-wing group. Aung San Suu Kyi took on her own political role in 1988. It was a year of intense political violence; in the first half of the year, several hundred democracy activists were killed. In August, demonstrations against the military dictatorship were fired on indiscriminately, resulting in perhaps as many as 3,000 deaths. It was then that Aung San Suu Kyi emerged as a leader addressing a rally of half a million people only two weeks after the killings, and then travelling the country speaking on democracy and human rights. In July 1989 she was put under house arrest.[45]

Rigoberta Menchú is a Quiché Indian. Born in the Guatemalan mountains in 1959, she only learned Spanish at the age of 21. Like the rest of her family, she was involved in political reform activities. Her father was killed by the security forces in 1980; soon afterwards her mother was arrested – she died after having been raped and tortured. Rigoberta Menchú went into hiding in 1981 and then fled to Mexico. Her autobiography attracted considerable attention in 1983 and she steadily assumed a more prominent place in the Guatemalan peasants' movement.[46] At the end of her speech accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, she summarized the aim of the Guatemalan struggle as being: 'To start a new life.' And she concluded with these words:

> By combining all the shades and nuances of the 'latinos', the 'garifunas' and Indians in the Guatemalan ethnic mosaic, we must interlace a number of colours without introducing contradictions, without becoming grotesque nor antagonistic, but we must give them a brightness and a superior quality, just the way our weavers weave a typical 'guipil' shirt, brilliantly composed, a gift to Humanity.[47]

Notes

1. See Dan Smith, *War, Peace and Third World Development*, Human Development Report, New York, UNDP, July 1994 (Office Occasional Paper, 16); *idem*, 'Dynamics of Contemporary Conflict: Consequences for Development Strategies', in N. Graeger and D. Smith (eds.), *Environment, Poverty, Conflict*, Oslo, PRIO, 1994 (PRIO report 1994/2); Peter Wallensteen and Karin Axell, 'Armed Conflict at the End of the Cold War', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 30, No. 3, August 1993; *idem*, 'Conflict Resolution and the End of the Cold War', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3, August 1994.
2. *World Refugee Survey 1994*, Washington, D.C., US Committee for Refugees, 1994, Tables 1–3. This source lists 16,255,000 international refugees; 4,222,160 people in refugee-like situations; and 25,460,000 internally displaced civilians. The

information on the second and third groups is fragmentary and the survey remarks on the third group that 'the total number of internally displaced civilians is undoubtedly much higher'. The grand total of 45,937,160 people in this publication, therefore, should be regarded as a deliberately low estimate.

3. Christer Ahlstrom, *Casualties of Conflict*, Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 1991.
4. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *The State of the World's Refugees: The Challenge of Protection*, p. 87, New York, Penguin, 1993. This report does not break down the refugee statistics by gender or age, however. Note also that UNHCR has dealt only with refugees who cross international borders, conforming to the terms of the 1951 Convention on Refugees and the 1967 Protocol. This restriction on its activities and on the definition of refugee status has recently begun to be relaxed.
5. 'UN Response to African Women in Crisis', *Africa Weekly*, April–September 1994, p. 6.
6. M. Asha Samad, personal statement, in *Testimonies of the Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, June 1993*, Washington, D.C., Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights, 1993. Reports from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda and Burundi are derived from personal accounts and television reports.
7. Men also can be and are raped, especially in all-male contexts such as prisons. However, rape of men does not seem to figure among stories of rape in war and of atrocities in general. Thus, it is accurate to say both that rape as such is largely a gender-specific action and that rape *in war* affects women *exclusively*.
8. Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, p. 31, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1975.
9. 'North Eastern Kenya: Rape of Somali Women Refugees', *Women's International Network News*, 20–2, Spring 1994 (based on a report by the Women's Rights Project of Africa Watch, Washington, D.C.).
10. *World Refugee Survey 1994*, op. cit., p. 126.
11. UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees*, op. cit., p. 70.
12. *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Rape and Sexual Abuse by Armed Forces*, London, Amnesty International, January 1993.
13. Fadila Memisevic, personal statement, in *Testimonies of the Global Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights*, op. cit.
14. Catherine Bonnet, quoted in 'Rwanda's Time of Rape Returns to Haunt Thousands', *The Observer*, 26 February 1995.
15. The number 100 is the UN Human Rights Commission estimate of rape pregnancies; Catherine Bonnet estimates that another 100 or more women may have given birth in secret ('Rwanda's Time of Rape . . .', op. cit.).
16. *Women in the Front Line*, pp. 20–1, London, Amnesty International, March 1991; *Peru Briefing*, pp. 10–11, London, Amnesty International, November 1989.
17. 'Burmese Muslims Fight Army Assault', *The Guardian*, 13 February 1992; see also UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees*, op. cit., p. 70.

18. *Rape in Kashmir: A Crime of War*, New York/Boston, Mass., Asia Watch, Physicians for Human Rights, May 1993.
19. 'Rape of Women by Soldiers "Is Global Occurrence"', *The Guardian*, 5 February 1992.
20. Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*, op. cit., p. 78 et seq.
21. UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees*, op. cit., p. 70.
22. Cynthia Enloe, *The Morning After*, p. 51, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993.
23. Ibid.
24. David Marlowe, 'The Manning of the Force and the Structure of Battle: Men and Women', in Robert K. Fullinwider (ed.), *Conscripts and Volunteers, Military Requirements, Social Justice, and the All Volunteer Force*, p. 190, Totowa, N.J., Rowman & Allenheld, 1983.
25. Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*, p. 123, London, Pluto Press, 1983, citing Nancy Loring Goldman and Richard Stites, 'Great Britain and the World Wars', in N. Goldman (ed.), *Female Soldiers: Combatants or Non-Combatants*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1982.
26. Enloe, *The Morning After*, op. cit., p. 87.
27. 'Weary Muslims Weigh Costs of War and Peace', *The Guardian*, 31 August 1994.
28. See the photograph of a 1988 parade in *The Guardian*, 1 February 1994.
29. 'A Woman's Place is at the Front', *The Independent*, 21 September 1990.
30. 'Women Rebels Take Up Arms in Nicaragua', *The Guardian*, 1 April 1992.
31. 'Algerian Women: Myths and Liberation', *Connexions*, No. 2, Fall 1981; also quoted by Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?*, op. cit., p. 168.
32. 'Eritrea: The Status of Women Deteriorating', *Women's International Network News*, 20–4, Autumn 1994 (based on an article in *The Economist*, 25 June 1994).
33. 'The National Union of Eritrean Women', *The Horn of Africa Bulletin*, 5/94, pp. 5–6.
34. Enloe, *The Morning After*, op. cit., p. 1, citing Julie Light, 'Salvadoran Women Plan for Peace', unpublished manuscript, July 1992.
35. Tatyana Mamanova, *Women in Russia*, Boston, Mass., Beacon Press, 1984.
36. *War Resisters' League Calendar*, 1981.
37. See among other celebrations of these and similar activities, Adrienna Harris and Ynestra King (eds.), *Rocking the Ship of State*, Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1989; and the Beban Kidron film, *Carry Greenham Home* (1983).
38. Jeanne Vickers, *Women and War*, p. 123, London, Zed Books, 1993; Rhoda Linton, 'Seneca Women's Peace Camp: Shape of Things to Come', in Harris and King (eds.), *Rocking the Ship of State*, op. cit.
39. 'Keeping Vigil for the Victims of Argentina's Dirty Years', *The Guardian*, 5 May 1992.
40. Patricia M. Chuchryk, 'Feminist Anti-Authoritarian Politics: The Role of Women's Organizations in the Chilean Transition to Democracy', in Jane S. Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America*, p. 158, Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1989.

41. Carina Perelli, 'Putting Conservatism to Good Use: Women and Unorthodox Politics in Uruguay, from Breakdown to Transition', in Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America*, op. cit., p. 102.
42. 'Mothers Seek Action on the "Disappeared"', *The Guardian*, 20 February 1991; 'Bad Behaviour', *The Economist*, 23 February 1991.
43. 'We are Dying, but Nobody is Listening', *The Independent*, 10 December 1991.
44. Malvern Lumsden, 'Peace by Peace? Socio-Economic Structures and the Role of the Peace People in Northern Ireland', *Current Research on Peace and Violence*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1978; Vickers, *Women and War*, op. cit., p. 124.
45. 'Aung San Suu Kyi', *Current Biography*, February 1992.
46. The Nobel Foundation, *Les Prix Nobel – The Nobel Prizes 1992*, pp. 157–8, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992.
47. Ibid., p. 179.

Peace talks – peace tasks

Whereas Stephenson and Birckenbach challenge the thinking that perpetuates the resort to military force for peacekeeping and security purposes, Smith provides a range of data that amounts to an indictment of the military security system itself. As we formulate our Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace, we must inquire into the possibility that the abolition of the institution of war – which is the major obstacle to a culture of peace – should be the primary item on our agenda. This overarching goal gives rise to the following issues to be discussed and researched:

1. **The detailing of the nature and consequences of contemporary changes in military strategy and the waging of war that have exacerbated the damage to civilian populations and settlements. Do these developments mean that the standards of international humanitarian law intended to 'civilize' warfare are now obsolete? What are the implications both for international law and for controlling the means by which war is waged? Can war ever be conducted with respect for humanitarian principles?**
2. **Do the present methods of damage assessment and accounting for casualties reflect the full and long-term costs of war? Democracy, and therefore a culture of peace, both require mechanisms for assuring transparency and publicly relevant information disclosure to citizens, yet information about full-scale damage, material costs and casualties and other factors related to military affairs is kept from the public. Can we design guidelines and requirements to ensure that the public is adequately informed and its interests properly represented in discussions and decisions related to war and the armed forces? How important is such transparency to the achievement of a culture of peace?**
3. **Women's roles in war are changing both in regard to their accounting for larger percentages of casualties and in their being more numerous and more fully integrated into the armed forces. How can we assess the impact of these changes on the institution of war, the likelihood of its most humanly**

damaging practices being controlled, and its ultimate elimination as a political tool and as a method of conflict resolution?

4. Smith's account of 'bringing war home' forms an interesting complement to Lindner's observations on 'inside and outside'. Whereas men formerly 'went off to war', i.e. went outside their home villages and native lands to fight 'foreign enemies', now many contemporary armed conflicts are waged 'inside' against neighbours and former friends. How can we account for this phenomenon of brutal crimes of war perpetrated against one's fellow 'villagers'? What lies behind the deliberate targeting of women and the elaboration of mass rapes as an intentional military strategy? Does this latter phenomenon validate the theory proposed by some feminist peace researchers that war is an essentially misogynous institution? What other evidence can be cited to support or refute the theory? What psychological and cultural explanations can we derive to enable us to devise appropriate responses to include in a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?
5. As observed by Smith, popular wisdom has it that women are more 'peace-loving' than men. However, more and more feminists and scientists assert that this is not an innate, biologically determined female characteristic, but rather the result of socialization and education. Are there differences in the socialization and education of boys and girls that could account for women putting a higher value on peace? What forms of education and socialization should be advocated in a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?

Chapter 4

Participation, citizenship and the implications of women's activism in the creation of a culture of peace[1]

Angela Raven-Roberts

Editors' prologue

This chapter, which identifies some of the major attributes of the culture of war and violence, calls attention to those aspects which are especially relevant to women. Particularly significant among them is violence against women, which is an integral component of the continuum of violence that has been cited by various feminist scholars and activists as the very essence of the war system (IPRA, 1983; Reardon, 1985; 'Tokyo Declaration', 1998). Raven-Roberts specifies some of the consequences of armed conflict that Smith identifies as gendered aspects of warfare. She also provides evidence which supports the arguments made by Reardon that the continued legitimation of war as an instrument of national policy, and the excessive dependence on weaponry as the fundamental necessity of national security, is the major obstacle both to peace and to the authentic emancipation of women.

We would recommend that special attention be paid to this connection between militarism and sexism and to Raven-Roberts' observations about women's roles in civil society and the opportunities that exist for women's and citizens' organizations in the 'spaces' opened up by situations of political crisis. As demonstrated by Valenzuela, women have proved themselves to be creative innovators of positive political changes in times of crisis. Part of our inquiry should address how all crisis situations can be made into such spaces.

Initially, building a culture of peace entails an understanding and recognition of the culture of war and violence. In particular, at community level it entails a recognition of the ways in which people's lived experiences and responses have been shaped by violence and how they in turn have forged or 'reconstructed' new meanings and new survival strategies.

This chapter examines the notion of women as active agents of

change and creativity in conflict and post-conflict situations. It considers how their engagement with and responses to the everyday nature of violence can be a significant foundation for recovery and social reconstruction. It also reviews how women's participation in community action can contribute to the reaffirmation of their citizenship rights and thus to the remaking of a culture of peace at both the formal and informal levels. It ends with recommendations on how international agencies can contribute to this process through appropriate and timely interventions at the local and national levels.

The objectives outlined in *An Agenda for Peace* form a comprehensive vision, identifying new priorities for the post-Cold War era and establishing guiding principles to enhance the role of the United Nations in building and maintaining peace through preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping.

As such, it follows on and makes a natural complementary initiative to the commitment to the provision for humanitarian assistance as embodied in the United Nations General Assembly resolution 46/182 of 1991 which helped establish the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (now called the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), and to the World Summit for Social Development.

In order to tease out the gender implications and potential for enhancing the role of women in implementing the goals of the *Agenda*, it is necessary, first, to step back and ask what the current conflict and emergency situations reveal about the societies and communities in the world today and, in particular, how these impact upon the situation of women.

The current context of dramatic social change and ethnic conflict in many parts of the world has profound effects on the specific social relations and situation of women and girls. The highest percentage of refugees and displaced persons around the world is composed of women and children. It is women and children who are most affected by the violence of conflict and displacement through rape, torture, brutality and murder. Women are in flight, adapting to and coping with life in refugee camps or directly caught up in the midst of conflict. In many cases, women and teenage girls in conflict zones are the sole providers and protectors for their families as wives, mothers and sisters because their husbands, brothers, sons and fathers have themselves either been exiled or killed or are away on combat duty (Refugee Policy Group, 1994).

Recognizing the key trends and characteristics of current conflicts and violence is a fundamental ingredient in understanding the issue of gender relations in emergencies and conflict situations. At the same time, gender analysis can serve as a basis for understanding the impact of conflict on different groups within society.

For many people, conflict and instability are now a part of daily

reality. Livelihood and coping strategies have adapted to insecurity and a permanent state of protracted crisis. A recent report on humanitarian crises shows that the number of persons in need of humanitarian assistance increased by nearly 60 per cent in the decade 1984–94. The United States Committee for Refugees estimated for 1995 that 41.5 million people were dependent on assistance in crises ranging from the Balkans, Iraq, Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia to ongoing crises in countries such as Angola, Mozambique and the Sudan (U.S. Mission to the United Nations, 1995).

The causes and characteristics of these emergencies are many, varied and complex, combining structural, systemic crisis, unresolved tensions between state and minority groups, continuing underdevelopment and combinations of environmental and economic crisis. At the same time, development processes and projects themselves have led to conflict and crisis as new tensions over the allocation and sharing of resources are created (Duffield, 1991, 1994; Keen, 1994). Conflicts and violence have to be seen, therefore, as a part of the nature of social change itself, and as such have important effects on changes in social relations and on gender relations in particular.

Current research and analysis is identifying several major areas in which the issue of gender and crisis situations is important. Each of these in turn have important consequences and implications for relief and development work.

The first is the issue of violence against women, which is now recognized as endemic in most societies. The deliberate use of rape and other forms of violence and brutality against women and girls must be recognized as constituting crimes of violence, and appropriate legislation enacted and punishments sought against the perpetrators. New findings on gender crimes will provide a major contribution to the continuing debate on violence against women, and will hopefully enable the enactment of appropriate laws of protection and sanctions. A better definition of women's experience of gender crimes and persecution will, for example, contribute to a redefinition of determinations of refugee status for women both in country of origin and during the exile period (Plaves and Stuart, 1991; Fuischer et al., 1994).

For young girls and youths, this research and advocacy to recognize gender-based violence has more specific relevance. Teenage and young girls experience differently and are subject to specific forms of violence. Their rights as a minority group, and the specific kinds of strategies they need to be reintegrated into society, are important for policy planners and programme implementors alike (Cook, 1994; Copelon, 1994; Godbole, 1994).

Another area of relevance is the relationship between gender relations and the evolution of new forms of ethno-nationalism. The ways in which new nationalist ideologies or religion-based fundamentalist ideologies

use and redefine women's role and status have important ramifications for their position, rights and access to services and definitions of citizenship in that society. The example of the restrictions imposed on women by the Taliban movement in Afghanistan is a case in point (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989; Enloe, 1993).

Livelihood, production and health strategies are also impacted. Chronic crises create changes and increase the economic burdens of women. Conflict destroys the ability to earn an income and grow food. Marketing and transportation systems are destroyed and often people are deliberately kept on the move in order to prevent the resumption of economic activities. The increased burden on women to find food and shelter and ensure basic survival is often matched by ever-decreasing access to resources, be they credit, relief commodities, seeds, tools or access to productive land.

The division of labour within households is also affected. In many cases, the formerly strict divisions break down and the unit has to be flexible in order to adapt. Roles and duties change and in this case many women may find a forced change in roles that is actually to their advantage. However, with the return to previous existence after a conflict, these new roles may not always be preserved and even stricter constraints and controls may be imposed on women.

The whole community and its resources are affected by war. Hospitals, clinics, schools and community structures beyond essential services are disrupted, supplies looted or withheld and outside help denied or slowed down. Women's physical vulnerability is greater than that of men because of their sexual and reproductive roles. Complications of pregnancy and birth remain untreated in the absence of medical services. Rape and sexual harassment increase the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and unwanted pregnancies. In shelters, the menstrual needs of women go unaddressed and, due to discrimination in the allocation of resources and food, they become the first to suffer extensive anaemia and famine, with implications for their babies and unborn children.

Women have also been amongst the victims of landmines, crossfire, beatings, etc., which cause disabilities, loss of limbs and eyesight, and associated illnesses which further impair their ability to function.

At the same time, conflict increases women's vulnerability to sexual violence and rape. The use of sexual violence as a deliberate strategy of war, as has happened in Bosnia, Rwanda, Myanmar and Uganda among other places, has been highlighted by the media. Conflicts also exacerbate levels of domestic violence and other forms of sexual harassment, constantly putting women in fear for their personal safety and integrity.

Women have not remained passive in this chronicle of extreme change and dislocation. Again, evidence from the field and in-depth analysis of the ethnography of war and violence are revealing a number of

ways in which women and communities have responded to and coped with the material consequences and loss of livelihood as well as the consistency and persistence of violence in their everyday lives.

Material from Bosnia, Palestine, Mozambique and Northern Ireland reveals how, on personal and practical levels, communities have survived and coped with these adversities by re-creating and 're-imagining' new forms of existence, new alliances and networks in order to 'subvert terror and destruction and to reconstruct a purposeful social universe' (Nordstrom and Robben, 1995; Chingono, 1996).

On a more public level, the circumstances of conflict have helped create a change of roles and women have become politically involved on behalf of contesting parties, and sometimes been involved in the actual fighting or even become militarized themselves. At the same time, some of these very same women have themselves taken initiatives in peace both through negotiations and through spontaneous demonstrations, street marches and other activities.

Much has been written on the need to 'gender' the peace process and involve women more actively at all levels in the negotiation and implementation of peace accords, in the development of peace agreements and in the actual planning for a society's reconstruction and recovery process. (See, for example, the report of the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace.)

The key challenge for the international community is how to target and enhance this myriad of spontaneous and fledgling actions and what mechanisms to use to provide resources and skills which do not overwhelm or distort the authenticity of the evolving institutions and processes. At the same time, there is a need to guard against the 'capture' of resources by local and national elites and the further empowerment of unrepresentative groups and individuals who stand to gain from conflict and crisis situations. First and foremost, there is a necessity for a much clearer analysis of local situations and an understanding of the specificity of conflict, its causes, its impact and the ways in which it is perceived and interpreted by the affected communities.

This is where there is a need for the formation of strategic alliances at country level among communities, NGOs, local and international centres of excellence and others who can provide a comprehensive and detailed account of the local context and social processes. A second challenge is to enable women to work with community organizations and to identify the levels of skills, technical resources, information and other materials they require to be able to organize and support themselves. A third area is facilitating the transfer of available knowledge on existing human rights laws, humanitarian principles, and other national and international legislation and protocols to local organizations and groups. This knowledge can be used to articulate their position and negotiate with

state structures and institutions as well as other public authorities, especially in areas where there is no government but multiple sources of authority and representation.

One example of a possible module can be found in the work of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in southern Sudan (and in this case I am speaking from my own personal point of view): here, there is an attempt to promote humanitarian principles, international standards and national and local values that embody respect for children and women and their rights as a framework through which to achieve consensus and agreement between the warring parties. Although this formula has primarily been used as a way to negotiate access for the delivery of relief aid, it has distinct possibilities as a way of working with and enhancing the initiatives of women's organizations to strengthen their own concerns. For example, there are a number of laws and universal standards which have a direct bearing on the public and domestic concerns of women and their families.

These rights and universal ethical values are embodied in such international standards as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and other relevant human rights standards, such as the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the Conventions against Torture and Genocide, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the various standards regarding refugees, the rights of indigenous populations, and the body of international humanitarian law.

The dissemination of these laws and principles to all sectors of society, and to local groups in particular, affords them vital tools to enhance their lobbying and advocacy efforts with respect to their own national and public authorities, providing a means of calling them to account over issues of the provision of services, welfare and other public responsibilities.

Again, evidence from the field from NGOs, community development activists and others attests to the ways in which women's involvement and participation in community action and local projects has served both to empower women individually and to help the wider community in general (Hyatt, 1991; Lister, 1994).

Using women's shared experiences for improving their immediate conditions and situations, opportunities can be developed for mutual assessments, and mutual actions to remedy them. This in turn can help foster the notion of communities and encourage marginalized groups such as women to become political actors, agents for change and thus effective citizens (Hyatt, 1991).

This participation in turn helps open up spaces for the articulation of alternative perspectives, alternative voices and alternative solutions to problems, especially in relation to the true causes of the injustices women are facing and the causes of the violence that surrounds them.

The positions and strengths of community organizations and local

'activist' groups in which women play such a strong role become very critical in situations where there is an absence of state structures or where these same structures are in the process of redefinition and re-creation. This gives a special significance to the definition of citizenship and the exercise of citizenship rights and action.

At the same time it is precisely in this negative space of disorder, opened up by the unravelling of state systems, that it is essential for local groups and institutions to be organized to shape and re-create the new order (see, for example, Richards, 1996).

The challenges to the international community are, therefore, to enhance the ways in which 'reconstruction' and 'peacemaking' activities can be directed simultaneously at the formal and informal levels of society; to help create the conditions for an opening up of the political system to formal and informal politics, and, in particular, to enable women's contributions to civil society to be articulated and demonstrated.

What the large United Nations and government agencies can do to support the re-creation and enhancement of the formal and public spheres, the NGOs and smaller institutions can achieve by a complementary focus on and support of the informal or 'private' sphere. The encouragement and enhancement of women's participation and engagement in informal politics can be a vital step in challenging the formal sphere and thus contribute to a wider democratic culture which in turn can result in a culture of peace.

There are many ways in which international organizations can help the work of local community organizations and women activists at country level. First and foremost, by providing information and training in the application, implementation and monitoring of the many United Nations conventions, children's rights charters and other conventions relating to women's rights, international humanitarian laws and other issues. One of the problems in many countries is that there is not enough information provided, or translated into local languages, and a great service could be done by enabling this to happen.

Secondly, organizations could support the work of, for example, local women lawyers and other similar professional organizations of women both to capacitate them and to help them network with other organizations worldwide, organize conferences, local workshops, etc. Local universities, teacher training colleges and research institutions are also in need of support to enhance their own outreach services to local communities and to provide training for local community organizations. For example, the Schools of Law can be given additional funds to start special departments focusing on promoting legal issues pertaining to women and children and to monitor and take part in national policy dialogues on these issues. These same institutions can be capacitated to help in the sensitization of local military and police forces on the protection and promotion of women's rights.

International organizations could also facilitate the networking of local women's groups by enabling them to visit other countries to see how organizations there have helped influence policies and organize themselves around particular issues.

Cultural activities themselves are very poorly supported. Local writers, artists, musicians, etc., who promote new ideas or have peaceful, politically healing messages are often least known in their own countries because of financial constraints on local media. Similarly, artists within refugee communities, especially in the West, could be helped to develop suitable teaching materials, videos, dramas, etc., which could be used in their countries of origin to promote reconciliation and a new culture of peace.

For much of the youth of war-afflicted countries, their heroes and definitions of 'masculine' behaviour come from imported films and stars such as *Rambo*, Kung-Fu type films and other violent pornographic media that denigrate women and foster violence as an alternative lifestyle. These youth are cut off from the rich histories, mythologies, legends, heroes and heroines of their own cultures. These are often more accessible to anthropologists and cultural historians from Western countries.

International organizations could help in 'bringing these histories home' by sponsoring the development of films, videos, books, etc., which are based on these traditions and which use local artists and musicians to help reinvigorate local culture and promote peaceful, non-violent, nurturing identities.

Above all, the international organizations could help sponsor a dialogue and network between local and international organizations that unites the similar concerns of civil society; men, women and children across the globe, whether in developed or developing countries, to evolve a genuine anti-war agenda. This is an agenda that will stop the manufacture and sale of arms, it is also an agenda that engages with the forces of poverty, disenfranchisement and marginalization which create the desperation and need to use them.

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Peace talks – peace tasks

In focusing on the emergence of civil society and the endemic and universal problem of violence against women, Raven-Roberts' essay brings our inquiry into the realm of everyday, local life.

Any exploration of the possibilities for a culture of peace must deal with life as we live it day by day and in our local communities. As the author points out, for too many of the human family daily life has become a constant struggle against the consequences of the intentionally organized and socially tolerated violence that prevails at all levels of social and personal life. One of the major tasks of research and strategy planning is to establish the relationships among the various forms of violence, and to verify the assertion of the 'Tokyo Declaration' that the gendered violence that occurs in armed conflicts is, in fact, an extension of the violence regularly inflicted on women in times of so-called peace. Since this violence is committed mainly in the home and the community, we must address our agenda to these domestic and communal spheres as well as to those of the state system and transnational civil society.

1. **Violence against women is now recognized as one of the most widespread and egregious violations of human rights and a United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women was nominated in 1993 to help address this issue in a coherent manner. While it is recognized as one of the major factors in the perpetuation of the oppression and subordination of women in virtually all societies, it is seldom factored into the analysis of the perpetuation of the war system.**
2. **What evidence is there to support the argument that the incidence of domestic violence rises in times of crisis, especially during and immediately after an armed conflict? Can this violence be related to the desensitization of military conscripts to the killing and injury of other human beings? What are the consequences of these forms of military training for the reintegration of demobilized members of the armed forces into civil society? (These problems are also addressed within UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme.)**

3. **What particular roles can and should be played by citizens' organizations in the development of a vision and strategy for the achievement of a culture of peace? If a vibrant and sustainable global culture of peace must find its origins in the 'grass roots', what goals and processes of change must be set out at the local and domestic level? What would be the most constructive, readily achievable ways in which these 'grass-roots' efforts could link together and strengthen each other? How and for what purposes should they relate to state and interstate policies and actions?**

How might grass-roots movements working for gender equality relate to and interact with groups and movements seeking to perpetuate the subordination of women?

What are the risks and possibilities? What must be the role of international solidarity in strengthening movements for equality?

Chapter 5

Women in the global village: increasing demand for traditional communication patterns

Evelin Lindner

Editors' prologue

Lindner's arguments are embedded in the fact of planetary unity. The earth seen as a single ecological system, as well as the social, economic and even political globalization of the human enterprise, renders obsolete the concept of 'inside and outside' that characterizes both nationalistic and sexist chauvinism. This reality, because it widens the traditional female domestic sphere and narrows the traditional male public sphere, requires that a fresh look be taken at the public/private dichotomy which has separated the gender roles.

We suggest that this may also apply to the way we conceive of international relations. Some argue that the very notion of 'other', which gives rise to alienation among human groups and identities on the basis of sex, race, ethnicity and nationality, among other factors, must be called into question. The biological facts of one human species, dependent on one single planet, are coming to take primacy over the separations imposed by emphasizing differences and specializing and proscribing social and economic roles.

Lindner suggests that human differences such as those manifest in different cultural approaches to conflict may in fact be helpful in constructing a culture of peace. Her example citing a combination of male and female conflict behaviour suggests to us that it would be useful to reflect more deeply on Smith's observations about war grief and the emotional division of labour between men and women, indeed, on all psychological and social gender distinctions.

The central hypothesis of this chapter is that globalization widens the traditional female domestic sphere and narrows the traditional male public sphere. This means that women's traditional role description of maintaining social cohesion 'inside' a group is increasingly in demand. The

'global village' can be seen as a single 'inside' sphere. Maintaining social cohesion means complex, relational, multilateral, foresighted, integrative and holistic strategies such as mediation, alternative dispute resolution and police deployment (e.g. peacekeeping forces) instead of traditional military combat. Subsidiarity, quality (and not quantity) of life, 'culture of peace' – all these are keywords, concepts which stem from traditional female role descriptions, showing how much the new strategies are, conceptually, female approaches. The traditional male role description of 'going out', fighting the enemy and conquering the unknown – being unidimensional, unilateral and more short-sighted – loses significance since it was only appropriate outside the 'village'. The world as a single 'global village' no longer provides an 'outside'. Men themselves, as travellers and explorers, were responsible for this development which now makes their specific traditional strategies in many ways inappropriate and dysfunctional.

In promoting a culture of peace, UNESCO has articulated a keyword describing a more contemporary conceptualization of the behavioural and functional needs of the 'global village'. 'Culture of peace' is a multifaceted, creative combination of certain aspects of traditional 'male' and 'female' role strategies. The 'culture of peace' notion advocates on the social level what 'sustainable development' promotes on the ecological level. A better quality of life is projected as the likely result if a culture of peace is combined with sustainable development.

'Women should become more active in the public sphere.' How did such a demand enter modern Western thought? Just some hundreds of years ago such ideas were unthinkable for the majority of both men and women. What has happened? Was it that men in former times denied women their due participation, women being too weak to defend themselves? Are women stronger today? If yes, then why?

I propose to look at globalization as the central force in this context. I argue that globalization widens the traditional female domestic sphere and narrows the traditional male public sphere. In other words, women do not necessarily have to fight for change; change is taking place along with globalization. Globalization is here defined as the growing worldwide communication network (telecommunications, air traffic, satellites, television) which furthers the perception of the world as 'One World'. The currently observable dark sides of globalization, such as 'neo-liberal' global economics and/or corporate capitalism, are here seen as short-term phenomena that are under long-term pressure from this 'One World' perception.

To explain my view, I should first describe how I define the traditional roles of men and women. To do this I rename the domestic sphere the 'inside sphere' and the public sphere the 'outside sphere'. Put succinctly, women are traditionally responsible for 'inside' maintenance (maintenance of the physical and social inside aspects), while men are

traditionally responsible for the 'outside' and for guarding the frontier between 'inside' and 'outside', thus making the 'inside' a safe place. Women in their traditional roles are expected to maintain a household, to wash and clean, to repair what is broken, to plan for long-term maintenance costs, to consider the interdependence of things for keeping a household going – all for the maintenance of a physical 'inside' sphere.

The same principle applies to the social 'inside' sphere: a woman is expected to care for the well-being of the people surrounding her, she is held responsible for the maintenance of emotional and social life, she is the one to create harmony and console the distressed, she is the one to heal and repair social cohesion. (In Western culture, men are increasingly expected to take over some of the original female competence for emotions, but this often ends in bitter disappointment, since even today it is usually *she* who strives for emotional contact with her partner; *she* is the one to recognize a breakdown after having tried in vain for a reconciliation; *she* finally thinks of divorce, while her husband neither understands her nor the final breakdown, and often until the very end believes that everything is fine.)

The man is expected to 'go out', to reach for the unknown, to be daring in conquering the unfamiliar; he is traditionally expected to risk his life in defending the 'inside' sphere. A German saying asserts: *Der Mann geht hinaus in das feindliche Leben* ('The man is to go out into hostile life'). Countless fairy tales tell the story of a hero facing a series of increasingly difficult tasks in far-away universes in order to prepare himself to marry the princess and be the ruler and protector of his people (Campbell, 1949).

Those 'male' tasks necessarily require less holistic approaches than the 'female' tasks. They ask for the sword cutting through, the axe destroying the enemy, even if this means destroying a highly intricate network; they ask men to cover distances unidirectionally on a horse, on a ship, in an aeroplane or in a rocket; they ask men to open new horizons. This male action bore valuable short-term fruit, called modern technology, but created long-term problems since men in the beginning tended to overlook the fragile interdependence of all physical laws.

I am not an advocate of the view that women and men are irreconcilably different by nature, although there are undoubtedly hormonal differences between the two sexes. A woman can step into a male role and vice versa. When I talk about female or male roles, I refer to them as a set of culturally determined 'recipes' or 'prescriptions'. I see it as a set of 'do's' and 'be's' which are assimilated from birth by every individual.[1]

Even more importantly, there should not be a positive versus negative bias. The two gender role 'templates' offer the tools for both construction and destruction. We can concede that there is nowadays an urgent need for the more 'female' holistic thinking, on the ecological and on the social level: respecting biological cycles and caring for social peace are notions which are currently gaining increasing importance. On the

other hand, we should not overlook the fact that unidirectional thinking can, for example, be an important tool for innovation: admittedly it can be destructive, but it can also be constructive. Furthermore, there is the cleaning aspect of the 'female' maintenance task. This cleaning aspect can be extremely destructive as long as it bases itself on the concept of a real 'outside' around it. Starting at the ecological level, cleaning can go too far, as can be seen, for example, when women wash clothes white with heavily polluting agents.[2] On the social level, this cleaning aspect even offers the conceptual framework for atrocities. One has just to think of ethnic cleansing. The German army was involved in ethnic cleansing during the Second World War, but tried to deny this involvement since for a soldier this is not 'male' enough. Soldiers can be proud of a war against an attacking enemy, and wear medals afterwards, but not of ethnic cleansing: killing defenceless people smacks of 'female' cleaning activity and thereby lack of bravery.[3] In an attempted justification, the killing of Jews in concentration camps was equated with having to eradicate 'dirt' or 'pests' like rats or weeds, something which the SS were persuaded to do as an unavoidable although 'mean' and not very honourable duty in order to save the German race (see, for example, Himmler's speeches).

Space prohibits the discussion of further examples, but the instances cited here should shed sufficient light on the unusual use of the 'female' and 'male' categorization in this text. They should also make clear that it is not an antagonism between 'female' and 'male' strategies which is advocated here, but the complementary combination and integration of the constructive sides in both. In other words, I do not believe that women can simply be described as the powerless and thereby inherently 'good' creatures and that 'all problems [will] cease when the powerless achieve power' (Ashford, 1994, p. 253).

If we accept that globalization causes the 'inside' to widen, and that women are traditionally responsible for 'inside' spheres, then this means that the woman's sphere of responsibility has grown and is still growing, creating an ever-increasing demand for traditional female services: negotiation instead of military attack, mediation instead of dictatorial order, social maintenance through an intricate network of courts, lawyers and police instead of a unidirectional system of sheer military force. Management courses today try to train managers to understand the importance of 'soft' human factors such as motivation, job satisfaction, co-operation abilities and creative problem-solving. Well-balanced 'female-type' co-operation is advocated today on all levels, from small companies to the United Nations, while the army-like 'male' hierarchical order is considered out-of-date, as, for example, is the Wild West pioneering style. Traditional female role characteristics are gaining ground on a global scale.

Here I would like to point out that, of course, the view presented here is exaggerated, in order to make the conceptual categories clearer.

Though men were usually the warriors and explorers, and not women, men did not only conquer the unknown as warriors, explorers or discoverers: they were farmers too and cared for the maintenance of cycles and networks just as women did. Trade especially combines 'male' and 'female' role patterns, since in the first place it requires going out into the unknown to find new products and clients, but after having established new trade connections it requires their maintenance. These examples show the complexity of reality and how it is simplified here. The intention of my presentation is to stress the deep structural differences between traditional 'male' and 'female' role patterns.

If we were to go along with the hypothesis of this chapter that the domestic sphere has widened through globalization, giving women greater significance, then we should ask how women are to put their domestic strategies into action on the international level.

I would like to describe the modern structure of conflict resolution (which, in my view, has to be aimed at in a modern 'global village') by means of an example from Egypt, where I lived and worked for seven years. Two men in the streets of Cairo have a car accident. They get out of their cars, shout, scream and leap at each other's throats. Some ten to twenty strong young men appear from all corners, roughly half taking the side of each man involved in the dispute. Each 'party' grabs 'its' fighter and stops him hurting his opponent, but allows him to continue to scream, shout and express his anger. The peacemakers take the expressed anger seriously, they talk to the quarrellers with respect, they try to analyse the cause of the fight, they propose solutions and facilitate arrangements. After about ten to fifteen minutes the fight is over and everybody goes on his way. (Any traveller can observe the high level of social control that makes Cairo a place of amazingly low criminality compared with other such large cities.)

What is combined in this approach to conflict is 'female' talking, understanding, empathy, perspective-taking and healing on one side, and the 'male' potential for overpowering, coercion, force, violence and aggression on the other. 'Male' strength and well-dosed counter-aggression are required to hold the fighters. 'Female' awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric is needed to take the fighters seriously. To combine the 'male' aspect of force with 'female' empathy could be described as *the* modern recipe for conflict resolution. The old 'male' strategy of hitting, of destructive force, is no longer appropriate in an interdependent, modern 'global village', while the 'male' ability to use restraining force continues to be an important tool, though in a more steady and long-standing application and combined with empathy and respect. This means both that men are to use more of the traditional 'female' role characteristics and that women are to become more 'visible'. In former times, visibility was connected to the man guarding the frontiers of the 'outside', just as clothes

protect and hide the 'inside' from 'outside' viewers. With the disappearance of an 'outside' this notion loses significance, giving the opportunity to women and men alike to be both 'inside' and visible.[4]

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme urges precisely the strengthening of the 'female' aspect in conflict-resolution efforts.[5] Space does not allow me to give a detailed description of every facet of this 'female' contribution. The list is a long one: using multi-track, 'track II' and citizen-based diplomacy;[6] installing early-warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision-makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge;[7] keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing 'truth commissions';[8] allowing warring parties to feel the world community's care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment;[9] taking the adversaries' personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity;[10] introducing sustainable, long-term approaches on the social and ecological level;[11] progressing from spending aid money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on. All these rather 'female' efforts must be combined with a certain amount of 'male' coercion if necessary. The term 'social control' expresses the combination of both aspects. On the national level, police and prisons represent some of the coercive aspects (more effective if the average citizen does not carry weapons), while institutions like lawyers, courts and rehabilitation programmes have the potential to fulfil the role of social caring and healing.

The culture of peace is a multifaceted, creative combination of certain aspects of traditional 'male' and 'female' role strategies. At this historical point of an emerging, increasingly interdependent 'global village', traditionally 'female' strategies of caring and healing are more needed and must be integrated on the international level.

As mentioned above, the notion of a 'culture of peace' advocates on the social level what 'sustainable development' promotes on the ecological level. In both cases, the aim is to achieve a better quality of life and the challenge is the long-term maintenance of interdependent systems. In order to tackle this challenge, traditional female role descriptions concerning maintenance must be elevated from the private to the public sphere and used there by both men and women.

Notes

1. Tajfel (1984) said, 'it is not the difference which matters, but the distinction'. Larrow and Wiener (1992, p. 239) contribute to the same subject: 'There has been much controversy over the use of the terms *stereotype* and *prejudice*. . . . We would distinguish three terms: categorization, stereotypes, and prejudice. *Categorization* will be used when classification of a person into a category is based on the necessary defining attributes of class membership. *Stereotype* is the classification based on non-definitional attributes. Finally, *prejudice* is classified when social evaluation is explicitly included with the stereotype. In the field of sex/gender research, we would like to make a distinction between using the term sex to refer to categorization of males and females based on biological attributes, such as chromosomes, genitals, reproductive functions, and so on, and *gender* to refer to stereotypes of women and men based on non-biological attributes such as clothes, hairstyle, behaviours, and the like. Most of our beliefs about men and women are based on gender stereotypes.' Unger and Crawford (1992, p. 619) formulate it succinctly: 'When sex is not present, people need to invent it. They use sex as a cue even when more useful sources of information are available.' The authors look for alternative explanations and name inequality through power difference as often explaining more of observable differences than sex or gender differences. I would agree concerning the necessity of alternative explanations, but would be careful with the power argument, as long as the power argument is simply used as men having the power and women being the suppressed ones. I would take into account the distribution of tasks of different urgency leading to a power difference.
2. Ashford (1994, p. 253): 'Chapter 1 on Feminism and Ecofeminism, rebuts the simplistic view that all problems will cease when the powerless achieve power. Women are not to be conceived as "angels in the ecosystem", feminist closeness to nature is an uncomplimentary stereotype. But nature and the feminine can combine with subsistence lifestyles and the culturally or geographically colonized in an "alliance of the oppressed". All are "backgrounded" by the pervasive "master model". Yet both "deep ecology" and forms of feminism endorse that model, seeking either integration with the master principle, or replacement of one dominant form by another.' 'Women as well as men must "learn to throw off the master identity embodied in the Western construction of the human".'
3. The involvement of parts of the German army in atrocities was documented in an exhibition organized by the Institut für Sozialforschung (Hamburg) in 1996, more than fifty years after the war, and met violent reactions of denial, especially in southern Germany (see the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, No. 10, 3 March 1997, p. 54).

   There exist many sources pointing in the same direction. Here is an example from Shirer (1976, p. 794), concerning the German attack on Poland at the beginning of the Second World War. General Halder writes in his diary: 'Army insists that "housecleaning" be deferred until Army has withdrawn and the country has been turned over to civil administration.' Shirer comments: 'This brief diary entry by the Chief of the Army General Staff provides a key to the understanding

of the morals of the German generals. They were not going to seriously oppose the "housecleaning" – that is, the wiping out of the Polish Jews, intelligentsia, clergy and nobility. They were merely going to ask that it be "deferred" until they got out of Poland. . . .'

4. Kelly et al. (1994) made an assessment of women's visibility in politics as activists, researchers and political thinkers and found that in 1994 women's visibility was still limited.
5. The following paragraph outlines the background of UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme: 'The end of the Cold War has enabled the United Nations to begin realizing the potential for which it was created nearly fifty years ago, that is, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.' In *An Agenda for Peace*, published in 1994, the Secretary-General outlines the challenges faced by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the areas of: 'preventive diplomacy, which seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peace-making and peace-keeping, which are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained; and post-conflict peace-building – to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.' (*Final Report of the First Consultative Meeting of the Culture of Peace Programme*, Paris, 27–29 September 1994.)
6. See the efforts of individuals such as the former American President Jimmy Carter, or the Norwegians helping behind the scenes in the Israel–Palestine peace process.
7. The Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO), for example, has taken up national identity as a major new field of interest, thereby incorporating social psychology into peace research (source: Dan Smith, director of the institute).
8. See, for example, Ethiopia, where reconciliation within a society can be reached through 'truth commissions' if other ways, such as tribunals, would be too disrupting.
9. See the Norwegian approach in the Israel–Palestine Oslo agreement.
10. Whatever has been learned on a micro-level in therapeutic contexts about conflict and conflict resolution, from confession to forgiveness, also applies to the community level.
11. Brundtland (1992, p. 17), a woman and a very active Scandinavian politician, writes: 'We must not be blinded by the immediate. We must all take a longer-term view. We need to expand and share knowledge and we must get many more people engaged in the overriding issues of our time. We will have to rely on the gift of information technology for spreading knowledge and for developing those common perspectives and attitudes which our human predicament now requires.' This is a woman advocating a combination of traditionally 'female' long-term thinking being promoted by 'male' technology.

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Peace talks – peace tasks

Lindner's approach is both psycho-cultural and ecological, and thus is an example of the kind of feminine thinking that many feminists insist must complement the masculine thinking that currently dominates policy-making on issues of peace and security and perpetuates a patriarchal political culture. Her emphasis is on life and relationships. This emphasis opens several potentially productive lines of inquiry in the formulation of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

1. **All cultures have archetypal heroes. As Lindner reminds us, we have inherited an image of the hero as the conquering, physically powerful, brave male, pitted against forces of evil embodied in an enemy. Enemies inhabit Lindner's outside, and given her assertion that there no longer exists this separation between inside and outside, we must ask whether the very notion of enemy is a functional one for a global, diverse society. What function have the concept and the various images of the enemy played in the perpetuation of war and the evolution of a culture of violence? How do such images figure in the popular culture of literature, the media, computer games and children's**

play? What reformulation of the notions of the stranger or foreigner and the antagonist or opponent would be more compatible with a culture of peace?

2. A number of authors have dealt with alternative notions and images of the hero, some of them actual historical figures, who conducted epic struggles non-violently, and hypothetical profiles of heroes of a very different sort to the ones conjured by Lindner. We need to develop a new roster of heroes for a culture of peace. For this we need both imagination and research into history which can uncover some of the experience of co-operation, non-violence and altruism which many believe is in fact what has been responsible for the survival of humankind and the continuation of the human experience. We know that much of this history has been made by women. How can we document it and integrate it into our agenda?
3. As we are reminded, globalization has both its positive and negative sides. Identify some positive aspects of globalization. How might women take advantage of them, and by what strategies? One of the most damaging of the negative sides is the consequence for women of the globalization of capital. In what ways can we analyse these economic processes, using Lindner's form of thinking to find alternative routes to material progress and wealth that recognize the disappearance of the boundaries between inside and outside? We know that the world comprises one ecological system and we see, too, the emergence of one economic system. As we need to preserve the health of the ecological system, we need also to establish justice in the economic system, as was recommended by the Manila Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace (see Appendix 2 for the report). How can the 'widening' of women's traditional domestic sphere be managed so as to bring about this justice? How can we factor it into our Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?
4. Another difference between prototypical masculine and feminine thinking is the emphasis on the short term by the former and on the long term by the latter. How has this affected the trends and developments such as globalization and some of the issues such as security and peacekeeping addressed by other authors in this collection? How might our agenda facilitate the bringing about of a more positive balance between the two? Can the partnership model be applied so as to maximize the benefits of the differences in constructive ways?

Part Two

Gender critiques of peace and security policies and practices

Chapter 6

Gender and the United Nations *Agenda for Peace*

Carolyn M. Stephenson

Editors' prologue

This chapter poses a set of challenges to the very way of thinking that produced *An Agenda for Peace*. It also questions the *Agenda*'s concept of peacekeeping. We invite the reader to focus and reflect especially on Stephenson's conceptual challenges and proposed alternative notions of such crucial elements as power, conflict and, indeed, security itself. Also worth special attention is what we might call the structural or constitutional challenges in which the author critiques the failure to use the full range of possibilities provided by the United Nations Charter and the consequent militarization of peacekeeping, a development she attributes to 'the myth of the efficacy of violence'. Are these constructive challenges? Has Stephenson made a case that must be seriously considered in the formulation of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?

The lack of a gender perspective in the Secretary-General's *Agenda for Peace* (see Appendix 4) in particular, and security policy in general, stands as an obstacle to the major imperative of the active involvement of peacemaking women. The equal participation of women in decision-making on peace and security would not only promote the advancement of women, but would advance the United Nations agenda for peace and security and make more effective the design and implementation of that agenda. This chapter addresses the conceptual structure of the United Nations peace and security agenda, examines the question of the difference that women's participation would make in that conceptual structure and makes recommendations on women's participation in that agenda.

The conceptual structure of the United Nations *Agenda for Peace*

The concept of security reflected in *An Agenda for Peace* is considerably more limited than the conceptualizations emerging over recent decades from the widely discussed reports of independent commissions on major

global issues (among them the *Brandt*, *Palme* and *Brundtland Reports*) and those forthcoming from the debates of civil society. While the Secretary-General's four-part programme is somewhat more comprehensive than that involved in recent United Nations peacekeeping endeavours, it does not reflect notions of security as inextricably related to development, human rights and the environment. The conceptual core of the *Agenda* is 'collective security'. Originally articulated in the United Nations Charter, the 'collective security' approach was restored with the end of the Cold War and the Security Council's renewed ability actively to undertake peace-keeping initiatives.

The concept is even further from the notion of 'human security' which emerges from the comprehensive approach advocated by various peace researchers, especially those who identify themselves as 'feminist peace researchers'. Human security comprises a comprehensive and integrated interpretation of security, including the factors identified by the independent commissions and other elements, most particularly democratic decision-making and gender equality. None of these aspects is comprehended by the concept of security found in the United Nations Charter and reflected in the *Agenda.* Indeed, collective security emphasizes the security of the nation-state, often at the expense of those elements most integral to human security.

The distinctions between 'international security' and 'human security' are illuminated by other significant conceptual differences between the *Agenda* approach and that of feminist peace researchers. Especially notable are contrasting notions of power, as held by women, who are generally excluded from the security debates, and by men, who control the discourse.

Underlying women's definitions of security appears to be a preference for a different definition of power. While many men tend to see power as power *over*, women have conceived of power as power *with:* capability rather than domination, the ability to supervise various forms and sources of power for mutual human purposes rather than to control or eliminate opposing power for the purpose of individual, state-based advantage. This entails a conception of political power in which power is seen as rooted in society rather than in its leaders, a bottom-up rather than a top-down conception of power.

As we examine women's participation in and exclusion from decision-making on peace and security, it is important to be clear about our definitions.

First, the Secretary-General's 1992 *Agenda for Peace* equates conflict with violent conflict. Yet many social scientists believe that, while violent conflict may be destructive to and dangerous for society, conflict itself may be not only useful but essential to the vitality of a society and its ability to move towards justice and adapt to change. While violent conflict may be destructive, non-violent conflict is often likely to be constructive.

Further, the Secretary-General's report construes violent conflict as discrete and distinct from other forms of violence. Women peace researchers, on the other hand, have begun to speak of the 'continuum of violence', of the relationship between the violence of nuclear war and the threat of war and military force, the violence that occurs in our families and our neighbourhoods and the violence of unjust economic and social structures defended by military forces. They have asked how the cycles of violence that interplay at various levels can be broken. Conflict and struggle may be necessary to combat violence. Making conflict constructive and non-violent rather than destructive and violent may be a more effective agenda than attempting to do away with conflict altogether.

Second, it is important to make clear again the distinction between peacekeeping and enforcement. While it is not possible to review all the distinctions here, the central ones are that peacekeeping is based on the consent of the parties, while enforcement is not; in peacekeeping, force is minimal and used only in self-defence and peacekeepers must remain impartial between the parties. The basic conditions for peacekeeping were laid down by an earlier Secretary-General in 1973 when he agreed to the deployment of UNEF II, the second United Nations Emergency Force, in the Middle East conflict. Peacekeeping has been described as 'Chapter six-and-a-half' of the United Nations Charter, halfway between Chapter VI on peaceful settlement and Chapter VII on collective security approaches to threats and breaches of the peace. But the distinction between peacekeeping and enforcement approaches has been increasingly blurred in missions since 1989, as we move into areas such as humanitarian intervention. It is important to keep peacekeeping separate from enforcement.

It is also important to define the arena within which we are to work and the breadth of the systems and methods which we will apply. In *An Agenda for Peace*, the Secretary-General organizes his report around four concepts: *preventive diplomacy*, *peacemaking*, *peacekeeping*, and *post-conflict peacebuilding*. The range of activities cited within each of these categories, and the range of the overall categories themselves, is narrower than the full range of available United Nations approaches and mechanisms in the area of peace and security. These mechanisms tend to be at the Chapter VII end of the security spectrum rather than emphasizing the Chapter VI peaceful settlement procedures. Within the peacekeeping category, the emphasis is on military peacekeeping missions, rather than the peace observation missions which have also been a traditional part of peacekeeping. Peacebuilding is conceived of strictly in the post-conflict phase, while a comprehensive peacebuilding approach would need to be integrated into a peace agenda at all stages of conflict.

A brief examination of the document will reveal some of the gaps in areas where women, peace researchers, and especially women peace researchers, might recommend considerably more emphasis. *Preventive*

diplomacy, while defined broadly, has a far narrower conception when one looks in more detail at the concrete methods which the Secretary-General includes. He notes, rightly, that 'the most desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy is to ease tensions before they result in conflict', or rather, violence. He recommends confidence-building measures, fact-finding, early warning, preventive deployment and demilitarized zones. While these are all important, this neglects several other critical aspects of preventive diplomacy. Chief among these are the mechanisms provided for in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, Article 33 – particularly the third-party mechanisms such as inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement, which have come to enjoy more frequent and successful utilization in both domestic and international conflicts by the United Nations and other third parties such as states, regional organizations, NGOs, conflict-resolution centres and private individuals. Where direct negotiation becomes impossible between parties in crisis, these mechanisms may be the most important ones available in the area of preventive diplomacy.

There is another area which must frame any immediate discussion of preventive diplomacy, and that is the broader question of what arms are available to the participants to carry on their conflict. If one wants to mitigate the destructive effects of conflict, then control of arms, both at the level of national armed forces and in civilian society – both arms control/disarmament and gun control – is an essential part of the picture. Similarly, reduction of military budgets could not only reduce the potential harm to be done in conflict, but also release resources which might be used for peacebuilding and development.

Under *peacemaking*, the Secretary-General includes the International Court of Justice, amelioration through assistance, sanctions, military force, and peace-enforcement units. Certainly the Chapter VI, Article 33, mechanisms of third-party conflict resolution are as relevant here as in preventive diplomacy. Peacemaking may well include the forceful stoppage of violent conflict, but without negotiation over the real issues underlying the conflict. Such a 'peace' will not be more than temporary – as has been well demonstrated in certain recent conflicts in which the United Nations and certain major states have attempted such methods. Emphasis in the area of peacemaking could be best placed at the peaceful settlement end of the spectrum rather than in the area of enforcement. One may be able to enforce order, but one cannot enforce a true and stable peace, unless the peacemaking is used to clarify and possibly solve the root causes of violent conflict. Where the Secretary-General recommends both Article 43 military units and other peace-enforcement units, one might expect him also to call for the use of the conflict-resolution capacity of the United Nations.

The section on *peacekeeping* in the report is organized differently, including the categories of increasing demands, new departures in

peacekeeping, personnel and logistics. Rather than discussing the wide variety of mechanisms that have been employed under the peacekeeping category, especially the two primary categories of military peacekeeping to help maintain a ceasefire, and peace observation missions, the Secretary-General chooses to focus on the evolution of peacekeeping towards increasingly militarized approaches. Some of the smaller peace observation missions have been among the most successful, even before undertaking a cost-benefit analysis. Emphasis on peace observation and the traditional peacekeeping missions, following the criteria introduced in 1973, might be a more productive approach. The document might usefully have addressed the necessity of further developing the techniques of non-violent, or at least less violent, interposition, utilizing some of the experience gained by certain United Nations peacekeeping missions, by United Nations Volunteers and relevant agencies and by NGOs such as Witness for Peace and Peace Brigades International, among others. Research here, to address the question of what techniques of peacekeeping or combination thereof are appropriate to what levels, stages and varieties of conflict and in what cultural contexts, would be important.

Finally, in the *post-conflict peacebuilding* section of *An Agenda for Peace*, there are no sub-categories. The Secretary-General does refer to important activities that might 'bring states together to develop agriculture, improve transportation or utilize resources such as water or electricity that they need to share, or joint programmes through which barriers between nations are brought down by means of freer travel, cultural exchanges and mutually beneficial youth and educational projects'. These are significant actions that could appropriately link the actions taken in crises with longer-term development approaches. They build on solid conflict-resolution literature which suggests that creating overarching goals is one of the best ways of resolving conflict. The Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War might be a model. Linking such post-conflict peacebuilding to 'sustainable development' would be essential. But even more important is to broaden the peacebuilding approach so that it is not limited to post-conflict situations. It is important, among other factors, to be sure that such activities do not become a reward for violent conflict and its cessation. They must be linked to preventive diplomacy and development. The construction of a long-term, stable and just peace is essential, providing a more integrated approach.

It is time to broaden the spectrum of methods which are regularly considered and used to deal with conflict and especially violent conflict. An agenda for peace and security should take advantage of the new developments in conceptions of security and the alternative security systems which have been suggested and which rely less on violent and coercive enforcement. New techniques both for the constructive escalation of conflict and for its de-escalation are being developed at many levels. For

de-escalation, a variety of consensually based, third-party conflict-resolution techniques has been developed and some have already begun to show successes. For escalation, the techniques of non-violent struggle, as in the case of people power in the Philippines, the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe, and the resistance to the coup against Gorbachev, have been used successfully. More attention also needs to be given to the tuning of non-violent sanctions for specific purposes, as the Secretary-General has indicated.

Several principles may be relevant here. First, methods need to be developed and utilized at a variety of levels, with attention to the different kinds of conflict and the culturally specific circumstances of their occurrence. As a rule, the principles of subsidiarity and redundancy may be important. By 'subsidiarity' we mean the resolving of conflict and the solving of crucial problems at their most local level (i.e. the specific locus of the conflict) before bringing in the next level of potential solution: family before neighbourhood, neighbourhood before city, city before state, state before regional organization and regional organization before the United Nations. By 'redundancy' we mean the provision of overlapping systems so as to be able to catch conflicts early (i.e. 'back-up' or additional resources and options) without overload on the system, leading to collapse at critical points. Ecological thinking teaches us that this is how the environment preserves itself, and the armed forces would not be willing to go into any crisis situation without a certain amount of weapons system redundancy in case of unexpected circumstances. Certainly the development of more peaceful approaches to the *Agenda for Peace* can settle for no less.

Finally, it is time for women and others to take on the myth of the efficacy of violence. The United Nations Charter has been built on two contradictory principles: first, to remove the 'scourge of war' from our international system; and, second, to use military force to do so. There is an assumption that military force works where other techniques do not. Articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII are an example here. Article 41 refers to a variety of sanctions that the Security Council can employ to deal with threats and breaches of the peace. But Article 42 then goes on to say: 'Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate', it may then take military enforcement actions. The presumption is that sanctions may fail, but that military action will not. What we have failed to understand is that there are countless examples where force has not worked – at best, it works for only one side – and countless examples where non-violent methods – sometimes coercive, sometimes consensually based – have worked. Some examples have been given under section 5 of the *Agenda*. This mythology of the efficacy of violence is one of the obstacles to the participation of women. Women have not traditionally participated in the military and have traditionally not relied on force as their primary method of influence.

Moreover the myth of violence as efficacious has glorified those who have used violence over those who have found other effective means of influence and power. If women are to participate equally in decision-making for peace and security, then this myth must be squarely faced.

Recommendations

There are specific recommendations that follow from the above conceptual analysis. Largely, they centre around the shifting of priorities in the United Nations and state systems from military to non-military approaches:

1. Redress the imbalance between short-term and long-term approaches to peace and security, between military and non-violent approaches and methods, and between Chapter VII and Chapter VI approaches. Specifically:
   (a) Increase budgets and institutional capacity-building for conflict resolution, especially third-party conflict resolution, treating Article 33 of the United Nations Charter seriously by providing the resources to make it work.
   (b) Reduce military expenditures by states and the United Nations system, reduce large-scale, heavily militarized peacekeeping and enforcement missions, and move from an enforcement to a conflict-resolution approach to peacekeeping.
   (c) Reduce the emergency response approach as the dominant approach to conflict and replace it with both early-warning systems and long-term conflict-resolution approaches, being sure that early warning is coupled to constructive and accountable responses by all segments of the system, including global and regional organizations, states and NGOs.
   (d) Increase the use of peace observation and non-violent interposition by the United Nations and regional organizations, and local and international NGOs and movements.
2. Provide education and training in conflict analysis and resolution:
   (a) Train United Nations staff, military and civilian members of peacekeeping missions, diplomats from nation-states, NGOs, and others throughout all levels of the system, in a wide variety of conflict-resolution approaches and skills. At least 50 per cent of those doing and receiving the training should be women.
   (b) Educate all ages and segments of all societies in the continuum of skills for both non-violent action and conflict resolution, seeking out, reinforcing and utilizing local and indigenous methods where they are appropriate.
3. Further develop and research non-violent and increasingly less violent methods of third-party interposition as part of the development of United Nations peacekeeping. Utilize local groups as appropriate, including drawing on the skills of NGOs where appropriate. Research institutes, as well as United Nations bodies, could focus research and development efforts on what kinds of non-violent interposition have been effective under what kinds of circumstances. For example, NGO efforts to accompany

human rights activists in Central America, utilizing an international presence and media publicity to protect them, appear to have been useful in a variety of countries. What kinds of non-violent interposition have been/would be appropriate to help disarm societies in a post-crisis phase of violent conflict, and to deliver food and other humanitarian relief? The experience of the International Committee of the Red Cross and a variety of other NGO and quasi-NGO efforts should be studied in this context.

4. Restore the 1973 guidelines for United Nations deployment of peacekeeping missions, not entering a conflict without the consent of the parties, emphasizing the impartiality and fairness of peacekeepers and using minimal levels of force. Remember that peacekeeping cannot work where there is no peace to be kept, that negotiation to produce at least a ceasefire must precede peacekeeping. Employ the standard that medicine has developed for intervention in a crisis: first, do no harm. Keep clear the distinction between peacekeeping and enforcement, relying on the peacekeeping rather than the enforcement end of that spectrum.
5. Do not mix within a single mission military force or coercive peacekeeping, or even advocacy of one side, with conflict-resolution efforts. Separate these functions in the United Nations system, giving equal or more weight to conflict-resolution capacity. It is essential to ensure that these different parts of the peace system are in good communication with each other.
6. Begin to take significant steps in the demilitarization of society at all levels. This includes efforts at nuclear arms control and disarmament; expansion of the arms trade registry to cover production (leading towards restriction of the arms trade and weapons production); domestic gun and small weapons control; restrictions on or abolition of televised violence and toy weapons; and efforts such as UNESCO's to develop a culture of peace.
7. Increase the participation of women and others who have not shared equally in positions of power and decision-making, both for the sake of their own rights and for the sake of moving towards more consensual and reconciliatory systems. While it appears that gender roles are largely socially constructed, and structurally rather than biologically determined, these roles have nevertheless been constructed, and those people at the bottom of power structures are more likely to have had to learn to use consensual methods. Thus, one of the benefits of democracy and inclusive practices is that, in including all the parties, a consensual approach to politics is more likely to develop. Participation is likely to lead to more consensually based and ultimately more effective approaches to long-term peace and security.

One research project might be proposed here to see whether there is a relationship between the participation of women and the more consensual approaches to peace. A set of participatory action research projects might follow two approaches:

- Add women to decision-making in structures that provide for parity and see if the institutions and practices become more consensual.
- Make the approaches to decision-making, particularly in the peace and security arena, more consensual and participatory and see whether that increases the proportion of women in that arena. The project might be called the Gender and the Agenda for Peace project, or GAP.

Conclusions

Anthropologist Margaret Mead wrote in 1940 that while human beings are not innately aggressive and war is not an inherent part of human society, war will not disappear until the alternatives to it are developed. Research in social psychology and the other sciences has reaffirmed the view that aggression is not innate in humans. The Seville Statement on Violence summarizes much of that research. Now there is extensive development of the alternatives to war and violent conflict. Such research and development needs to be encouraged and the results widely disseminated, if the system is to move in a constructive direction.

War and violent, coercive force benefit most those who are the possessors of the resources to use such methods. Women have tended not to be in that position and so have tended to rely on less violent methods of projecting power. Time, money and lives have been wasted on attempts to project power by reliance on violence and the threat of violence. None of these attempts can last for the long term, and attempts to suppress violence by means of authoritarian systems result ultimately in the collapse of such systems and the release of retributive violence – unless the methods of social change themselves incorporate constructive methods of conflict rather than destructive ones. We have been witness recently to both constructive/consensual and destructive/disintegrative methods of conflict in societies around the world. We have seen the results. We can choose.

Women in particular have more to gain from moving society towards peaceful methods of resolving conflict because they are disadvantaged by the imbalance of political systems towards the coercive and violent end of the power spectrum. If they can develop alternatives to violence and exploitation instead of simply seeking a share of the system's goodies (or perhaps 'baddies' would be a better word), women hold the short-term advantage: the power to change the system in ways that will ultimately benefit both men and women. Virtually every human interaction holds some measure of both coercive and consensual power, but the balance now seems to have moved so far towards the coercive end of the power spectrum that it endangers the survival of the system itself, not only its weakest members. Ultimately, the relationship between women and men is unlike any other human interaction; it is obvious that the survival of each sex and of the human race depends on integrative approaches to maintaining that relationship. The development of a coalition of women

and like-minded men who can say 'no' to violence and can develop constructive participatory alternatives to it, in the face of severe resistance from the current holders and desirers of violent power and coercive methods, will benefit both women and men. Increasing the participation of women in decision-making can move the society towards redressing that imbalance in types of power systems. Those who advocate making and keeping peace by coercive means, and who resist participation by current outsiders, are more likely to see such methods turned on them in the future. Those who allow the less powerful to participate are more likely to find that those newly admitted to the circles of power are more considerate of everyone's interests, and that of the system itself, than those who have to struggle for power. Again, we have very recently seen examples of both alternatives and we can choose. Increasing the participation of women in decision-making in peace and security can increase the level of security for all and move us more rapidly towards a stable and lively peace.

Peace talks – peace tasks

Readers are invited to discuss, design and disseminate approaches to the following tasks based on Stephenson's chapter because she addresses her critique to the United Nations. Discussion should focus on practical and specific proposals and procedures to be advocated by citizens, considered by policy-makers and implemented by the United Nations, regional organizations, member states, NGOs and other citizens' groups, globally, regionally and nationally.

1. **Design alternatives to 'enforcement' and dependence on the traditionally trained armed forces to prevent, control or interrupt armed conflict.**
2. **Draw up new approaches to the education and training of forces and personnel especially designated for peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding.**
3. **Consider gender-sensitive approaches and carefully planned strategies for increasing women's participation in peace and security policy-making and gender parity in all peacekeeping operations.**
4. **Research into the changes required and the resources essential in order to adequately define and plan strategies for the achievement of sustainable human security, and plans to acquire and earmark the necessary resources.**
5. **Survey existing modes – and design and develop needed new modes – of exercising power as 'shared power' or capability, with specific focus on the principle of subsidiarity in policy-making as well as conflict resolution.**
6. **Develop a comprehensive programme of education in various forms of non-violent resistance, struggle and conflict resolution to ensure the possibility of constructive conflict as a means to the positive social change required to achieve a culture of peace.**
7. **Discuss the validity and implications of the concept of 'a continuum of violence' which views all forms of violence as interrelated. Does this concept**

imply that violence is systematic? Should strategies for changing systems of violence be devised to complement and strengthen efforts to prevent and eliminate specific forms of violence? Should non-violent methods and strategies be systematized into the comprehensive, integrated approach to security advocated by Stephenson?

Chapter 7

Balancing co-operation and critique: preliminary considerations for a feminist view of the *Agenda for Peace*

Hanne-Margret Birckenbach

Editors' prologue

The following chapter uses the concepts of gender and 'male bias' to argue the relevance and significance of the exclusion of women to the potential effectiveness of the proposals of *An Agenda for Peace*. We suggest that special attention be paid to Birckenbach's arguments on the need for 'gender training' for United Nations personnel; her insistence that conflicts always have gender-specific aspects (including, but not exclusively, rape); and her call for gender-sensitive planning and implementation of United Nations mandates in peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention. The reader is invited to reflect upon how gender considerations might specifically affect some of the aspects she focuses on such as 'early warning' and 'preventive diplomacy'. Would such effects be relevant to a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?

Introduction

In March 1991 the United Nations Secretary-General received more than 50,000 signatures on petitions from women in different countries protesting against the Gulf war. Further, they demanded, 'in the name of peace, democracy, human rights and the dignity of each man and woman', and as an essential democratic right, a worldwide ballot on the very question of whether the United Nations should be allowed to go to war or whether such action should be prohibited. In the present context the question is not whether the demand should be considered utopian, but rather what new development was signified by the 50,000 signatures. The campaign differed from previous women's peace actions in one particular respect. It was the first time that voices within the women's peace movement had demonstrated against a United Nations action, particularly important because it was an action decided by the Security Council. The council was denounced for ignoring the growing demands and need for

participation of ordinary global citizens in the international system, especially in the prevention of war.

The 1991 Gulf war has turned out to be a key event in the development of the current United Nations security system. Since then, and despite the initial positive responses to the enhancement of the United Nations security system, it has come under attack from below, from ordinary citizens, not only of the isolationist right but from internationalists, and it increasingly suffers from a process of delegitimization, previously a virtually unheard-of state of affairs.

Both the dissent and the positive demands from below are due to the fact that the emergence of the human rights system, including political rights of citizens, has not only had an impact on the relationship between citizens and each of their nation-states. It has also created a relationship between the United Nations system and citizens who had been educated – not least by the philosophy of the United Nations system itself – to perceive themselves no longer as citizens only of one nation-state, but as global citizens as well. In other words, the dissent between women peace activists and the United Nations and the delegitimization of the United Nations security system from below are occurring not because of people opposing the spirit of the United Nations Charter, but precisely because of their being enthusiastically in favour of it.

The United Nations security system has scarcely reacted to this development. Even though the United Nations has widely contributed to it by spreading the idea of democracy, it is unprepared to apply the idea to the norms, procedures and contents of the United Nations institutions themselves. This is also true regarding the *Agenda for Peace*, which deals with peace and security as if both issues were the responsibilities of governments and the United Nations alone, thus failing to address the responsibilities of societal actors, be they transnational NGOs or ordinary citizens. In the process, it fails to take appropriate notice of other initiatives in the system directed towards enhancing democratic participation in peace processes, most notable among them UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme. This programme seeks not only to energize peace action at the grass roots, but also to nurture and disseminate alternatives to violence and armed conflict in the resolution of disputes and the struggle for human rights and democracy.

In the spirit of the Culture of Peace Programme, this chapter outlines why the *Agenda* is as it is and starts a process of reflection on its analysis, diagnosis and therapy, in order to determine how the *Agenda* should be changed to become more responsive to women's concerns. It examines selected paragraphs of the *Agenda* in order to make concrete proposals for further development.

The male bias of the *Agenda for Peace:* analysis, diagnosis and therapy

The Secretary-General and his *Agenda for Peace* respond to various aspects of world politics, in particular to a growing number of conflicts which tend to become violent, destabilizing international security in a world of increased interdependence. In order to prevent destabilization, the *Agenda* aims at widening the United Nations mandate to achieve and maintain world peace and strengthening the instruments for action within a framework of (as Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the then Secretary-General, put it) integrally related areas of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. 'These four areas for action, taken together, and carried out with the backing of all Members, offer a coherent contribution towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter.'

The *Agenda for Peace* has been reviewed critically by people who are in favour of the United Nations and, in general, expect the Organization in various respects to meet the future needs of achieving and maintaining peace. Among these critical reviews, there is concern over the following:

- There has been criticism over whether the *Agenda* is really in line with the spirit of the United Nations Charter as proclaimed or whether it is trying to change that spirit by increased resort to military measures. The latter is considered to be in contradiction to the priorities established by the Charter. Further, it has been pointed out that the *Agenda* fails to evaluate all the negative consequences of United Nations decisions to rely on military action in the past. And, with respect to the real effects the *Agenda* has had on political life, it has been noted that the United Nations has been and continues to be used by several governments for the relegitimization of national military forces, causing alarm among more citizens.
- The *Agenda* has been faulted for failing to respond to such criticism. These critics argue that United Nations security machinery is nothing but a tool of 'First World' views. Others wonder why the Secretary-General remained silent on the United Nations' lack of democracy and its abundance of paternalism and why the *Agenda* explains failures as the consequence of external factors such as the East–West conflict or anonymous states which were not willing to co-operate.
- Moreover, it has become obvious that the *Agenda* lacks an appropriate analysis of the reasons for and causes of war in the modern world.
- Additionally, it has been pointed out that the efforts proposed by the *Agenda* are mainly directed towards building international security through strengthening nation-states. This state-centric perspective is in contrast to modern perspectives which emphasize the emergence of a global civil society and the need to strengthen consensus-building within societies, a process which would include consensus-building among and with women. The fact that Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his co-authors operated as they

did, provoking so many reservations within the very circles which traditionally support the United Nations system, cannot be explained without sketching the international situation. This situation can be characterized by an increasing number of conflicts due to the growing unintended and unwanted 'collateral' effects of globalization and the tendency of nation-states to avoid addressing global problems and their consequences, considering them to be outside the 'national interest'. Instead, 'unwanted' problems are delegated to the United Nations, rhetorically declared the saviour of the world, but in reality kept short of the resources necessary to fulfil such ambitious expectations. This kind of contradiction then lays the foundation for complaints about the weakness of the United Nations and, consequently, a loss of international authority and a weakening of its capabilities to act.

Under pressure from both the real inability of the United Nations to tackle the misery in the world and complaints about that fact, the Secretary-General tried to demonstrate publicly his fierce determination to overcome the weakness by comprehensive countermeasures such as those laid down within *An Agenda for Peace*, and by attempting to convince those who are perceived as being responsible within the United Nations, i.e. 'legitimate' governments. Thus, the philosophy of his *Agenda* is in line with what male-dominated and male-oriented governments traditionally consider as a cure for weakness: an emphasis on men and military force, while relegating women and non-violent means to the sidelines of the security discourse.

From a feminist perspective it may be summarized thus: the *Agenda*'s reaction to the challenges of international security at the end of the twentieth century contributes to preserving the linkage between male dominance and military force. It is in line with the reconstruction of fundamentalism and nationalism in the world and the lack of a culture of peace. In other words, the *Agenda* continues the marginalization of women, women's concerns, women's skills and gender issues. Thus, the *Agenda* purports to create peace by means which will probably not work effectively in modern world politics, but which risk betraying the trust of those most needed as United Nations supporters in areas in which the United Nations could become strong, i.e. the peaceful settlement of conflicts by law and other non-violent means. Why, then, do women rack their brains over the issue?

Up to this point of the analysis, the *Agenda* could be taken to demonstrate the continuance of patriarchy within the international community and serve as definite proof of the fact that international life is dominated by men, and warriors. However, this insight is hardly new and is only one part of the story.

True, it would have been cause for celebration if the Secretary-General had presented a version of the *Agenda* more congruent with

women's views and needs. But since he did not, women and peace activists have to face the presented version as reflecting the state of international politics. The modern feminist reaction to an analysis such as the one presented is not withdrawal but rather engagement through the application of feminist thinking to change the situation.

Modern feminism has become aware that the misery of patriarchy, far from being eliminated, has, however, been affected by trends like globalization, democratization and individualization. Overall, the emergence of the human rights system and the increasing activities of societal actors in world politics, including transnational human rights organizations and women's rights networks, have changed and multiplied the positions actually taken by women – although in practice the international community has remained male-dominated and in many respects continues to be based on violence. It must be admitted that in a world of increasing interdependence, women have gained some ground. This is not least due to women who have worked hard on the creation of values, norms and networks in transnational and international areas. These efforts may be considered as insufficient, but not as totally in vain. The main question is how to balance, on the one hand the demands for co-operation within the system, and on the other hand the necessity to attack the linkage between power and violence against human beings. Guiding principles appropriate to this purpose should be worked out.

The following suggestions are presented as guidelines for the assurance of gender justice in making and applying security policies:

1. The international system requires the full and equal participation of women at all levels and in all stages of security policy-making. The goals of the *Agenda* cannot be achieved without women's input and participation. Thus, a consideration of women's views on the *Agenda* and all related security issues is essential to a fruitful co-operation among the various promoters of *An Agenda for Peace* and advocates of an increased United Nations capacity to achieve and maintain global security. Such co-operation must also include the possibility to say 'no', to reject certain aspects of the agenda of any United Nations-based security policy proposals.
2. Women must not permit themselves to be used to legitimize (i.e. be perceived as supporters of) security policies or peacekeeping actions that they have not influenced or in whose design and implementation they have not participated. They should not uncritically accept or reject the *Agenda* as a whole, but rather examine it in full detail, assessing its limits and potential, and establishing their own preferences and priorities on international security issues. Women can accept responsibility only for policies and actions that they have been involved in conceiving and carrying out. Many women are ready and well-prepared for such responsibility, so it is argued that space and opportunities for their participation must be opened up.

3. It is equally important to develop awareness and take account of the variety and diversity among women, and thereby of their different views, perspectives and concerns on security issues. Women are far more than 'the other part of the man'. They are all individuals of diverse cultures, races, ages, classes, abilities, political views and experiences who have the right to make their own decisions and participate in group decisions. Thus women cannot be accounted for in policy-making only as the generalized aggregate of the female population. They must be included and accounted in their full diversity. A few 'token' women on policy-making panels and in peacemaking operations are not an adequate response to the imperative of gender equality in security policy-making. These guidelines are the starting-point of the examination of selected paragraphs of the *Agenda* in order to offer concrete proposals regarding fact-finding, early warning, education and addressing women as responsible adult human beings with full political rights and capacities.

Fact-finding: bringing women into the process

In para. 25, the *Agenda* calls for intensifying 'fact-finding', which is one of the basic strategies that international organizations pursue when they become involved in conflicts in order to prevent their escalation into violent action. As *An Agenda for Peace* states, 'Preventive steps must be based upon timely and accurate knowledge of the facts.'

The Declaration on Fact-finding by the United Nations in the Field of the Maintenance of International Peace and Security (1991) defines fact-finding as any activity designed to obtain detailed knowledge of the relevant facts of any dispute or situation which the competent United Nations organs need in order to exercise their function. The significance that a fact is thought to have is defined by practical considerations. Within the world of international diplomacy, 'a fact is a statement that cannot be easily contested' (Dorn, 1995, p. 140). It is widely recognized as an objective source of information that can assist the United Nations in pushing governments to act in a way that they would otherwise not. Recognition of information as a 'fact' results from a process that is regulated through certain norms and standards. Although they differ from case to case, it is generally agreed to as a primary standard, such as transparency by the governments involved.

Although there is no indication that any of the actors engaged in fact-finding are actively trying to keep women out, a male bias is detectable. When the United Nations decides to launch a fact-finding mission, it needs the consent of the state to which the mission is being sent. Usually the negotiations for consent are carried out solely among male representatives of the states and actors concerned without attempts to contact or consult the involved women. Those who are available and chosen to undertake fact-finding missions are selected from government-generated lists comprised

almost exclusively of men. Among them we find elder statesmen, lawyers and scientists mostly from faculties of international law, with a few female professionals such as teachers, physicians or social workers.

The experts are usually proposed by male government officials and selected by an intergovernmental official, the Secretary-General, also a man. Fact-finding missions are obliged to act in strict conformity with their mandate, usually negotiated among male representatives of those states participating in the mission. When carrying out the mandate, experts usually contact only (or mainly) the relevant male inhabitants of the mission site. Even if they get in touch with ordinary people and NGOs during the mission, they rarely contact women or women's groups. Fact-finding then results in a report to the organizing agency drafted from predominantly male sources. In general (as mentioned above), the organizing agency is comprised primarily of men and chaired by a man who decides what will be published. He delivers the report to concerned governments, again represented predominantly by men, who decide how to react to the situation as reported. Usually the latter tend to disclose to the public only the positive aspects of the report, while criticism is de-emphasized to preserve the interests of the state. In sum, the procedures are male-dominated and dedicated to reproducing 'facts', i.e. the interests of states as interpreted and articulated from a masculine perspective. Each step could, if demanded, be transformed relatively easily into a more appropriate and objective process, simply by assuring adequate representation of women and feminine perspectives.

Personnel. Making fact-finding more responsive to women and their concerns requires not only reorganizing the permanent staff of United Nations institutions at work on fact-finding missions. It is also necessary to include women in the contributing personnel beyond the United Nations system, i.e. in organizations which make nominations to the list of experts, as well as those people who serve as resource persons during the mission.

Training. Even if the United Nations personnel and the experts are complemented by substantial numbers of women, both men and women need 'gender training', i.e. they must learn to practise equality in a world characterized by gender-specific discrimination even in the organizational life of the United Nations, including persons belonging to a mission. Gender training must further respond to the question of how missions can address gender-specific issues relevant to the conflict under investigation. These issues often remain taboo and are influenced by women's deep scepticism about reporting gender-specific discrimination to official boards.[1]

Mandate. The United Nations Declaration on Fact-finding emphasizes the necessity of receiving comprehensive, objective and impartial information. In order to meet this requirement, it is important to pay attention to the fact that almost any serious conflict which justifies

sending a United Nations fact-finding mission has its gender-specific aspects. Mandates, therefore, should ensure that these aspects are included as a regular part of the investigation. Often, however, such aspects are recognized in advance, and related information can only be ascertained if a general clause raises this in the mission's mandate. Consequently, each mandate should be researched, designed, planned and implemented in a gender-sensitive manner, including a specific obligation to address women and women's groups on-site, to investigate their views and to raise women's concerns.

Recommendations. Recommendations for action are not usually required by the mandate. Thus, fact-finding missions tend to avoid formulating any policy recommendations. These are often presented more implicitly than explicitly. This approach results from an obsolete understanding of the role of experts. They are expected to inform the government 'masters', as if experts were their servants. This understanding not only precludes the international community from exploring the most interesting issue: how to act peacefully in a conflict; it also reduces the alternative impact female experts could make when they consider conflict resolution and mitigation with respect to the investigated cases, and feel individually responsible for what could be decided as a result of their findings. Experts should be required to distinguish between proposals addressing government bodies on one hand and societal groups on the other, and explore how women as citizens of their countries and in their capacity as global citizens can contribute to the success of preventive diplomacy.

Transparency to the general public. Fact-finding missions often prepare excellent reports on human rights violations. Reports, however, are often misused by governments because they are usually couched in diplomatic language reflecting general courtesies, making it necessary to 'read between the lines'. Governments tend to monopolize information and to refer only to those parts they consider support their view, ignoring all criticism. Here, we have one more circumstance through which the reputation of the United Nations missions is undermined, contributing to a growing lack of confidence and mistrust among the people concerned (Birckenbach, 1997).

Preventive diplomacy, however, requires confidence among and between governmental and nongovernmental actors, NGOs and citizens, and therefore must increase its transparency and responsibility to the general public. Public discourses should be encouraged via fact-finding missions and their reports. The United Nations should not only provide the respective United Nations organs and the concerned governments with the reports but also provide them to the civil society. United Nations fact-sheets based on fact-finding reports should be prepared and disseminated to civil society groups, and other persons who could work as mediators within

ethno-political conflicts, including some of the many women who may not have a voice in official politics, but who have an impact in their capacities as girlfriends, spouses, mothers, teachers, social workers, artists, citizens and others.

Early warning: recognizing the status of women in crisis areas

In para. 26, the *Agenda* refers to an existing 'network of early-warning systems concerning environmental threats, the risk of nuclear accident, natural disasters, mass movements of populations, the threat of famine and the spread of disease'. It also demands further 'arrangements in such a manner that information from these sources can be synthesized with political indicators to assess whether a threat to peace exists and to analyse what action might be taken by the United Nations to alleviate it'. Nothing is said about the necessity for early-warning systems to prevent the violation of human rights in general, and women's rights in particular, which both presage and are the cause of many conflicts. And nothing is said about the criteria according to which a threat will be regarded as a threat to peace or as being unrelated to international security.

The interrelationship between nationalism, gender and war has been carefully studied, not least with respect to Nazi Germany and the emergence of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. Further, it is well known that the dynamics of global problems cause severe stress, demanding constant adaptation at all levels of human experience of political, social and private life, often increasing the propensity towards violence, especially the gender-specific varieties, be they religious fundamentalism or extreme ethnocentric nationalism. Many such circumstances call for urgent and enhanced attention to the status of women in these crisis areas. Such attention could serve as an early-warning indicator to facilitate appropriate preventive measures to protect the human rights of women and intercept the cycle of violence. It is evident that a call for 'Blue Helmets' and military intervention or similar action in such situations would be both inappropriate and ineffective. These are circumstances which call for the application of some of the broad spectrum of 'soft' instruments or non-violent interventions now available to governments, societies and also to the United Nations. Unlike the *Agenda*'s proposal in para. 37 of the section on peacemaking, which calls for the assistance of 'distinguished statesmen to facilitate the processes of peace', these approaches call for the help of women not only as distinguished stateswomen, but also as diplomats, mediators, counsellors, investigators, rapporteurs and so on, to serve as vital components of a gender-sensitive early-warning and violence-prevention system. Consequently, and corresponding to para. 82, where the *Agenda* emphasizes that 'all organs of the United Nations must be accorded, and play, their full and proper role so that the trust of all nations and peoples will be retained and deserved', so, too, the role both of the Division for the

Advancement of Women and of the United Nations Human Rights Centre should be strengthened within this proposed early-warning and violence-prevention system.

The question as to whether these proposals are realistic must not be answered negatively, without careful and thorough consideration. Women can point to many positive experiences, especially those which have taken place within the framework of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, formerly CSCE). In this European context, human rights, peace and international security are now regarded as interlinked security factors. The linkage has been considered as one of the most important features of the CSCE process since its very beginning and has been strengthened continuously. The 1990 Charter of Paris confirmed it as a conditionality. New instruments, such as a 'mechanism for consultation and co-operation with regard to emerging situations', the appointment of an OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, as well as on-site long-term missions, were successfully established in order to manage constructively the linkage between peace, security and human rights. They now demonstrate how early-warning systems can be improved by monitoring human rights and by taking violations as indicators of threats to peace. In practice, however, OSCE politics has not listened to women's voices and has paid little attention to gender issues. The OSCE has not explicitly included the violation of women's rights in its early-warning system. Ironically, the OSCE is probably waiting for a United Nations initiative focusing on the linkage between women's low status within society and the readiness of political rivals to go to war.

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding: educating United Nations personnel

With respect to amelioration through assistance within peacemaking as outlined in para. 40, and with respect to measures of post-conflict peacebuilding such as 'comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people' (para. 55), a revised *Agenda* should guarantee that United Nations efforts actually meet the needs of women and, more importantly, include their views and voices in defining these and other security needs. Women usually assume gender-specific burdens and responsibilities within post-conflict peacebuilding, not least in the areas of healing and reconciliation. United Nations personnel on duty in crisis areas should be obliged and trained to seek advice from independent women's groups and NGOs, working with them to discover what kind of support women and NGO members and clients are really in need of, and what intellectual capacities, skills and other human resources they can contribute to a resolution of the crisis.

One of the most urgent problems that has until recently been

ignored by policy-makers concerns gender-specific war crimes like rape. Women's research in the last twenty years on the Second Word War and on the wars in Bangladesh, Viet Nam and the former Yugoslavia clearly demonstrates that women, during wartime and in its aftermath, must not only be protected against being raped by the aggressor's soldiers but also by those of the liberators (Swiss Peace Foundation, 1995). The liberating forces often enjoy broad public and international support, which allows them great liberty, restricted only for reasons of discipline, and not for the protection of women's rights. In these cases, women find closed ears, almost no attention and no trust.

At the least, it has been considered inopportune to speak out about what all too often happens in the name of liberation. Who cares about United Nations soldiers violating women's rights? There have been complaints about the behaviour of United Nations soldiers in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and other current fields of battle and/or peacekeeping. The reports on those crimes, and even the investigations carried out by the United Nations itself, are kept secret in order to protect the Organization's positive image. It would be more effective to prevent gender-specific crime in the course of United Nations peacekeeping or peace-enforcement missions. A programme of education should be designed specifically for soldiers earmarked for peacekeeping or peace-enforcement missions, to teach them the basics of women's human rights, anti-discrimination and anti-sexism. Finally, the women and women's groups concerned should be encouraged to report on their treatment by United Nations soldiers. States that send soldiers to participate in United Nations operations should be obliged to educate them regarding the prevention of violence against women.

Overcoming paternalism: motivating women for active participation

In para. 81 the *Agenda* reads: 'Democracy within nations requires respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as set forth in the Charter. It requires as well a deeper understanding and respect for the rights of minorities, and respect for the needs of the more vulnerable groups of society, especially women and children.' Nobody would oppose this statement. It is the only phrase within the *Agenda* which mentions women, and it is quoted here to highlight its paternalistic/patriarchal approach. Placed on the same level as children, women are dealt with as beings only in need of protection by men against becoming the victims of men. Although this cannot be considered wholly wrong, it is only half the truth. As we have previously observed, women are almost completely excluded from the ranks of senior decision-makers in governments, national administrations, and international and transnational organizations. Particularly in areas related to peace and security and to human rights as

well, women's absence from the higher ranks of power remains in contrast to their activism at the grass-roots level. However, there is something suspicious about a discourse which presents women only as victims, while failing to address the rights and responsibilities of female citizens, even those enjoying life in democracies, who remain out of international politics for whatever reason. Women's roles today are not adequately represented nor respected by referring to them only as victims. Women also act as responsible persons, as perpetrators, collaborators and as persons who let men do what they want to do. Many women, however, act as citizens promoting global solidarity. Who, if not women themselves, can be expected to change the inadequacy of women's status within international relations?

How can more women become motivated to use the opportunities for information, learning and acting which are available to them? How can women persuade their sisters, mothers and daughters to become involved? To call for a change of political styles and gender-specific programmes in international education is one aspect. The other is to work on the *Agenda* and complete it with proposals on how to motivate governments as well as women to join in the comprehensive efforts of peacebuilding, and to realize that democratization, emancipation and individualization in the framework of human rights enhance not only women's rights but also their responsibilities. During the war in the former Yugoslavia, for instance, women's networks successfully linked the local, transnational and international levels, including United Nations institutions. Women were and still are important actors in the constructive healing of traumas, making war-related rape a reason for granting asylum. Many women have resisted nationalism and become active in peacebuilding and peacekeeping. In order to focus attention on women's responsibilities as adult human beings (this includes 'political' beings), it might be worthwhile to add a paragraph to the *Agenda* dealing with the many examples of women's contributions to peace that are absent from (and obscured by) recorded international peace history.

Note

1. After this chapter was written, Member States and DPKO (at headquarters and in individual peace-keeping missions) started offering training to prevent violence against women. Some facts of mistreatment of women by United Nations peace-keepers are known and have been dealt with by troop-contributing countries. – Eds.

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Peace talks – peace tasks

Birckenbach's chapter raises a number of issues related to the problem of what she identifies as the male bias of *An Agenda for Peace* and, by association, of all United Nations security policies and peacekeeping procedures. We believe the following issues demand serious discussion and extensive research on the part of those who are convinced of the need for a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

1. **Approaches and methods to invigorate and increase women's motivation to participate – as well as opportunities for participation – in security, peace and conflict policy-making. Such approaches and methods are best considered in the light of more extensive, in-depth research on the current obstacles to participation, including institutional barriers, discriminatory personal policies/practices, differences and inequalities in appropriate education and training; cultural barriers which may or may not be embedded in gender roles; social customs and structures that determine women's options and the allocation of their time, as well as decisions about work (professional and other) and community and political participation.**
2. **Careful and systematic assessment of fact-finding procedures to determine the relative degree of male and female participation, and the extent to which the gender balance in the make-up of fact-finding teams influences the substance and methods of their inquiries and the criteria for the assessment of their findings. Inquiry into the possibility that an equal degree of female input into the process would make a significant difference, and into the relative usefulness of mixed teams or teams of all-males and all-females dispatched to the same situations. If separate teams are found to be useful, how would they best be sequenced and deployed? Are there situations in which all-female or all-male teams might be most effective?**
3. **Women as supporters of military actions for peacekeeping and the use of women's sentiments and concerns to legitimate such actions. Other than actual service, what are the various ways in which women support the armed forces? Assessment of how such actions actually impact upon women's situations and interests. Ways in which gender and gender issues reinforce the bias towards force and the military option.**
4. **The role of civil society and its relationship to peacekeeping operations and other peacebuilding and peacemaking activities, including the tensions as well as the possibilities for co-operation with the United Nations and other intergovernmental agencies involved in such initiatives. The role of public**

opinion in structuring these relationships. The significance of gender differences in public opinion about peace and security issues. The role and significance of 'transparency' in policy-making and its effect on support for operations and co-operation with civil society.

5. **The actual nature of 'male bias', its specific consequences, its policy implications; whether the over-representation of male policy-makers does, in fact, result in a male bias, and who is advantaged and disadvantaged by such bias if it actually exists. The appropriateness of designating particular influences as 'male' or 'masculine' or 'gender-related'. The significance of descriptive language in understanding and dealing with the problems of peace and security.**

Chapter 8

Peacekeeping: a new role for women seeking peace

Judith Hicks Stiehm

Editors' prologue

While Stiehm provides some interesting and provocative conclusions regarding women's participation in United Nations peacekeeping, she leaves the fuller analysis of the data she cites and the experiences she recounts to the reader. The chapter encourages us to speculate on the appropriateness of military organization and command and their historical exclusion of women from authentic and effective peacekeeping. In describing the changing nature of peacekeeping, the author suggests that the new and unprecedented challenges the United Nations faces in this area would best be met by operations involving more women at all levels. She notes, too, how civil society groups advocating non-violence are supplementing and extending the traditional military approach. How do the data she presents and the suggestions she makes help us to deal with the fundamental issue of whether and under what circumstances women should be involved in military actions? Should we not think in depth and in detail about the ways in which women's participation in peacekeeping, election monitoring and humanitarian intervention should be factored into a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?

Introduction

Over the centuries peace has been sought in two quite different ways: first, through military force; and, second, through diplomacy and mediation. Peacekeeping is a new approach which presents the possibility of synthesizing these two approaches, and should be considered as an arena of the struggle for a culture of peace, an arena in which the participation of women can make a positive difference.

Since 1948 the United Nations has authorized more than forty peacekeeping operations. These operations have involved more than

650,000 personnel from seventy countries. They have cost the lives of more than 1,000 peacekeepers. Expenditures have been estimated at about $10 billion. In principle these operations have had to meet three requirements: first, that the parties in conflict consent to the peacekeepers' presence (usually as observers and/or buffers); second, that the peacekeepers observe strict neutrality between all parties and, third, that the peacekeepers use force only for self-defence and that only as a last resort.[1]

Since 1989 there has been a tremendous increase in the number, complexity and expense of peacekeeping operations. There has also been a peace-enforcement effort. This chapter will review peacekeeping's history and women's participation in peacekeeping, and then discuss the prospects for women's future participation.

A brief history of peacekeeping[2]

There were fifteen United Nations peacekeeping operations prior to 1989. The Arab-Israeli conflict which spawned five wars also produced five peacekeeping missions (UNTSO, UNEF I, UNEF II, UNDOF and UNIFIL). Other truce supervision and observer missions monitored the ceasefire between India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP and UNIPOM), the border between Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic (UNOGIL), the disengagement of Saudi Arabia and Egypt from Yemen (UNYOM), the resolution of a civil war in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP) and the ceasefire in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Two other missions mounted were a good offices mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) and an observer mission to the Islamic Republic of Iran and to Iraq (UNIIMOG).

The 1960 mission to the Congo (ONUC) was quite different. First, it was a four-year, large-scale operation. Second, while it began as an effort to assist decolonization and included a commitment to civilian technical assistance, it developed into fighting to end a civil war, to nullify the secession of Katanga and to remove all foreign forces not under United Nations control. The toll included the lives of thousands of Congolese, more than 200 peacekeepers, the Congo Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.[3]

The 1962 mission to West New Guinea (West Irian) (UNSF) introduced a new element. It transferred authority from the Netherlands to the United Nations. and thence to Indonesia through an 'act of free choice'. Thus, it heralded the emphasis on elections of later missions.

From 1989 to 1997 the United Nations launched almost twice as many missions as it had launched in the previous forty years. Those to Namibia (UNTAG), Cambodia (UNAMIC and UNTAC) Central America (ONUCA) and El Salvador (ONUSAL) are discussed below. Other missions included three to Angola (UNAVEM I, II and III). The first monitored the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the second monitored a peace accord and observed Angola's first election. After civil war broke

out after a losing party rejected the election results, another election and a third mission were authorized.

Two moderately sized missions were those directed to patrol the border between Iraq and Kuwait (UNIKOM) and to supervise a ceasefire and a referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). Smaller missions were sent to Tajikistan (UNMOT), the Aozou Strip (UNASOG), Georgia (UNOMIG), Liberia (UNOMIL) and Haiti (UNMIH and UNSMIH). In Liberia the task was to monitor a ceasefire, to observe the disarmament and demobilization of combatants, to assist in mine clearance, to deliver humanitarian aid and to provide developmental and electoral assistance – a broad charge, but in a small country. The Haiti mission was designed to be a civilian mission to assist in the training of police.

The large, expensive and complicated operation in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) began in 1992 and involved 25,500 military personnel, 660 civilian police, 695 international civilian staff and 974 local staff. It has now been replaced by a NATO force and separate peacekeeping missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), eastern Slovenia (UNTAES) and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (UNPREDEP).

The missions to Somalia (UNOSOM and UNOSOM II), which began as a humanitarian effort in co-ordination with six United Nations organizations and thirty NGOs, evolved into an unsuccessful effort forcibly to resolve the conflict. The continuing mission to Mozambique (ONUMOZ) has four components: military, political, humanitarian and electoral. Finally, Rwanda (UNOMUR) first came to United Nations notice as a border dispute with Uganda in early 1993. Not long after that it became a peacekeeping operation (UNAMIR) between the government and the rebels known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). By June 1994 it had become a humanitarian operation following a period of grisly slaughter, at first principally of tribes related to the RPF. Now the United Nations is both working with refugees and conducting war crimes trials in Rwanda.

In sum, peacekeeping has expanded to include institution-building, economic development, the protection of human rights, humanitarian relief and the monitoring of elections. While many argue that it is important for women to play a central role in all these activities, the largely military character of the operations has been one obvious barrier to doing so. The 'Blue Helmets' themselves, of course, have been military personnel, but many civilians work directly for the United Nations in peacekeeping, and civilians are numerous in the NGOs which are integral to peacekeeping; both provide space for women's participation.

Women's participation in peacekeeping

Women's potentially expanded role in peacekeeping is largely the result of the expanded role of peacekeeping itself. While women have recently

become a significant proportion of some armed forces (for example, 12 per cent in the United States and Canada) and while some have, indeed, been deployed in member state units seconded to serve as United Nations peacekeepers, their actual numbers have been few.

A 1994 United Nations report on women's role in peacekeeping provides data on all missions *in operation in 1993.*[4] This means the report includes the oldest mission, UNTSO (to Jerusalem), but does *not* include some recent but completed missions, for example, UNTAG (Namibia). In 1993 approximately 90,000 individuals seconded from their countries were serving in peacekeeping missions. Only 1.7 per cent were women. This average was exceeded only in UNOSOM II (Somalia), UNIFIL (Lebanon), UNDOF (Golan Heights), UNMIH (Haiti), UNIKOM (Iraq and Kuwait) and MINURSO (Western Sahara): the last-mentioned had the highest participation of women (9.4 per cent). UNOSOM II (Somalia), the largest mission and a humanitarian mission, had some 625 women from twelve countries; 75 per cent of them were from the United States, and a substantial number were medical personnel.

Interestingly, Canadian and American women, who form among the highest percentage of women in national armies (12 per cent) have a lower percentage of women serving in peacekeeping than in their armed forces as a whole (8 and 5 per cent respectively). Also, women represented an even smaller percentage of the civilian police (less than 1 per cent) than they did of military personnel. Overall the data suggest that for the first forty years almost no women participated in peacekeeping. Thus, the figure of 1.7 per cent does represent a change. Practice has moved from exclusion to no prohibition; however, inclusion has not yet become policy.

The picture is somewhat different when international and locally recruited civilian staff are considered. Field Service personnel (with ranks 1–7) must be highly mobile. They perform a wide variety of tasks, which include both technical and administrative duties. Women represent only 6 per cent of field service F5 personnel.

General Service (GS) personnel (with ranks 1–7) serve primarily in clerical and administrative positions. Women are a majority of the GS personnel. This suggests that women are available for deployment, are willing to accept the challenges of working in the field, and are not restrained because of danger, family and/or uncertainty.

Professional staff (P) hold grades 1–5. Because P5s may have high-level decision-making responsibilities, they are sometimes clustered with Directors (D1 and D2) and ADGs and with Under-Secretary-Generals (USGs). A USG is an appointive position. United Nations staff, then, have something equivalent to civil or foreign service ladders, but their work, like that of civil and foreign service personnel, is directed by an appointed official. Among professional staff from P1 through P4 the representation of women stands at 30 per cent, but there is great variability according to

TABLE 1. Locally recruited staff in United Nations peacekeeping missions, by mission (December 1993)

Mission		Total staff	% women
1	ONUSAL (El Salvador)[1]	224	47.3
2	UNPROFOR (Yugoslavia)	1161	45.7
3	ONUMOZ (Mozambique)	296	29.1
4	UNFICYP (Cyprus)	368	25.8
5	UNDOF (Golan Heights)	84	25.0
6	MINURSO (Western Sahara)[2]	49	24.5
7	MICIVIH (Haiti)	152	24.3
8	UNIKOM (Iraq/Kuwait)[2]	113	21.2
9	UNTAC (Cambodia)[3]	9666	16.0
10	UNAVEM II (Angola)	71	15.5
11	UNOSOM II (Somalia)	1116	14.0
12	UNIFIL (Lebanon)	352	13.6
13	UNTSO (Jerusalem)	160	10.6
14	UNOMIL (Liberia)	74	9.5
15	UNMOGIP (India/Pakistan)	49	0.0
16	UNOMIG (Georgia)	3	0.0
		13938	19.3[4]

1. Figures for ONUSAL reflect deployment of personnel during the entire period of 1993.
2. Military figures based on field communiqués and lengths of rotation among contributors.
3. Figures reflecting staffing levels during second quarter of 1993.
4. Average.

Source: United Nations Statistical Division, *Report of Statistical Compilation on Women in Peace-keeping for the Second Issue of the World's Women: Trend and Statistics*, New York, 29 March 1994 (DESIPA, STAT 321(a)).

mission. Some (e.g. El Salvador and South Africa) reach almost 50 per cent; others (e.g. Lebanon and Cambodia) are much lower. Large numbers of women are correlated with newer missions and with those with a mandate extending beyond military observation.

At the decision-making level, USG and D1, D2 and P5, the shrinkage in women's numbers is striking. They fall to 6 per cent. The proportion of women in D1 and higher positions in the United Nations Secretariat is 12.8 per cent. In peacekeeping it is only 4 per cent. In the P4 and P5 categories it is 27 per cent in the Secretariat and 17 per cent in peacekeeping. In P1 through P3 it is 42 per cent and 35 per cent respectively.[5] Women often find opportunities in new fields. This is *not* the case in peacekeeping.

Locally recruited staff are civilians under contract and typically hold the equivalent of GS positions. Here, too, there is great variability as far as women are concerned (Table 1). In 1993 in El Salvador and the former

TABLE 2. Gender distribution of the United Nations Secretariat staff in posts subject to geographic distribution (30 June)

Year	Men	Women	Total	% women
1987	1928	666	2594	25.67
1988	1858	663	2521	26.30
1989	1844	679	2523	26.91
1990	1836	725	2561	28.31
1991	1841	759	2600	29.19
1992	1811	797	2608	30.56
1993	1769	804	2573	31.25
1994	1720	830	2550	32.55
1995	1658	857	2515	34.08
1996	1632	882	2514	35.08
1997	1560	901	2461	36.61

Source: United Nations, *Advancement of Women: Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat: Report of the Secretary-General*, New York, 30 September 1997 (A/52/408).

Yugoslavia close to half the recruited staff were women. In another five missions a quarter were women. However, in the two largest missions, Cambodia and Somalia, only some 15 per cent were women, and in Liberia, India and Pakistan and Georgia they account for less than 10 per cent.

An attempt to reconstruct the distribution of United Nations civilian men and women in peacekeeping operations from the period 1957–91 yields some interesting results. Overall the percentage of women ranged from 5 to 23 per cent with highs in 1989 (primarily because of the Namibia operation) *and* in 196l. The numbers for 1990 and 1991 are only about 14 per cent, but in 1957 and in 1964 they were 12 per cent. Thus, there has not been anything like a steady increase over the thirty-five-year period, and it is possible that any recent high numbers for women may eventually appear only as blips, as did those from 1961. Field Service staff do show a small positive change from 0 to about 6 per cent. P1 through P4 show a noticeable dip (to 0 per cent in 1970, 1975 and 1980) and improved but variable numbers since 1986. Women appear only twice in the fifteen sample years at the P5 and above level. General Service staff, however, have *dropped* from over 50 to about 20 per cent of slots. One further point is important: short-term staffing can also be skewed. For example, in UNTAG (Namibia) only 10 per cent of the 500 persons recruited for short-term work were women.

It should be noted that in recent years significant efforts have been made to increase women's participation in the United Nations Secretariat. Tables 2 and 3 show changes from 1987 to 1997. However, they do not

TABLE 3. Gender distribution of the United Nations Secretariat staff in technical co-operation posts (31 December)

Year	Men	Women	Total	% women
1987	881	87	968	8.99
1988	898	102	1 000	10.20
1989	911	109	1 020	10.69
1990	947	130	1 077	12.07
1991	916	125	1 041	12.01
1992	805	122	927	13.16
1993	726	136	862	15.78
1994	616	131	747	17.54
1995	476	106	582	18.21
1996	481	109	590	18.47
1997	582	177	759	23.32

Source: United Nations, *Advancement of Women: Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat: Report of the Secretary-General*, New York, 30 September 1997 (A/52/408).

TABLE 4. Staff in the professional category and above in posts subject to geographic distribution, by region and gender (30 June 1997)

Region	Men	Women	Total	% women
Africa	284	87	371	23.45
Asia/Pacific	240	193	433	44.57
Europe (East)	211	28	239	11.72
Europe (West)	358	214	572	37.41
Latin America	129	76	205	37.07
North America/ Caribbean	261	247	508	51.38
Others	10	3	13	23.08

Source: United Nations, *Advancement of Women: Improvement of the Status of Women in the Secretariat: Report of the Secretary-General*, New York, 30 September 1997 (A/52/408).

show the level of women's positions. Table 4 suggests substantial differences by region in posts subject to geographical distribution.

Women's accounts from Namibia, South Africa, Cambodia and El Salvador

Namibia (UNTAG, 1989–90) was a mission which went as planned. Nestling between South Africa, the Atlantic Ocean and Angola, Namibia had been the scene of a war of liberation led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) against South Africa, which was the trustee for the territory known as South West Africa. In just under a year,

the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) was able to supervise the disarmament and repatriation of armed groups, monitor the return of some 43,000 refugees and the release of political prisoners, observe the activities of local police and monitor voter education, voter registration and the election of a Constituent Assembly. That assembly then drafted a constitution, and UNTAG left behind a newly independent and functioning country.[6]

Because the process was long-delayed (until after Cuban troops left Angola), planning was extensive and the Special Representative was able to recruit just the team he wanted, to train his staff, and to fulfil several principles including the gender balance (60 per cent of the professional staff were women). In particular, he recruited women for decision-making positions. Five persons who held the rank of Director were women, and three of the ten Regional Directors were women, one of whom was assigned a post on the northern border where fighting had been routine. She had 800 troops assigned to her. Nevertheless, the Special Representative, the Deputy Special Representative, the three Directors and the Police Adviser and Force Commander were all men. Also, as quoted above, 90 per cent of the short-termers were men. Altogether there were more than 8,000 United Nations men and women from 100 countries in the Namibian mission and they were scattered at 200 locations over a large country. Forty-two political centres were organized under ten regions; only a satellite communications network and a radio/vehicle network made the organization of Namibia's first election possible.

Working in the field can be exhilarating. There are logistical problems to solve; tasks almost always require innovation and initiative; individuals may hold temporary appointments higher than their regular appointments, for example, a P5 may hold a D1 post; indeed, it is often said that 'hardly anyone is trained for what needs to be done'. Women peacekeepers especially seemed to enjoy, first, the responsibility they were given, and, second, the diminution of hierarchy which is a part of work in the field. In fact, many described their Namibian experience as the first time they were given real challenges. More than one individual reported a successful field experience, but noted that high performance did not 'pay off' on return to New York. Some women were not even able to return to previous jobs which had been filled in their absence. (The rules are not different for women, but women may have had different expectations about rewards for merit, and may not have been as careful about providing for their futures.)

One woman took children to the field with her. Others described Namibia as 'the best year of my life', 'a breakthrough', 'visibility and hardship but responsibility', or commented, 'We did what needed to be done – mediation, education – it was impossible to be just an observer.' Civilian men were described as sometimes helpless – women and military

men were seen by a number of women as 'more resourceful and resilient'. Another noted that women's practical competence made them valuable in the field, but that being accommodating, which made a woman effective, could also work against her, because she was then seen as 'not a leader'.

One woman assigned to Namibia said it was the first mission to 'give women a chance', and that there was resistance to the Special Representative's efforts to bring so many women into responsible positions. It was argued that women could not be effective working with the armed forces and the police, and that the patriarchal culture in which they would have to work would be disturbed by the presence of any foreign authority, and that having that authority rest with women would be 'adding insult to injury'. On her return from Namibia one woman was told bluntly that she could not go to Western Sahara because women could not go to Arab societies. Ironically, Western Sahara had the highest percentage of women of any mission active in 1993!

With its large numbers of women, Namibia may be the first mission where the conduct of United Nations staff vis-à-vis local women was called into question. Apparently some male peacekeepers moved local women into their quarters, United Nations official vehicles were parked in front of brothels, and even high-ranking officials were believed to exploit local women hired by the United Nations. The presence of religious NGOs may also help to explain the voice given to complaints about the relationships between male United Nations personnel and local women. (This does not suggest that United Nations women were celibate or that local women were unconsenting. It is just that this may have been the first mission where the issue and its effect on the mission was raised.) This fact reflects some traditional attitudes which categorize women as sources of sexual services, and which were articulated in the 'boys will be boys' statement which a chief of a different mission made when charges were made of sexual harassment by his personnel.

One woman noted that because Namibia was a success it should not be assumed that it was easy. An electoral exercise involved a great deal of political reconciliation and mediation related to human rights. Different people in different regions agreed that 'the turning-point' was persuading representatives from each of the different parties to meet face to face (most for the first time) in one room, and then getting them to agree to an electoral code of conduct. This often took a great deal of time, persistence and cajolery. United Nations women were extremely active in this process and felt exceptionally effective. It was also noted that female United Nations personnel reached groups that men might have found difficult to reach and participated in different community groups and projects; in voter education and registration this probably meant that women's participation was affected positively.

South Africa (UNOMSA) (not officially a peacekeeping mission)

came four years later (1993). Briefings for South Africa tried to prepare (and, probably, over-prepared) staff for danger and hardships which included 'sharing water with animals', as well as possible political violence. Concerning such hazards one staff person noted, 'Women are not fearful; men and their fears and rules are what limit us. They are afraid of our competence. The question is not do women contribute something special, but in what ways is men's work limited?' The mission seems to have been successful and to have valued women's participation. It was largely an election-monitoring mission, and was led by a woman from Jamaica, Angela King, who has since been appointed an Assistant Secretary-General, Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (1997). The original mission was intended to promote negotiation and reconciliation and to monitor compliance with the terms of the Rules for Procedure for a governmental transition. It evolved into a mission for the monitoring of elections. This was a civilian operation and the United Nations staff was roughly 50:50 men and women. The 300 United Nations volunteers trained and recruited in Geneva were also approximately 50:50 male/female.

Interestingly, South African women, who had long participated in the struggle for freedom, had insisted that because the purpose of the peace process was national reconciliation, one of the three members representing each political party in the negotiating forum must be a woman. South African women from all groups were (and are) involved in a wide range of peace, church and political groups and had published a Women's Rights Charter even before the United Nations arrived. Thus, the composition of the United Nations mission in the initial stages coincided with the attempts to develop a more gender-equal political process in South Africa, a fact which should not be overlooked in assessing the results.

The original UNOMSA mission was expanded twice. In 1994 it was quadrupled in size in preparation for the election and a man was appointed over King, with other men appointed to the major administrative posts. Shortly before the election some 1,200 monitors, most of whom were men, were added to the group. The new mission head was a non-United Nations staff political appointment who came in with a number of other non-United Nations diplomats to preside over the professionals, one of whom said that the culture he created had the spirit of 'it is a favour that you are getting your salary'.

Cambodia is a mission (UNAMIC and UNTAC) which followed Namibia and might be compared with it. It was larger (22,000), and included fifty-five fatalities, but its fully integrated mandate specified seven different components: human rights, electoral, military, civil administration, civilian police, repatriation and rehabilitation. Its primary objective, or at least the one most fully realized, was the holding of elections which it actually conducted. However, its work was conducted in

the face of non-co-operation by one of the four parties to the agreements and few of the other components worked as planned.

Even though Namibia had been a great success and women had been an integral part of it, no special efforts were made to learn from the Namibian mission or to recruit women. Women held no high-level decision-making positions even though many civilians were involved, and several components of the mission were of great and direct importance to women, e.g. human rights and rehabilitation. The seven D2s selected were all men although some women were recommended for these positions, and the thirteen Regional Directors (D1s and P5s) were also all men. Several thousand police were brought to monitor the local police, especially for human rights violations. All were men. On the other hand, there were more than 400 United Nations Volunteers (UNVs), a third of whom were women. The UNVs played an important role in organizing the election. They worked under very difficult conditions in areas where fighting could erupt at any time, in isolation, and in situations where there was no one else to make decisions regardless of what policy was. According to one woman, 'We always say "It's an emergency", "we can't take the time" to find women, but we never have trouble finding GS women, lots of them. It's only professional women who don't get found.' Indeed, the data show *no* women at the level of policy-making, 16 per cent women in P1–P4, and 58 per cent women in the GS series!

The abuse of local women – and children – by United Nations troops and civilian police was brought to public attention, not just by United Nations women, but by those working in NGOs. A letter was signed by more than 180 women, charging sexual harassment of staff by UNTAC personnel and harassment of women on the street, and asserting that there was no channel for redressing this behaviour. United Nations troops were in a foreign country with money to spend and some women were anxious to have it spent on them. However, the image of the United Nations and its capacity to fulfil its mission was clearly affected by sexual misconduct. The Organization's response was to give a young woman the job of preparing brochures in six languages on the use of condoms and of urging troop and police training at home and in native languages, including training on cultural differences related to gender, for example, when a Cambodian woman smiled and laughed she was not delighted but angry or embarrassed.

The El Salvador mission is, perhaps, the most ambitious mission yet designed. Civil war had raged for some time before an agreement was signed in 1990 to admit human rights observers who were permitted to go anywhere and have unrestricted access to anyone, even while the war continued. These observers were never armed and their power came only from their neutral reporting. Six months later a peace accord was signed including constitutional, land and police reforms, and the mission was

expanded to include military observers and police. The accord has been described as 'a negotiated revolution'.

Virtually no women were contributed to this mission by other states, but there was one woman policy-maker (out of sixteen), and almost half of the other professionals and two-thirds of the GS staff were women. Also, almost half the locally recruited staff were women. In this case, because the armed forces came after other United Nations agencies, women were already there and established in their roles, which helped new arrivals to understand that only some, but not all, women are secretaries.

Prospects for women in peacekeeping

Peacekeeping is an important way in which women can participate in international peace efforts. Their participation is particularly necessary when human rights, humanitarian relief, elections, training of police and economic development are an integral part of those efforts. When peace is seen as the result only or primarily of military strength, however, women and civilians (except at the highest level) can expect to be shut out.

The United Nations' cardinal principle of non-discrimination must apply between women and men. This means that the ways in which men are favoured (even if women are not discriminated against) must be considered and combated.

In discussing peacekeeping one often hears two assumptions about the 'trickle effect'. Even though women suffer extensively from war and more civilians die than soldiers (after all, soldiers have weapons to defend themselves), it is assumed that peace will 'trickle down' to women from all-male, high-level deliberations. When women ask for a place at the peace table, however, a counter-flow is assumed, that is, that women are now being admitted to the lowest levels, and over the years will 'trickle up' until all is resolved a generation from now. The problem is that there have already been several generations since the United Nations was founded. 'Trickle up' has not happened. Indeed, in assessing the participation of women it may be important to compare the ages of women and men at different levels. It may be that women are admitted, but at a rather early stage are passed over (or promoted, but slowly) so that their careers end before reaching positions of responsibility. Only fast-moving men, then, have time to get to the top.

Finally, it is important to ask what kind of contributions women make, whether they create any special difficulties, and what perceptions are held of them as peacekeepers. Answers to these questions are necessarily tentative and are drawn from analogies and perceptions (which sound suspiciously like stereotypes). Whether accurate or not, perceptions are nevertheless important because people act on them. These are among the special contributions women are perceived as making:

1. Their presence, especially in decision-making roles, demonstrates a

fundamental United Nations principle – no discrimination against women. Conversely, their absence is a non-verbal denial of this principle. The United Nations is also shown in a bad light if women are employed only in low-level positions.

2. Women's presence puts new items on the agenda, e.g. the sexual conduct of United Nations personnel.
3. Women are perceived as more empathetic, which enhances reconciliation and political work.
4. They may have better access to host country women. For example, in Afghanistan they have been useful in de-mining, which has to be conducted in fields worked primarily by Muslim women. Their outreach may also be essential to women's participation in elections and other programmes.
5. They are seen as defusers of tension rather than as strivers for control. (The other side of this coin is a perceived vulnerability or unwillingness to apply force.)
6. When there is a critical mass of United Nations women, women in the host country tend to be mobilized too; also, United Nations men tend to behave more as they would at home rather than with the licence some assume in a foreign country.
7. When United Nations peacekeepers are by definition unarmed, or may use a weapon only in self-defence, the presence of women seems to reinforce the commitment to that principle.

Conclusions

There are important lessons to be learned from the variety of peacekeeping operations conducted in recent years. First, there is a significant potential for forging a partnership between those who wield society's legitimate force and those committed to the non-violent resolution of conflict, between high-level negotiators/mediators and grass-roots organizations, and between interested and disinterested parties. Second, because they are available, trained, equipped and ready, military forces will be called upon to do most of the peacekeeping even though others – for instance, UNVs – might be more effective in particular situations.

Third, there is every reason for women to insist that legitimacy requires that they be full partners in all peace processes, even though militarization of that process constrains their contribution. Fourth, if the long-term goal is the interruption of the cycle of violence, elections (which make it possible to lose honourably and to have a second chance later), war crimes trials (of victors as well as losers) and Truth Commissions need to be taken seriously. The mere suspension of hostilities and interposition of troops ends in a stalemate such as that in Cyprus, where the mission goes on indefinitely. There is no resolution, but because no deaths occur, Cyprus is described as a success. However, one cannot argue that peace has been secured.

Perhaps it is time for the creation of a civilian, women's peacekeeping corps.

Notes

1. Gareth Evans, *Cooperating for Peace*, p. 104, St Leonards (Australia), Allen & Unwin, 1993.
2. For current information, see the United Nations peacekeeping operations website: http://www.un.org:depts/dpko.
3. *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, Chapter XI, New York, United Nations, 1990.
4. Report of statistical compilation on women in peacekeeping for the second issue of *The World's Women: Trend and Statistics*, New York, United Nations, 29 March 1994 (Statistical Division/DESIPA, STAT 321(a)). The United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations is presently updating its statistics on women in United Nations peacekeeping, reflecting Member States troop contributions and/or international and locally recruited personnel. Updated relevant statistics will be ready by spring 1999.
5. Ibid., p. 11.
6. *UNTAG in Namibia: A New Nation is Born*, New York, United Nations, 1991.

Peace talks – peace tasks

1. This chapter suggests a variety of very significant research topics related to peacekeeping, conflict resolution and humanitarian intervention which could make an invaluable contribution to a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace. Historically, recourse to military action is a consequence of the failure of diplomacy. Recent efforts to merge the two approaches (e.g. Somalia and Bosnia) having not been truly successful, careful examination of the potential integration of peacekeeping and diplomacy, as suggested by Stiehm, is demanded. We need to inquire into how possibilities for peacekeeping might strengthen the capacity of diplomacy to prevent armed conflict, and increase the recourse to other forms of non-violent conflict resolution. We should also explore what forms of peacekeeping are most appropriate to the strengthening of diplomatic negotiation; and what mix of actors – state, interstate and non-state – are most appropriate to an integrated approach. As well as the relationships between the various actors, the balance between peacekeeping and diplomacy, the balance of military, interpositional and humanitarian approaches to peacekeeping and to the particular strategies employed to prevent or terminate armed conflict, should also be addressed.

2. Stiehm advocates that there should be no bars to participation in peacekeeping operations based on gender. This requires detailed inquiry and the discussion and assessment of the following issues pertaining to women's inclusion in peacekeeping operations: the problems that have been experienced in the integration of women into national armed forces (i.e.

sexual abuse and harassment, gender discrimination in assignments, promotions, etc.); the abuse and exploitation of women in areas around military bases and staging areas; the possibility that such problems also exist in peacekeeping operations even beyond the instances cited by Stiehm; ways in which women have succeeded in the forces; positive changes in military organization and practice resulting from women's inclusion; and women's actions and struggles against the abuses suffered under conditions of long-term military presence.

3. Clearly, as indicated by Stephenson and Birckenbach as well as Stiehm, there is a need to reconceptualize various aspects of peacekeeping and intervention, armed and unarmed, in the light of the changing nature of the conflicts that the United Nations can now be called upon to deal with. Among the gender issues we should reflect on, as we consider such a reconceptualization, are: the possible differences in training, strategies and tactics that would be required by gender-balanced peacekeeping and intervention forces; assumptions about the purposes and goals of various forms of intervention; and ways in which gender balance might extend and/or limit the range and repertoires of such forces. Can a healthy, effective gender balance be achieved in any armed forces as they are presently organized? Can it be achieved in peacekeeping, taking into consideration its non-military components? In researching and discussing this latter question, please give some consideration to the points raised in Valenzuela's chapter.
4. The issue of demilitarization presents itself in considering the references Stiehm makes to the inclusion of civilian personnel in various peacekeeping operations. The challenges and problems of deploying civilian with military personnel, armed and unarmed forces, within the same operation are both similar to and different from those of deploying male and female personnel. All instances influence the degree of arms dependence and the circumstances in which armed force can be used, revealing the need to study this issue more closely. Yet the issues of the deployment of civilian and unarmed forces, even more than those of gender equality, pose the question of the possibilities for the demilitarization of peacekeeping and the development of a wider range of non-violent forms of intervention. A Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace would raise the question of whether the task of the reconceptualization of peacekeeping is in fact one of demilitarization of the entire global security system. Would a peace force of lawyers, educators, psychologists, doctors, nurses and artists be more effective for peacemaking and peacebuilding than military peacekeepers, or how could we envisage a stronger civilian component in all the functions outlined in *An Agenda for Peace*, from conflict prevention through peacebuilding? This is certainly an issue to be discussed as we devise any agenda for a culture of peace.
5. Stiehm cites both the affirming and empowering experiences and the successful performances of women who have participated in United Nations operations and interventions. However, other feminists argue that women

should refuse military service and persuade others to do so, and put their efforts into demilitarization, rather than gender equality in regular military service or peacekeeping. In addition to the need for a full discussion of this issue, there is implied in the first four topics of this set of 'talks and tasks' a need to consider in the long term the possibility of an entirely new profession of peacekeeping that is neither military nor police nor any of the traditional civilian service agencies that have thus far been involved. What forms might such a profession take, and what roles would women play? Could such a profession be as gender-specific and segregated as current peacekeeping operations continue to be? Are the present forms of peacekeeping truly conducive to the achievement of a culture of peace?

Chapter 9

Women or weapons: the militarist sexist symbiosis

Betty A. Reardon

Editors' prologue

While other contributions in this section provide a range of feminist critiques of security policies and strategies as well as international peacekeeping efforts, Reardon's chapter takes the critique to the level of the international system itself. It argues that the system is in essence a global patriarchy that is itself a source of violence and war. As you read this piece we hope that you will assess the arguments critically in an effort to reflect upon the institution of war, its functions and the possibilities for alternatives to it. Please also consider the degree to which weapons themselves may be causes of violence and carriers of a culture of war.

Introduction

The start of the new millennium is a time of crucial choices for all human societies. The two most critical choices are between continuing the assertion of the legal right of states to use violence in the pursuit of social or political purposes and the adoption of new modes of protection of national interests; and between the recognition of universal human dignity and the continuation of doctrines and policies of authoritarian inequality. The role of women is central to both choices. Women are the largest group of human beings to be oppressed by doctrines and policies of inequality. In spite of voting rights, their exclusion from the centre of political power has meant that they have had little or no part in decisions to prepare for or undertake the use of violence and force in the name of, or for the alleged benefit of, their societies. This exclusion has meant that women have been less able to mitigate violence in public affairs and have only in recent years been able to bring public attention to the 'private' violence they suffer. It challenges us to consider the possibilities for overcoming violence that lie in the growing political empowerment of women. Women's political participation is the best hope and the most urgent need for the achievement

of a culture of peace. The choice of non-violence over militarism and of equality over sexism means choosing between a democratic peace culture and a weapons-dependent patriarchy.

The state system: an arms-addicted patriarchy versus a human security partnership

Although more politically active than ever before, women are still a shockingly under-represented minority in the halls of power and affairs of state. The patriarchal state system has ensured that matters of peace and security remain 'men's business' and has for all practical purposes rejected women's efforts towards a truly equal political partnership.

The present state system is a creature of patriarchy. It was devised and has functioned for nearly five centuries under the presumption of the inferiority of women to men, and the presumption that the security of the state requires it to be armed. It has never functioned to women's advantage, nor does it hold in its traditional form the promise to do so. Neither does it show any serious consideration of any means of ensuring its security other than armed force. It continues to demonstrate a preference for weapons over women.

Given the reciprocal relationship feminists discern between patriarchy and the institution of war, and the growing focus of the peace movement on the urgency of disarmament, a deeper reflection on weapons as the tools and icons of the war system is sorely needed. We should consider the whole range of issues related to weaponry, the pragmatic rationale for the continued development of new forms of weaponry and the ongoing accumulation of armaments; the psycho-social, symbolic and cultural functions of weapons, and their significance to a culture of violence.

Weaponry is the main determinant of power in the present international state system. Nations see the possession of 'adequate' quantities of 'advanced' weapons and 'weapons systems' as what determines their respective positions in the world, how they are perceived and dealt with by other nations, and their capacity to defend their own interests. Vast amounts of resources are spent on weapons, perhaps more for purposes of status and a sense of national pride than for defence or 'security'. Only states may legally engage in the acquisition and possession of such weaponry and the maintenance of organized armed forces. They have the exclusive legal right to exercise violence, a right legitimated by the responsibility of the state to preserve social order and protect the national interest.

Preserving order and providing protection, however, have served to legitimate violence other than that carried out by the state. Indeed, the war system and the culture of violence legitimate and encourage violence by actors other than the state. It is, however, violence as a tool of the state

which is the foundation for its continued legitimation as a tool for social or individual purposes other than those of the state. I would argue that were states to turn more towards non-violent approaches to their policy goals, societies, too, would do so. The renunciation of war and weaponry would be the greatest possible single step towards the reduction of all forms of violence.

But such a shift would also require an authentic commitment to democracy and equality, to transcending all the various forms of patriarchal power. States hold fast to their dependence on violence, in large part to maintain the present power arrangements. Armed force is a mechanism for perpetuating existing power structures as it purports to protect the state.

It is in the interest of patriarchy not to reject the legitimation of state violence as much as it is to avoid gender equality. Its exclusive claim to the lawful use of lethal force maintains the patriarchal state and limits the potential challenges to its power raised by rivals and dissidents, including the challenges of democracy, and especially of women's equality.

The patriarchal structures perpetuated by the claim of the state to be the sole legitimate agent to possess and use organized armed force also holds in place social and economic systems of dominance that preclude the equitable and democratic relations essential to a culture of peace. Indeed, the factor which accounts for the continuation of the legitimation of violence as exercised by public authority, and the general social acceptance of the primacy of dominance–subservience relationships that accounts for much violence against women, is the greater (though certainly not exclusive) access to superior force and to the use of a wide and sophisticated range of weaponry to exert that force. This factor has profound and pervasive effects on all human affairs and has produced the most destructive and agonizing experiences of human history. There is no greater evidence of the need for women's participation in the processes of determining if, when and how weaponry is used than the frequency, ineffectiveness and unbalanced way (in all senses of the word) in which armed force is applied. More than any other manifestation of patriarchy, the compulsive acquisition and excessive use of weaponry demonstrate the abuse of power by the male-dominated state system. Indeed, it seems a destructive addiction.

The culture of violence is perpetuated by this addiction that has had a profound influence on all public policy and the daily lives and well-being of most citizens. In the case of women, these influences have been decidedly negative. There has been extensive research indicating that the limitation on social expenditure imposed by arms spending has been a major factor in the inability of societies to meet human needs.[1] When human needs are denied it is most frequently women who experience the greatest deprivation, and through their deprivation children, too, are deprived. It is thus widely recognized that policy-makers have opted for

weaponry over welfare, denying fundamental economic security to millions.

Other aspects of the way in which militarism and weapons expenditures erode fundamental human security and debase the quality of life through their effects on the environment, human rights and the possibilities for non-violent conflict resolution have also been documented. These effects can be said to constitute a net security deficit. In sum, war and preparation for war, most especially the design, development, deployment and traffic in weapons, makes all societies less secure. These conditions have given rise to much of the recent activity of women's peace movements and have created much public discussion, yet there has been little or no significant reduction in military expenditures; and even less consideration given to alternatives to weaponry for defence or to armed conflict for the resolution of serious disputes and contention for power. The reluctance to try to find alternatives to obsessive destructive habits is addictive behaviour. Even peacekeeping operations over recent years have become increasingly dependent on the use of armed force, and thereby more costly.

Weapons are still the primary instruments of political power. Political leaders both of states and of challengers of states remain wedded to the concept that the possession and use of weaponry are the most effective means to acquire and maintain power. Weapons are seen as the only reliable source of defence, which in turn is seen as the primary component of security in a world of intense power conflict. Even in the face of the dangers inherent in the accumulation of arms and the actual lack of security they impose, the dependency remains a veritable addiction among those who hold or seek power. The achievement of a culture of peace, therefore, requires a reconceptualization of security as the United Nations and many NGOs and researchers have advocated. Even more significantly, it requires a reconceptualization of power, a transcendence of all that is symbolized and carried out by weapons and, most urgently, measures to confront the weapons addiction.

Women's movements have been a major influence on current trends towards the redefinition of security. Their mobilization against the arms race, military spending and nuclear testing is among the evidence of their long-held view that military security is not synonymous with human security and is, in fact, detrimental to it. Women's peace groups were among the first to argue that real human security lies in the expectation of well-being that is found in protection against harm of all kinds, of the meeting of basic needs, of the experience of human dignity and the fulfilment of human rights, and a healthy, natural environment capable of sustaining life.[2] As it can be demonstrated that all of these sources of human security are undermined by the fixation on military security and the dependency on weapons, so, too, many assert that women's participation in policy-making or security matters would be conducive to the achievement

of authentic human security. Women's experiences of providing for day-to-day human security and their more comprehensive and integrated perspectives on what actually constitutes security are essential to the process of the redefinition of both security and power.

Power within the patriarchal state system is conceived and applied as the ability to coerce or enforce. Many of the women now seeking political power see it in a very different light. So it is that women are seeking a power partnership to transform the culture of war, by transforming power into a medium for the exercise of responsibility rather than privilege. It is this very notion of power as *responsibility* as well as *capacity* that lies at the heart of the drive to replace dominance with partnership. This notion of responsible partnership would apply to all elements of all the systems in which we live: earth–human, governments–citizens, North–South and women–men. Such responsibility cannot be exercised by agents who suffer from destructive addictions such as the weapons addiction of the present elites.

Like all addictions, the addiction to weaponry wreaks negative results on the systems in which it occurs. The most destructive effects, however, are suffered by the addicts themselves. For example, many people may be made uncomfortable by 'second-hand smoke', and some may even suffer adverse effects from others' cigarettes; it is the smokers themselves whose lives are most frequently ended by destroyed lungs and impaired hearts. They are the victims of instruments of pleasure which in the true sense of the word are, in fact, weapons. Weapons are frequently turned on those whose well-being they are supposed to serve.

Weapons are instruments used to incapacitate, injure and, especially, kill. Any object used or intended to inflict harm is a weapon. A knife can be a kitchen implement or a murder weapon. The difference is determined by the mind, the purposes and intentions of the user. Minds conditioned by a culture of war perceive weapons as essential instruments to mediate relations with others who are identified as threatening or different.

Addicts' minds perceive that they cannot function without that upon which they feel dependent for their sense of well-being, even though, as in the cases of smoking and drugs, they know of the harmful effects of their addictions. Addicts are generally insecure persons who have severe problems in confronting reality. Societies in our time 'depend' upon weapons for their sense of security with a full understanding of the detrimental effects. The intersection between arms trafficking and drug trafficking makes this chillingly clear. So, too, the link between drug addiction and weapons-inflicted social violence deserves our attention as we consider the effects of weaponry.

Various citizens' groups, particularly women's peace groups, have struggled to bring these detrimental effects to the attention of policy-makers and the general public. Conditioned by media that avoid all

reflection upon the nature of the weapons culture and the policies which intensify its effects, most citizens fail to fully comprehend or at least to admit to these realities. In many ways, the women peace activists and researchers play a role in society similar to that played by the spouses, families and friends of addicts who seek to persuade them of the true effects of their behaviour.

In the case of weapons addiction, these effects go beyond economic deprivation, and the threat of armed conflict that is always exacerbated by the possession of arms. Few nations today are free of violent crime, terrorist threats, attacks on individual citizens, and the police brutality that characterizes cultures of violence; these circumstances are often made possible by the types of weapons that governments have developed for purposes of 'national security'.

It is not, however, only this turning inwards of lethal force that indicates the death-inducing nature of the weapons culture, but the fact that weapons are seen as the necessary and effective tools of security. It would seem that many individual citizens, like their governments, do not feel secure without the capacity to threaten, injure or kill others. Lethal weapons have become commonplace in many communities that are ostensibly at peace. Yet the reality is that a form of perpetual social warfare is destroying communities and undermining the essential security of daily life. The culture of war and weaponry is manifest at all levels of society. Women's peace organizations and movements have recognized this and responded with challenges to the cultural acceptance of the various manifestations of violence perpetrated at all these levels.

Little, however, has been said about the very concept of weaponry and the legitimacy of lethal tools for any social purpose, even among those who organize against 'war toys' and violent computer games and other games. The main critique of the anti-war-toys movement is that they tend to socialize children to the acceptance of militarism and desensitize them to violence, closing their minds to the possibilities of non-violent alternatives for defence and conflict resolution. Those who are critical of popular games and sports express concern about the way in which they emphasize competition against (rather than co-operation with) others outside one's team or cultural or social group. What has yet to be the subject of public discussion is the 'weapons mentality', the way of thinking that makes weaponry a concept used in much of human discourse as well as in human affairs.

The weapons culture is in our entertainment, art and literature, and in our languages and metaphors. National holidays are often celebrated with parades of the largest, most fearful weapons to demonstrate the power and pride of the nation. Cannons, tanks and the skeletons of old fighter planes appear in public places as monuments to national heroism. In my mother tongue, we constantly and unconsciously use the vocabulary and

metaphors of weaponry. We 'shoot down' ideas we disagree with or 'go gunning' for persons we intend to engage in argument. These are but a very few of the many ways in which our unreflective acceptance of weaponry holds us in thrall to the weapons culture and indicates how deeply rooted in the human mind is the culture of war.

Of course, the most devastating consequence of the weapons addiction is war itself. It is all too clear that 'armed conflict' is the inevitable result of serious conflict when weapons are at hand. Events have shown that the greater the availability of weapons, the more likely is the escalation of any conflict so that it becomes violent. Conflict may be inevitable, but armed conflict depends on arms. In the 1960s, students asked, 'What if they had a war and nobody came?' I ask now, 'What if there were a serious conflict, but there were no arms?' I submit that there would be great difficulties and problems, but human societies can overcome difficulties and solve problems. However, the lethal consequences of weapons cannot be overcome or resolved. They must be avoided. It is women's struggle to learn how to achieve that avoidance which may prove to be their greatest contribution to a culture of peace.

Women's efforts for peace have been multiple and varied from actions on the ground, and the practical application of non-violence to conflict and struggle, through the development of theories of alternatives to armed force for national defence and international security. It is in raising these and other proposed alternatives to the level of public discussion, to achieve widespread knowledge of these possibilities, that we may find the means to persuade those in power to seriously consider the potential for less violent and more socially constructive security systems. This is essentially an educational task.

Some leaders have come to learn through educational efforts and through their own experience of the futility of weapons dependency. An increasing number of leaders, particularly those in the last years of their public service, have come to see the urgent need for demilitarization and disarmament. But only those who understand fully the transformational requirements of a culture of peace understand the depth of the changes required to move beyond a weapons-based culture and military security to the commitment to non-violence that is the heart of a culture of peace. Indeed, education of publics and their leaders may help to persuade the powerful to seek to reduce military weaponry, and may even lead to significant forms of disarmament that will greatly reduce the possibilities of war, but so long as weaponry in so many other forms exists in so many societies, lethal violence by humans against humans is still possible. The women who recognize this reality know that a more profound transformation, comparable to that pursued by recovering addicts, must be sought.

Conclusions

Weaponry is a destructive addiction perpetuated by the war system. A weapons-based security system dulls the critical faculties of citizens and anaesthetizes their capacity to perceive the real threats to authentic human security. To such ends the European colonial and imperial powers encourage drug addiction in pre-revolutionary China. This causes a slow undermining of the general well-being and immediate, traumatic harm to the addicts, preventing them from confronting the true realities of authentic human security. Addictions are often developed to fill a void, whether real or perceived, in the sources of well-being; and security is, at base, the expectation of well-being. As drug addicts 'shoot' heroin into their veins, the culture of war 'shoots' weaponry into our minds and politics, poisoning both. Both must be cured of this addiction.

Curing an addiction takes great strength of mind, courage and love, qualities women are socialized to develop on behalf of others. Their actual and potential contributions to a culture of peace come in no small part from this socialization and what they have learned in fulfilling it. However, women's potential contribution to a culture of peace cannot be fully realized within the present weapons-dependent, patriarchal state system maintained through the coercive power of male elites. The liberation of the human family from the culture of war depends upon the transformation of that system. The transformational task can only be achieved through a genuine and mutual partnership between women and men in which power is shared equally and the perspectives, concerns, insights and experiences of both women and men are constructively combined to overcome the weapons addiction. A global order must be devised and brought into being that is so committed to the fulfilment of human needs and the development of an interdependence based on equity and justice that the perceived and the real need for weapons will ultimately disappear: 'lethal weaponry has no place in a culture of peace'.[3] That place can only be filled by real human security. Achieving that task requires a massive effort and change in all aspects of our lives, change that requires deep learning to uproot the weapons culture from our minds and violent force from all our relationships. This is the time to change. This is the time to choose.

Notes

1. R. L. Sivard (ed.), *World Military and Social Expenditures*, Washington, D.C. (annual reports, various years).
2. B. A. Reardon, *Women and Peace: Feminist Vision of Global Security*, Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1993.
3. *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace*, New York, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 1994.

Peace talks – peace tasks

This chapter challenges us to look deeply into the culture and the psychological and social bases of socially and politically sanctioned violence. Many feminists have posed similar challenges, but few in the peace movement or security establishment have taken up the challenge. However, the editors of this volume believe that a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace will not achieve its purposes without addressing the roots of the culture of violence. Consideration of the following concerns and questions may help to do so.

1. **Insufficient public attention is given to the harm weapons cause within societies through accidents, domestic violence and various crimes, and how they are used to intimidate or threaten. Undertake a review of the situation regarding weapons in the countries and communities for which you can find the data. Some of this data is available from groups concerned with gun control, militarism and/or violent crime. Consider some of the following issues and questions in the light of that data. How do weapons affect the quality of life in these countries and communities? Is there a discernible difference in the incidence of lethal crimes and deadly arguments between areas where weapons may be obtained easily and areas where it is difficult or illegal to possess firearms? Is there a significant number of deaths and serious injuries from weapons in homes or weapons used in family or interpersonal conflicts? Is there a difference in the numbers of men and women involved in incidents in which weapons are used?**

Is it necessary for all police to be armed? What possibilities exist for ensuring social order without the potential recourse to violent force? Are there methods to subdue and arrest criminals, control mob actions and other such social disturbances that do not put the perpetrators or the police at mortal risk? Can a sufficient range and variety of such measures be developed and the police trained in them so as to significantly reduce the necessity to resort to the use of weapons for crime control and the preservation of social order? Research and develop a repertoire of such methods and propose a scheme for integrating them into the training of police.

If the police are prepared to perform their responsibilities in ways that involve minimum or no mortal risk, how might we ensure that criminals (and perhaps ordinary citizens) have less access to weapons? Where should the process begin, with the possessor, the seller, the distributor or the manufacturer? What restrictions and responsibilities should apply to each? Design a plan for 'Policing in a Culture of Peace' and/or 'Societies without Weapons'. Look into the tragedy of the schoolyard and the community response that took place in Tasmania, Australia, in 1997, and the school shootings in the United States in 1998 and 1999. Do you find it significant that in all these cases the shooters were male and in two cases the victims predominantly female? Try to relate your plan for countries and communities to plans for international arms reduction and disarmament and to some of

the critiques and proposals regarding United Nations peacekeeping operations such as those in this volume.

2. The author of this chapter asserts that if the state were to renounce its exclusive right to the legal use of lethal force, all violence would be reduced. Consider this assertion in your reflection on and discussion of the following issues and questions. How would such a renunciation be articulated so as to make clear the rationale and principles of the renunciation, and indicate that the state was not reneging on its responsibility to defend and protect the interests of the nation and its citizens? What institutions in addition to the armed forces and the police might be affected by the renunciation? What have been the consequences of similar decisions on the part of countries that have foresworn military combat or declared neutrality in specific wars or in general?

   How might states be persuaded by their citizens or by international peace movements to consider such a renunciation? What are the possibilities and difficulties of an incremental approach, of a gradual reduction of the use of lethal force towards renunciation, or a nation-by-nation process, rather than the general and complete disarmament of all states? Do any of the various plans that have been proposed for general and complete disarmament offer practical or promising possibilities? Research the final document of the 1st Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly (1978) and consider how this comprehensive statement on the requirements for disarmament might be updated and implemented. Make your own plan for general and complete disarmament and place it in your vision of an international system conducive to a culture of peace. Which proposals of all those you have considered should be included in a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?

3. Of all the characteristics of a culture of violence, the use of weapons by human beings against their fellow human beings for illicit personal reasons as well as socially sanctioned public purposes is the most clearly manifested, and thus should be the most readily accessible to remediation. However, as indicated in this chapter, weapons serve many purposes in a culture other than as tools for hunting, combat or crime. Review all the ways in which weaponry plays a role in your culture other than these three. Begin with sports and identify games and other forms of athletics that are ritualized, symbolic or training for the use of lethal weapons. Consider how children's play and socialization, computer games and some sophisticated board games reflect an unquestioning assumption about the legitimacy and inevitability of the use of weapons. Consider the gendered aspects of these games and sports. Is it true that weapons are 'men's tools'? Examine art and design, public monuments and other ordinary objects used and encountered in daily life that reflect the same assumptions or trivialize the consequences of the use of weapons. Reflect upon the question as to whether the problems of the culture of violence lie with the weapons themselves or with the mentality

that accepts harm to other human beings as sometimes (even often) necessary and acceptable in the pursuit of our own well-being. How can we raise our children and educate our societies to revere life and use all of our creative capacities in devising truly humane ways to assure authentic human security? How should a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace address these fundamental issues?

Part Three

Women's actions and initiatives for peace

Chapter 10

Gender, democracy and peace: the role of the women's movement in Latin America

María Elena Valenzuela

Editors' prologue

The reader may gain greater insight into the character of the Latin American women's peace movement by reflecting on Valenzuela's assertion that it emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as a significant political actor in the struggle against authoritarianism and militarization. Feminists have argued that the separation of the private from the public has been one mechanism contributing to the continued exclusion of women from the exercise of political power. We think it is worth considering the implications of Valenzuela's description of how women responded when state violence penetrated the privacy of the home, bringing their personal anguish into the streets and transforming it into a political force to be reckoned with. Perhaps we should seriously reflect on how a gender perspective on the political consequences of personal suffering might be factored into a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

The historical basis of the challenges and changes in gender roles

In the twentieth century, Latin American nations have been characterized by international peace and internal violence. Most of these countries have been involved only peripherally in the world wars and other post-war conflicts. Border conflicts have been less important than the internal ones.

In the late 1960s, as new groups struggled to obtain a political voice, greater economic equality and social justice, increasing conflicts with local elites appeared. Participatory politics, mass mobilization and political confrontation was brought to an end after the military took power 'to restore order'. In the 1970s and early 1980s most Latin American countries were ruled by authoritarian military governments. They ruled through harsh and repressive tactics, including exile, imprisonment, assassination and the practice of 'disappearing' the bodies of the victims. This was central to creating a culture of fear.

The militarization process also had an economic face. Military governments dramatically decreased the role of the state in implementing economic and social policies. Structural adjustment policies affected women in a particular way, through a process of impoverishment and hardship, meaning heavier demands on women, and significantly increased their work within the home and outside the household.[1]

Ironically, the traditional separation between public and private spheres helped women to assume leading roles opposing violence and in the defence of peace. The Mothers' movement in El Salvador, Argentina and Chile developed different forms of protest. Wearing white scarves and carrying photographs of their 'disappeared' relatives, they became symbols of peace and resistance against the culture of fear.

Women's groups and feminist organizations played a crucial role in the struggle against militarization and dictatorship in Latin America by opening a new social agenda that focused on political, human and social rights. During the 1980s, a decade of profound political and economic crisis, all Latin American countries witnessed the appearance of many collective forms of protest, especially in urban areas. These new social movements confronted violence with peaceful means. They expressed new popular interests and practised new ways of engaging in peace politics. These movements challenged the neo-conservative economic and political models and called into question the authoritarian and hierarchical ways of doing politics. By utilizing new forms of political participation and new democratic modes of organization and by expanding the political discourse, women provided solutions, creating organizations around different issues such as human rights, economic survival, political participation and gender issues.

Human rights organizations

The human rights organizations were predominantly composed of women with little previous political experience, who were mothers and grandmothers of the 'disappeared' and politically repressed. The mobilization of women around human rights highlighted the politicization of what had traditionally constituted the realm of the private. They developed public activities denouncing violence and opposing the military, with reference to their maternal roles and family values. Further, they denounced the invasion of the private sphere of the family by the armed forces, which, despite their public commitment to preserve traditional family values, used state terror to maintain political control.

Popular economic organizations

The deteriorating economic situation, due to the neo-conservative economic policies and structural adjustment programmes, led large contingents of poor urban women to initiate collective strategies for

survival, aimed at satisfying their families' basic needs. Women created popular economic organizations, including subsistence and craft workshops and soup kitchens. They called attention to areas of conflict that had previously been ignored, discovering their own unsuspected capacities and abilities to cope with poverty.

The significant increase of women's work within the home and outside has been called the 'invisible adjustment' in which women played a compensatory role in relation to the disruptions occurring in the labour market and in society at large.

Even though the new economic organizations created by women had survival as their main issue, they were able to take a further step by developing a gender identity which facilitated the development of a women's social movement.

Feminist groups

Contemporary feminism emerged in Latin America in the mid-1970s, in the midst of a repressive period when military regimes and nominal democracies crushed progressive movements of all sorts. It was born, therefore, as an intrinsically oppositional movement. It challenged not only patriarchy but also its paradigm of male domination: the militaristic state. Feminists, as a consequence, joined forces with other opposition groups in denouncing social, economic and political oppression. The state repression and class warfare were instrumental in shaping a Latin American feminist practice distinct from that of feminist movements elsewhere. Latin American feminism is one part of a larger, multifaceted, socially and politically heterogeneous women's movement. What makes Latin American feminism special is that it is against gender oppression and other more local forms of social, political and economic oppression and domination.

A women's approach to peace and democracy

The women's movement had a great impact in the struggle against militarization and state violence. Women defended peace and helped to shape the transition to democracy. In their approach to politics, they argued that it was necessary to redefine the concept of democracy. Since there is an authoritarian pattern behind political and personal relations, both structures must therefore be democratized. It is in this context that the feminist movement coined its slogan, 'Democracy in the country and in the home', seeking not only more equality for women, but also a transformation of political and day-to-day relations. Without ignoring the problem of social inequality, women's demands identified expressions of inequality in a broader context. Thus, they focused their attention on those social institutions that reproduce discrimination: the family, the education system, the political parties of all ideologies, the state apparatus and the legal system.

The women's movement has become an emerging political actor, as much for the role it has played in the anti-authoritarian struggle as for the potential for change in social and political structures. The women's agenda not only focuses on public policies towards women's needs, but also aims to change the way of doing politics.

Conclusions

The role played by women in Latin America in the last decades shows their important contribution in promoting peace and social change and their urgent need to be part of the decision-making process. We are only beginning to see how women engage in politics when they are aware of their historical position as women and conscious of the limitations of existing male-dominated political methods and structures. As the old world order is in a process of disintegration, transition and reorganization, there are greater opportunities for women to be heard.

Central to the feminist definition of politics is the concept of empowerment. It means a process by which oppressed persons gain some control over their lives by taking part with others in developing activities and building structures to allow people's increased involvement in matters of direct concern to them.

Peace politics requires women's participation and the definition of a gender-sensitive agenda for peace. Since women are viewed as moral authorities, their arguments only come to the fore when women are seen as mothers, wives or protectors of the family. Women have usually worked for peace on the basis of traditional and idealized visions of womanhood and femininity: as mothers, as preservers of life. Consigned to the relative powerlessness of the private sphere, women moved into political life while maintaining their traditional protective role, becoming housekeepers and moral mothers to the nation. To really participate in decision-making concerning peace, women are trying to overcome this traditional definition of women's concerns, confronting the current political landscape with gender questions.

A strategy aimed at empowering women in this area must consider improving the quality of women's lives by enabling them to contribute to the decision-making processes in their communities and societies, to achieve a more equal status with men, and to participate in changing their environments in the direction of greater social justice, peace and democracy.

Because women's lives have been damaged by militarism, their contribution to a peaceful society can only be achieved in a democratic setting. Democracy should consider the mechanisms by which women can be incorporated into decision-making and their agenda into the political processes. But they should not be limited to social affairs. If women are to contribute to peace through their participation in decision-making, they

should also participate in areas traditionally considered of male concern, such as security, defence and so on.

The key element that explains the current relationship between gender and peace is the concept and practice of power. Women have been linked to peace campaigns at least since the Middle Ages and to anti-war sentiments since the Greek tragedies. Thus far, women have been unable to forestall state conflicts, not because of any lack of effort, but because of lack of actual political power.

The feminization of particular areas of social life and concern has constrained women and, at the same time, has empowered them. Embodying ethical aspirations but denying women a place in the corridors of power, lodging solidly in the domain of the private sphere and insulating from the public domain, a tension persists. To make possible their full contribution to peace, major obstacles need to be overcome.

The current unequal distribution of power between women and men is preventing women's contribution to peace. A few examples will make this clearer. Women are under-represented at government level all around the world. According to United Nations projections, more than 400 years will be needed before women share power with men on an equal basis if the current slow trend of increasing women's participation in decision-making continues.

Sharing power in decision-making processes is not only crucial to democratization efforts, but is also critical in enforcing due respect for women's rights and protecting their interests. Since power has been a male's elaboration and experience, power-sharing is the only way to redefine the concept and practice of power in society and in interstate relations. Accordingly, without the participation of women in decision-making, conflict prevention and peacebuilding will remain in the realm of 'international realism', *realpolitik* or power politics. To transcend the current limitations of the concept and practice of male power and to create an effective peaceful domestic and international environment, power-sharing and women's participation in decision-making processes – especially on security-related issues – are crucial.

A broader participation of women in higher positions in the judiciary, the Church, the armed forces, business and universities is also critical if we are to transform the way that key social institutions define and practise power and confront warfare and peacebuilding processes. Women's equal participation in these institutions should be achieved as an essential step in effective conflict prevention and peaceful conflict resolution.

At the same time, an international and domestic environment that fully respects human rights and women's rights, and is able to promote democratization and to implement the peaceful resolution of conflicts, is the key to the political advancement of women.

The construction of peace is a permanent, multidimensional task that includes rooting out the culture of war and violence against women. A true culture of peace requires radical new forms of interaction between individuals that go beyond the constraints of traditional male and female roles, thus reforming the socialization processes that reinforce traditional gendered roles and changing the societal structures which uphold them.

A culture and a society in which human rights are respected, in which women and men are perceived as different but with equal rights and in which democratization is a permanent ongoing process, has more opportunities to reach better and more peaceful interactions. Accordingly, to achieve a sustainable peace, peace education is crucial. However, a key element in this educational process should be the notion of justice and tolerance, and the full respect of diversity.

Accordingly, to construct a peaceful domestic and international environment we need to decisively engender peace through a real process of power-sharing and women's empowerment.

Note

1. See J. Jaquette (ed.), *The Women's Movement in Latin America*, Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1994.

Peace talks – peace tasks

Valenzuela has outlined the high points of the Latin American political landscape as it was affected by women's challenge to the militarized state. In so doing, she points to the need to develop more fully the strategies, tactics and habits of the 'peace politics' she asserts that Latin American women devised in their struggles. No aspect of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace is more in need of the practical and specific proposals towards which our inquiry is directed. The following issues to be researched and/or explored in discussions are intended to initiate a strategic inquiry into the politics of the Agenda.

1. **Potential forms and models of non-hierarchical organization of politics, especially in various aspects of state governance and in the management of power in political parties, the administration of various political institutions, both governmental and nongovernmental, as well as in political movements and campaigns.**
2. **Alternative procedures for public decision- and policy-making that are effective, efficient, just and democratic. Such alternatives could include current practices of women's movements and authentically democratic NGOs as well as past and present non-state political entities such as indigenous peoples and other non- or sub-national groups.**
3. **Traditional and alternative sources of women's political empowerment. The relationship of their empowerment to the issues of the separation and distinction between the private and public spheres. The challenges to the**

concepts of state sovereignty and *realpolitik* that are emerging from the women's rights and human rights movements.

4. **The links between gender oppression and other forms of domination and repression. The relationship of these various oppressions to the economic policies and practices of the current global financial, trade and industrial policies that result in gender discrimination and additional economic burdens for women.**
5. **A detailed, in-depth inquiry into the possible relationship that some feminists assert links the state, particularly the nation-state, to patriarchy, its value systems, modes of thinking and styles of organizing politics and economics; and into the argument that such modes and styles reinforce the competition and conflict that lead to violence and war.**

Chapter 11

Peaceful initiatives: the Soldiers' Mothers Movement in Russia

Elena Zdravomyslova

Editors' prologue

In her description of the Soldiers' Mothers Movement, Zdravomyslova gives particular examples of some of the types of actions to which Valenzuela and Smith refer in their accounts of women's initiatives for peace. She acknowledges that both the problem the movement confronts and the alternatives it seeks to realize are culturally embedded. She also demonstrates aspects of the culture of violence that develop when the armed forces, uncontrolled by civil authority, become abusive of human rights.

We call attention to three important aspects of women's action for peace that are found in the Soldiers' Mothers Movement; first, the assertion that pacifist ideology derives essentially from the core value of respect for human life and human rights; second, that women's open resistance to militarism arises from outrage at the dehumanization to which their sons are subjected during military training, a manifestation of what they call 'male military culture'; and finally, the courageous application of non-violent strategies in their struggle with the formidable apparatus of the military and the state. It may well take such courage to bring forth a culture of peace. At the very least, we should consider how such non-violent resistance to the culture of violence might be integrated into a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace.

It is difficult to answer the question as to whether the Soldiers' Mothers Movement in Russia is becoming a political force. However, the small but determined voice of this movement against the militarization of Russian society, against the violation of human rights in the armed forces and against the war in Chechnya has been heard in society. The present chapter provides an overview of this social movement. Similar mothers' and grandmothers' movements exist in other countries and continents as well, opposing militarism, violence, drugs, social insecurity and injustice.

Perestroika and the creation of the Soldiers' Mothers Organizations (SMO)[1]

The Soldiers' Mothers Organizations, along with other independent initiatives,[2] developed in Russia with the new political opportunities opened up by glasnost during the course of the reforms of perestroika (1985–91). The first Soldiers' Mothers Organizations were formed in late 1989, at the peak of the democratic mobilization of perestroika when, as a part of the discourse of glasnost, the violation of law in the Soviet army came to the fore. Before that, the army had been a closed institution, impenetrable to all forms of civic observation and control. Indeed, little reliable information percolated into the mass media. However, information circulated in the informal networks. People mostly came to know about the violation of the law and of human rights in the army from personal experiences of the families whose sons went through military service and from everyday private conversations.

The Russian army has always been 'the state within the state' in both Soviet and post-Soviet times. Hence the institution developed its own culture in which the rituals and rules of the game differed from those of civic society. This culture was resistant to change even when Russian society began to undergo rapid economic and political changes. Ella Polyakova, the leader of the Soldiers' Mothers Organization in St Petersburg, observed the situation in the Russian army in 1994: 'The society is changing and developing the culture of human rights and democratic values, while the army is still behind, it is still a totalitarian institution' (interview with Polyakova, 8 March 1994).

However, with the liberal reforms of perestroika, the situation started to change. After ideological demilitarization was initiated by Gorbachev, with its emphasis on human values (1986–87), the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan (1989) and the open declaration by the Soviet authorities of the political adventurism of the Afghan war, the state of affairs in the Soviet army started to be discussed in public. The mass media were especially influential in the process of opening the discourse on the army.

One tragic event gave an impetus to this discussion. In February 1987 in Leningrad (St Petersburg) a soldier was arrested and accused of shooting three older soldiers and then deserting. Later he was examined by medical experts and transferred to a mental hospital. The legal implications were widely discussed in the mass media. Local television and radio news, as well as newspapers, commented scrupulously on the course of the trial. It soon emerged that the military had attempted to conceal the real nature of the case. The true story occurred as follows. Arturas Sakalauskas (the deserter) and the three other soldiers were escorting a train transfer. On the way, Sakalauskas had been continuously tortured by the three servicemen and sexually abused: he shot them in self-defence. The investigation of this

particular case brought evidence proving that the abuse and maltreatment of junior soldiers by older ones was a common practice in the Soviet army. It was commonly known as *dedovshchina* (or humiliation, harassment and abuse). Thus exposed, *dedovshchina* became the object of public criticism. The mass media launched a campaign to unmask these practices in the Soviet army.

As a consequence, the overall criticism of the Russian-Soviet armed forces developed in public. At the time, the Soviet army was criticized over three issues: *dedovshchina*; the violation of the Law on Military Duty by the armed forces during the annual drafts; and the use of the military code in cases that were not relevant.

In this public discussion, *dedovshchina* became a specific target of criticism. *Dedovshchina* as a systemic feature of the Soviet army culture can be defined as the set of informal practices of face-to-face interaction performed within the collective of servicemen and characterized by the discrimination against first-year servicemen *(salagi)* by older servicemen *(dedy, stariki)*. In the language of bureaucracy, these practices are called 'outside-of-statute-relations', which means that they are not regulated by the statute of military service. *Dedovshchina* can be conceived as the representation of the stratification in the everyday life of the total institution[3] of the Soviet army. A brief account of the etymology will clarify the term. The general noun *dedovshchina* is derived from the noun *ded* – translated into English as 'grandfather'. *Ded* (or *starik* – the elder) is the colloquial expression used for a soldier in his second to third year of military service. *Dedovshchina* was for many years considered to be an inevitable part of the internal ethos of military service in the Soviet army; it served as the initiation ritual, necessary for achievement of true manhood or masculinity. When it became clear that taking such an ethos to its extremes leads young men to commit suicide, and to mental illness, crime and disablement, the protest against such a masculine military culture began to grow in public.

In the course of the discussion, the idea of civic control of military service as a guarantee of the 'normal' functioning of the army collectives was formulated. It was in the course of this discourse that the first SMO appeared.

The case of Sakalauskas became the starting-point for the women's (mothers') mobilization against the situation in the Soviet army. In 1989, a Soldiers' Mothers Committee was formed in St Petersburg as well as in the other large cities of Russia (Moscow, Tver, Samara, etc.). The constituency of such groups was mainly the parents and relatives of servicemen (mothers were especially active).

The goals of the committees were 'to defend the rights of those due to be conscripted into the military, of the military servicemen and the members of their families' (from the SMO statute). Following these aims,

the committees established regular contacts with the military departments where young men were serving, in order to 'control' the way in which their military service was going. They worked hand in hand with military committees and senior military officials at the local level. Sometimes the offices of the SMOs were located in the military headquarters of the city. Thus, in the opinion of many observers, these organizations became 'pocket structures' of the regional military committees, being dependent on them, and not radical in their demands.

When, in the course of the transformation, the army was widely used in the internal political conflicts in the Soviet Union and later in the Russian Federation (Georgia, Lithuania, Ossetia, etc.), the Soldiers' Mothers Committees began to undergo rapid changes. An organizational split occurred within the recently established civic initiatives: some groups remained the 'right hand' of the military; others started independent, anti-army collective-action campaigns and formed new independent organizations with different strategies, demanding radical military reform. Until reforms in the army were carried out, they argued, they would prevent their sons doing military service.

The argument of the radical part of the movement is expressed below:

> You cannot influence and control the military when you work in one team with them. It is necessary to oppose them openly, declaring the ideology of human rights and defence of your sons. We ourselves have to save our future – our sons – from the war and the military. . . . First we worked as one of the human rights organizations, which co-operated with all branches of power. But later we realized that we have to be leaders, not assistants to authorities (interview with Ella Polyakova, 8 March 1994).

Thus the Soldiers' Mothers Organization of St Petersburg was founded in the autumn of 1991.

The Soldiers' Mothers Movement and the war in Chechnya

The military invasion of Chechnya in December 1994 caused the mobilization of the Soldiers' Mothers Movement all over Russia. Numerous new organizations were registered, new items on the protest agenda were formulated and new forms of collective action were practised.

At the start of the Chechen war, the public anti-military protest was not strong as only three factions of the Duma (the lower house of parliament) protested: 'the Choice of Russia', the Russian Communist Party and 'the Women of Russia'. This anti-war lobby, which worked mainly in the parliament, was unsuccessful. In the streets only Communists and the Soldiers' Mothers protested against the war in Chechnya.

In the course of the Chechen war the Russian armed forces faced new problems:

- the number of those refusing to undertake military service in Chechnya increased (however, these refusals were mainly not public – young men tried to escape from military service using private channels);
- dismissals and exemptions from the army conditioned by this refusal also became more frequent;
- enlistment was not implemented by the military committees in different regions of Russia.

However, instead of reforming the army, the Ministry of Defence inclined towards the introduction of a more rigid version of the Law on Military Duty, which at that time was discussed in the Duma and in the mass media. The amendments allowing the suspension of military service were questioned.

All these issues became the agenda of the protest movement. The groups started networking. Co-ordination and joint actions by SMOs from different cities of Russia took place. They organized workshops, conferences and seminars and the attention of the mass media was growing. Simultaneously, a radicalization of the movement was taking place and pacifism became the prevailing ideology. The slogans included anti-regime demands. Different types of protests expanded, including picketing, demonstrations and peace marches where clashes with the armed forces took place. International contacts were established. At that moment the movement was the only vocal anti-war protest in Russia.

The following were some of the core slogans of the SMOs during the Chechen war:

> Return our soldiers from the trenches immediately!
>
> Do not send our sons to the slaughter!
>
> Residents of blockaded Leningrad are against the blockade and bombing of the residents of Grozny!
>
> Soldiers and officers! Do not carry out the orders of military criminals!
>
> Down with the bloody junta in the Kremlin!
>
> Stop the genocide and the extinction of the courageous Chechen people by fascist methods!

It is difficult to assess the influence of the SMOs on the outcome of the Chechen war. However, it is impossible to conceive of this military conflict without taking into account the civic actor – the voice of the Soldiers' Mothers Organizations. The movement succeeded in disseminating a pacifist ideology and in developing human rights practices. Besides the political events, SMOs are particularly active during two periods in the year: at the time of the spring and autumn drafts. At these times, young men of call-up age and their relatives come to SMOs to discuss their problems and find appropriate solutions.

After the official end of the Chechen war in September 1996, the mobilization of the SMOs declined. Their agenda became limited mainly

to human rights protection and voluntary legal consultations during draft periods and during the course of military service.

Ideology and symbolism

The *ideology* of the Soldiers' Mothers Organizations is the conjuncture of two powerful concepts: the human rights concept and the concept of motherhood (the core belief of the essentialist Russian gender culture). Motherhood, framed as the biologically founded destiny of women, ascribes the main responsibility for 'life per se' to women. Both concepts are expressed in the self-presentation of the SMOs: in the name of the organizations and their emblems, in the discourse of the introductory speech given by the leaders to visitors, in the symbolism of the place where the SMOs work and hold sessions. Again using the example of the SMO of St Petersburg, the text of the introductory speech to the general consultation contains multiple references to the liberal ideology of human rights, with its focus on individual responsibility and necessary legal education. Extracts from the speech are given below.

The leader starts the session by introducing the SMO:

> We are a human rights organization, not a committee. Our general aim is to promote the building of civil society and the rule of law in Russia. . . . We came here to work together. We are not just going to do things for you. It is your personal responsibility – the responsibility of your family. You have to help yourself to defend your inalienable rights. Do you know what rights can be called inalienable? They are the right to live, to be healthy and to be protected by law. You can read it in the Declaration of Human Rights, which is signed by Russia and is in the constitution of the Russian Federation. . . . You have to follow the law. The authorities are fakes; they are not going to defend your rights. Thus you have to defend them yourself. If you do not defend your rights yourself, you become criminals, you violate the constitution yourself. . . . You have to know the law and defend your civic rights against those who want to violate them – the authorities, especially the military authorities. They can cheat ignorant people, and threaten them and blackmail them. We teach you to use the law against officials who do not want to follow it. It is difficult, but you will learn (from the tape of the consultation, 7 January 1994).

In the SMOs the procedure of legal human rights protection is developed. The voluntary instructors explain the technique to each visitor. 'These are the same tactics that dissidents elaborated and used in their activities during Soviet totalitarianism,' observed the leader of the St Petersburg SMO, Ella Polyakova (interview on 8 March 1994).

The *symbolism* of the SMOs signifies the standpoint of its adherents. The naming of the organization gives a key to the basic concept of motherhood. Thus, one of the respondents observed, 'This name (the Soldiers' Mothers Organization) is meaningful for people. It sounds better

than any other, and it is the basic truth – mothers are responsible for their sons and for life in general' (interview with Elena Vileneskaya, an SMO activist in St Petersburg, in April 1994).[4]

In the case of the St Petersburg SMO, which is the example given here, religious (Christian) justification serves as the common ground in the combination of the human rights ideology and the essentialist interpretation of motherhood. The St Petersburg SMO is a religious organization, though it is difficult to say to what confession it belongs – the members are adherents of different Churches and also atheists. However, two rooms and a hall, which the organization rented in the House of Democratic Russia for six years,[5] had been consecrated in 1993 by priests of four confessions: Lutheran, Catholic, Orthodox and American Protestant. The members of the SMO claim that their efforts became more efficient after the consecration, as the Mother of God gave them her blessing. The decoration of the premises is saturated with religious symbolism. A candle burns in the room where consultation and training of parents and future soldiers take place. The walls are decorated with icons of the Mother of God (Kazan's icon of the Mother of God, which is very popular in Russia), the texts of prayers (the Mother's prayer, poetry, the Cry of the Mother). In the organization a prayer group was formed, which holds communal prayers before the work starts. Visitors are asked to join the prayers at the end of the consultation.

The emblem of the St Petersburg SMO can be described as a female hand holding a burning candle depicted in a circle. From the centre spread the rays of the sun, forming a cross. According to the leader's interpretation, 'The ideology of the organization is expressed in this symbolism – we want to save *life* (of humankind, of the Russian people, of our sons).' The symbol also has a Christian meaning. The strong belief in the integrity of the values of Christianity, human rights and motherhood is typical of the St Petersburg SMO.

Activities

The repertoire of collective actions undertaken by the SMOs includes the following: legal consultations, collection of evidence of human rights violations, picketing, conferences, work with the mass media, co-operation with other NGOs, work in the Public Hall, participation in electoral campaigns, mass marches, attempts at hunger strikes and legal actions against the armed forces. Institutional and non-institutional collective actions are combined. The choice of the form and the scale of the protest action is determined by the political context. Thus, before the Chechen war, actions were located in the capital or in the regional towns where the SMOs were registered as voluntary or human rights organizations. Later, the Chechen war inspired peace marches to the region of the military conflict and a growing number of petitions addressed to the international

community. After the war, the collective actions returned to the pre-war forms. Alternative legal consultations and work with the mass media became the main priorities.

Below are some examples of collective actions that were organized by the Soldiers' Mothers groups at the beginning of the 1990s (before the Chechen war). In November 1991 the Soldiers' Mothers of Dagestan and Moscow started a hunger strike in the White House of the Russian parliament demanding an amendment to the Law on Military Duty that would allow soldiers to do their military service in the republics of the Russian Federation where they live. Immediately, conflicts with the authorities broke out and the speaker of parliament forced SMO activists out of the building.

As another example, on 1 September 1992 (the Day of Children's Protection), the collective action 'Black Kerchiefs' was organized under the slogans, 'It's a mother's duty to save her son', 'Let's protect our sons' and 'Let's stop the army turning into a Gulag'. The main aim was to force the authorities to explain why young men were dying during their military service at a time of peace.

The most important practice of the SMOs is providing alternative legal consultations. Participatory observation at the St Petersburg SMO allowed me to analyse the content, structure and symbolism of this action. I would insist on calling such voluntary, free-of-charge legal consultation a protest action, because it contains the same elements of non-violent protest as the work of consciousness-raising groups in the feminist movement or the public sermons of the Black Church in the American civil rights movement. The visitors are taught not only the basics of the human rights struggle, using legal examples, but the technique of self-help as well. Their self-image changes as they convert to citizens.

The legal consultations of the St Petersburg SMO are called a session. The session combines the features of collective prayers and a consultation. Three times a week for two hours, a general consultation is held for everyone present (usually, some 100–150 people are present at each session, the number growing during draft periods). Help in the form of reliable information and insight into the procedure is provided for those who demand it: young people (and their relatives) who are subject to military service, who have experienced violence in the army or who strive for an independent investigation and are looking for reliable lawyers who will not collaborate with the armed forces. The organization has made a list of independent doctors and lawyers. It also publishes booklets containing evidence of human rights violations in Russia. During the Chechen war, the SMO helped those mothers who were going to Chechnya by providing information on the cheapest and best routes, collecting money for the journey, and so on.

The sessions are rigidly structured and include an introductory talk,

practical individual consultations for the visitors and a communal prayer. In the introductory talks the *raison d'être* of the SMO is given. In the course of consultations, legal ways of examining whether a young person is liable for military service are given.[6] Experts explain that the family is the main agent for the human rights defence of young people. In cases where a young man of call-up age appears to be without a family, the organization takes responsibility for representing his interests. When during the draft or in the course of military service, a member of the armed forces violates the law, the SMO strongly encourages the parents to initiate a legal case. 'Trials, trials, and trials – this is what we need with the military. We will teach the officials to follow the law,' observed one member of the SMO. The St Petersburg SMO has fought two important legal cases against the office of the city military prosecutor and against the St Petersburg military committee. The first case was initiated by the SMO after the military prosecutor publicly accused its activists of concealing deserters. In response, the SMO brought an action for insulting the integrity of the organization. The second suit against the military committee was for its refusal to provide alternative community service for those who refuse military service because of their beliefs.

During the Chechen war the SMO organized anti-military rallies and pickets in the centre of St Petersburg. These demonstrations were, however, quite small and not many people joined the protest action. Russian SMOs organized visits of mothers to the Russian troops in Chechnya, and demanded that deserters of this war would not be subjected to military tribunals. They wrote anti-war appeals to leading political players, such as the United Nations, the Russian President and the President of the United States, exposing the violation of human rights in Chechnya and in the Russian army in general. The most high-profile collective action initiated by the SMO was the 'Peace and Compassion' march to Chechnya in March 1995. Representatives of SMOs from about fifteen cities participated. Some 300 women reached the end of the march. The leader was Maria Kirbasova, the head of the Moscow SMO. The concept of the march was both symbolic and instrumental: it aimed to demonstrate anti-war attitudes, to collect reliable information about those killed and injured, and finally to stop the war in Chechnya. The intention was to put white kerchiefs between the Russian and Chechen troops. According to the tradition of Chechen people, if a woman manages to put a white kerchief between fighters, they should stop their struggle. However, the Russian military authorities stopped the march at one of the checkpoints, arguing that such an action was not safe. The participants still maintain that 'the march did not fail. We demonstrated the will and the determination of our peaceful initiatives' (interview with Ella Polyakova).

After the march, women gave information about events in Chechnya to the mass media. The real face of war was seen: ruined towns,

deprived and frustrated Russian and Chechen soldiers, hospitals and camps for the captives. The pacifist conviction of the women was reinforced. The slogans of the march claimed that 'the responsibility for the bloodshed in Chechnya lies with every Russian person who did not oppose the war'. The participants spoke openly about 'the feeling of guilt in relation to the people of Chechnya'. The constant conflict between the SMO and the authorities intensified, as shown, for example, by the fact that local military prosecutors searched the offices of the SMOs in Murmansk and St Petersburg in order to find the deserters and blamed the organizations for concealing them. The SMOs, however, continued their work, using new opportunities for networking. They initiated a series of training workshops, which gathered women from local SMOs. The technique of these workshops resembles that of the consciousness-raising of the feminist movement in the 1970s.

In the middle of April 1994 the first training workshop of the Soldiers' Mothers Organizations was held in St Petersburg, supported by the German foundation, the Russian-German Exchange. Since that time such workshops have become a regular feature, being held in Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Syktyvkar and so on.

Resources

Participation. Research on the St Petersburg SMO shows that the overwhelming majority of visitors/adherents belong to the 'lower social class'. People appeal for the help of the organization because they are poor, are legally ignorant and do not have the necessary resources to solve their problems (money and connections).[7] This low status might be the main reason why these people are exposed to abuse on the part of military authorities whose main aim is to recruit a certain number of soldiers, with little regard to their rights and conditions. The poor are threatened and blackmailed as they often are not aware of their rights and opportunities. People in need of free legal advice contact the SMO and participate in its activities. Most of them leave the organization after having found a solution to their problem; some of them stay on as volunteers. The problem of the 'free rider' is well known to both activists and volunteers. One of the leaders observed with regret:

> Many come here just to use us. They make demands on us, they think that it is our duty to provide them with resources. They feel offended if we do not work for them in the way that old Communist Party organizations did. They have no conception either of voluntary work or of the self-help principle. They want things to be done for them; they like to be taken care of. They just use us and leave (interview with Elena Vileneskaya, April 1994).

Volunteers form the main constituency of SMOs. The leader of the St Petersburg SMO, Ella Polyakova, said at an introductory session: 'Every

person who comes here not for the first time is a member of our organization. He/she can exchange experiences with others.' The volunteers are men and women, people of different generations, often family members. Though the name is the 'Soldiers' Mothers Organization', not only parents, but also young men of call-up age work as volunteers. However, the majority of the organization consists of parents whose sons experienced a violation of their human rights or other damage in the call-up period or during military service – they have a personal involvement with the problem of human rights violation in the Russian army. What follows are some examples.

Natalya B. is a mother whose son was taken for military service in spite of his right as a student to suspend his service. Using the technique of human rights protection developed by the SMO, Natalya managed to get her son back. Now she is voluntarily working in the SMO, providing consultations for parents at the sessions.

Another case – Vladimir A. – is a father whose son returned disabled after his military service. He confronted the military authorities in order to obtain accurate information on the condition of his son's health and to obtain a pension for him.

Not only those who are personally interested in the protection of human rights in the army work in the SMO. The leader of the St Petersburg organization – Ella Polyakova – has mainly ideological motives for her activism: she has experience of human rights organizations. During perestroika she adhered to the mass democratic organization, the Leningrad People's Front. Later (1990–92), she worked on the Human Rights Committee of the City Council. There she became involved in activities in defence of soldiers' rights and discovered that the official structures in this sphere were very inefficient and extremely bureaucratic. She formed a new organization to offer self-help and mutual help for those sharing the same experience. Her personal attachment to the problem can be traced through her family connections. Her father was an officer in the Soviet army, her elder son is a fleet officer and her younger son did his military service in Lithuania and now enjoys the right to suspended service because he has a newborn son.

The organization's lawyer, Andrej Ya, is one of those who seemingly do not have a personal interest in the issues of the SMO. According to his statement, he came to the SMO 'because of religious conviction'. He considered that almost all the friends from his youth had destroyed their lives (they were either alcoholics or criminals). Since he survived and became rather successful, he now feels that it is his duty to help other young people find their way.

Finances. Membership dues in the St Petersburg SMO are not fixed: the members contribute as much as they can. Donations from visitors are welcome. The SOROS Foundation helped the SMO by providing a

computer and a copy-machine. Financial support for the organization of conferences and workshops was provided by the European Community (EC) programmes – Phare and Tacis Democracy. However, the lack of financial resources has always been a problem for the organization.

Organization. The members argue that the structure of the SMO is not hierarchical. It is a co-operation between rank-and-file members. The main executive body is the Co-ordination Council headed by a woman chairperson. The local organizations have strong leaders, like Ella Polyakova in St Petersburg or Maria Kirbasova in Moscow. They represent the SMO in the mass media, in the international arena and in contacts (conflicts) with the authorities. Chechnya gave new stimuli for the organizational development of the SMOs. A network of women's organizations is being established in Russia. They hold international conferences under pacifist slogans and organize workshops on the exchange of experience and training. However, conflicts between the leaders of the SMOs (typical of all movements) weaken collective efforts. These conflicts resulted in the disappointing fact that the Russian SMO did not receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996.

Conclusions

The first decade of the Soldiers' Mothers Movement in today's Russia is significant for an emerging civil society. As mentioned previously, its mobilization potential is based on the ideology of human rights, an essentialist interpretation of motherhood and diverse forms of Christianity. There are long-term problems on the movement's agenda, however: the slowing down of the army reforms; the failures in domestic and foreign policy; and the avoidance of military service by young men. In the current transformation of the country, when the army has been engaged in attempting to solve political conflicts, soldiers and junior officers often become hostages to the higher political and military authorities. The agenda for the movement is also affected by the military conflicts on the territory of the Russian Federation as well as by the practices of social interaction in the Russian armed forces. The peaceful initiatives of the Soldiers' Mothers are sustainable features in the landscape of the emerging civil and civic society in Russia.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. There are now more than twenty Soldiers' Mothers Organizations operating in Russia. This chapter is based on research carried out in 1994. The object of the case study was the Soldiers' Mothers Organization in St Petersburg. However, in the chapter the broader picture of the Russian Soldiers' Mothers Movement is given, based on data collected through analysis of the press and information documents and interviews with leaders.
2. With perestroika, hundreds of initiatives emerged all over Russia: ecological, cultural, political, ethnic, women's movements, etc. Soon many of them became politicized. For an overview, see Duka, Kornev and Zdravomyslova, 'Protest Cycle of Perestroika: The Case of Leningrad', *International Sociology*, Vol. 10, March 1995, pp. 83–99; J. Butterfield and J. Sedaitis, *Perestroika from Below*, Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1991.
3. Here the concept of total institution developed by E. Goffman is used (see E. Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1961).
4. In fact, the SMO can be looked upon as the Russian version of the 'pro-life' movements. While differing in its political stand and targets from the anti-abortion 'pro-life' movement in the United States, the Soldiers' Mothers Movement in Russia uses a 'pro-life' frame as justification of its pacifist ideology. This comparison shows how different the meaning of the 'pro-life' slogans can be in different political and cultural contexts.
5. The SMO has since changed its address.
6. According to the Law on Military Duty, there are three occasions when military service can be suspended or cancelled: poor health; family situation (i.e. when a young man is the only breadwinner for an elderly single parent who is a pensioner; or a father with a child less than 3 years old); and ideological objections, i.e. when military service does not correspond to the world-view of the young man (a right for alternative service is declared in the constitution but there is no relevant law). Students attending day courses also have the right to a postponement of military service.
7. In practice, people try to escape the dangers of military service by obtaining (buying) a medical certificate or finding a safe place to do their military service. In 1994–97, the average price of the medical certificate guaranteeing exemption from military service was between $1,000 and $2,000, depending on the region of the country and the agents responsible for the deal.

Peace talks – peace tasks

Although not stated in feminist terms, the critique of the military presented in this chapter echoes a number of feminist arguments against militarism. The inquiry below aims to deepen that critical analysis and extend the discussion of alternatives to the armed forces.

1. The extremes in gender role separation posed in the problematic of the Soldiers' Mothers Movement as the cult of masculinity and the cult of

motherhood have often been noted in feminist critiques of the war system. How do these gender identity profiles for men and women affect the potential for the demilitarization of society? Do these stereotypes pose issues to be confronted in the conceptualization and development of a culture of peace? Are there other cases in which similar notions of manhood and womanhood are apparent in militarized or authoritarian societies?

2. The brutalization of recruits, the desensitization to violence and the objectification of other human beings have been cited as aspects of military training that unleash further abuses. Such circumstances have been noted in the cases that aroused the concern of the Soldiers' Mothers over the abuse of their sons. In the situation of the Second World War, sex slaves known as 'comfort women' and women near long-term military stations were said to be victims of a similar process. Undertake research to determine whether such cases are unique or are to be found in other armed forces, in the present or earlier periods of history. How should such practices be assessed and accounted for in the design of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace? How should the armed forces be trained with regard to attitudes towards opponents, other hostile forces, defeated forces and populations; and relations between the sexes of their own and hostile populations? What role should human rights play in the training of military and peacekeeping forces?
3. The Soldiers' Mothers Movement advocates a 'human rights culture' and a 'human rights methodology' for resisting the abuses of military authority and military violations of the law; how might such a culture and methodology relate to a culture of peace? What role should human rights play in the development of a culture of peace and the formulation of a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace? Human rights, respect for the law and pacifism are elements of the ideology of the Soldiers' Mothers; do the ideologies of other movements such as those cited by Smith and Valenzuela resemble or differ from this ideology? Are there commonalities to be found in the various women's anti-militarist movements that might inform a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?
4. The Soldiers' Mothers Movement may be the most direct challenge to military authority that any women's movement or organization has attempted. It has challenged the army on the bases of law, policy and practice. It would be very useful to our task to know to what extent others have posed such challenges beyond demands to authoritarian regimes to account for the 'disappeared'. Did American parents make any similar claims during the Viet Nam war, which was also argued to have been an illegal war? Have there been any resistance movements mounted against war as an institution? 'If the army is dangerous . . . to our sons . . . hide them.' Is this not always the case? To be in active military service is to be 'in harm's way'. Should advocates of a culture of peace also advocate an end to compulsory military service or just reform of the military? If the former, what alternatives for national security and public service should be proposed? Should

dependence on the armed forces as the primary agent for national security be opposed? What are some of the potential alternatives to military security?

5. The movement's 'collective actions' have demonstrated non-violent resistance to be the force or power of the powerless, justified as necessary for the protection of democracy, the exercise of social responsibility, and as a means to change the political culture. Are there also non-violent means to create and construct democratic and non-military approaches to security? What kind of system to resolve conflicts and maintain national security should be advocated in a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?

Chapter 12

Traditional mediating techniques and women's contribution to a culture of peace

Jacqueline Adhiambo-Oduol

Editors' prologue

Relying primarily on African cases, Adhiambo-Oduol elaborates a description of the peacemaking capacities and functions of women in traditional societies. Her chapter adds more substance to the notion of woman as peacemaker that informs some of the examples recounted by Valenzuela, Smith and Zdravomyslova, again calling attention to the dilemma posed by the advantages and disadvantages inherent in women's gendered social roles as mothers, keepers of the hearth, sustainers and healers of human relationships. The author reminds us that these roles are socially constructed and, we adduce, they are thus subject to social change. However, we have yet to address, much less resolve, the dilemma.

On the one hand, reverence for woman as the source of life has empowered her to intervene in situations of potential and actual violence, and to persuade hostile parties to negotiate rather than fight. On the other hand, this same reverence has rationalized woman's confinement to the domestic sphere and her exclusion from the realms of public policy-making, depriving those charged with peace and security decision-making of the benefits of feminine perspectives and skills. Does a careful reading of and deeper reflection on this chapter provide us with any insights into how these valuable, traditionally devised and refined peacemaking capacities can be integrated into an agenda for a culture of peace based upon the assumption and committed to the achievement of the full equality of women and men?

War-makers are strategic; they have clear goals, they know what resources they need, and they have absolute determination to win. Peacemakers need the same clarity of vision; they need to make the same analysis of what resources they need, and they should have a rock solid determination to succeed (Bendow, 1995, p. 61).

Gender and power differences

The patriarchal ideology and its value system consider man as superior to woman and give him authority and control over the woman's life. According to this world-view, man is the natural head and leader at all times. He is stronger than the woman, is rational and courageous and has the responsibility of protecting the woman and the children. A woman, on the other hand, is man's helper. Although biologically weak, she has the responsibility of bringing up children. She is the home manager and is patient, kind, loving and totally committed to the well-being of the family. A 'good woman is the wife and mother who supports and nurtures others, feels with and for them and demands nothing for herself' (Poynton, 1995, p. 19). A woman is thus a symbol of unity and sacrifice in the family. She has insights into the individual and collective needs of the family members and is therefore in a position to influence the family positively. Society's image of a woman is consequently that of a mother with the attendant conviction that 'mothers are held in high esteem, mothers know what their families need, mothers are teachers, mothers protect, mothers are doctors, mothers ensure there is no famine at home and everyone is what their mother makes them' (Mwana a'Nzeki, 1997). The meaning of man and woman that is reflected in the knowledge, value and attitude systems of most men and women defines men as aggressive (assertive), action-oriented dictators and women as servant leaders who listen and learn, heal and are self-effacing stewards who 'do not impose their will on others but work through examples and the evident authenticity of their words and actions' (Lloyd, 1996, p. 4). Women therefore are *natural* peacemakers while men are not.

Gender, the social distinction between men and women, consequently not only provides a framework for the construction of power relations between men and women, but also defines leadership and activity profiles in peace initiatives along gender lines. While some people consider this power relation and activity profile as natural and inevitable, others see it as a theory intended to perpetuate the subordination of women. They blame the so-called natural and inevitable division of labour and gender relations for the social vulnerability and cultural inferiority of women despite their contribution to development. This school of thought also contends that the belief and value systems which men and women acquire in this patriarchal system for evaluating their experiences and behaviour lead to a situation where women are oppressed and denied equal participation with men on the grounds of the naturalness, obviousness and inevitability of biological differences. Furthermore, it results in a situation where there are more men than women in decision-making and leadership roles in key sectors. Society thus does not benefit from the knowledge, experience and values of both men and women.

In traditional societies, men and women were socialized with a clear

set of rules and regulations and an accepted code of behaviour along gender lines. This socialization ensured that women knew they were the custodians of peace and that they had the capacity or obligation to say 'no' to violent methods of conflict resolution and to the belief in the myth of the efficacy of violence. It also made them realize that to achieve peace, their participation was essential. They thus directed their available resources towards achieving this goal. Men knew that women, as carriers and nurturers of life, had the authority to say 'no'. Thus, they not only consulted women and integrated their perspectives and views in all peace and security activities, but also acted on them. The institutional structures and systems of family, clan and elders sanctioned these actions. It is on this ideological premise that the successful contribution of women to a culture of peace was grounded.

In this chapter, I argue that the peace process cannot survive unless it is underpinned by the involvement and participation of all members of society. It cannot be achieved if people seek to eliminate, repress or deny the existence of conflicts. It cannot survive if it is not based on existing structures and institutions. The traditional mediating techniques that were utilized by women only contributed to a culture of peace because they met all these criteria.

The challenge facing women who want to contribute to a culture of peace today is how to develop a framework for gender equality that responds to their goal on the basis of skills, knowledge and attitudes derived from a traditional framework, while also building on the current opposition to gender-influenced hierarchies and oppression. Women who understand that peace is not only the absence of conflict, but also includes the presence of social justice and harmony, must develop their own brand of feminism. They must, in the words of Sen and Grown (cited in Friedlander and Santiago, 1996, p. 18), recognize the need for 'a diversity of feminisms, responsive to the different needs and concerns of different women and defined by them for themselves'. These women need to learn from the traditional techniques never to direct their energies towards the total victory or defeat of their opponents, but to use their empowerment to address mutual needs that benefit everybody and to rely on consensus-building so that the natural reaction is towards reason and not aggression.

Traditional practices of conflict resolution

This is what the women who used the traditional mediating techniques did. Because of their positions in society, these women used their practical gender needs, based on their socially accepted gender roles and their strategic gender needs, to sharpen mechanisms and skills for peace. If interventions to increase women's participation in the peace process are to benefit from the knowledge and skills of the traditional women, they must take this underlying framework into account.

Traditionally, Luo women (Kenya) were at the forefront in the various stages of the peace process, namely, preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building. They did this either through direct intervention or indirectly through elders and women's networks that existed within the warring parties.

As girls and women, they were socialized to be sensitive and caring and to embrace concerns for the wider needs of the community. They were also taught to value co-operation and relationships. When conflict was perceived or felt through preparation for war or actual outbreak of war, women got together and discussed the issue among themselves. They then asked the elders from their clan or community to arrange for dialogue with those from the opposing clan or community. In the event that the elders did not agree to do so, women from one community arranged to visit their counterparts in the enemy camp and built alliances as a strategy for convincing the elders in both camps to solve their differences in a non-violent way. In this way, they created an atmosphere of trust between the warring communities, encouraged informal contacts and made members of both communities value each other as individuals, rather than as representatives of a group. Alliances were also built through marriages between members of hostile groups.

These kinds of interventions were very effective because the Luo people respected their women, especially those in leadership positions, and heeded their caution. In the words of a male Luo informant interviewed on the subject, 'The Luo people believed that if a woman said "no" to something, you should not do it. Lwanda Magere, a legendary Luo warrior, was told by his first wife not to go to war. He did not listen to her and was killed.' This respect for the person and position of the Luo woman also gave her authority and influence at the council of elders. As a member of the council, the woman used her authority to steer the community towards non-violent resolution of conflict.

This participation by women in decision-making and in peace and security issues was not always self-driven. When male elders made a decision to settle a dispute through war, they consulted the female elders before taking action. Usually, the decision would be revoked on the strength of the women's objection. Women even had the capacity and ability to make peace at the eleventh hour. In this context, they only had to block, with their hands raised, the path of warriors who had set out for battle and the warriors would turn back.

The moral authority attributed to women on account of their gender, and the symbolic sacredness associated with women as carriers of life, dictated that the women's voice must be heard and their objection acted upon. No warrior or elder could ignore the women's cry for them to refrain from battle and no woman could ignore her moral obligation to intervene and create peace in the face of violence.

Other widely recognized techniques of intervention and mediation were based on the same premise. Among the Luo of Kenya, a woman only needed to stand between two men engaged in a fight for them to stop. Additionally, if one sought refuge in a woman's hut the opponent was forced to abandon the fight. This would happen in cases that included not only domestic fights involving, for example, a daughter-in-law being beaten by her husband, but also communal-level conflicts where an enemy happened to be hounded by members of a given community.

All these techniques called for humility and sacrifice on the part of women. They also demanded that men respect the sanctity of motherhood and recognize women as major stakeholders in the peace process because of their special skills and affinity to life. Women's gender-specific roles as carriers and nurturers of life thus made their participation in a culture of peace credible.

The perception of women as major stakeholders in the peace process because of their affinity to life cuts across different cultures. Among the people of Papua New Guinea, women are associated with creation and peace. They are associated with good things in life. To the Dogan of Mali and the Banyarwanda, the woman is the agency that restores broken relationships. She represents a major unifying force. To the Luo of Kenya, the woman is the sacred source of life. She is, to the extent that is humanly possible, the giver and custodian of life – the reason why her womb is symbolically referred to as *Nyasach Dhako,* the god of life. Seeking refuge in a woman's house is in symbolic terms, therefore, an act of taking refuge in the very source of life. Conversely, the destruction or humiliation of a woman is symbolic of the destruction of society.

The traditional Luo society believed that because the woman as a carrier of life is an expression of God's love, if a society destroyed its women or refused to listen to them on issues of life and death, it would perish. They believed that to achieve enduring peace, women's participation was essential because they brought invaluable perspectives to ways of resolving problems in the areas of conflict and peace. There was also respect and recognition of women's special intuition and capacity to deal with the unknown.

Thus, in traditional Luo society, women participated actively in conflict resolution. They had too much at stake to avoid doing so. Quite often, the conflict or disagreement involved people who were equally dear to them: mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, husbands, sons- and daughters-in-law, prospective daughters- and sons-in-law and children. They were therefore totally committed to techniques which, as in the case of the Ghandian approach to non-violent struggle, involved 'constructive activities, conciliatory activities and non-violence' (UNESCO, 1994, p. 7). When utilizing these activities, the women were always concerned about how to reconcile the warring parties and not how to polarize them. They

were committed to the attainment of a credible peace and not just to a cessation of violence. Since their aim was to defeat the problem rather than the perceived opponents, the women were determined to have a situation where all categories involved in a dispute believed that they had won. They had to win as fathers and mothers, as sons and daughters, as brothers and sisters, as husbands and wives and as custodians of societal values and beliefs. By tackling conflict directly and earnestly in non-violent ways, women opened a door for fairness and a basis for change from aggression to peace.

These mediating techniques were also effective because they derived authority from existing institutional structures such as the family, the clan and council of elders. By their very nature, therefore, the techniques strengthened traditional systems and values. Problems arise, however, when one considers how these techniques can be used to achieve peace in the modern world, given that their nature is based on the interplay of traditional ways and cultural dynamics.

In this regard, women are still the carriers of life. They still have a strong moral obligation to say 'no' to violent ways and to the destruction of life. They still have the capacity to form networks that cut across ethnic, national and racial barriers. The increasing number of women's organizations and networks that have sprung up in war-torn parts of the world prove this. Typical examples are the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, Women for Peace (South Africa), the Somaliland Women's Organization, the Movement for Peace (Mozambique) and the Coalition of Rwandese Women.

Listening to women's voices

Unfortunately, women's voices are not being heard. Even gains made in the global women's movement to empower women, and to make their under-representation in positions of leadership visible, have failed to give these women the impact that their traditional counterparts enjoyed. From domestic situations in the home to high-level ones involving ethnic groups and nation-states, the natural response to conflict is increasingly violent. In fact, warring factions now resort to the systematic use of women and children as weapons of war. They maim, kill and subject them to unspeakable indignities such as mass rape. As Regina Maurice, the co-ordinator of the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, observes, 'Women's voices cannot be heard because there are louder voices than theirs, one of those voices being the voice of the gun.'

The traditional powerful image and voice of the woman has lost its legitimacy. As my informant said, 'Though people claim that women had no voice in the traditional society, they were listened to more than is done now that they have a voice.'

The other problem relates to the 'lack of fit' between the traditional

mediating techniques and contemporary values, beliefs and world-views. With the slow process of structural transformation in the nature of gender relations, women are no longer content to be skilful backbenchers who are not on equal footing with men in decision-making. They are convinced that women and men have equal value and deserve equal opportunities. Neither sex should thus have more representation than the other at any level of the decision-making process.

It seems to be the case, however, that women involved in the peace process have not yet developed a watertight strategy for confronting violence with a common vision and a total determination to win. They have not been able to use their voices, their political importance and their visibility to change and transform relations of tension between ethnic groups and nation-states. They must therefore continue to build alliances and develop strategies for coping with the tensions that come with any empowerment process. These women must, however, remember to tread carefully and to create paths, open avenues and build bridges of change and transformation, not those of conquest and dominance.

Notions of masculinity and femininity can only contribute to a culture of peace if women work towards reconciliation, understanding and respect for both genders. Dialogue and a participatory model must be embraced in the effort to redress issues of female dependency, male dominance and the vicious cycle of violence. This has to be done in creative ways that take cognizance of national and international contexts because when using power to transform, 'there's not a path, you build the road while you walk' (Ptanguy, 1996).

The Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace (United Nations, 1994) identified women's participation as fundamental to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. This was echoed and reinforced at the UNESCO Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace (Manila, April 1995).

A recognition of the fact that gender roles are cultural determinants that influence power distribution and activity profiles in society is essential to the attainment of a culture of peace. Consequently, it may not be enough to call on women to mobilize for participation and control in the peace process. From a gender perspective, working towards a culture of peace requires that men and women should not be polarized to see themselves as conflicting factions fighting for a cause for which there must be a winner and a loser, and the winner takes all.

The Kampala Action Plan and the African Platform for Action both call for women's active involvement in the peace process and the encouragement of factors which involve women in peace initiatives. The documents specifically identify reconciliation as a major component in the quest for the attainment of peace.

Perhaps the solution lies in men and women working together to build bridges across ethnic, religious, racial and political divides as a result of women's commitment to love and unity. Women committed to a culture of peace must use all the resources available to them to undertake rigorous peace education, training, awareness raising and mobilization for peaceful coexistence.

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Peace talks – peace tasks

1. **Traditional societies have been devalued and denigrated by colonialism and modern development ideology. Yet many feminist scholars, such as Adhiambo-Oduol does in this chapter, cite various ways in which traditional practice can serve as a means to resolve some seemingly intractable present problems and assist in the avoidance of violent conflicts. The questions below are intended to assist readers to inquire into ways to maximize the use of these practices and integrate them into the analyses offered by other authors in this volume.**
2. **How might we increase awareness of such practices so as to increase the repertoire of modes of resolution for dealing with the myriad and varied conflicts the world now faces? Could we develop a global inventory of traditional and other conflict-resolution procedures and processes to be used by the United Nations, national governments, international alliances, economic agencies, human rights advocates, and other citizens' groups and people's movements? How could such an inventory be used to deal with conflict and educate for non-violent conflict resolution?**
3. **In the picture drawn in Adhiambo-Oduol's chapter, women's roles as mothers are used to legitimate and initiate activities quite different from those based on maternal functions and identities as described by Valenzuela and Zdravomyslova. Can or should the respect for motherhood in various societies be the basis for validating women's methods of conflict resolution? Can these methods be integrated into the more formal, structured, often institutionalized procedures of conflict resolution now being applied? How might both of these categories of the traditional and the institutional methods of conflict resolution be adapted to interstate, interethnic, religious, ideological and other serious political and economic conflicts?**
4. **Stiehm and Birckenbach have argued for more gender balance in peacekeeping and peacemaking (i.e. diplomatic conflict resolution). How might we determine the following: the effects of gender balance in peacekeeping, peacemaking and policy-making and policy implementation; the potential uses of traditional, historical (i.e. successful methods of the past, both institutional and traditional) and various current non-violent methods of conflict resolution; and the mitigation and avoidance of violence? Are the methods described by Adhiambo-Oduol applicable to the situations addressed by Stiehm and Birckenbach?**
5. **Do African women's traditional methods of conflict resolution demonstrate the feminine approach Lindner advocates as an essential and necessary complement to the dominant masculine methods now widely applied in interstate and intrastate conflicts? Research the many and creative peace**

strategies that African women have and are undertaking in the face of the failures of African political establishments to deal effectively and non-destructively with the conflicts that plague the continent. How can this experience and expertise inform the larger, global women's peace movements? How can these models of women's leadership be transferred to other parts of the world?

Appendices

Appendix 1

Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace

United Nations Headquarters, New York, 5–9 December 1994
Division for the Advancement of Women
Secretariat for the Fourth World Conference on Women
Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development
United Nations, New York

I. Introduction

1. In the Annex to resolution 1990/15, containing the Recommendations and Conclusions arising from the First Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, the Economic and Social Council, in recommendation XX, encouraged the United Nations to increase the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes, including women as part of delegations to negotiate international agreements relating to peace and disarmament and establishing specific targets for the number of women participating in such delegations. An Expert Group Meeting to explore the topic was accordingly convened by the Division for the Advancement of Women, Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, and hosted at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from 5–9 December 1994.
2. The Expert Group Meeting pursued the goal of defining strategies to increase the participation of women in all aspects related to conflict resolution and peace within the United Nations and at national, regional and international levels. Specific measures were proposed to incorporate more women into conflict resolution mechanisms and to increase women's representation in decision-making in peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building. The Expert Group Meeting made specific recommendations establishing targets for the percentage of women in United Nations peace-keeping missions, decision- and policy-making within the United Nations Secretariat, innovative ways to create a Culture of Peace as well as creating the means whereby women's unique perspectives on peace can be incorporated into international negotiation and conflict resolution processes in order to create a more peaceful world.
3. The Secretary-General of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Mrs Gertrude Mongella, opened the Expert Group Meeting and stressed the

particular significance of this meeting in view of the critical importance of the decisions in the areas of peace, security, and conflict resolution for the future of the world. They result in choices which humankind makes concerning war and peace; public policy decisions on spending for military or civilian purposes; decisions leading to the proliferation of weapons and arms trade, or disarmament and conversion of military resources for peaceful purposes. The gross under-representation of women in these areas contributes significantly to the perpetuation of the *status quo* in which tremendous resources are spent on militarization; and war related destruction and violence escalates. Although men almost exclusively make these decisions, women continue to suffer their deadly consequences. It is time to change this situation through women's full and equal participation in the decision-making in these areas and integration of women's views and perspectives in all peace and security related activities.

II. Problems and issues

4. Women's participation in international peace and security processes is a prerequisite for achieving an enduring and authentic peace. Their absence has led to a distortion of concepts related to peace and security and to a narrowing of the processes for achieving peace and security. Women support the spirit of the UN Charter and the *Agenda for Peace* but we insist that in order for any peace process to be legitimate the fulfilment of the criteria of gender balance is essential. The use of force must be understood as a demonstration of failure. Resorting to violence is a mere tactic which can provide only a temporary respite; it is not a basis for peace.
5. It is critical that immediate action be taken at all levels to include women in the decision-making process and in all aspects of efforts for peace and security. Among the many reasons for doing this, two are the most compelling: (1) basic principles of equality and non-discrimination; and (2) the distinct perspectives women bring to resolving problems in the areas of international peace and security.
6. Regarding the first of these reasons, it should be noted that the preamble of the United Nations Charter reaffirms faith ' . . . in the equal rights of men and women . . . '. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women makes upholding the norm of equality an obligation for its states parties, and the norm has been incorporated by many states into their constitutions and laws.
7. It is evident that men's efforts have not been sufficient, that belief in the efficacy of violence is misplaced and that women's participation provides breadth and makes a qualitative difference in the nature and the effectiveness of policies related to peace and security. It is also evident that new approaches are urgently needed in many areas of the globe.
8. Peace is a complex, multifaceted set of circumstances that provides human security. Authentic security and comprehensive peace require that the

security of people takes priority over the security of states which have traditionally been defended by citizens and the force of arms. Arms are not only inadequate to the provision of authentic human security, but, in fact, present the most serious threat to its achievement. We believe that the interests of human security can best be served by an intentional transition from the culture of war, which now prevails, to a culture of peace.

9. Comprehensive peace from a woman's perspective is holistically understood to be the result of an integrated approach overcoming the varied and multiple forms of violence which plague human society and erode the bases of human security.

10. The central problem and issue of peace is violence and violation of rights. Violence is a multi-level problem manifest in a wide ranging but interrelated set of social circumstances. The violence against women in their homes, the abuse of children, the violence of economic deprivation, of political repression, of the demeaning of any human identity, of the degradation of the environment and nuclear weapons, the arms trade and violent conflict are all interrelated characteristics of the culture of war.

11. Peace is also comprised of interrelated components which must be considered both in their specificity and in their interrelationship. Thus, preventive diplomacy and measures, peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building must include assessment of their effect on all aspects of security, including armed conflict and social violence, development and the economic capacities to fulfil human needs, human dignity and identity, and the sustainability and integrity of the environment. Policies and actions that have negative effects on any of these elements cannot be considered authentic peace policies.

12. The core of all peace processes is disarmament and demilitarization which is both transparent and even-handed; also essential is the development of alternatives to violent conflicts. Moving from a culture of war to a culture of peace requires a comprehensive, precisely planned, carefully monitored process of disarmament at all levels of society and the demilitarization of all aspects of culture, together with the development of conflict resolution and a wide variety of methods for constructive conflict and for managing conflict in less violent and coercive ways.

13. We insist that lethal weaponry has no place in a culture of peace, not in its systems for protection, modes of dispute settlement, entertainment media, and, most especially, not in the toys that help to socialize children. The disarmament we call for encompasses the weapons systems that both threaten and actually take human life on a massive scale, the symbolic weapons that idealize historic events resulting in destruction of human life that are celebrated as military victories, those weapons used to subdue popular dissent and impede democracy, those acquired by insecure householders, and the weapons replicas with which our children play. Comprehensive peace requires comprehensive disarmament.

III. Agenda for Peace: women's perspective

14. We examine women's participation in decision-making on peace and security and their participation in the peace process first in the light of prescriptions put forward in the *Agenda for Peace*, but also utilizing women's definitions of security as involving a preference for constructive rather than destructive power. This entails a conception in which power is used for the benefit of all in order to achieve common goals. This depends upon a bottom-up rather than a top-down understanding of power.
15. The Secretary-General's 1992 *Agenda for Peace* equates conflict with violent conflict, yet many social scientists believe that while violent conflict is, indeed, destructive and dangerous, conflict itself may be useful and even essential as society moves towards justice and adapts to change.
16. The Secretary-General's *An Agenda for Peace* is organized around four concepts: *preventive diplomacy*, *peace-making*, *peace-keeping*, and *post-conflict peace-building*. The enumerated mechanisms tend to emphasize Chapter VII activities. We believe the primary emphasis and priority should be given to the peaceful settlement procedures of Chapter VI, and that increased energy and resources should be given to peace-building which averts violent conflict as well as to post-conflict peace-building. Further post-conflict peace-building must not be experienced as merely a reward for the cessation of violence.
17. Approaches derived from the *Agenda* have led to two distinct and contradictory trends. On the one hand, is the approach to achieving human and environmental security through comprehensive means rather than through military threat and force. This approach has been widely accepted as the UN mandate has broadened into agendas for development, human rights and ecology. On the other hand, the Security Council's definition of security in the post cold war period has also begun to move in the direction of achieving collective security through military means and towards greater reliance on peace enforcement. Again, peace-keeping has both expanded into activities such as election monitoring, and humanitarian relief, but the use of military force has also increased in peace-keeping operations. The peace enforcement trend represents a turning away from actions encompassed in Chapter VI to those permitted under Chapter VII of the Charter.
18. It is also important to be clear about the distinction between peace-keeping and peace enforcement. Peace-keeping requires the consent of the parties involved while enforcement does not. In peace-keeping, force is minimal and used only for self-defence; peace enforcement employs coercive force. Peace-keepers remain impartial; peace enforcement does not require impartiality.
19. We believe that primary emphasis and priority should be given to the peaceful settlement procedures of Chapter VI, and that increased energy and resources should be given to peace-building which averts violent

conflict as well as to post-conflict peace-building. Further, post-conflict peace-building must not be seen as a reward for the cessation of violence.

20. Peace-making is described as encompassing a wide range of activities from use of the World Court, through amelioration through humane assistance, third party mediation, economic sanctions and military force. Even if it may be true that peace-making can include the use of force, without an equitable resolution of the issues underlying a conflict, any peace will be temporary at best.

21. The *post-conflict peace-building* section of the *Agenda* includes activities that create mutual dependence and benefit in areas like transportation, the use of natural resources and programmes which break down barriers between nations such as cultural exchanges, youth and educational projects. These are significant actions that appropriately link crisis action with longer-term approaches. They build on solid conflict resolution literature which suggests that creating overarching goals is one of the best ways of resolving conflict.

22. Linking post-conflict peace-building to sustainable development is essential. Most important, though, is broadening the peace-building approach so that it averts the outbreak of the conflict. Peace-building must not be limited to post-conflict situations.

23. Any agenda for peace and security must take advantage of new techniques for both the constructive escalation of conflict and the deescalation of conflict. A variety of consensually based third party methods of conflict resolution techniques have been developed and have already begun to show success, for example, the techniques of non-violent struggle, demonstrated in the case of 'people power' in the Philippines, in the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe, and in the resistance to the *coup d'état* against the democratization process in Russia in 1992.

24. Finally, it is time for women and others to take on the myth of the efficacy of violence. There is an assumption about the division of what is appropriate for men and women that women should not act violently and that violence should be reserved for men, while non-violence is said to be female and ineffective. This myth is one of the obstacles to the participation of women in peace and security affairs. If women are to participate equally in decision-making for peace and security, this myth must be laid to rest and the efficacy of non-violence validated.

IV. Recommendations

25. ***a. Principles and criteria for action***

1. The equal rights of women and men enshrined in the United Nations Charter must be implemented by Governments, throughout the UN system, by other intergovernmental organizations, and by other institutions taking initiatives related to peace and security.

2. Individuals, Governments, the UN system, intergovernmental institutions and other institutions must be held both responsible and

accountable for upholding international standards for the promotion of human rights, including women's rights.

3. The purpose of all peace and security activities by all actors must be the avoidance, the reduction, and the elimination of violence in all its forms, including violence against women and all other violations of human rights, the violation of civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights, the degradation of the environment and armed conflict.

4. The creation of a culture of peace must be based on the principles of equality, participation, democracy and justice.

5. Indigenous initiatives and processes for conflict resolution and peace-building, especially those initiated by women, must be supported and integrated in the peace process. The persons who are most directly affected and involved must be the major interpreters and resolvers of problems of peace and security.

6. Global Citizenship must apply to both women and men and represents a human identity that complements other identities such as ethnicity and nationality, which provides individuals with the capacity to work together across national borders.

26. ***b. Actions***

We draw our action recommendations from four principal sources: (1) women's visions, competencies and experiences; (2) international standards of human rights and equality; (3) the United Nations Charter; and (4) the *Agenda for Peace*. The latter we deem to be only a starting point towards a more comprehensive view of peace. We see it as but one view which contributes to an enlarged conception of peace-keeping and peace-building. Specifically, implementation of the *Agenda for Peac*e must be strengthened and extended by a focus on those aspects of the Charter that provide for non-violent peace-keeping and conflict resolution.

27. From its inception, the United Nations system has defined respect for human rights as essential to peace and has defined equality between men and women as constituting a major index of that respect. Thus, our recommendations are largely grounded on the standards of the human rights of women. Finally, the newest element of international decision-making related to peace is the special contributions made by women's participation.

28. The recommendations are formulated in terms of specific actions, the actors who should undertake them and the time frame in which the actions should be taken. They are set forth in the following categories:

1. Women's Participation.
2. The Mitigation of Violence: Alternatives to Force and Military Action.
3. Fulfilling the Principles of Indigenous Legitimization.
4. The Elimination of Sexual Discrimination, Harassment and Abuse.
5. The Need to Include the Gender Dimension in Research and Training.

6. Call for Action.

29. *1. Women's participation*

1.1 The fulfilment of the Secretary-General's pledge to achieve a gender balance in the Secretariat and to achieve 50 per cent men and 50 per cent women in the United Nations in political posts by 1995 is essential to true maintenance of the United Nations moral authority and legitimacy. Therefore;

1.1.1 The Secretary-General should require that all lists of candidates for any post be comprised of equal numbers of men and women. For all political posts, the Secretary-General should request Governments to submit one male and one female candidate.

1.1.2 The Secretary-General, heads of divisions and directors of operations should request rosters of qualified women for every personnel search. Requests should be extended to member States, other intergovernmental organizations, women's groups of all kinds and professional associations.

1.1.3 The post of the Secretary-General should next be held by a woman. It is our belief that the post should alternately be held by a woman and a man.

1.2 Gender balance in all UN peace-related activities and the adequate representation of women's perspectives should be assured by:

1.2.1 Including at least 40 per cent women in all peace-keeping, peace-making, peace-building, preventive diplomacy, and preventive activities including fact-finding and observer missions and in all stages of peace negotiations.

1.2.2 Constituting all-female fact-finding and assistance teams when the situation can best be handled by women, such as instances in which there are cultural constraints, or there is a need to deal with problems related to violence against women, especially rape.

1.2.3 States should increase the percentage of women participating in all UN fora and activities concerned with peace and security. By 1996, delegations should be 30 per cent women, by 1998 40 per cent women, and by the year 2000 50 per cent women.

1.2.4 Women should be represented at all levels, especially the highest levels.

30. *2. The mitigation of violence: alternatives to force and military action*

Demilitarization should be pursued through a variety of strategies and actions including reduction of military expenditures, qualitative and quantitative disarmament and expansion of the range of possibilities for non-violent peace-keeping and conflict resolution.

2.1 The imbalance between short-term and long-term approaches to peace and security, between military and non-violent approaches and

methods, and between Chapter VI and Chapter VII approaches must be redressed by:

2.1.1 Increasing the budget and institutional capacity for non-violent conflict resolution.

2.1.2 Creating a special unit for third party conflict resolution.

2.1.3 Increasing the use of peace observation and non-violent interposition by the UN and regional organizations.

2.2 Military spending of national states and by the UN system should be decreased by a spending cap of 5 per cent of GDP each year, for five years. The funds saved should be applied to peace activities which should include gender sensitivity training, conflict resolution training, documenting women's non-violent strategies for change, and spending for human needs.

2.3 No member State should spend more than 1 per cent of GDP on its military, and no member State should have more than 0.5 per cent of its population under arms.

2.4 Weapons development, production, deployment and sales should be registered and ultimately eliminated. As a first step the United Nations Register of Arms Transfers should be expanded to include production, should be made obligatory and should include all types of weapons.

2.5 Determined efforts should be made to strengthen the disarmament process through initiatives including the destruction of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

2.6 States should be held accountable for all weapons production, sales and distribution conducted by their citizens, including illegal arms sales and transfers.

2.7 National and local Governments should impose regulations on hand guns and personal weapons.

2.8 Parents, teachers, child advocacy groups and similar organizations should undertake a public education campaign to call attention to the connection between violent play, toy weapons and the culture of violence.

2.9 UN Volunteers and volunteers from non-governmental organizations worldwide have made exceptional contributions to the establishment of peace. This is especially true at the community level and in situations in which military men could not have success, e.g. counselling rape victims. We call for women's increased participation in recognized volunteer roles.

2.10 The implementation of international humanitarian law should have intergovernmental oversight and women should be more involved in the implementation of humanitarian law.

31. ***3. Fulfilling the principles of indigenous legitimization***

3.1 Gender sensitive traditional practices of conflict resolution and reconciliation such as those cited in the Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace should be added to the repertoire of peace-making procedures available to the UN.

3.2 Indigenous analysis of problems and approaches to solutions which incorporate gender equalities should be the starting point and basis of peace-making and peace-building processes.

3.3 Priority should be given to local and regional responses to the settlement of disputes, resolution of conflicts and efforts to contain violence. Such recognition and support should be given to indigenous women's initiatives and creative local actions for peace, which are undertaken at great risk and in areas of extremely violent conflict.

3.4 Conflict resolution and peace negotiations must be planned and conducted together with those affected. All settlements and agreements must be evaluated in terms of the effect on 'people on the ground' in a conflict area. Fundamental causes of conflicts, imbalances and inequities must be addressed in any settlement if it is to be authentically peaceful and enduring. In the same way post-conflict reconciliation must be genuine if peace is to endure.

3.5 Creative ways of disrupting the cycle of violence may include: (1) war crimes trials (of victors as well as losers); (2) the use of Truth Commissions with or without accompanying amnesty or exile; (3) National Peace Commissions which provide for active participation by all citizens in the formulation of steps towards national reconciliation; and (4) the use of elections.

3.6 Military demobilizations must provide for the integration of military members in civilian society without creating an adverse impact on women in areas including employment, education and housing.

3.7 An early warning system is required within the UN that would emphasize the link between human rights and security with specific focus on women in crisis areas, particularly the violations of their rights. The Division for the Advancement of Women and the UN Centre for Human Rights should be strengthened with an early warning capacity for this purpose.

3.8 Moral responsibility for turning society from a culture of war to a culture of peace frequently requires us to dissent from prevailing policy. Men should be taught what many women have already learned: an individual always has the right and capacity to say 'no'.

32. ***4. Elimination of sexual discrimination, harassment and abuse***

4.1 Rape in the conduct of war should be defined as a serious war crime comparable to terrorism or torture and thus added to Article 75 of the Fourth Geneva Protocol.

4.2 Gender sensitivity training should be compulsory for all personnel (male and female) in peace and security related activities. Such training is the primary responsibility of troop contributing countries, but should be re-enforced and augmented by the United Nations for all peace-keeping operations.

4.3 Cultural specific aspects of such training should be included at the site of an operation. Women in UN operations should be bound by UN principles but should not be bound by discriminatory local restrictions.

4.4 Compliance with gender balance requirements and achievement of guidelines and goals should be considered in all job performance reviews and should weigh heavily in the evaluation that determines tenure and promotion throughout the UN system.

4.5 Because the legitimacy and efficiency of missions is diminished if women are not included, all training programmes for peace activities whether organized by the United Nations, States, other intergovernmental organizations, NGOs or private groups should involve the equal participation of men and women.

33. ***5. The need to include the gender dimension in research and training***

5.1 In any peace process the UN must support and integrate indigenous initiatives and processes for conflict resolution and peace-building, especially those initiated by women. The persons who are most directly involved and affected must be the major interpreters and resolvers of problems related to peace and security.

5.2 The gender dimension of peace and security issues must be considered in the analysis/diagnosis and in the prescription/resolution of policy formulation.

5.3 Peace research, whether it is conducted by individuals, by private agencies, by academic institutions or by non-, inter- or governmental institutions should address gender issues and mainstream those issues.

5.4 In providing governmental and intergovernmental support to research institutions and agencies priority should be given to those institutions which implement 5.3.

5.5 Peace education should be part of literacy training and should be implemented by member States and by local communities from early childhood education through university.

5.6 The Decade for Human Rights Education should place special emphasis on the various issues related to the human rights of women and to the integral and essential relationship between those rights and peace.

5.7 Research should be conducted by the United Nations, NGOs and peace research institutes to reveal: (1) the extent, nature and effectiveness of women's participation in international, national and local peace processes and movements; (2) traditional mechanisms for the containment of violence and resolution of conflict; and (3) grass-roots concepts of peace and security.

5.8 A report should be prepared on the best organization, the best technology, and the financial support required for a worldwide women's TV channel and radio band. This will assist in the prevention of violence by serving as an early warning system.

5.9 Women and peace should be designated as a specific area of research within the UN, and in particular in the UN organs specifically mandated to conduct research in the area of the Advancement of Women.

34. *6. Call for action*

The experts gathered at this meeting are committed to the implementation of these recommendations and the realization of the goals stated here.

They urge the United Nations to take the following actions:

6.1 To disseminate this report and its recommendations to community action groups, grass-roots movements and concerned citizen and professional associations.

6.2 To create rosters of women, to design strategy guidelines and to conduct training sessions to facilitate the implementation of these recommendations by States, appropriate organs of the United Nations and others concerned.

6.3 To make this report available to the NGO Forum to be held in conjunction with the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing.

6.4 To arrange for the review and assessment of the implementation of these recommendations including the reconvening of the expert group in the latter quarter of 1996.

V. Input to the Platform for Action

35. The Expert Group Meeting recommended the following text for input into the Platform for Action:

(A) Objective

36. To achieve comprehensive peace and authentic security in all areas of human life. The lack of peace in the world makes it evident that belief in the myth of the efficacy of violence is misplaced. New approaches to peace and security are urgently needed. Women's participation in these approaches is a prerequisite for achieving an enduring and authentic peace.

(B) Gender balanced participation in peace and security activities

37. The absence of women in peace and security decision and policy making and action has severely limited the capacity of the United Nations in peace and security activities. We call for the immediate redress of the gross gender imbalance by specific action to ensure equal participation of women numerically and qualitatively in all UN fora and peace activities. To fulfil this imperative we propose:

1. The next Secretary-General should be a woman.

2. All lists of candidates for any political posts, particularly those in the areas of peace and security, should comprise an equal number of women and men, and governments should be requested to submit one female and

one male candidate.

3. States should increase the percentage of women participating in all UN fora and activities concerned with peace and security. By 1996 delegations should include 30 per cent women; by 1998 40 per cent women; and by the year 2000 50 per cent women.

4. Women should comprise at least 40 per cent of personnel in all preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building, including fact-finding and observer missions, and in all stages of peace negotiations.

(C) Elimination of violence

38. The central problem and issue of peace is violence and violation of rights. To counteract violence in all its forms, we propose that:

1. States should decrease their military spending by 5 per cent of GDP each year for five years to release resources for peace activities.

2. No State should spend more than 1 per cent of GDP on its military, and no State should have more than 0.5 per cent of its population under arms.

3. Weapons development, production, deployment and sales should be registered and ultimately eliminated. As a first step, the UN Register of Arms Transfers should be expanded to include production, should be made obligatory, and should include all types of weapons.

4. States should be held accountable for all weapons production, sales and distribution conducted by their citizens, including illegal arms sales and transfers.

5. A special UN unit for third party conflict resolution should be created.

6. Rape in the conduct of war should be considered a serious war crime comparable to terrorism and torture and should be included in the 1977 additional protocol to the Geneva Convention (Article 75, Fourth Protocol).

7. The UN should use creative ways of disrupting the cycle of violence, including:

a. War crimes trials (of victors as well as losers).

b. Truth Commissions.

c. National Peace Commissions which include the participation of all citizens in the steps towards national reconciliation.

d. The use of elections as a substitute for continued violence.

(D) Fostering a culture of peace

39. In fostering a culture of peace women are indispensable. Teaching peace must be as important as teaching reading, writing and mathematics, and should be available to all members of society, particularly children and young people. We consider this to be an important element for transforming the global culture of war to a culture of peace. We propose:

1. Gender sensitive traditional practices of conflict resolution and reconciliation such as those in the Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace should be added to the repertoire of peace-making procedures utilized by the UN.
2. Gender sensitivity training should be compulsory for all personnel (male and female) working in peace and security related areas. This should be the responsibility of troop contributing countries, augmented by the United Nations for all peace-keeping operations.
3. Support to research institutions and agencies should take into account the degree to which their programmes and projects include gender aspects of peace and security issues.
4. UN organs with specific mandates in research and training for the Advancement of Women should designate Women and Peace as a specific area for ongoing research.
5. A specific programme on women's human rights and their relation to peace should be included in the programme of action of the Decade for Human Rights Education.
6. The establishment of a worldwide women's TV channel and radio band should be explored, including the organization, technology and financial resources that would be required to put this into effect as part of an early warning system to prevent violence.
7. Research by the UN and peace research institutes should focus on:

a. The extent, nature and effectiveness of women's participation in international, national and local peace process movements.

b. Traditional mechanisms for the containment of violence and resolution of conflict.

c. Women's concepts of peace and security, particularly at the grass roots level.

8. Grass roots and other volunteers make a significant contribution to peace and security activities which has to be recognized and supported.

VI. Organization of work and attendance

(A) Election of officers

40. The following officers were elected:
Chairperson: Maj Britt Theorin
Vice-Chairperson: Missouri Sherman-Peter
Rapporteur: Betty Reardon

(B) Organization of presentations

41. The consultant to the Meeting presented her working paper on 'Peace-keeping: Men's and Women's Work', giving a feminist perspective on the history and main obstacles to women's participation and decision-making in peace-keeping within the United Nations.
42. A paper on 'Women in International Decision-making: Peace and Security

Areas', prepared by the Division for the Advancement of Women, was presented by Ms Dorota Gierycz, representing the United Nations Secretariat. The paper presented background information on women in decision-making in government worldwide, peace and security areas, including peace-keeping at the international level as well as the difference which women make to the decisions and activities in these areas if they are represented in adequate numbers.

43. The eight experts presented summaries of their papers which were distributed to all participants.

44. A decision was taken not to break up into working groups but rather to work collectively as a group on the main issues and topics.

45. Given the inter-relatedness of these issues, participants decided to group their final recommendations under actions to be taken in the following areas: Women's Participation; The Mitigation of Violence; Alternatives to Force and Military Action; Fulfilling the Principles of Indigenous Legitimization; The Elimination of Sexual Discrimination, Harassment and Abuse; and The Need to Include the Gender Dimension in Research and Training.

(C) Attendance

46. The Meeting was attended by 1 consultant, 8 experts, 31 observers from organizations of the United Nations system, 9 from research and academic institutions and non-governmental organizations.

(D) Documentation

47. Documents issued for the Expert Group Meeting are listed in Annex 1 to the present report.

(E) Adoption of the report

48. The Report of the Meeting, including the recommendations of the working groups, was adopted in plenary on Friday, 9 December 1994.

Annex I. List of documents

Information papers

GAP/1994/INF.1	Programme of Work
GAP/1994/INF.2	Information for Participants
GAP/1994/INF.3	List of Participants
GAP/1994/INF.4	List of Documents

Working papers

22 November 1994

GAP/1994/WP.1	*Balancing Co-operation and Critique: Preliminary Considerations on a Feminist View of the Agenda for Peace*, prepared by Hanne-Margret Birckenbach.
GAP/1994/WP.2	*A Feminist Critique of 'Agenda for Peace'*, prepared by Betty Reardon.
GAP/1994/WP.3	*Peace-keeping: Men's and Women's Work*, prepared by Judith Hicks Stiehm.

28 November 1994

GAP/1994/WP.4	*Gender and the Agenda for Peace*, prepared by Jacqueline Adhiambo-Oduol.

2 December 1994

GAP/1994/WP.5	*Gender and the Agenda for Peace and a Prospectus on the Topic*, prepared by Maj Britt Theorin.
GAP/1994/WP.6	*Women in International Decision-making: Peace and Security Areas*, prepared by Dorota Gierycz in collaboration with the Division for the Advancement of Women.

7 December 1994

GAP/1994/WP.7	*Gender and the Peace Agenda*, prepared by Maria Soledad Garagorri Gottfried.
GAP/1994/WP.8	*Gender and the Agenda for Peace*, prepared by Shalati Sheila Simango.

Background papers

5 December 1994

GAP/1994/BP.1	*Case Study: Civil Affairs – UNPROFOR*, prepared by Yolande Ouger.

GAP/1994/BP.2	*UNICEF Emergency Office Discussion Paper for Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace*, prepared by Angela Raven-Roberts.
GAP/1994/BP.3	*Agenda for Peace: Women's Volunteer Contributions*, prepared by UN Volunteers.
GAP/1994/BP.4	*Women as Agents of Change in Peace-keeping Operations: A Voice from the UN Peace-keeping Mosaic (AUNOMSA Perspective)*, prepared by Antonia Cubeiro.
GAP/1994/BP.5	*Gender and the Agenda for Peace*, prepared by the International League for Peace and Freedom.
GAP/1994/BP.6	*Notes on a Personal Experience of a Woman in Peace-keeping*, prepared by Margaret Banerji.
GAP/1994/BP.7	*Miscellaneous Paper: Some Proposals on Women in Peace-keeping*, prepared by Jeannie Peterson.
GAP/1994/BP.8	*Miscellaneous Paper for the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace*, prepared by Ingeborg Breines, UNESCO.
GAP/1994/BP.9	*Gender and UN Agenda for Peace and Security*, prepared by Carolyn Stephenson.
GAP/1994/BP.10	*Gender Issues in Emergency/Relief Food Aid Operations Raised in World Food Programme*, prepared by Els Kocken, World Food Programme.

Appendix 2

Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace

UNESCO, Manila, 25–28 April 1995
Consultative Committee on Women

Introduction

1.1 Background and purpose of the meeting

The Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace was an unprecedented and promising new form of expert meeting, involving a highly diverse and strongly committed group whose expertise spanned from abstract theory to practical grass roots actions. They followed a process which took full advantage of their diversity, and found the basis of commonality from which a sense of community emerged, igniting a belief in the practical possibility of a culture of peace. The participants both experts and observers left the meeting with a common conviction that women have a unique, essential and largely untapped contribution to make to the conceptualization and realization of a culture of peace, and that UNESCO should emphasize the potential of that contribution in the development and implementation of the Culture of Peace Programme.

Another unique feature of the meeting was its collaborative nature. Observers from UN organizations, NGOs and UNESCO National Commissions participated fully in all the discussions. It was also collaborative in its organization, exemplifying the spirit of partnership it came to advocate in its recommendations and served as a model of the institutional co-operation that contributes to peace.

The meeting was convened by UNESCO, in accordance with decision 11.1 of the 27th General Conference, in co-operation with the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines and the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW). It was in particular a step in the preparations of UNESCO's Consultative Committee on Women for the Fourth World Conference on Women, 4–15 September 1995. In relation to UNESCO's ongoing work towards integrating women's views into policy-making and action for a culture of peace, this meeting equally contributed to the conceptual background for the top level consultation of

women political leaders and other outstanding personalities that UNESCO proposed to hold on the eve of the World Conference on Women.

The meeting was also integral to UNESCO's efforts to foster and promote a culture of peace through its Culture of Peace Programme as well as to the DAW's preparations for the 40th session of the Commission on the Status of Women special theme on 'Education for Peace' and its programme to implement its various mandates on Women and Peace. The links between the Manila meeting and the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace, organized by DAW in New York 5–8 December 1994, were underlined, as was the importance of these and future efforts to foster a culture of peace built on true equality between women and men.

This expert group meeting aimed especially to explore, identify and describe women's aspirations, achievements and frustrations in their efforts to build, make, and sustain peace. It sought to examine the dynamics of gender socialization processes and how they stimulate or hamper the development of a culture of peace; to review some of the recent actions women have taken for peace; to assess the international climate and structures that determine peace and influence culture in light of women's participation and influences; and to make recommendations to strengthen and extend women's contributions and participation. It further aimed to lay the foundation for a more extensive agenda for research and action.

1.2 A process oriented approach

The participants conceived of this meeting as an ongoing process, and this report as an interim statement of but a few of the most constructive ideas and recommendations that women they represented would wish to share at this time. They reaffirmed a commitment to their current efforts for peace, a commitment that was extended to work on the common tasks they had identified, to pursue the ongoing dialogue essential to the achievement of these tasks and to other such endeavours that women will undertake in the struggle to bring about a culture of peace. They took also from the meeting an affirmation of the potential of dialogue across cultures and political positions and a renewed hope in the solidarity to be built when commonalities of values and purpose facilitate the negotiation of differences.

Although conceived primarily as a contribution to the preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women, the meeting was also an important step in the processes set in motion by those earlier meetings organized by UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme as well as by the DAW; the former sought to articulate the nature of a culture of peace and the latter to define the distinct perspectives and analyses women bring to issues of security and peace-keeping, specifically to the concepts outlined in the Secretary-General's *Agenda for Peace*. The Manila meeting was intended

to bring the insights of those meetings together and extend them into the ongoing endeavour to establish equality between men and women and deepen the understanding of the consequences of women's exclusion from those arenas of power which determine questions of peace and security. Thus conceived in relation to a larger, long range process, this expert group meeting also contributed to developing appropriate processes to relate its own discussions and conclusions to the larger processes of harnessing the energies inherent in global diversity to direct them towards the construction of a culture of peace.

The organization and procedures of the meeting were process oriented and provided opportunities for reflections on the process of the discourse as it proceeded. The fundamental tone for an open discussion was established by participatory discussions informally conducted on the evening before the formal opening by the facilitators, psychologist Evelin Lindner and psychoanalyst Afaf Mafouz. Similar discussions were integrated into the inaugural session to encourage openness in the dialogue and reflection on the task and the process through which it was pursued. These reflections continued throughout the meeting revealing the comprehensive and complex approach to peace that has previously been observed in women's peace actions, and manifested an inclusive attitude that accommodated the diversity and facilitated the mediation of some of the differences inevitable in a group of such diversity. The experts and observers together formed a temporary but supportive community for the rich and varied exchanges of the meeting. They acknowledged the need to devise and experiment with new forms of discourse to transform differences from a source of division to a source of strength.

1.3 Inaugural session

The meeting was initiated by opening statements of welcome and challenges to the group from the host and the convenors: Dr Lourdes R. Quisumbing, member of the UNESCO Executive Board and Secretary-General of the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines; Ms Ingeborg Breines, Special Adviser on Women, Gender and Development to the Director-General of UNESCO; Ms Natalia Zakharova, Senior Social Affairs Officer, the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women; and Dr Patricia B. Licuanan, Chair of the Commission for the Status of Women and Academic Vice-President of the Ateneo de Manila, who spoke on behalf of the host country. The organizers highlighted some of the factors of influence and key issues to be addressed in the discussion.

Ms Breines situated the meeting in relation to UNESCO's Medium Term Strategy 1996–2001, in particular with respect to the priority given to women and the importance of the intersectoral Culture of Peace Programme. The background paper opened the substantive discussion and

provided a common point of departure. Violence against women and violence used for social and political purposes, as noted in previous expert reports and research, is interrelated. Starting from this basic analysis, the need for coherent images and systematic thinking regarding a culture of peace was cited as one of the main reasons for engaging in these explorations. If peace is more than the absence of war, a true culture of peace requires: radical new forms and terms of interaction between individuals that go beyond the constraints of traditional male and female roles; reform of the socialization processes that reinforce the roles; and changes in the structures of society which uphold them.

Ms Zakharova observed that although peace has been a main concern of the UN programme for the advancement of women since 1975, the exclusion of women from peace and security policy making is still a 'glaring fact'. The construction of peace is a permanent, multidimensional task that includes rooting out the culture of war and violence against women. The equality of women in decision-making could affect qualitative changes that would contribute to the construction process.

Dr Licuanan gave an exposé of various threats to peace that were to be addressed by the experts, including internal armed conflict on several fronts. In the Philippines, as in many areas, these conflicts can be traced to the structural violence of poverty, economic exploitation and political exclusion. Thus the issue of peace emerges within the framework of inter-related struggles for social justice, national sovereignty, democracy and recently, ecological balance, sustainable development and gender equality in both public and private spheres. In considering women's contribution to a culture of peace, she asserted, we must understand the impact of war and violence on women as direct victims in assault or sexual exploitation, and as indirect victims when social services are sacrificed for military expenditures. We must actualize the possibilities for women's contribution to peace as well as their roles as creators and transmitters of culture and values.

1.4 Elections

Patricia Licuanan was elected Chair of the meeting, Zarina Khan and Julienne Ondziel Vice-Chairs. Betty Reardon was elected Rapporteur, and the drafting committee included Corinne Kumar and María Elena Valenzuela.

2. Substance and discussion

The presentations and exchanges produced a framework that led the participants to their conclusions and recommendations and provided a working map of obstacles to and possibilities for a culture of peace.

2.1 Some characteristics of a culture of violence: problems and obstacles

Participants identified what they considered to be the characteristics of a

culture of violence, the problems and obstacles that impede a culture of peace, noting gender inequality as a most crucial obstacle.

The culture of violence, they reflected, is rooted in practices of authoritarianism and coercion. While women as well as men are enculturated into the culture of violence, and some women are complicit in systems of gender discrimination and hierarchical sexual divisions of labour, it is women who bear the brunt of violence.

The world view of the culture of violence has taken rationalization to its limits, legitimizing what is neither ethically nor legally legitimate, refusing to see the social and environmental consequences of decisions and actions. This leads to a technocratic and instrumental view of truth and violence. It emphasizes the scientific and rational to the exclusion of other ways of knowing, and devalues the richness of women's contributions, the cultures of past generations and of the marginalized. The claim to universalism of this world view denies the diversity of humanity.

The case studies demonstrated that many types of violence pervade human societies and brutalize women. Among them are physical, institutional, cultural and environmental violence, manifested in such problems as the destruction of cultures; 'ethnic cleansing'; assaults on the natural environment; civil embargoes that deprive and destabilize civilian populations; and humiliation and control of people. There is, as well, individual, social, economic and political violence, constraining social norms; and oppressive cultural practices.

Among the most evident manifestations of a culture of violence are armed conflicts exacerbated by dependence on weapons for security and escalating transfers of weaponry; intensified levels of physical abuse and political violence; and gross violations of human rights, including terrorism and torture. Even in democracies, wartime culture often becomes undemocratic. Within some armed forces, dehumanizing techniques are used for training and disciplinary purposes. In some cases negative images of women are routinely utilized as part of a deliberate process of constructing and sustaining an institutional culture that links masculinity to domination and aggressivity. Women, supposedly non-participants in armed conflicts, suffer intensely from this violence and aggression. Instances of organized rape and enforced prostitution are increasingly evident as part of military strategy and warfare.

The culture of violence tramples human rights and defies the norms that the international community has established to protect them. The human rights of women are systematically violated on the basis of sex. Gross violations of international law often go unacknowledged and unpunished, instigating additional cycles of violence.

The culture of violence distinguishes a hierarchy of value among people, so that communities, civilizations and genders are perceived not as simply different but as inferior or superior. Viewing others as different from

ourselves in such a manner justifies discriminatory treatment. Prejudice, as a product of socialization, leads to the acceptance of repression, and, in some cultures, the identification of women as the property of men. Violence against women is justified in the name of 'cultural integrity'. Contrary to international standards, violence against women is seen as belonging to the domestic realm, the personal domain. Thus these crimes are made a private matter, refused their public face and denied their political significance. Within various human environments, the individual is socialized to approach conflict in a way that provokes, escalates and legitimizes attempts to solve disputes through violence. This is compounded by a failure to learn from the tragedies of war and violence; a failure to conceive of co-operative solutions to problems and alternative forms of non-violent struggle and conflict resolution; and by a refusal to confront responsibility for violence from our own individual, group or national histories, continuing the cycle of retaliation and blame. Thus violence is reproduced and the ensuing cycles of violence become embedded in social practices.

Colonialism, an integral part of the world view of the culture of violence, placed a destructive imprint on large parts of the world. It accentuated the violent aspects of pre-colonial cultures and traditions, ignoring repressive traditional practices such as 'honour killing', domestic confinement and genital mutilation while undermining those that provided dignity and autonomy to women. The consequences of this conquest linger; among them the loss of old ways of conflict resolution at family and community levels and traditional means of post-conflict reconciliation. At the moment of independence, many of the former colonies were drawn into the nation state system and left without indigenous means of handling their internal conflicts. Women's traditional roles were devalued and they were left vulnerable to the negative consequences of 'modernism' and without the protection against pre-colonial forms of oppression that is called for by international standards on the rights of women.

A central element of the understanding of the culture of violence as it affects the global economy are structures of exploitation that perpetuate the extraction of resources from the developing world. Because of unfair terms of trade and the continuing problem of unmanageable burdens of external debt, there is a net flow of resources from the poor to the rich. The majority of the poor, throughout the world, are women. This development model is increasingly causing the impoverishment of the majority of the world's peoples and increases the economic disparities between people in all areas of the world. Structural adjustment programmes, and the consequent globalization of the market economy, introduced by the international financial institutions and implemented with the consent of the national governments as a means towards debt management, were themselves seen as a form of violence, closely connected to the sources of violent conflict heavily impacting on women.

This situation and most of the manifestations of a culture of violence identified by the participants indicate the lack of gender perspectives in policy making and call for a rapid and substantial increase in the political participation of women. Gender inequality and inequity are themselves major causes of the culture of violence, and mechanisms for its perpetuation.

2.2 A culture of peace: aspirations and visions

The participants moved from a diagnosis of the culture of war to sharing their aspirations for a culture of peace. Women's aspirations of and actions for peace are largely inspired by the concerns, hopes, values, priorities and perspectives acquired in the performance of their traditional roles of care giving and cultural mediation. These experiences have prepared women for an important role in transforming a culture of violence into a culture of peace, and have enabled them to conceptualize the characteristics of a culture of peace.

The participants elaborated their aspirations within a framework of equality between women and men, respectful of differences; acknowledged that neither is in any way, morally, spiritually or intellectually superior to the other, but that each has distinct contributions to make to a culture of peace.

The participants' common aspirations encompassed the absolute and essential need for respect of the human person, female and male, of all ages and from all walks of life.

The aspirations woven into their visions of a culture of peace were expressed as a set of conditions that would prevail in a culture of peace.

- A culture of peace would be a culture of freedom and universal respect, upholding all human rights and eliminating double standards. It can only be achieved within the context of equality between women and men.
- A culture of peace would be a 'festival of diversities', which enrich the possibilities of achieving the human potential beyond accepting or tolerating difference, it would be based upon the diversities of different cultures and appreciation of 'the other'; meaning complete refusal of dominance, exploitation and discrimination in all human relations and social structures.
- A culture of peace would acknowledge the responsibilities of solidarity, in which the relief of the suffering of any people is taken to be the responsibility of all the world community. In a culture of peace peoples are neither exploitable nor expendable. A culture of peace assures the dignity and the well-being of the vulnerable.
- A culture of peace should be built upon the recognition of the realities of global interdependence, common human needs and common responsibility for the human future. There would be an end to the 'insider–outsider' mentality. In a culture of peace the human person is

enabled to develop the full range of human capacities unlimited by constraints of gender or other aspects of human identities.

- In a culture of peace persons would be educated to value human solidarity, mutuality and justice, and be provided with the skills that enable them to renounce violence as a means to achieve social or individual purposes. Values education would be pursued within the context of a global community that transcends the concept of separate competitive societies. The planetary society is but one unit, all is essentially 'inside' and education must develop consciousness of this unity to serve as a deterrent to violence.
- In a culture of peace power would be derived from shared capacities and responsibilities. Such a culture must be legally, politically, socially and morally inclusive, and power shared equally between women and men. Through a process of empowerment new strengths can be gathered for the achievement of the task of peace-building.
- In a culture of peace conflicts need not produce violence; differences would be mediated in a spirit of mutuality; and disputes settled in ways which reconcile and strengthen communities. A culture of peace would recover and apply traditional, indigenous and women's modes of conflict resolution and notions of communitarian justice. In a culture of peace there would be a place for both ancient wisdom and new knowledge.
- In a culture of peace there would be space to express human creativity and share human feelings. There would be place for the sacred, acknowledging that 'the grove of trees is sacred, the river is sacred and we ourselves . . . are sacred'.
- A culture of peace, valuing justice and pursuing sustainable development within a concept of sustainability that respects the integrity of cultures and the natural environment, would produce a social order based on equal human rights, the human dignity of all persons and reverence for living creatures and life systems.

2.3 Women working for peace: assertions and actions

The valuable insights into peace processes that the experts sought to identify and clarify were gained from the personal experiences and case studies presented. The group, heterogeneous as it was, provided examples that were rich, varied and inspired hope. Of the many cases cited in the meeting, those reported are only a few of the greater number of women's actions now unfolding. The descriptions of the actions reflected the diagnosis of obstacles to and aspirations for a culture of peace the participants articulated together.

Several sets of significant assertions served as a foundation for the discussions of actual cases of women's peace actions, and the visions of a culture of peace that inspired them.

Cultural relativism, some participants contended, continues to serve as the justification of discrimination and of daily acts of violence against

women that clearly violate international standards of human rights. The necessity of daily de facto implementation of the human rights of women was constantly emphasized. Social transformation towards a culture of peace therefore requires a new gender contract to replace patriarchal structures and unequal gender relations with authentic and practical equality between women and men. Neither can there be a culture of peace without basic changes in access to power and in governance through further development of civil society and participatory democracy. Women can play a leading role in this respect as, historically, they have not participated in the creation and operation of systems of power and governance.

Their absence has been particularly damaging in the spheres of policy making on security and peace-keeping where narrow concepts of security and a limited repertoire of peace-keeping and defence have emphasized the military and weaponry. Some felt that dependence upon weaponry has become a virtual addiction of both the powerful and the fearful, perpetuating the costly and dangerous cycle of arms development, production and proliferation. It makes conflict more dangerous as it draws resources from the relief of human suffering from economic deprivation and militarizes global culture.

To move towards security policies less dependent on weapons and more reliant on skills of conflict resolution, requires broad-scale peace education. The full range of human capacities must be drawn upon to construct a culture of peace. The participants asserted that educational systems, in the spirit of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and UNESCO's Constitution, should actively ensure that education be directed to the formation of the human person, and the full development of individual capacities of women and men. Experiments and projects to that end were described, illustrating that the formation of the human person is the consequence of an interaction of culture, society and the human personality. Education of the intellect, the emotions and the will, some argued, should include concepts, values and skills for peace-building. The human and social requirements of a culture of peace require an holistic form of education. Education must systematically prepare people to bring a culture of peace into being.

The variety of women's particular actions for peace described in the meeting did not obscure the strong commonalities that could be identified in the midst of the diversity. The following examples and the ensuing discussion indicated that women focus particularly on actions with transformative potential. They appear to find this potential in four common spheres: (i) conflict prevention and resolution; (ii) cultural resistance and community construction through confidence building and social bonding; (iii) creativity released from the limits of ethnic hatred, social stratification and confining gender roles; and (iv) cross-cultural conversation and exchanges.

Reflecting on the world view that conditions the culture of violence, the participants saw that a new world view might be derived from cross-cultural and cross-ideological exchanges and dialogues respectful of plurality and differences. Especially in areas of potential conflict, women now organize to revive the rich array of cultural practices for peace, alternative conflict resolution procedures, different modes of governance and styles of parenting. Some women are actually devising cultural practices and symbols as alternatives to authoritarian and patriarchal symbols and rituals that separate peoples, alienating one culture from another and humans from the natural order. Indigenous peoples, many of whom such as the Lakota of North America still hold the Earth sacred, have much to contribute to the practices and symbols of a culture of peace.

Women throughout the world have encouraged and practised non-violent conflict resolution. African women's voices for peace have called for dialogue and peaceful conflict resolution in many countries including the Sudan, Uganda, South Africa, Somalia, Kenya, the Congo, Algeria, Liberia, and Rwanda. They have done this by drawing on their recognized moral authority and credibility as carriers and nurturers of life to call for respect and reconciliation as the basic principle for peaceful co-existence.

In the Sudan, the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, a non-political, non-partisan movement, has projected a powerful image and voice of the Sudanese women as a significant force in the peace process. At an inaugural conference in August 1994, the Sudanese women sent a strong message to the society in general and men in particular that women are 'the symbol of love and unity'. Their efforts and those of other women in Africa referred to in the Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace demonstrate women's potential and capacities for non-violent conflict resolution techniques. They clearly show that women's participation in the peace process can make a qualitative difference, and that formulae for sustainable peace must be founded on cross-cultural respect for indigenous analysis of problems and approaches.

In the Congo, following the conflicts provoked by the election results in June 1993, women's actions have revealed their ingenuity in conflict resolution. The pacifist march organized by the National Committee of Women for Peace in December 1993 and the campaign of organized meetings between politicians, civil servants, the military, religious leaders and representatives of civil society aiming at reconciling the protagonists through the promotion of inter-community dialogue, resulted in a change in mind-sets of the women and men who had taken for granted the necessity of violence.

In Algeria (as in other countries) women pay with their lives for their attachment to peace and their challenges to authoritarianism. More than 300 women are recorded to have been assassinated, girls and women have been raped and subjected to various forms of fundamentalist

harassment. Despite the terror, and the atrocities, women courageously pursue their struggle for peace to return to Algeria. They participate by the thousand in pacifist demonstrations and they continue to work and send their children to school.

Old forms of colonialism, some traditional practices and more recent forms of economic exploitation have tended to worsen gender inequalities in Africa and other parts of the world. The plight of Africa today is a devastating consequence of the conditions and structures of a culture of violence. The participants affirmed the need for solidarity with African women, and the possibilities for their empowerment through the structural changes that could release their great capacities to transform their own societies.

In the countries of the former Yugoslavia, cultural resistance to hatred has been manifest even in areas of armed conflict. In Bosnia, some women's groups organized themselves in solidarity. At the beginning of the war, they fought to open 'emergency' schools everywhere, so that children and young people could go on with learning, going back to 'normal' life, and envisioning the future. For Bosnian women, school is the last place of resistance against madness and hatred, the last place of inner reconstruction. Women and young students have been trained in crash courses to work with pupils in schools to help children develop alternatives to turning their suffering into acts of violence.

Some of the women of Croatia have taken active roles as the designers and explorers of mechanisms, modes and methods of reconciliation, often seeking to transform obstacles into advantages. They have developed guidance centres for displaced persons, programmes for developing constructive activities for demobilized men, networks for peace and the dissemination of knowledge conducive to a culture of peace, especially by introducing the promotion of a culture of peace into schools and universities.

Writing and theatre workshops allowed Bosnian teenagers from Sarajevo to 'reconstruct themselves' by delivering, from the heart of the war, a message of peace: 'The Dictionary of Life'. Already translated into thirteen languages, this theatrical text travels all around the world building bridges by questioning people of different cultures on their identities and the human condition. These kinds of actions have cultural, therapeutic and social consequences: people locked in war renew their hope in the future when actively preventing wars in other regions becomes their drive for life.

Values education based on principles of justice and human rights was described as a means to social transformation, especially as related to the non-violent revolution that overthrew a dictatorship in the Philippines. Many Filipino women risked their lives in peacefully confronting the armed forces of the dictator.

Examples were given of how schools and theatres and other

institutions have the potential to develop training courses on creative writing and cultural expression workshops, where meaning can be explored and people can relate to each other, different and similar, diverse and united. These examples indicate how education for creativity and for cross-cultural understanding can contribute to a culture of peace.

Women in their roles as mothers have taken courageous actions to defy the use of violence by States. Many groups of women in such nations as Algeria, Russia, Chechnya and others perceive these uses of violence to be authoritarian and patriarchal and threatening to their children. The slogan of the Russian Soldiers' Mothers Organizations (SMO) is 'Mothers should save the lives of their sons'. The ideology of human rights is the basis of the work of the SMO. The SMO, and their equally courageous counterparts in Chechnya, becoming a political force, explored and have pursued multiple ways of challenging the military and demanding radical reform of the Russian army.

Indeed, many women's actions are undertaken from their sense of parental responsibility and their identities as 'symbols of love and unity'. Although women's traditional roles are confining, they have used their roles in creative and constructive ways. For example, in Latin America women's work for peace has often been based on traditional even idealized visions of womanhood and femininity. As mothers and preservers of life, they have been excluded from most decision making levels.

None the less, women have been active in peace initiatives and actions at the grass roots level. To materialize the potential of their actions and initiatives they realize that they must fully participate in the decision making processes related to peace. To do so they must overcome the limits of the traditional definitions of women's concerns and confront the current political landscape with questions of gender equality, as they bring into question the right of the State to sacrifice their children.

However, the examples illustrated that to struggle for equality and peace in these arenas women must gain confidence in their own capacities. They must appreciate what they know and what they have achieved, not 'give away their power, but learn to use it constructively'. Gaining such confidence is the fruit of training and exchange in all the areas of culture and education. Women must therefore have equal access to all forms of education including education for political participation.

3. Recommendations and conclusions

3.1 Principles and guidelines for achieving a culture of peace

A culture of peace will be the fruit of an active struggle to realize the human values of which women have been the preservers and safeguards. To clarify the values and goals derived from the discussions of the components and characteristics of a culture of peace the participants distilled from their reflections the following general principles and guidelines for the

development of particular policies and actions undertaken towards the achievement of a culture of peace.

3.1.1 Cultural diversity

A culture of peace is one that celebrates human difference and is based on the diversity of cultures. This means a complete refusal of dominance of or by ourselves or other peoples or groups, because it is a culture of freedom and respect – for human beings, for our rights and for the natural environment that sustains us. It gives a central place to non-violent and varied perspectives, including those of women, in the process of peace-building.

3.1.2 Social and structural change

Achieving a culture of peace implies major social structural changes. The culture of peace should be rooted in the local community, mobilized by popular participation. The present apparatus of violence will have to be progressively dismantled. The root causes of conflict will need to be confronted and gradually eliminated. These processes of social transformation and structural change can be successful only if they fully integrate a gender perspective which appreciates the distinctive contributions that women and men respectively can make to the resolution of conflict and to its prevention.

As peace cannot be enforced, a culture of peace cannot be imposed. For their contributions to be realized, women must have full and equal access to all areas of political action and decision-making. This process towards a culture of peace will have to attend to the variety of mechanisms and behaviours, many of them unconscious, by which the culture of violence is perpetuated, ranging from the actual institutions of violence through mass media and entertainment to everyday language, family relations, child rearing and socialization.

3.1.3 Towards comprehensive security

It is necessary to deepen and extend the concept of security in order to encompass such essential dimensions as ecological, economic, political, cultural, social, and individual security. Effective mechanisms for peace and confidence building must be devised.

Security in the traditional sense would thus be strengthened and aggression could not be easily rationalized or responsibility skirted. A new concept and new policies of security will necessitate changes in the practices and structures of institutions responsible for ensuring national and international security. Ultimately all aspects of the State system and the international institutions involved in international security matters should be transformed in that direction, so as to be more democratic and gender balanced. The primary focus of security policies should be on long range

prevention, peace-making and peace-building rather than on the use of force when crises erupt. The equal inclusion of women in all peace and security activities of the UN system at all levels, especially decision-making, is essential. Consequently, all parts of the UN dealing with women's concerns and interests should be strengthened and properly funded.

3.1.4 Respect for human rights – the foundation of peace

A culture of peace requires full respect for all human rights and a complete end to discrimination.

Laws should be reviewed, ensuring their compliance with the standards of equality set in international instruments ranging from the UN Charter, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women as well as the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education. There should be continuous dissemination and implementation of the Declaration and the Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and concerted actions for the elimination of all forms of violence against women contained in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women adopted by consensus by the General Assembly in 1993. Different types of violence against women should be recognized and dealt with as a human rights violation, and no longer to be regarded as legitimate domestic behaviour. The work of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women should be vigorously supported and the results widely disseminated.

3.1.5 Partnership contracts: from the family to global society

A culture of peace will require new social contracts based on equality and partnership. Inter-personal relations are at their best when based on freedom of choice and sharing of responsibilities, entailing breaking with traditionally imposed gender roles and ensuring equality of opportunity.

The family, in all its forms, is the first environment through which a culture of peace can be transmitted and internalized. Thus, the role of parents, both fathers and mothers and all adult care-givers, and their formation is crucial to the development of the entire human person. The importance of the family as a bearer of cultural values means that what happens in the domestic realm cannot be confined to an area of silence and inattention. Violence in the family is as significant a barrier to a culture of peace as violence in the international system, just as equality between men and women in the family as well as the larger society is essential to a culture of peace.

In the larger society principles of human equality must prevail. Women must have full and equal access to all areas of political action and decision-making, including economic, social and cultural policy-making. There is no democracy without the full and equal citizenship of women

and men, nor without the full, responsible participation of all citizens.

A culture of peace is built upon the recognition of the realities of global interdependence, common human needs and common responsibility for the human future. Therefore, the family of nations must also be reorganized on the basis of a partnership contract, transcending the present inequities among and within them. In particular economic inequities and political injustices must be confronted and overcome, and the spirit of competition replaced with one of co-operation.

3.1.6 Development for economic and social justice

Social and economic development policies and programmes also need close and critical examination for their impact on the human rights of women and peace and conflict issues, just as they are examined for their impact on the natural environment. Development must not only be environmentally but also humanely and socially sustainable. Because of their socially divisive effects, and especially because of the suffering they impose on women, structural adjustment programmes especially should, subject to the critical review for revision and if necessary to the goals espoused here, be brought to an end. It is no longer acceptable to achieve good economic management at the expense of social security. Above all the flow of resources from the poorer to the richer sections of the world makes it difficult, if not impossible, to develop a culture of peace especially in those countries that most suffer from armed conflicts. The process of exclusion and marginalization, both within as well as between countries must be addressed. The continued theft from the poor has to be terminated.

A culture of peace requires eliminating double standards and acknowledging the responsibilities of human solidarity. The suffering of any people is the responsibility of the world community. In a culture of peace, people are neither exploitable nor expendable. A culture of peace assures the dignity and the well-being of the vulnerable.

3.1.7 Education, arts and communication for transformation

There can be no progress towards a culture of peace without long term programmes of public education. These will include literacy and basic education programmes in all the poorer sectors of the world society encompassing equally girls and women as well as boys and men. The formal education curricula, which have emphasized knowledge and skills but neglected values and attitudes, should venture into innovative ways to introduce values education based on the culture of peace values described in this report and convey knowledge about the possibilities for and obstacles to peace, and the particular skills of peace-making and peace-building. Such knowledge and skills must be integral to education at all levels and in all spheres. Education for a culture of peace is education in its widest sense,

involving not only schools and universities but all social arenas in which people learn and are enculturated.

Art is curative, instructive, and transformative. All of the arts are potential agents of transformation. Artists should accept their responsibility to intervene in the processes of violence with 'curative' artistic actions, to teach about peace and to project visions of transformed societies providing hope for and models of peaceful global society.

Community activities and actions by civil society, organizations and individuals, such as teachers, artists, journalists and writers, are vital for the promotion of values conducive to peace and justice. The challenge is to create new and peaceful types of strategies of peace that integrate the marginalized and find new possibilities for participation, guided by inclusiveness, generosity, solidarity and dialogue that opens up the richness and diversity of cultures.

In sum the principles of a culture of peace comprehend the reality of humanity as one species, one diverse family with multiple ways of being human, but none the less primarily human, human beyond gender, beyond Nation-State, human within a rich and varied array of cultures. For all of them there is one home, Earth, a planet of multiple landscapes sustaining one living eco-system. We are one family in one common home. We struggle for a culture of peace to sustain both.

3.2 Recommendations for policy-making and action towards a culture of peace

The achievement of a culture of peace will depend upon consistent, continuous and carefully planned policies and actions on the parts of all sectors of international society. The participants strongly recommended that the following policies be implemented and actions be taken by the United Nations system, governments and various actors of civil society. These recommendations are but a few the participants foresaw as contributing to the transformation from a culture of war to a culture of peace.

3.2.1 Gender equality and human rights

Because their concepts of a culture of peace were in large part based upon the assumption that peace in any form requires the recognition and implementation of the international human rights standards and the fundamental principle of equality between women and men, the recommendations call for actions to assure such implementation and equality.

All structures and programmes related to issues of women and gender within the UN system should be strengthened and properly budgeted in order to make them more responsive to the concerns, interests, actual needs and demands of women especially those at the grass roots level.

The UN system should be encouraged to publicize and disseminate

information on human rights of women, so that they become known by every woman and man and so that women can claim the legal rights assured to them by international standards.

All relevant international legal standards, especially UN documents, and in particular those related to peace, security, and status of women, should be translated into national and local languages and disseminated at the national and local levels, so that all peoples of the world can become informed about the potential legal bases of a culture of peace.

The Geneva Convention and Protocol on Refugees, 1967, should be revised from a gender perspective in order to include violence against women and discriminating cultural practices as legal grounds for granting refugee status.

Governments should make every effort to remove from national legislation all de jure discriminatory provisions, prevailing mainly in the areas of civil and family law. International legal standards should be fully implemented through national legislative and judiciary systems. What is de jure assurance of the rights of women in international standards should become de facto international, national and local practice. Special efforts should be made to implement the principles of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (General Assembly Resolution 48/104, 20 Dec 1993).

Governments should organize awareness-raising and training seminars for members of legislative governmental and judiciary bodies in order to familiarize them with all international standards of equality and the human rights of women.

Women should be encouraged to participate in continuous professional and career development and, in particular, take part in entrepreneurship and management training.

Women of different professions should be given support in their careers and incentives to participate in public fora. Women's actions through social and professional networks, especially in the promotion of the culture of peace, should be supported by governments and organizations of civil society.

The civil society should also support the work of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women by e.g. establishing monitoring mechanisms comprised primarily of women to inquire into conditions and incidence of sexual harassment, abuse and exploitation of women, especially in areas of armed conflict and areas to which peace-keeping forces are dispatched, at all levels and in all sectors of society including the domestic and family spheres. Harmful traditional practices, and all violations of international standards on the human rights of women, should be legally redressed. The findings of the Special Rapporteur should be frequently presented at public hearings. In extreme cases independent investigative commissions should be established and, when necessary, national and

international tribunals on violence against women should be held. So warranted, public tribunals should be held. These or similar steps should be taken to assure that violence against women is in fact recognized as a human rights violation and that its perpetrators are held accountable.

All sectors of society should elaborate specific plans to promote a new 'gender contract' based on authentic equality between women and men, including sharing of family and household responsibilities, opportunities for education, participation in economic and public affairs, and matters of peace and security.

3.2.2 Security and peace-keeping

In formulating their recommendations on security and peace-keeping the participants affirmed and supported the considerations and recommendations of the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace organized by the DAW in December 1994, seeking to emphasize the need for strengthening women's participation in security matters and alternatives to armed conflict.

All peace and security efforts of the UN should focus on the prevention of violent conflicts and peace-building in its broad sense. Participants recommended that some of the non-violent types of interventions women have undertaken should be considered for implementation by the UN.

Some of the recommendations of the Independent Commission on Global Governance to broaden concepts and definitions of security and to democratize the Security Council by such measures as making the membership more representative of all people, and by eliminating the veto power, should be considered among the steps taken to strengthen the United Nations.

The UN system should review from a gender perspective the approaches and methods used in the implementation of the Secretary-General's *Agenda for Peace* and *Agenda for Development* and any policies or initiatives related to conflict resolution, peace-keeping and peace-building.

In order to ensure equal participation of women, the most transparent modes of selecting and assigning personnel for all peace related programmes should be used by the United Nations.

Women should be represented and their competence used in all peace and security related activities, at all levels including the decision-making levels, in accordance with the recommendations of the Expert Group Meeting on Gender and the Agenda for Peace (para. 29:1.2.1), which calls for at least 40 per cent women in such activities.

The UN system, and in particular UNESCO, should promote and support the indigenous initiatives for peace, conflict resolution and peace education, especially those developed and practised by women and popular movements.

Governments should develop initiatives to ensure civil control of the military and restrict, monitor and control the production of and trade in arms, as well as reinforce all preventive diplomacy measures and possibilities.

Governments should prevent and prohibit the dehumanizing techniques of training and discipline in the military and the use of negative images of women as a way of constructing the internal culture of armed forces.

3.2.3 Social and economic development

The participants were convinced of the need to consider all social and economic development policies and projects in the light of their consequences to women and to the enhancement of a culture of peace.

The UN should review policies of the IMF and international financial institutions regarding grants, loans, and structural adjustment programmes in terms of their effects on women, their compliance with gender equality guidelines and the consequences they may have on the possibilities for a culture of peace.

Governments should ensure that all social groups are informed about economic and social rights and their applications equally to women and men; and they should protect the rights of ethnic minorities and ensure their social security.

Governments should confront poverty within the context of developmental strategies elaborating them from a gender perspective. Such strategies should imply the general improvement of the socio-economic status of disadvantaged groups, especially the poor female-headed households, through better school systems, health care, social policies, property and land tenancy policies.

The civil society should provide support to networks promoting a culture of peace in all regions and lobby, at both the national and international levels, for the elimination of oppressive practices and structures which marginalize and exclude women from the economy, politics and social development.

3.2.4 Education, arts and communication

The participants recognized education as a powerful source for socialization, and stressed the need for governments to provide free and accessible education for all, referring to international normative instruments like the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education. The participants further called for education for a culture of peace to be systematically planned and implemented, including special programmes in teacher education and curriculum development to develop skills of co-operation and reconciliation to overcome negative competition and conflict.

The cultural practices which govern fundamental relations among people including gender relations must be continually examined to ensure they do not impede a culture of peace. The media and the arts, powerful transmitters of culture, should consciously participate in this examination.

Full equality of educational opportunities for girls and women is a prerequisite of a culture of peace. Therefore, efforts to this end must be intensified in co-operation with the countries concerned in all UNESCO programmes with special emphasis on literacy programmes, especially in Africa where women's education can strengthen the demonstrated peace-making capacities of women. Further, UNESCO should give special attention to women's education and their role as first educators of children. UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme should support and learn from women's initiatives for peace.

UNESCO should establish and support multicultural training courses for potential trainers on topics such as personal development and intercultural dialogue, social and cultural rights, especially as they apply to women. So, too, cultural expression should form an important part of all education, especially in the schools where arts should be offered also as a means to cross- and intracultural understanding. Children should be encouraged to develop understanding of self, others and their interrelationship.

Education for peace should address issues of gender socialization and the relationship of this process to the possibilities for a culture of peace. The results from emphasizing co-operation in the education of girls and competition in the education of boys should be seriously considered. This question should also be considered by parents and child care workers. Teacher training and curriculum development should entail requirements related to non-violent conflict resolution and women's role and contributions to peace-making.

Because gender sensitivity is an essential capacity for all who work towards a culture of peace, educational programmes about the significance of human rights, especially the human rights of women, should be undertaken by UNESCO and the agencies dealing with social development. This should be done both as an observation of and contribution to the UN Decade for Human Rights Education and in accordance with the UNESCO Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy. Such programmes should include training in gender sensitivity for UN and UNESCO personnel and all persons working in education, literacy, technical assistance, and development projects as well as in peace-keeping operations.

Gender equality must be observed in international bodies working for peace development. Education on gender equality, the purposes and requirements of the international standards on women's rights, the need for transparency in policy and personal decisions involving gender should be

provided regularly with annual updating to broaden and deepen understanding of gender equality, its necessity to an atmosphere of trust and confidence essential to good management practices.

Artists should be encouraged and supported by governments and civil society to produce images and concepts that feature and illuminate the universality of humanity, positively illustrate cultural diversity and celebrate the human person.

Workshops on creative writing with children and young people from various cultures should be developed, as a means to cross-cultural understanding and the development of the whole person.

Campaigns should be organized against war toys and war games and the encouragement of alternative toys and modes of play, conducive to a culture of peace, should be developed. The issue of how the play of boys may affect a culture of violence should be addressed. Children should be brought up to understand the consequences of weapons and to reject them as legitimate tools for personal and social purposes.

Women and women's groups should be encouraged and trained to make use of media techniques. Women's video groups, local radio stations and community radio stations among others should be given necessary support for their work and for exchange programmes across borders by funding agencies inside and outside the UN system.

In order for societies to develop capacities to understand and respect 'the other', as an essential element of a culture of peace, women will need, as an interim measure, their own media to express their views and concerns. Both mainstream and alternative media should promote women's concerns and interests and foster cross-gender dialogue.

If a conflict is in danger of turning violent and there are no independent media as voices of society, international organizations should be prepared to establish and run them from outside the affected territory. Independent media should be encouraged as part of peace-keeping processes.

Public broadcasting systems wherever they exist should be defended and strengthened by the organizations of civil society. They should uphold professional ethics and standards, provide background information and programmes for minorities and further explore possibilities of fostering a culture of peace.

Institutions providing education and training for media practitioners should include gender awareness training in their programmes. They should sensitize future journalists both to gender and cultural stereotypes and the misunderstandings which occur when reporting from other countries and cultures.

As some media and advertising have employed negative stereotypes and images of violence against women for entertainment and commercial purposes, women's business councils and advertising agencies should jointly

design gender sensitizing programmes for people in advertising. Women's consumer organizations should at regular intervals closely monitor the advertising, publish reports on it and discourage the stereotyping and sexism so characteristic of a culture of violence.

3.2.5 Research

The participants agreed that there was a need not only for education on existing accessible knowledge about gender equality, human rights and a culture of peace, but also for the discovery and consideration of knowledge from beyond the present mainstream, from the experience of women, minorities, indigenous peoples and all whose knowledge has previously been ignored or devalued by the culture of war. And there is, as well, an urgent need for new knowledge from all possible sources. Research in various forms and at various levels, then, must be more systematically guided by the needs of a culture of peace.

The UN should promote research on how to integrate multicultural, multidisciplinary gender sensitive approaches in development projects and ensure that training in culture of peace values, human rights, and gender perspectives, will constitute a part of each development project.

UNESCO should undertake research on the role of media in conflict situations. The results should be widely published and made part of media education programmes in schools, universities, adult education and through the media themselves.

In that women's efforts have begun to reveal the possibilities of alternatives to coercive force and violent conflict, the UN should provide financial support for research projects involving active participation of women in all regions at all levels, community through global, on comprehensive security and a culture of peace.

UNESCO should undertake research on different models of governance and democracy and various forms of conflict resolution and different notions of communitarian justice.

There is insufficient information about the varied and creative work women carry out for peace. Research should be done on the roles and contributions of women to the construction of a culture of peace with special emphasis on the following: reducing community vulnerability, sharing of responsibility in the family, advocating and conducting peace education, reconstructing communities and building bridges of tolerance and respect between cultures.

Research should be more relevant to the lives of women at the grass roots. A participatory approach to peace research should be promoted, so that people at the community level can be actively involved in the research process and in the dissemination and utilization of its findings.

3.2.6 Co-operation and partnership

The partnership between the UN system and NGOs should be strengthened. UN staff should be sensitized to the needs and expectations at the grass roots level in order to extend more suitable logistic support and assistance, whenever requested. NGOs should be better informed about the principles, functioning and structure of the UN system and its programme for the advancement of women, in order to work with it more efficiently.

An international consortium of women's organizations and networks for peace should be created after the Fourth World Conference on Women to work with NGOs as lobby groups to influence national and international policy. This consortium should convene a forum of civil organizations on an annual basis prior to the sessions of the General Assembly as recommended by the Commission on Global Governance. The objectives of the consortium would be to: co-ordinate and strengthen existing networks and associations; work towards the follow up of the Conference and the Forum; call on governments to stop violence in their countries; promote and support peace movements; monitor reconciliation efforts and peace agreements; monitor the implementation of the international standards on the human rights of women; promote advocacy for democracy and equality, sustainable development and economic justice, environmental balance and disarmament and demilitarization.

3.3 Conclusions and commitments

The ideas, hopes, experiences and potential for transformation the participants shared in this meeting and articulated in the Preliminary Statement on Women's Contributions to a Culture of Peace (Annex II) are some of the raw materials from which a culture of peace can be fashioned. Participants while facing the harsh realities of violence and war saw their efforts as components of the larger, global struggle for peace waged by millions of women throughout the world. The conclusions of the meeting are a clear indication that there is much of a practical and of a theoretical nature that women can contribute to a culture of peace. The participants were, in fact, convinced that these contributions are at once among the best hopes and the most urgent necessities for achieving the tasks of transformation. They reaffirmed their commitments to these tasks and to the common endeavours of the ongoing global process in which they see themselves participating. Some of them will engage in specific common endeavours. All will become part of the intersecting networks, among them the common network of participants of this and the DAW December 1994 expert group meeting, through which the global women's peace movements are weaving a culture of peace. They will contribute to and monitor the recommendations of the two meetings. They will continue the current efforts described here, and undertake new endeavours in order to bring into being the principles set forth here through their own 'consistent continuous

and carefully planned . . . actions'. They urge UNESCO to give the highest priority to the realization of a culture of peace and women's contributions to it.

Annex I. Facilitators' report

Development of the human potential is a keyword which is of eminent importance at any level of society, if the problems of our world are to be overcome. Confronting today's violence and poverty requires creative, interdisciplinary, and holistic approaches which cannot be provided by the old paradigm of uni-directional, hegemonic, limited rational thinking and acting. In order to contribute to a culture of peace, we need to liberate the potential for creativity. New ways of knowing or understanding are to be discovered. New social skills have to be developed and learned. New environments have to be created and secured, e.g. new forms of meetings are needed.

Peace is a process. It has to be safeguarded actively. Lasting peace is a collective product of continuous struggle for more effective communication and better negotiations, not of impositions or compromise. It is a process derived through processes of constructing human interactions, sometimes conflicting, often counter-intuitive, but always guided by the values of solidarity and justice.

The Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace, an experiment in such a process, displayed and provided some of those characteristics. It was a meeting of rich diversity, and evident differences. Participants came from various continents, cultures, professions, and affiliations: from architect to lawyer, from psychoanalyst to teacher, professor, researcher, performer, psychologist, and medical doctor, from officials of the United Nations to the grass roots.

The meeting started with an orientation session where a creative group process was initiated. This process facilitated smooth and substantive work the following day. Dyadic interviews were carried out after the opening session to allow each person to express her/his own concept of peace and her/his highest hopes and worst fears for the meeting.

In the first and second evenings of the meeting we gathered for a feedback session to provide each participant with the possibility and choice of 'owning' the process. It was clear from the beginning that our meeting was different: the need to be heard and listened to was expressed in a multitude of direct ways. The group attempted to conquer the difficulties of polarization and bridged differences in view of the burden of having to come up with the expected written report. The sessions demonstrated how women's approaches often are more inclusive and, perhaps, therefore more complex than men's. This represented a challenge and a key for resolution. Short term solutions and artificial peace were not accepted. Women's contribution to a culture of peace is indeed a comprehensive approach that

tries to confront differences in a constructive manner. The dynamics of the meeting reflected in many ways that this process has started among women working for peace but that there is still a long way to go.

The tension between powerful intellectual abstraction versus strong emotional knowledge were at the centre of the discourse. It seemed to us that the integration of these two facets of human knowledge is the backbone of women's contribution to a culture of peace. This can be done by working through the conflicts between the intellectual and the emotional; the public and the private, the economic, the political, the social and the ecological, and the past and the present. Once again this meeting proved that women's culture could provide a space where bonding would facilitate tolerance and respect of diversity which ultimately is the basic condition for lasting and permanent peace.

We believe that continued experimentation with new forms of discourse, alternative processes for meetings and negotiations and with a greater variety of ways to develop and disseminate knowledge can be a most fruitful route to achieving a culture of peace. Women's ways are an accessible and promising entry point to this route.

Annex II. Preliminary Statement on Women's Contributions to a Culture of Peace

We, women and men from diverse cultures and fields of work, want PEACE, peace within the minds and hearts of every human person, peace in our countries and peace in the global community. We denounce all forms of violence and poverty, including the violence of silence, and we seek to lead society away from the cruelty and inhumanity of violence towards a genuine and more permanent peace.

Building a culture of peace is a dynamic and multi-dimensional process which involves changing values, beliefs and behaviours and overcoming prejudices – from everyday life situations to high-level negotiations between countries. It embraces the total human environment and the whole complex of features, material and non-material, that characterize a group seeking peaceful solutions to conflict and the welfare of every individual member.

We want to assure a culture of peace that considers and respects cultures in their diversity, and at the same time seeks a common understanding on what encompasses a shared vision of peace that leads to a more just and free, more democratic and humane world order. We want a culture of peace founded on valuing otherness, sustainable development, fundamental freedoms, a respect for human rights and the dignity of the human person.

We want a culture of peace founded on equality of women and men in all areas of life, equality in all respects that make them human; that creates the environment which provides the full development of the human

potential and empowers women to be dynamic actors in social cohesion as well as social transformation.

We acknowledge the unique and special talents of women, their specific contributions to conceptualizing, operationalizing and implementing the transformation of society from the culture of violence to the culture of peace.

We envision a women's network that will link all efforts that seek to influence and move the world into bringing about this new culture of peace, that can lead us out of the bondage of human misery and violence into the freedom of the human spirit and its creative expression in a culture of peace that unites humankind into a loving and caring society.

Appendix 3

UNESCO Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace

On the eve of the twenty-first century, a dynamic movement towards a culture of peace derives inspiration and hope from women's visions and actions.

It is important to draw strength from cultural diversity and redefine the concept of security so that it encompasses ecological, economic, social, cultural and personal security. To replace unequal gender relations with authentic and practical equality between women and men is imperative in order to allow for true participatory democracies.

Ours is still an armed and warring planet. In the first half of this decade alone, more than 90 conflagrations of various kinds have taken a vast toll of human life, impeded social and economic development and depleted the world's resources. Women continue to experience systematic violations of their human rights and to be largely excluded from decision-making. In situations of war and military occupation, women are to an alarming degree the victims and targets of atrocities and aggression.

To combat war as the ultimate expression of the culture of violence, we must address issues such as violence against women in the home, acts and reflexes of aggression and intolerance in everyday life, the banalization of violence in the media, the implicit glorification of war in the teaching of history, trafficking in arms and in drugs, recourse to terrorism and the denial of fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms.

A culture of peace requires that we confront the violence of economic and social deprivation. Poverty and social injustices such as exclusion and discrimination weigh particularly heavily on women. Redressing the flagrant asymmetries of wealth and opportunity within and between countries is indispensable to addressing the root causes of violence in the world.

Equality, development and peace are inextricably linked. There can be no lasting peace without development, and no sustainable development without full equality between men and women.

The new millennium must mark a new beginning. We must dedicate ourselves to averting violence at all levels, to exploring alternatives to violent conflict and to forging attitudes of tolerance and active concern towards others. Human society has the capacity to manage conflict so that it becomes part of a dynamic of positive change. Always provided it involves the full participation of women, action to remedy a pervasive culture of violence is not beyond the capacity of the people and governments of the world.

Efforts to move towards a culture of peace must be founded in education; as stated in UNESCO's Constitution: *since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.*

Girls and women constitute a large majority of the world's educationally excluded and unreached. Ensuring equality of educational access and opportunity between the sexes is a prerequisite for achieving the changes of attitudes and mind-sets on which a culture of peace depends.

Equality in education is the key to meeting other requirements for a culture of peace. These include: full respect for the human rights of women; the release and utilization of women's creative potential in all aspects of life; power sharing and equal participation in decision-making by women and men; the reorientation of social and economic policies to equalize opportunities and new and more equitable patterns of gender relations – presupposing a radical reform of social structures and processes.

Women's capacity for leadership must be utilized to the full and to the benefit of all in order to progress towards a culture of peace. Their historically limited participation in governance has led to a distortion of concepts and a narrowing of processes. In such areas as conflict prevention, the promotion of cross-cultural dialogue and the redressing of socio-economic injustice, women can be the source of innovative and much needed approaches to peace-building.

Women bring to the cause of peace among people and nations distinctive experiences, competence, and perspectives. Women's role in giving and sustaining life has provided them with skills and insights essential to peaceful human relations and social development. Women subscribe less readily than men to the myth of the efficacy of violence, and they can bring a new breadth, quality and balance of vision to a joint effort of moving from a culture of war towards a culture of peace.

To this end, we the undersigned, commit ourselves to:

- support national and international efforts to ensure equal access to all forms of learning opportunities, with a view to women's empowerment and access to decision-making;
- promote relevant quality education that imparts knowledge of the human rights of men and women, skills of non-violent conflict resolution,

respect for the natural environment, intercultural understanding and awareness of global interdependence, which are essential constituents of a culture of peace;

- encourage new approaches to development that take account of women's priorities and perspectives;
- oppose the misuse of religion, cultural and traditional practices for discriminatory purposes;
- seek to reduce the direct and indirect impact of the culture of war on women – in the form of physical and sexual violence or the neglect of social services for excessive military expenditure;
- increase women's freedom of expression and involvement in the media as well as the use of gender-sensitive language and images;
- promote knowledge and respect for international normative instruments concerning the human rights of girls and women and ensure widespread dissemination in order to further the well-being of all, men and women, including the most vulnerable groups of societies;
- support governmental and intergovernmental structures as well as women's associations and NGOs committed to the development of a culture of peace based on equality between women and men.

- We, the signatories, appeal to women and men of goodwill and of diverse cultural backgrounds, religious beliefs, ethnic and social origins to join us in a global endeavour to build, in solidarity and compassion, a culture of peace in the domestic realm and in the public sphere.
- Only together, women and men in parity and partnership, can we overcome obstacles and inertia, silence and frustration and ensure the insight, political will, creative thinking and concrete actions needed for a global transition from the culture of violence to a culture of peace.

The Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace was prepared by UNESCO for the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace, held in Beijing in September 1995. The original signatories were women Presidents and Prime Ministers in office, Nobel Prize laureates and Heads of United Nations organizations, including: Her Excellency Ms Chadrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (President, Sri Lanka), Her Excellency Ms Vigdis Finnbogadottir (President, Iceland), Her Excellency Ms Mary Robinson (President, Ireland), Her Excellency Ms Benazir Bhutto (Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan), Her Excellency Ms Tansu Ciller (Prime Minister, Republic of Turkey), Her Excellency Ms Begum Khaleda Zia (Prime Minister, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh), Ms Carole Bellamy (Executive Director, United Nations Children's Fund), Ms Catherine Bertini (Executive Director, World Food Programme), Ms Elizabeth Dowdeswell (Executive Director, United Nations

Environment Programme), Ms Martha Duena Loza (Acting Director, INSTRAW), Ms Noeleen Heyzer (Director, UNIFEM), Ms Brenda G. MacSweeny (Executive Co-ordinator, United Nations Volunteers), Ms Nafis Sadik (Executive Director, United Nations Population Fund), Ms Gertrude Mongella (Secretary General of the Fourth World Conference on Women). Nobel Prize winners: Ms Gertrude Belle Elion, Ms Mary Maguire Corrigan, Ms Nadine Gordimer, Ms Rita Levi Montalcini, Ms Rigoberta Menchu Tum.

Since then, many eminent women and men including Royal Highnesses, heads of states and government, ministers, parliamentarians, researchers, artists, journalists, educators, activists and others have signed the Statement in support of its main ideas. They have also become promoters of a gender-sensitive culture of peace.

We hereby have the pleasure to invite you to sign the Statement and to use it in your work for peace.

The Statement can be found on the Internet in the six official languages of UNESCO. UNESCO website: **http://www.unesco.org/cpp/**

For more information on UNESCO's work related to women and a culture of peace, please contact:

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I hereby sign the UNESCO Statement on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace
Name
Profession
Address

To be returned to UNESCO

Appendix 4

An Agenda for Peace – preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992

Introduction

1. In its statement of 31 January 1992, adopted at the conclusion of the first meeting held by the Security Council at the level of Heads of State and Government, I was invited to prepare, for circulation to the Members of the United Nations by 1 July 1992, an 'analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping'.[1]
2. The United Nations is a gathering of sovereign States and what it can do depends on the common ground that they create between them. The adversarial decades of the cold war made the original promise of the Organization impossible to fulfil. The January 1992 Summit therefore represented an unprecedented recommitment, at the highest political level, to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.
3. In these past months a conviction has grown, among nations large and small, that an opportunity has been regained to achieve the great objectives of the Charter – a United Nations capable of maintaining international peace and security, of securing justice and human rights and of promoting, in the words of the Charter, 'social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom'. This opportunity must not be squandered. The Organization must never again be crippled as it was in the era that has now passed.
4. I welcome the invitation of the Security Council, early in my tenure as Secretary-General, to prepare this report. It draws upon ideas and proposals transmitted to me by Governments, regional agencies, non-governmental organizations, and institutions and individuals from many countries. I am grateful for these, even as I emphasize that the responsibility for this report is my own.
5. The sources of conflict and war are pervasive and deep. To reach them will

require our utmost effort to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, to alleviate distress and to curtail the existence and use of massively destructive weapons. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the largest summit ever held, has just met at Rio de Janeiro. Next year will see the second World Conference on Human Rights. In 1994 Population and Development will be addressed. In 1995 the World Conference on Women will take place, and a World Summit for Social Development has been proposed. Throughout my term as Secretary-General I shall be addressing all these great issues. I bear them all in mind as, in the present report, I turn to the problems that the Council has specifically requested I consider: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping – to which I have added a closely related concept, post-conflict peace-building.

6. The manifest desire of the membership to work together is a new source of strength in our common endeavour. Success is far from certain, however. While my report deals with ways to improve the Organization's capacity to pursue and preserve peace, it is crucial for all Member States to bear in mind that the search for improved mechanisms and techniques will be of little significance unless this new spirit of commonality is propelled by the will to take the hard decisions demanded by this time of opportunity.

7. It is therefore with a sense of moment, and with gratitude, that I present this report to the Members of the United Nations.

I. The changing context

8. In the course of the past few years the immense ideological barrier that for decades gave rise to distrust and hostility – and the terrible tools of destruction that were their inseparable companions – has collapsed. Even as the issues between States north and south grow more acute, and call for attention at the highest levels of government, the improvement in relations between States east and west affords new possibilities, some already realized, to meet successfully threats to common security.

9. Authoritarian regimes have given way to more democratic forces and responsive Governments. The form, scope and intensity of these processes differ from Latin America to Africa to Europe to Asia, but they are sufficiently similar to indicate a global phenomenon. Parallel to these political changes, many States are seeking more open forms of economic policy, creating a world wide sense of dynamism and movement.

10. To the hundreds of millions who gained their independence in the surge of decolonization following the creation of the United Nations, have been added millions more who have recently gained freedom. Once again new States are taking their seats in the General Assembly. Their arrival reconfirms the importance and indispensability of the sovereign State as the fundamental entity of the international community.

11. We have entered a time of global transition marked by uniquely contradictory trends. Regional and continental associations of States are evolving ways to deepen co-operation and ease some of the contentious characteristics of sovereign and nationalistic rivalries. National boundaries are blurred by advanced communications and global commerce, and by the decisions of States to yield some sovereign prerogatives to larger, common political associations. At the same time, however, fierce new assertions of nationalism and sovereignty spring up, and the cohesion of States is threatened by brutal ethnic, religious, social, cultural or linguistic strife. Social peace is challenged on the one hand by new assertions of discrimination and exclusion and, on the other, by acts of terrorism seeking to undermine evolution and change through democratic means.

12. The concept of peace is easy to grasp; that of international security is more complex, for a pattern of contradictions has arisen here as well. As major nuclear Powers have begun to negotiate arms reduction agreements, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction threatens to increase and conventional arms continue to be amassed in many parts of the world. As racism becomes recognized for the destructive force it is and as apartheid is being dismantled, new racial tensions are rising and finding expression in violence. Technological advances are altering the nature and the expectation of life all over the globe. The revolution in communications has united the world in awareness, in aspiration and in greater solidarity against injustice. But progress also brings new risks for stability: ecological damage, disruption of family and community life, greater intrusion into the lives and rights of individuals.

13. This new dimension of insecurity must not be allowed to obscure the continuing and devastating problems of unchecked population growth, crushing debt burdens, barriers to trade, drugs and the growing disparity between rich and poor. Poverty, disease, famine, oppression and despair abound, joining to produce 17 million refugees, 20 million displaced persons and massive migrations of peoples within and beyond national borders. These are both sources and consequences of conflict that require the ceaseless attention and the highest priority in the efforts of the United Nations. A porous ozone shield could pose a greater threat to an exposed population than a hostile army. Drought and disease can decimate no less mercilessly than the weapons of war. So at this moment of renewed opportunity, the efforts of the Organization to build peace, stability and security must encompass matters beyond military threats in order to break the fetters of strife and warfare that have characterized the past. But armed conflicts today, as they have throughout history, continue to bring fear and horror to humanity, requiring our urgent involvement to try to prevent, contain and bring them to an end.

14. Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, over 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. The United Nations was

rendered powerless to deal with many of these crises because of the vetoes – 279 of them – cast in the Security Council, which were a vivid expression of the divisions of that period.

15. With the end of the cold war there have been no such vetoes since 31 May 1990, and demands on the United Nations have surged. Its security arm, once disabled by circumstances it was not created or equipped to control, has emerged as a central instrument for the prevention and resolution of conflicts and for the preservation of peace. Our aims must be:

- to seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict, and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results;
- where conflict erupts, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict;
- through peace-keeping, to work to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers;
- to stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war;
- and in the largest sense, to address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. It is possible to discern an increasingly common moral perception that spans the world's nations and peoples, and which is finding expression in international laws, many owing their genesis to the work of this Organization.

16. This wider mission for the world Organization will demand the concerted attention and effort of individual States, of regional and non-governmental organizations and of all of the United Nations system, with each of the principal organs functioning in the balance and harmony that the Charter requires. The Security Council has been assigned by all Member States the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter. In its broadest sense this responsibility must be shared by the General Assembly and by all the functional elements of the world Organization. Each has a special and indispensable role to play in an integrated approach to human security. The Secretary-General's contribution rests on the pattern of trust and co-operation established between him and the deliberative organs of the United Nations.

17. The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State. Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress. The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality. It is the task of leaders of States today to understand this and to find a balance between the needs of good internal governance and the requirements of an ever more interdependent world. Commerce, communications and en-

vironmental matters transcend administrative borders; but inside those borders is where individuals carry out the first order of their economic, political and social lives. The United Nations has not closed its door. Yet if every ethnic, religious or linguistic group claimed statehood, there would be no limit to fragmentation, and peace, security and economic well-being for all would become ever more difficult to achieve.

18. One requirement for solutions to these problems lies in commitment to human rights with a special sensitivity to those of minorities, whether ethnic, religious, social or linguistic. The League of Nations provided a machinery for the international protection of minorities. The General Assembly soon will have before it a declaration on the rights of minorities. That instrument, together with the increasingly effective machinery of the United Nations dealing with human rights, should enhance the situation of minorities as well as the stability of States.

19. Globalism and nationalism need not be viewed as opposing trends, doomed to spur each other on to extremes of reaction. The healthy globalization of contemporary life requires in the first instance solid identities and fundamental freedoms. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system, and the principle of self-determination for peoples, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other in the period ahead. Respect for democratic principles at all levels of social existence is crucial: in communities, within States and within the community of States. Our constant duty should be to maintain the integrity of each while finding a balanced design for all.

II. Definitions

20. The terms preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping are integrally related and as used in this report are defined as follows:

- *Preventive diplomacy* is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.
- *Peacemaking* is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.
- *Peace-keeping* is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.

21. The present report in addition will address the critically related concept of post-conflict peace-building – action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence

breaks out; peacemaking and peace-keeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for post-conflict peace-building, which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and peoples.

22. These four areas for action, taken together, and carried out with the backing of all Members, offer a coherent contribution towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter. The United Nations has extensive experience not only in these fields, but in the wider realm of work for peace in which these four fields are set. Initiatives on decolonization, on the environment and sustainable development, on population, on the eradication of disease, on disarmament and on the growth of international law – these and many others have contributed immeasurably to the foundations for a peaceful world. The world has often been rent by conflict and plagued by massive human suffering and deprivation. Yet it would have been far more so without the continuing efforts of the United Nations. This wide experience must be taken into account in assessing the potential of the United Nations in maintaining international security not only in its traditional sense, but in the new dimensions presented by the era ahead.

III. Preventive diplomacy

23. The most desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy is to ease tensions before they result in conflict – or, if conflict breaks out, to act swiftly to contain it and resolve its underlying causes. Preventive diplomacy may be performed by the Secretary-General personally or through senior staff or specialized agencies and programmes, by the Security Council or the General Assembly, and by regional organizations in co-operation with the United Nations. Preventive diplomacy requires measures to create confidence; it needs early warning based on information gathering and informal or formal fact-finding; it may also involve preventive deployment and, in some situations, demilitarized zones.

Measures to build confidence

24. Mutual confidence and good faith are essential to reducing the likelihood of conflict between States. Many such measures are available to Governments that have the will to employ them. Systematic exchange of military missions, formation of regional or subregional risk reduction centres, arrangements for the free flow of information, including the monitoring of regional arms agreements, are examples. I ask all regional organizations to consider what further confidence-building measures might be applied in their areas and to inform the United Nations of the results. I will undertake periodic consultations on confidence-building measures with parties to potential, current or past disputes and with regional organizations, offering such advisory assistance as the Secretariat can provide.

Fact-finding

25. Preventive steps must be based upon timely and accurate knowledge of the facts. Beyond this, an understanding of developments and global trends, based on sound analysis, is required. And the willingness to take appropriate preventive action is essential. Given the economic and social roots of many potential conflicts, the information needed by the United Nations now must encompass economic and social trends as well as political developments that may lead to dangerous tensions.

(a) An increased resort to fact-finding is needed, in accordance with the Charter, initiated either by the Secretary-General, to enable him to meet his responsibilities under the Charter, including Article 99, or by the Security Council or the General Assembly. Various forms may be employed selectively as the situation requires. A request by a State for the sending of a United Nations fact-finding mission to its territory should be considered without undue delay.

(b) Contacts with the Governments of Member States can provide the Secretary-General with detailed information on issues of concern. I ask that all Member States be ready to provide the information needed for effective preventive diplomacy. I will supplement my own contacts by regularly sending senior officials on missions for consultations in capitals or other locations. Such contacts are essential to gain insight into a situation and to assess its potential ramifications.

(c) Formal fact-finding can be mandated by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, either of which may elect to send a mission under its immediate authority or may invite the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, including the designation of a special envoy. In addition to collecting information on which a decision for further action can be taken, such a mission can in some instances help to defuse a dispute by its presence, indicating to the parties that the Organization, and in particular the Security Council, is actively seized of the matter as a present or potential threat to international security.

(d) In exceptional circumstances the Council may meet away from Headquarters as the Charter provides, in order not only to inform itself directly, but also to bring the authority of the Organization to bear on a given situation.

Early warning

26. In recent years the United Nations system has been developing a valuable network of early warning systems concerning environmental threats, the risk of nuclear accident, natural disasters, mass movements of populations, the threat of famine and the spread of disease. There is a need, however, to strengthen arrangements in such a manner that information from these sources can be synthesized with political indicators to assess whether a threat to peace exists and to analyse what action might be taken by the

United Nations to alleviate it. This is a process that will continue to require the close co-operation of the various specialized agencies and functional offices of the United Nations. The analyses and recommendations for preventive action that emerge will be made available by me, as appropriate, to the Security Council and other United Nations organs. I recommend in addition that the Security Council invite a reinvigorated and restructured Economic and Social Council to provide reports, in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter, on those economic and social developments that may, unless mitigated, threaten international peace and security.

27. Regional arrangements and organizations have an important role in early warning. I ask regional organizations that have not yet sought observer status at the United Nations to do so and to be linked, through appropriate arrangements, with the security mechanisms of this Organization.

Preventive deployment

28. United Nations operations in areas of crisis have generally been established after conflict has occurred. The time has come to plan for circumstances warranting preventive deployment, which could take place in a variety of instances and ways. For example, in conditions of national crisis there could be preventive deployment at the request of the Government or all parties concerned, or with their consent; in inter-State disputes such deployment could take place when two countries feel that a United Nations presence on both sides of their border can discourage hostilities; furthermore, preventive deployment could take place when a country feels threatened and requests the deployment of an appropriate United Nations presence along its side of the border alone. In each situation, the mandate and composition of the United Nations presence would need to be carefully devised and be clear to all.

29. In conditions of crisis within a country, when the Government requests or all parties consent, preventive deployment could help in a number of ways to alleviate suffering and to limit or control violence. Humanitarian assistance, impartially provided, could be of critical importance; assistance in maintaining security, whether through military, police or civilian personnel, could save lives and develop conditions of safety in which negotiations can be held; the United Nations could also help in conciliation efforts if this should be the wish of the parties. In certain circumstances, the United Nations may well need to draw upon the specialized skills and resources of various parts of the United Nations system; such operations may also on occasion require the participation of non-governmental organizations.

30. In these situations of internal crisis the United Nations will need to respect the sovereignty of the State; to do otherwise would not be in accordance with the understanding of Member States in accepting the principles of the Charter. The Organization must remain mindful of the carefully negotiated

balance of the guiding principles annexed to General Assembly resolution 46/182 of 19 December 1991. Those guidelines stressed, inter alia, that humanitarian assistance must be provided in accordance with the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality; that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States must be fully respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and that, in this context, humanitarian assistance should be provided with the consent of the affected country and, in principle, on the basis of an appeal by that country. The guidelines also stressed the responsibility of States to take care of the victims of emergencies occurring on their territory and the need for access to those requiring humanitarian assistance. In the light of these guidelines, a Government's request for United Nations involvement, or consent to it, would not be an infringement of that State's sovereignty or be contrary to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter which refers to matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

31. In inter-State disputes, when both parties agree, I recommend that if the Security Council concludes that the likelihood of hostilities between neighbouring countries could be removed by the preventive deployment of a United Nations presence on the territory of each State, such action should be taken. The nature of the tasks to be performed would determine the composition of the United Nations presence.

32. In cases where one nation fears a cross-border attack, if the Security Council concludes that a United Nations presence on one side of the border, with the consent only of the requesting country, would serve to deter conflict, I recommend that preventive deployment take place. Here again, the specific nature of the situation would determine the mandate and the personnel required to fulfil it.

Demilitarized zones

33. In the past, demilitarized zones have been established by agreement of the parties at the conclusion of a conflict. In addition to the deployment of United Nations personnel in such zones as part of peace-keeping operations, consideration should now be given to the usefulness of such zones as a form of preventive deployment, on both sides of a border, with the agreement of the two parties, as a means of separating potential belligerents, or on one side of the line, at the request of one party, for the purpose of removing any pretext for attack. Demilitarized zones would serve as symbols of the international community's concern that conflict be prevented.

IV. Peacemaking

34. Between the tasks of seeking to prevent conflict and keeping the peace lies the responsibility to try to bring hostile parties to agreement by peaceful means. Chapter VI of the Charter sets forth a comprehensive list of such

means for the resolution of conflict. These have been amplified in various declarations adopted by the General Assembly, including the Manila Declaration of 1982 on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes[2] and the 1988 Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and Situations Which May Threaten International Peace and Security and on the Role of the United Nations in this Field.[3] They have also been the subject of various resolutions of the General Assembly, including resolution 44/21 of 15 November 1989 on enhancing international peace, security and international co-operation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The United Nations has had wide experience in the application of these peaceful means. If conflicts have gone unresolved, it is not because techniques for peaceful settlement were unknown or inadequate. The fault lies first in the lack of political will of parties to seek a solution to their differences through such means as are suggested in Chapter VI of the Charter, and second, in the lack of leverage at the disposal of a third party if this is the procedure chosen. The indifference of the international community to a problem, or the marginalization of it, can also thwart the possibilities of solution. We must look primarily to these areas if we hope to enhance the capacity of the Organization for achieving peaceful settlements.

35. The present determination in the Security Council to resolve international disputes in the manner foreseen in the Charter has opened the way for a more active Council role. With greater unity has come leverage and persuasive power to lead hostile parties towards negotiations. I urge the Council to take full advantage of the provisions of the Charter under which it may recommend appropriate procedures or methods for dispute settlement and, if all the parties to a dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties for a pacific settlement of the dispute.

36. The General Assembly, like the Security Council and the Secretary-General, also has an important role assigned to it under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. As a universal forum, its capacity to consider and recommend appropriate action must be recognized. To that end it is essential to promote its utilization by all Member States so as to bring greater influence to bear in pre-empting or containing situations which are likely to threaten international peace and security.

37. Mediation and negotiation can be undertaken by an individual designated by the Security Council, by the General Assembly or by the Secretary-General. There is a long history of the utilization by the United Nations of distinguished statesmen to facilitate the processes of peace. They can bring a personal prestige that, in addition to their experience, can encourage the parties to enter serious negotiations. There is a wide willingness to serve in this capacity, from which I shall continue to benefit as the need arises. Frequently it is the Secretary-General himself who undertakes the task.

While the mediator's effectiveness is enhanced by strong and evident support from the Council, the General Assembly and the relevant Member States acting in their national capacity, the good offices of the Secretary-General may at times be employed most effectively when conducted independently of the deliberative bodies. Close and continuous consultation between the Secretary-General and the Security Council is, however, essential to ensure full awareness of how the Council's influence can best be applied and to develop a common strategy for the peaceful settlement of specific disputes.

The World Court

38. The docket of the International Court of Justice has grown fuller but it remains an under-used resource for the peaceful adjudication of disputes. Greater reliance on the Court would be an important contribution to United Nations peacemaking. In this connection, I call attention to the power of the Security Council under Articles 36 and 37 of the Charter to recommend to Member States the submission of a dispute to the International Court of Justice, arbitration or other dispute-settlement mechanisms. I recommend that the Secretary-General be authorized, pursuant to Article 96, paragraph 2, of the Charter, to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court and that other United Nations organs that already enjoy such authorization turn to the Court more frequently for advisory opinions.

39. I recommend the following steps to reinforce the role of the International Court of Justice:

(a) All Member States should accept the general jurisdiction of the International Court under Article 36 of its Statute, without any reservation, before the end of the United Nations Decade of International Law in the year 2000. In instances where domestic structures prevent this, States should agree bilaterally or multilaterally to a comprehensive list of matters they are willing to submit to the Court and should withdraw their reservations to its jurisdiction in the dispute settlement clauses of multilateral treaties;

(b) When submission of a dispute to the full Court is not practical, the Chambers jurisdiction should be used;

(c) States should support the Trust Fund established to assist countries unable to afford the cost involved in bringing a dispute to the Court, and such countries should take full advantage of the Fund in order to resolve their disputes.

Amelioration through assistance

40. Peacemaking is at times facilitated by international action to ameliorate circumstances that have contributed to the dispute or conflict. If, for instance, assistance to displaced persons within a society is essential to a

solution, then the United Nations should be able to draw upon the resources of all agencies and programmes concerned. At present, there is no adequate mechanism in the United Nations through which the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Secretary-General can mobilize the resources needed for such positive leverage and engage the collective efforts of the United Nations system for the peaceful resolution of a conflict. I have raised this concept in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, which brings together the executive heads of United Nations agencies and programmes; we are exploring methods by which the inter-agency system can improve its contribution to the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Sanctions and special economic problems

41. In circumstances when peacemaking requires the imposition of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter, it is important that States confronted with special economic problems not only have the right to consult the Security Council regarding such problems, as Article 50 provides, but also have a realistic possibility of having their difficulties addressed. I recommend that the Security Council devise a set of measures involving the financial institutions and other components of the United Nations system that can be put in place to insulate States from such difficulties. Such measures would be a matter of equity and a means of encouraging States to co-operate with decisions of the Council.

Use of military force

42. It is the essence of the concept of collective security as contained in the Charter that if peaceful means fail, the measures provided in Chapter VII should be used, on the decision of the Security Council, to maintain or restore international peace and security in the face of a 'threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression'. The Security Council has not so far made use of the most coercive of these measures – the action by military force foreseen in Article 42. In the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, the Council chose to authorize Member States to take measures on its behalf. The Charter, however, provides a detailed approach which now merits the attention of all Member States.

43. Under Article 42 of the Charter, the Security Council has the authority to take military action to maintain or restore international peace and security. While such action should only be taken when all peaceful means have failed, the option of taking it is essential to the credibility of the United Nations as a guarantor of international security. This will require bringing into being, through negotiations, the special agreements foreseen in Article 43 of the Charter, whereby Member States undertake to make armed forces, assistance and facilities available to the Security Council for the purposes stated in Article 42, not only on an ad hoc basis but on a

permanent basis. Under the political circumstances that now exist for the first time since the Charter was adopted, the long-standing obstacles to the conclusion of such special agreements should no longer prevail. The ready availability of armed forces on call could serve, in itself, as a means of deterring breaches of the peace since a potential aggressor would know that the Council had at its disposal a means of response. Forces under Article 43 may perhaps never be sufficiently large or well enough equipped to deal with a threat from a major army equipped with sophisticated weapons. They would be useful, however, in meeting any threat posed by a military force of a lesser order. I recommend that the Security Council initiate negotiations in accordance with Article 43, supported by the Military Staff Committee, which may be augmented if necessary by others in accordance with Article 47, paragraph 2, of the Charter. It is my view that the role of the Military Staff Committee should be seen in the context of Chapter VII, and not that of the planning or conduct of peace-keeping operations.

Peace-enforcement units

44. The mission of forces under Article 43 would be to respond to outright aggression, imminent or actual. Such forces are not likely to be available for some time to come. Cease-fires have often been agreed to but not complied with, and the United Nations has sometimes been called upon to send forces to restore and maintain the cease-fire. This task can on occasion exceed the mission of peace-keeping forces and the expectations of peace-keeping force contributors. I recommend that the Council consider the utilization of peace-enforcement units in clearly defined circumstances and with their terms of reference specified in advance. Such units from Member States would be available on call and would consist of troops that have volunteered for such service. They would have to be more heavily armed than peace-keeping forces and would need to undergo extensive preparatory training within their national forces. Deployment and operation of such forces would be under the authorization of the Security Council and would, as in the case of peace-keeping forces, be under the command of the Secretary-General. I consider such peace-enforcement units to be warranted as a provisional measure under Article 40 of the Charter. Such peace-enforcement units should not be confused with the forces that may eventually be constituted under Article 43 to deal with acts of aggression or with the military personnel which Governments may agree to keep on stand-by for possible contribution to peace-keeping operations.

45. Just as diplomacy will continue across the span of all the activities dealt with in the present report, so there may not be a dividing line between peacemaking and peace-keeping. Peacemaking is often a prelude to peace-keeping – just as the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field may expand possibilities for the prevention of conflict, facilitate the work of peacemaking and in many cases serve as a prerequisite for peace-building.

V. Peace-keeping

46. Peace-keeping can rightly be called the invention of the United Nations. It has brought a degree of stability to numerous areas of tension around the world.

Increasing demands

47. Thirteen peace-keeping operations were established between the years 1945 and 1987; 13 others since then. An estimated 528,000 military, police and civilian personnel had served under the flag of the United Nations until January 1992. Over 800 of them from 43 countries have died in the service of the Organization. The costs of these operations have aggregated some $8.3 billion till 1992. The unpaid arrears towards them stand at over $800 million, which represents a debt owed by the Organization to the troop-contributing countries. Peace-keeping operations approved at present are estimated to cost close to $3 billion in the current 12-month period, while patterns of payment are unacceptably slow. Against this, global defence expenditures at the end of the last decade had approached $1 trillion a year, or $2 million per minute.

48. The contrast between the costs of United Nations peace-keeping and the costs of the alternative, war – between the demands of the Organization and the means provided to meet them – would be farcical were the consequences not so damaging to global stability and to the credibility of the Organization. At a time when nations and peoples increasingly are looking to the United Nations for assistance in keeping the peace – and holding it responsible when this cannot be so – fundamental decisions must be taken to enhance the capacity of the Organization in this innovative and productive exercise of its function. I am conscious that the present volume and unpredictability of peace-keeping assessments poses real problems for some Member States. For this reason, I strongly support proposals in some Member States for their peace-keeping contributions to be financed from defence, rather than foreign affairs, budgets and I recommend such action to others. I urge the General Assembly to encourage this approach.

49. The demands on the United Nations for peace-keeping, and peace-building, operations will in the coming years continue to challenge the capacity, the political and financial will and the creativity of the Secretariat and Member States. Like the Security Council, I welcome the increase and broadening of the tasks of peace-keeping operations.

New departures in peace-keeping

50. The nature of peace-keeping operations has evolved rapidly in recent years. The established principles and practices of peace-keeping have responded flexibly to new demands of recent years, and the basic conditions for success remain unchanged: a clear and practicable mandate; the co-operation of the parties in implementing that mandate; the continuing

support of the Security Council; the readiness of Member States to contribute the military, police and civilian personnel, including specialists, required; effective United Nations command at Headquarters and in the field; and adequate financial and logistic support. As the international climate has changed and peace-keeping operations are increasingly fielded to help implement settlements that have been negotiated by peacemakers, a new array of demands and problems has emerged regarding logistics, equipment, personnel and finance, all of which could be corrected if Member States so wished and were ready to make the necessary resources available.

Personnel

51. Member States are keen to participate in peace-keeping operations. Military observers and infantry are invariably available in the required numbers, but logistic units present a greater problem, as few armies can afford to spare such units for an extended period. Member States were requested in 1990 to state what military personnel they were in principle prepared to make available; few replied. I reiterate the request to all Member States to reply frankly and promptly. Stand-by arrangements should be confirmed, as appropriate, through exchanges of letters between the Secretariat and Member States concerning the kind and number of skilled personnel they will be prepared to offer the United Nations as the needs of new operations arise.

52. Increasingly, peace-keeping requires that civilian political officers, human rights monitors, electoral officials, refugee and humanitarian aid specialists and police play as central a role as the military. Police personnel have proved increasingly difficult to obtain in the numbers required. I recommend that arrangements be reviewed and improved for training peace-keeping personnel – civilian, police, or military – using the varied capabilities of Member State Governments, of non-governmental organizations and the facilities of the Secretariat. As efforts go forward to include additional States as contributors, some States with considerable potential should focus on language training for police contingents which may serve with the Organization. As for the United Nations itself, special personnel procedures, including incentives, should be instituted to permit the rapid transfer of Secretariat staff members to service with peace-keeping operations. The strength and capability of military staff serving in the Secretariat should be augmented to meet new and heavier requirements.

Logistics

53. Not all Governments can provide their battalions with the equipment they need for service abroad. While some equipment is provided by troop-contributing countries, a great deal has to come from the United Nations, including equipment to fill gaps in under-equipped national units. The

United Nations has no standing stock of such equipment. Orders must be placed with manufacturers, which creates a number of difficulties. A pre-positioned stock of basic peace-keeping equipment should be established, so that at least some vehicles, communications equipment, generators, etc., would be immediately available at the start of an operation. Alternatively, Governments should commit themselves to keeping certain equipment, specified by the Secretary-General, on stand-by for immediate sale, loan or donation to the United Nations when required.

54. Member States in a position to do so should make air- and sea-lift capacity available to the United Nations free of cost or at lower than commercial rates, as was the practice until recently.

VI. Post-conflict peace-building

55. Peacemaking and peace-keeping operations, to be truly successful, must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people. Through agreements ending civil strife, these may include disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation.

56. In the aftermath of international war, post-conflict peace-building may take the form of concrete co-operative projects which link two or more countries in a mutually beneficial undertaking that can not only contribute to economic and social development but also enhance the confidence that is so fundamental to peace. I have in mind, for example, projects that bring States together to develop agriculture, improve transportation or utilize resources such as water or electricity that they need to share, or joint programmes through which barriers between nations are brought down by means of freer travel, cultural exchanges and mutually beneficial youth and educational projects. Reducing hostile perceptions through educational exchanges and curriculum reform may be essential to forestall a re-emergence of cultural and national tensions which could spark renewed hostilities.

57. In surveying the range of efforts for peace, the concept of peace-building as the construction of a new environment should be viewed as the counterpart of preventive diplomacy, which seeks to avoid the breakdown of peaceful conditions. When conflict breaks out, mutually reinforcing efforts at peacemaking and peace-keeping come into play. Once these have achieved their objectives, only sustained, co-operative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems can place an achieved peace on a durable foundation. Preventive diplomacy is to avoid a crisis;

post-conflict peace-building is to prevent a recurrence.

58. Increasingly it is evident that peace-building after civil or international strife must address the serious problem of land mines, many tens of millions of which remain scattered in present or former combat zones. De-mining should be emphasized in the terms of reference of peace-keeping operations and is crucially important in the restoration of activity when peace-building is under way: agriculture cannot be revived without de-mining and the restoration of transport may require the laying of hard surface roads to prevent re-mining. In such instances, the link becomes evident between peace-keeping and peace-building. Just as demilitarized zones may serve the cause of preventive diplomacy and preventive deployment to avoid conflict, so may demilitarization assist in keeping the peace or in post-conflict peace-building, as a measure for heightening the sense of security and encouraging the parties to turn their energies to the work of peaceful restoration of their societies.

59. There is a new requirement for technical assistance which the United Nations has an obligation to develop and provide when requested: support for the transformation of deficient national structures and capabilities, and for the strengthening of new democratic institutions. The authority of the United Nations system to act in this field would rest on the consensus that social peace is as important as strategic or political peace. There is an obvious connection between democratic practices – such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making – and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order. These elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities.

VII. Co-operation with regional arrangements and organizations

60. The Covenant of the League of Nations, in its Article 21, noted the validity of regional understandings for securing the maintenance of peace. The Charter devotes Chapter VIII to regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action and consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The cold war impaired the proper use of Chapter VIII and indeed, in that era, regional arrangements worked on occasion against resolving disputes in the manner foreseen in the Charter.

61. The Charter deliberately provides no precise definition of regional arrangements and agencies, thus allowing useful flexibility for undertakings by a group of States to deal with a matter appropriate for regional action which also could contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. Such associations or entities could include treaty-based organizations, whether created before or after the founding of the United Nations, regional organizations for mutual security and defence,

organizations for general regional development or for co-operation on a particular economic topic or function, and groups created to deal with a specific political, economic or social issue of current concern.

62. In this regard, the United Nations has recently encouraged a rich variety of complementary efforts. Just as no two regions or situations are the same, so the design of co-operative work and its division of labour must adapt to the realities of each case with flexibility and creativity. In Africa, three different regional groups – the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference – joined efforts with the United Nations regarding Somalia. In the Asian context, the Association of South-East Asian Nations and individual States from several regions were brought together with the parties to the Cambodian conflict at an international conference in Paris, to work with the United Nations. For El Salvador, a unique arrangement – 'The Friends of the Secretary-General' – contributed to agreements reached through the mediation of the Secretary-General. The end of the war in Nicaragua involved a highly complex effort which was initiated by leaders of the region and conducted by individual States, groups of States and the Organization of American States. Efforts undertaken by the European Community and its member States, with the support of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, have been of central importance in dealing with the crisis in the Balkans and neighbouring areas.

63. In the past, regional arrangements often were created because of the absence of a universal system for collective security; thus their activities could on occasion work at cross-purposes with the sense of solidarity required for the effectiveness of the world Organization. But in this new era of opportunity, regional arrangements or agencies can render great service if their activities are undertaken in a manner consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, and if their relationship with the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, is governed by Chapter VIII.

64. It is not the purpose of the present report to set forth any formal pattern of relationship between regional organizations and the United Nations, or to call for any specific division of labour. What is clear, however, is that regional arrangements or agencies in many cases possess a potential that should be utilized in serving the functions covered in this report: preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building. Under the Charter, the Security Council has and will continue to have primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, but regional action as a matter of decentralization, delegation and co-operation with United Nations efforts could not only lighten the burden of the Council but also contribute to a deeper sense of participation, consensus and democratization in international affairs.

65. Regional arrangements and agencies have not in recent decades been considered in this light, even when originally designed in part for a role in

maintaining or restoring peace within their regions of the world. Today a new sense exists that they have contributions to make. Consultations between the United Nations and regional arrangements or agencies could do much to build international consensus on the nature of a problem and the measures required to address it. Regional organizations participating in complementary efforts with the United Nations in joint undertakings would encourage States outside the region to act supportively. And should the Security Council choose specifically to authorize a regional arrangement or organization to take the lead in addressing a crisis within its region, it could serve to lend the weight of the United Nations to the validity of the regional effort. Carried forward in the spirit of the Charter, and as envisioned in Chapter VIII, the approach outlined here could strengthen a general sense that democratization is being encouraged at all levels in the task of maintaining international peace and security, it being essential to continue to recognize that the primary responsibility will continue to reside in the Security Council.

VIII. Safety of personnel

66. When United Nations personnel are deployed in conditions of strife, whether for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping, peace-building or humanitarian purposes, the need arises to ensure their safety. There has been an unconscionable increase in the number of fatalities. Following the conclusion of a cease-fire and in order to prevent further outbreaks of violence, United Nations guards were called upon to assist in volatile conditions in Iraq. Their presence afforded a measure of security to United Nations personnel and supplies and, in addition, introduced an element of reassurance and stability that helped to prevent renewed conflict. Depending upon the nature of the situation, different configurations and compositions of security deployments will need to be considered. As the variety and scale of threat widens, innovative measures will be required to deal with the dangers facing United Nations personnel.

67. Experience has demonstrated that the presence of a United Nations operation has not always been sufficient to deter hostile action. Duty in areas of danger can never be risk-free; United Nations personnel must expect to go in harm's way at times. The courage, commitment and idealism shown by United Nations personnel should be respected by the entire international community. These men and women deserve to be properly recognized and rewarded for the perilous tasks they undertake. Their interests and those of their families must be given due regard and protected.

68. Given the pressing need to afford adequate protection to United Nations personnel engaged in life-endangering circumstances, I recommend that the Security Council, unless it elects immediately to withdraw the United Nations presence in order to preserve the credibility of the Organization,

gravely consider what action should be taken towards those who put United Nations personnel in danger. Before deployment takes place, the Council should keep open the option of considering in advance collective measures, possibly including those under Chapter VII when a threat to international peace and security is also involved, to come into effect should the purpose of the United Nations operation systematically be frustrated and hostilities occur.

IX. Financing

69. A chasm has developed between the tasks entrusted to this Organization and the financial means provided to it. The truth of the matter is that our vision cannot really extend to the prospect opening before us as long as our financing remains myopic. There are two main areas of concern: the ability of the Organization to function over the longer term; and immediate requirements to respond to a crisis.

70. To remedy the financial situation of the United Nations in all its aspects, my distinguished predecessor repeatedly drew the attention of Member States to the increasingly impossible situation that has arisen and, during the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, made a number of proposals. Those proposals which remain before the Assembly, and with which I am in broad agreement, are the following:

- *Proposal one:* This suggested the adoption of a set of measures to deal with the cash flow problems caused by the exceptionally high level of unpaid contributions as well as with the problem of inadequate working capital reserves:

(a) Charging interest on the amounts of assessed contributions that are not paid on time;

(b) Suspending certain financial regulations of the United Nations to permit the retention of budgetary surpluses;

(c) Increasing the Working Capital Fund to a level of $250 million and endorsing the principle that the level of the Fund should be approximately 25 per cent of the annual assessment under the regular budget;

(d) Establishment of a temporary peace-keeping reserve fund, at a level of $50 million, to meet initial expenses of peace-keeping operations pending receipt of assessed contributions;

(e) Authorization to the Secretary-General to borrow commercially, should other sources of cash be inadequate.

- *Proposal two:* This suggested the creation of a Humanitarian Revolving Fund in the order of $50 million, to be used in emergency humanitarian situations. The proposal has since been implemented.

- *Proposal three:* This suggested the establishment of a United Nations Peace Endowment Fund, with an initial target of $1 billion. The Fund would be created by a combination of assessed and voluntary contributions, with the latter being sought from Governments, the private sector as well as

individuals. Once the Fund reached its target level, the proceeds from the investment of its principal would be used to finance the initial costs of authorized peace-keeping operations, other conflict resolution measures and related activities.

71. In addition to these proposals, others have been added in recent months in the course of public discussion. These ideas include: a levy on arms sales that could be related to maintaining an Arms Register by the United Nations; a levy on international air travel, which is dependent on the maintenance of peace; authorization for the United Nations to borrow from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – for peace and development are interdependent; general tax exemption for contributions made to the United Nations by foundations, businesses and individuals; and changes in the formula for calculating the scale of assessments for peace-keeping operations.

72. As such ideas are debated, a stark fact remains: the financial foundations of the Organization daily grow weaker, debilitating its political will and practical capacity to undertake new and essential activities. This state of affairs must not continue. Whatever decisions are taken on financing the Organization, there is one inescapable necessity: Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. Failure to do so puts them in breach of their obligations under the Charter.

73. In these circumstances and on the assumption that Member States will be ready to finance operations for peace in a manner commensurate with their present, and welcome, readiness to establish them, I recommend the following:

(a) Immediate establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund of $50 million;

(b) Agreement that one third of the estimated cost of each new peace-keeping operation be appropriated by the General Assembly as soon as the Security Council decides to establish the operation; this would give the Secretary-General the necessary commitment authority and assure an adequate cash flow; the balance of the costs would be appropriated after the General Assembly approved the operation's budget;

(c) Acknowledgement by Member States that, under exceptional circumstances, political and operational considerations may make it necessary for the Secretary-General to employ his authority to place contracts without competitive bidding.

74. Member States wish the Organization to be managed with the utmost efficiency and care. I am in full accord. I have taken important steps to streamline the Secretariat in order to avoid duplication and overlap while increasing its productivity. Additional changes and improvements will take place. As regards the United Nations system more widely, I continue to review the situation in consultation with my colleagues in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination. The question of assuring

financial security to the Organization over the long term is of such importance and complexity that public awareness and support must be heightened. I have therefore asked a select group of qualified persons of high international repute to examine this entire subject and to report to me. I intend to present their advice, together with my comments, for the consideration of the General Assembly, in full recognition of the special responsibility that the Assembly has, under the Charter, for financial and budgetary matters.

X. An Agenda for Peace

75. The nations and peoples of the United Nations are fortunate in a way that those of the League of Nations were not. We have been given a second chance to create the world of our Charter that they were denied. With the cold war ended we have drawn back from the brink of a confrontation that threatened the world and, too often, paralysed our Organization.

76. Even as we celebrate our restored possibilities, there is a need to ensure that the lessons of the past four decades are learned and that the errors, or variations of them, are not repeated. For there may not be a third opportunity for our planet which, now for different reasons, remains endangered.

77. The tasks ahead must engage the energy and attention of all components of the United Nations system – the General Assembly and other principal organs, the agencies and programmes. Each has, in a balanced scheme of things, a role and a responsibility.

78. Never again must the Security Council lose the collegiality that is essential to its proper functioning, an attribute that it has gained after such trial. A genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of the veto or the power of any group of nations. And it follows that agreement among the permanent members must have the deeper support of the other members of the Council, and the membership more widely, if the Council's decisions are to be effective and endure.

79. The Summit Meeting of the Security Council of 31 January 1992 provided a unique forum for exchanging views and strengthening co-operation. I recommend that the Heads of State and Government of the members of the Council meet in alternate years, just before the general debate commences in the General Assembly. Such sessions would permit exchanges on the challenges and dangers of the moment and stimulate ideas on how the United Nations may best serve to steer change into peaceful courses. I propose in addition that the Security Council continue to meet at the Foreign Minister level, as it has effectively done in recent years, whenever the situation warrants such meetings.

80. Power brings special responsibilities, and temptations. The powerful must resist the dual but opposite calls of unilateralism and isolationism if the United Nations is to succeed. For just as unilateralism at the global or

regional level can shake the confidence of others, so can isolationism, whether it results from political choice or constitutional circumstance, enfeeble the global undertaking. Peace at home and the urgency of rebuilding and strengthening our individual societies necessitates peace abroad and co-operation among nations. The endeavours of the United Nations will require the fullest engagement of all of its Members, large and small, if the present renewed opportunity is to be seized.

81. Democracy within nations requires respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as set forth in the Charter. It requires as well a deeper understanding and respect for the rights of minorities and respect for the needs of the more vulnerable groups of society, especially women and children. This is not only a political matter. The social stability needed for productive growth is nurtured by conditions in which people can readily express their will. For this, strong domestic institutions of participation are essential. Promoting such institutions means promoting the empowerment of the unorganized, the poor, the marginalized. To this end, the focus of the United Nations should be on the 'field', the locations where economic, social and political decisions take effect. In furtherance of this I am taking steps to rationalize and in certain cases integrate the various programmes and agencies of the United Nations within specific countries. The senior United Nations official in each country should be prepared to serve, when needed, and with the consent of the host authorities, as my Representative on matters of particular concern.

82. Democracy within the family of nations means the application of its principles within the world Organization itself. This requires the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization. All organs of the United Nations must be accorded, and play, their full and proper role so that the trust of all nations and peoples will be retained and deserved. The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument. Democracy at all levels is essential to attain peace for a new era of prosperity and justice.

83. Trust also requires a sense of confidence that the world Organization will react swiftly, surely and impartially and that it will not be debilitated by political opportunism or by administrative or financial inadequacy. This presupposes a strong, efficient and independent international civil service whose integrity is beyond question and an assured financial basis that lifts the Organization, once and for all, out of its present mendicancy.

84. Just as it is vital that each of the organs of the United Nations employ its capabilities in the balanced and harmonious fashion envisioned in the Charter, peace in the largest sense cannot be accomplished by the United Nations system or by Governments alone. Non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, parliamentarians, business and

professional communities, the media and the public at large must all be involved. This will strengthen the world Organization's ability to reflect the concerns and interests of its widest constituency, and those who become more involved can carry the word of United Nations initiatives and build a deeper understanding of its work.

85. Reform is a continuing process, and improvement can have no limit. Yet there is an expectation, which I wish to see fulfilled, that the present phase in the renewal of this Organization should be complete by 1995, its Fiftieth Anniversary. The pace set must therefore be increased if the United Nations is to keep ahead of the acceleration of history that characterizes this age. We must be guided not by precedents alone, however wise these may be, but by the needs of the future and by the shape and content that we wish to give it.

86. I am committed to broad dialogue between the Member States and the Secretary-General. And I am committed to fostering a full and open interplay between all institutions and elements of the Organization so that the Charter's objectives may not only be better served, but that this Organization may emerge as greater than the sum of its parts. The United Nations was created with a great and courageous vision. Now is the time, for its nations and peoples, and the men and women who serve it, to seize the moment for the sake of the future.

1. See S/23500, statement by the President of the Council, section entitled 'Peacemaking and peace-keeping'.
2. General Assembly resolution 37/10, annex.
3. General Assembly resolution 43/51, annex.

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