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*Canadian Perspectives on
United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security*

Introduction

It is now three years since the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. The Resolution calls for (1) the participation of women in peace processes; (2) gender training in peacekeeping operations; (3) protection of women and girls and respect for their rights; and (4) gender mainstreaming in the reporting and implementation systems of the United Nations in relation to conflict, peace and security.

To address these four areas of action, the Resolution identifies 18 steps to be taken by the United Nations Secretary General, the Security Council, Member States and all parties to armed conflict. For example, Resolution 1325 calls on the United Nations to appoint more women at senior levels and involve more women in UN field missions as military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian officers. UN Member States, such as Canada are asked to support initiatives that include gender sensitive training and HIV/AIDS awareness training for military and civilian police. Finally, the resolution urges parties to armed conflict to respect international law on the rights and protection of women and girls and to adopt measures to support local women's peace initiatives and involve women in all stages of peace processes.

Resolution 1325 provides a platform from which individuals, non-government organizations, governments and international institutions can advocate for the inclusion of women in all aspects of conflict, peace and security. It is a commitment made by the government of Canada and by governments from around the world. Despite this commitment, we continue to hear reports about impunity for rapists in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; exclusion of women in the Iraqi peace processes; and the omission of girls in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs in post-conflict zones.

The Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group (GPWG) of the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee (CPCC)¹ is a network of Canadian civil society representatives including non-governmental organizations, academics and individuals who come together to share and analyse information in an effort to enhance policy and programming that affect women and girls living in conflict and post-conflict zones. Over the past year the GPWG has focused much of activity and resources on developing outreach tools and disseminating information on Resolution 1325. The Gender and Human Security Conference, provided the GPWG with a forum to further explore the successes and challenges facing the implementation of Resolution 1325. Coordinating the *Canadian Perspectives on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* panel, the GPWG was able to bring together representatives from the policy, research and advocacy communities in Canada. The following articles demonstrate varying perspectives on approaches, challenges and successes in the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Part One:
*What is the Policy Agenda for Realizing Canada's Commitment to
Resolution 1325?*

Chantale Walker

The Canadian government's approach to Security Council Resolution 1325:

Our world is an increasingly interdependent one in which the safety and security of Canadians at home is inextricably linked to the safety of those beyond our borders. Working to enhance the safety and well-being of people abroad is a reflection of Canadian priorities and a principle, which informs our foreign policy. Our human security agenda is founded on the belief that genuine security is only possible by increasing respect for fundamental human rights. That is why Canada is committed to a person-centred, as well as state-centred, approach to security policy that incorporates promoting human rights, alleviating humanitarian crises, supporting international peacekeeping and encouraging disarmament in our human security agenda.

Women's human rights are an integral part of getting human security right. Canada remains committed to international women's equality and women's human rights. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bill Graham, has said: "There can be no lasting peace, security or economic development where the rights of women and girls are denied." To that end, Canada is considered a leader internationally on women's rights issues, particularly on the elimination of violence against women.

Canada's commitment to a foreign policy focussed on the security of the person is strengthened by the inclusion of women, particularly their full and equal participation in all stages and aspects of peacebuilding, policy formation and implementation. Canada was a member of the UN Security Council when the landmark Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was passed unanimously. This is the first Security Council resolution to deal exclusively with women in situations of armed conflict and establishes a comprehensive agenda on women, peace and security. By acknowledging how war affects women and men differently, the resolution draws attention to the need for full and equal participation of women in peace processes and peacebuilding activities, and underlines the importance of gender-sensitive training for personnel involved in peace-support operations.

How the Canadian government advances Resolution 1325:

Canada has taken a leadership role in implementing Resolution 1325, both domestically and internationally. For the Canadian government, a partnership approach to fulfilling international commitments, such as Resolution 1325, continues to be effective on both the domestic and international level. Partnering with other governments and members of civil society, the Canadian government works actively to fulfill the commitments agreed to in the resolution.

Domestic Level:

Domestically, Canada created the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security

(CCWPS) to implement Resolution 1325. The CCWPS, currently chaired by Senator Mobina Jaffer, is a unique tripartite committee comprised of parliamentarians, civil society representatives, and government officials. The Committee focuses on advocacy, capacity-building, and training for civilian and military audiences involved in peace-support operations.

In 2003, the CCWPS in partnership with civil society groups, conducted a series of unique roundtables across Canada to consult with Afghan-Canadian women, who were frozen out of the policy process, to discuss women's participation in post-conflict reconstruction in Afghanistan. The Afghan roundtables are significant not only in terms of the process of increasing dialogue between government and civil society on key foreign policy issues, but also in terms of the substance of such dialogue. The roundtable provided a forum within which Afghan-Canadian women engaged in dialogue, identified priority areas for action, and have undertaken that action themselves. A report of the roundtables was published, entitled *A Stone in the Water*, and has been widely distributed nationally and internationally. A follow-up report, *Too Little Has Changed*, which discusses a plan of action, will soon be released.

In October 2003, the CCWPS, in collaboration with the International Development Research Centre and the Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group of the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee organised the first annual symposium, "*Conflict, Peace and Security: What have we learned and where are we going?*". The symposium was an opportunity for civil society representatives, government officials and parliamentarians to come together to examine what Canada has learned and where Canada is going with regards to policy and programming in women, peace and security.

Currently the CCWPS is partnering with the Forum of Federations and South Asia Partnership – Canada to coordinate roundtables with women from the Sri Lankan diaspora in Canada. Using the model of the Afghan roundtables to increase women's participation in decision-making and peacebuilding efforts, these roundtables will facilitate a process within which women's input can be funnelled into the policy-making process, and have direct access to parliamentarians and other decision-makers.

In the spring of 2004, the CCWPS is holding a series of roundtables in communities across Canada to strengthen the capacities of Canadians with regards to their awareness, understanding and ability to take action in the implementation of Resolution 1325.

International Level:

Our work continues in the multilateral arena where our partnerships continue with likeminded countries allowing us to collectively further the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Internationally, Canada has initiated and chairs the New York-based *Friends of Women, Peace and Security* group, a coalition of like-minded states, representatives of UN agencies and NGOs who discuss priorities for implementation of Resolution 1325 and build momentum. Our colleagues at Canada's Permanent Mission to the UN in New York are very active at a high-level in this regard.

In partnership with the United Kingdom, Canada developed a Gender Training Initiative (GTI) for military and civilian personnel involved in peace support operations. This initiative provides material for a three-day course on gender sensitization complete with thematic overview and geographic-based case studies. The GTI was piloted for a Canadian mixed military and civilian audience in Spring 2002 and has since been used by the UN in the development of their own standard training modules for peacekeepers. It was recently transformed into an online interactive web site (<http://www.genderandpeacekeeping.org>.)

Canadian membership in the *Human Security Network*, a 13 member group of countries committed to promoting issues of human security — allows Canada to promote cutting edge issues and themes in an already existing coalition of the willing. In preparation for the 2001 Human Security Ministerial Meeting in Jordan, Canada together with Norway and Switzerland commissioned a study entitled “*Gendering Human Security -- from Marginalisation to the Integration of Women in Peace-Building*”. Canada is taking over as chair of the Human Security Network in May 2004 and will be integrating gender as a cross-cutting priority and will ensure that strategic actions are undertaken in this regard.

The Human Security Program of the Department of Foreign Affairs is another vehicle and has supported numerous international projects including initiatives to advance women’s rights in conflict and post-conflict countries such as Afghanistan and the Sudan.

Using, the Beijing Platform for Action as its reference point, Canada, with UN Member states, the G8, and other regional and international organizations has actively worked to integrate a gender-sensitive approach to peacebuilding and human security efforts within these institutions and structures to ensure that women and men benefit equally from efforts to build peace.

Canada continues to work at broadening the traditional definition of security and pushes a women, peace and security agenda through its participation in regional fora such as the Organisation of American States (OAS), the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Commonwealth, and within the UN General Assembly, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Commission on Human Rights.

In the Canada, Australia and New Zealand (CANZ) resolution at the UN General Assembly on the ‘Improvement of the status of women in the UN system’, the Canadian government urged the UN Secretary General, UN Member states and the various organs of the UN system to increase the number of women in senior level positions, including heads of field missions and other areas of peacekeeping support operations. Of course, in Canada itself, the overwhelming majority of our own Heads of Missions and senior foreign service officers are men.

During the recent Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security on October 29, 2003, Canada once again called for explicit reference to gender considerations in all Special Representatives of the Secretary General (SRSG). This includes holding SRSG accountable to issues and commitments made to gender equality in their missions.

At the Commission on Human Rights, Canada leads the resolution on the elimination of violence against women, a resolution which created the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on Violence

Against Women. For ten years, this resolution and the work of the Special Rapporteur have specifically addressed women, peace and security issues.

Canada's commitment to the International Criminal Court and the Rome Statute is unflinching particularly regarding the inclusion of gender-related crimes as war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Through its partnership with government and civil society, Canada is able to push for greater implementation of Resolution 1325 internationally. Canada, Chile, the UK, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, with support from the International Peace Academy and Women Waging Peace, are co-sponsoring two working roundtables with UN Security Council members in January 2004 and Spring 2004. The first roundtable was held on 27 January 2004 and addressed the fundamental areas of convergence and divergence between, and gaps within, five Security Council resolutionsⁱⁱ, with the aim of examining more holistically the principles of prevention, participation and protection. Small breakout groups comprised of Security Council members, UN officials and civil society representatives discussed the impact of the resolutions in conflict-affected regions and developed recommendations to further advance the principles underpinning these resolutions. The second roundtable will build on the first and will develop practical tools to advance the effective implementation of the resolutions, with a specific focus on Women, Peace and Security.

Finally, one of the themes of the upcoming session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, is '*women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building*'. Canada is preparing extensively for this session and in November of last year, hosted the Experts Group Meeting in Ottawa which focused on "*Peace agreements as a means for promoting gender equality and ensuring participation of women — A framework of model provisions*".

Conclusion:

Canada's multidimensional and multilateral approach is epitomized by the Afghan Roundtables: the Canadian government engaged in a "joining up" exercise of linking government and civil society, domestically and internationally, facilitated an innovative process and gleaned substantive inputs into Canadian foreign policy. Canada's will continue with its partnership approach to work towards the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Canada and abroad.

Part Two:
United Nations Women, Peace and Security Agenda:
Opportunities and Challenges

Sheri Gibbings

UN Security Council Resolution 1325, adopted in October 2000, has been called a “landmark” by women’s organizations since it was the first time the Security Council affirmed the importance of a gender perspective in all issues of peace and security, and the necessity of women’s participation in decision-making. My commentary arises from the desire to move beyond celebrating the passage of 1325, which is indeed a historic moment in time, to looking critically at the discourse about women produced by it.

New relations are produced through Resolution 1325 and the women, peace and security agenda as it marks a shift in the practices of the Security Council. Many feminists’ analyses of gender, conflict and security focus on the extreme forms of violence, nationalism and militarism – they have presented the state as generally destructive and controlling of women’s bodies. In the United Nations and associated agencies, which are working for the promotion of peace and security, power and control function more through moderate practicesⁱⁱⁱ. My paper examines the subtle powers of the women, peace and security agenda and the so called ‘inclusion’ of women into peace and security issues. I argue that women’s inclusion still remains significantly limited because the power to define who is included, and when, still remains in limited hands.

Furthermore, I believe we need to consider how the women, peace and security agenda is produced and located in the global networks of bureaucratic power. I use a Foucauldian understanding of power and subjectivity which understands power as not merely repressive and negative but that it can also be productive - “produc[ing] things, induc[ing] pleasure, forms of knowledge, [and] produc[ing] discourse” [Foucault 1984:61].

My main argument is that women are governed – they are included or excluded, assimilated or appropriated, *depending* on the varying needs of the peace and security project (as defined by the UN). As advocates of 1325, we must begin to monitor the boundaries of the way in which women are “managed”.

One notion that I would like to address is the idea that we should focus on the “real lives” of women in the academic and policy world. I find this idea problematic since it places the ‘power’ of cultural construction as existing ‘out there’ and denies the part in which organizations and individuals participate in this construction. Little notice has been given to the idea of non-governmental organizations, UN agencies and member states as “cultural producers that create aspects of the worlds that they act on” (Pink 1998:11). The UN itself is a cultural institution that should be investigated.

Women as a Resource:

One contradiction with the circulating discourse is the idea of women as a resource. References are continually made to women as “the untapped resources”^{iv}. The Norway Mission to the UN stated in a speech that, “women are a resource that should be included at all levels of peace planning and peace-making”^v. In Ms. Magazine the title states, “In U.N. Peacekeeping, Women are an Untapped Resource”^{vi}. In 2003 the Liechtenstein Mission to the UN said at the Security Council Open Debate that, “The United Nations and its operations on the ground are perfectly placed to utilize this largely untapped resource, and we continue to believe that the appointment of women as Special Representatives and Envoys can play a catalytic role for the stronger involvement of women in peace processes, especially when those reach more formal stages”^{vii}. The United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) Essentials, a series that summarizes the lessons learned and recommendations, is entitled “From Recovery to Transition: Women, the Untapped Resource”^{viii}. The list continues^{ix}.

The women, peace and security agenda proposes that women are an international, national and local resource in the context of the global economy of peace and security. We must examine how feminists are shaped or constrained by the fact that they have to operate within the scope of an institution such as the UN. As Escobar states, “labels and institutional practices are issues of power; they are invented by institutions as part of an apparently rational process that is fundamentally political in nature” (1991:667).

Framed as a “resource”, the “skills” of women were selected out and the relevant points about women are highlighted as the kinds of “skills” and requirements the Security Council specified in their larger project for peace and security. Although this was part of the process of getting Security Council members to listen to women, it was at the same time the way in which women were organized according to their skills. Thus, while it was important that women are recognized by the Security Council, they also come to ‘fit’ within the Security Council apparatus for ‘security’ and ‘peace’.

The first danger with this idea is that women’s involvement is based on their use value (as peacemakers), as noted by Helen Kinsella, rather than on their basic human right^x. The framing of women as peacemakers and therefore as a “resource” influences the *conditions* for women’s participation and creates a criterion for involvement. Secondly, in the growing market of peace and security women are now a commodity that can be used and/or exchanged at the convenience of the Security Council. The problem with this framing is that the peace building of women may not start to be determined by what they want as by what the Security Council requires for *their* project of peace and security. In this sense, we should be aware of when the implicit requirements of the Security Council come to take precedence over women’s practices and needs.

Who Defines the Problems?

The United Nations, as an institution, can be conceptualized as a cultural space. The Security Council conception of what constitutes ‘security’, ‘conflict’ and ‘peace’ is a historically

produced discourse and in the words of Escobar with reference to development: “[it] creates a space in which only certain things could be said and even imaged” (1988:435). As noted by Sandra Whitworth, the problem with the framing ‘women’ as a “resource” to the Security Council is that women are now in danger of becoming the new “practical solutions” to peace and security ‘problems’ (as defined by the UN)^{xi}. In this framework, women can be understood not just as resources with certain capacities and skills but also as “resources in need of modification, adaptation and change” over time (Philpott 2000), depending on the demands. As women are viewed as the new “resource” for solving security, this also hides attempts by member states to “manoeuvre” the political role of women’s organizing for their own ends. In July 2003 President Bush conveyed his message of support to "Voices of Iraqi Women" conference in Baghdad. He stated that groups within the United States have been “working closely with Iraqi women's groups to enhance women's opportunities for participation in the new Iraq”^{xii}. Additionally, he said "by working together, we will achieve our mutual goals and bring the promise of hope and security to Iraq and the world"^{xiii}. By painting the illusion of their “partnership” the United States masks the power relations between the parties and how women are being mobilized within this relationship.

This comes back to the question of bureaucracy and the importance of examining the “worldviews”— the “basic, organizationally shared assumptions about relationships between self and various others” (Heyman 1995:261). As noted by Sandra Whitworth (2003) feminists have often entered the spaces of bureaucratic institutions, with the idea of changing them but what often becomes ‘normalized’ and ‘naturalized’ is the larger questions of what is defined as problems that need to be solved. In other words, Whitworth describes how feminists have taken bureaucratic ‘problems’ as issues feminists needed to ‘fit’ into and solve. Therefore, a radical agenda can become re-shaped into the already existing programs and policies of these institutions. Thus, we must examine how the women, peace and security agenda is being formed and reformed into the already constituted and historically specific project of peace and security. Instead of trying to figure out how we can make Security Council members do their jobs better by incorporating gender we need to ask a larger set of questions. The challenge, however, still remains because feminists are forced to function under the constraints of embedded bureaucratic practices, politics and worldviews when developing this agenda.

The Boundaries of Inclusion and Exclusion

For the past three anniversaries of Resolution 1325 governments have been congratulating themselves on including women and gender perspectives in peace and security. What limits does this inclusion entail? As noted by Eva Mackey, with reference to the Canadian government and multiculturalism, inclusion can essentially reinforce dominance (of those with the power to include), because being granted inclusion always implies the prospect of being excluded (2001: 16). Using Mackey’s ideas we can see that the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are about positioning women in positions of decision-making while simultaneously controlling the specific limits of their inclusion (1994:28).

As a result, one the key issues we need to examine in the future as 1325 is being implemented is the definition and boundaries of inclusion. In many cases today, the power and the choice

whether or not to accept certain women, to include them or not, still lies in the hands of a few. For example, in this quote by the Ambassador of the UK, it is interesting to see who has the authority to define women's inclusion:

But resolution 1325 (2000) has very special qualities. It was a landmark. For the first time, we broadened our gaze from the traditional political and military aspects of peace and security and rightly turned our attention to the rights of those most widely and frequently affected by conflict. Crucially in doing so, *we* recognized that women were not just disproportionately affected by conflict but also in many ways the key to peace.^{xiv}

Later the Ambassador states, "We are developing a database of suitably qualified UK-based women with experience in conflict prevention and resolution work that are willing to join missions overseas. Once this is complete, we will be sharing it with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)"^{xv} The key is that despite the proliferation of ideas of including women, the power to define, limit and include women still lies in the hands of the dominant group. The UK government is creating a list of experts on the subject – they have the power to determine who the experts are. Thus, women are being "managed" – governments are allowing particular women into the social space but at the same time limiting and defining who, when and how women will be included. If the knowledge and practices of women is deemed an important and valuable resource at the UN, who is and will be responsible for managing it? We must start to engage with the question of who has the 'power' to include and when.

Women are also "managed" as a few women are included to make up for the lack of larger presence and representation. Diane Nelson uses the notion of "prosthetics" to describe the peace process in Guatemala^{xvi}. She formulates an important observation: "that prosthetics are about overcoming a lack of presence, and in Guatemala's peace process the *mujer Maya* as image is deployed to bridge the span between those speaking and those spoken for" (2001:322). She describes how the few women involved in the peace process provided a "bandage on the wounded body politic" so that those "excluded would feel they have a stake" (2001:322). She asks whether a few women are given attention because their participation is merely "prosthethically overcoming the lack of presence by others" (2001:323).

In Iraq, the United States Administration pledged support for inclusion of women in decision-making bodies and has quoted Resolution 1325 numerous times. However, only three women were appointed to the Iraqi Governing Council, only one woman to the Iraqi cabinet, and no women were appointed to the 24-member constitutional committee (Feminist Majority Foundation 2003). In this sense, the United States leans on women in order for them to appear represented and consulted so the security project can continue to function within the 'normal' gendered power structures. At the same time, however, women are "managed" since their participation is always on the terms of powerful others. Women, therefore, can be appropriated depending on the circumstances – as we are now witnessing in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Women are permitted to participate but only in defined and carefully pre-selected ways as long as the project of peace and security, as defined by the UN, comes first. In this structure, elites are the ones who define the appropriate *conditions* and *boundaries* of this inclusion.

Conclusions:

As noted by Carol Cohn Resolution 1325 has performed the worthy task of seeking to restore the marginalized voices of women to analyses of peace and security. It shows that women, as active agents, experience conflict in much more complicated ways than merely victims and also participate in the peace building activities more than ever traditionally recognized by the international sphere^{xvii}.

As a next step we must look at the boundaries of this inclusion and exclusion. In fact, the apparent inclusion of women can also be an expression of power. Women can serve as a modern guise – combining the good intentions of women to the reasons and rationality of the peace and security project of particular Member States. We must start considering whether strategies of inclusion are only providing a “prosthetic” fix to the complex problems that arise in the consideration of gender, peace and security.

Part Three:
***Implementing Resolution 1325, an NGO Perspective:
Lessons Learned and Realities from the Field***

This paper is based on the presentation made by Isabelle Solon-Helal, Programme Officer, Women's Rights at Rights and Democracy. Isabelle recently returned from the Democratic Republic of the Congo where Rights and Democracy works in partnership with local, grassroots organizations on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. This paper examines the implementation of six articles of Resolution 1325 within the context of the peace processes of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Implementation of Articles 1, 2 and 8 of Resolution 1325 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: participation of women in decision-making and in peace processes:

Article 1: Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict

Article 2: Encourages the Secretary General to implement his strategies plan of action calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.

Article 8: Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements to adopt a gender perspective, including inter alia:

- a) *The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;*
- b) *Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;*
- c) *Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary.*

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000.

Unite

Although the participation of women in all decision-making levels and in all aspects of conflict resolution and peace processes is reflected in political frameworks such as the Transitional Constitution, Congolese women remain marginalized from these positions and processes. Despite the challenges they face, Congolese women continue to mobilize themselves and make demands for their inclusion in the political, cultural, economic and social development policies and programmes of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

In February 2002, Congolese women from all regions of the country and representing government, paramilitary and military groups and civil society met in Nairobi, Kenya to adopt a

declaration and plan of action to integrate a gender sensitive perspective into the DRC peace process. The ensuing *Nairobi Declaration* makes several demands for democratic development and the protection of the rights of women and girls. Included in this document is a demand to all parties in conflict to cease fighting, the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in the new constitution of the DRC, and mainstreaming of gender-sensitivity within the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD)^{xviii}.

Later that same month, women delegates of political parties and civil society experts in gender equality participated in the ICD in Sun City, South Africa. Women accounted for 40 of the 307 representatives at these talks. Although limited access to technical resources, information and financial support constrained their participation, Congolese women acted as a “unified dynamic force to keep the talks going through frequent blockages in the negotiations and formed parallel shadow commissions that met with all heads of delegations, international observers and the Special Representatives of the Secretary General” (SG Report 2002: 63).

In April 2003, the DRC introduced in its Transitional Constitution the importance of having the active participation of women in all levels of government. In addition, Article 51 of the Transitional Constitution of the DRC specifies the following:

The State has obligation to avoid by all means all forms of discrimination against women and to ensure the respect and the promotion of her rights.

The State has obligation to take, in all domains, notably the economic, social and cultural areas all appropriate measures to ensure a full participation of women in the development of the Nation.

The State will take measures to fight against all forms of violence against women in the public and the private life. Women have the right to a significant representation in all institutions at national, provincial and local levels.

Although constitutionally the political participation of women and the protection of the rights of women are guaranteed, in practice the lack of political will on the part of state actors and parties to armed conflict continues to undermine advancements made by Congolese women during negotiations. The rights of women and girls in the DRC are violated on a daily basis and their representation in the transitional government institutions and negotiations remains almost invisible.

According to Common Cause, a non-governmental organization, Congolese women represent a mere 7% of decision-making positions. Currently, women’s rights-based NGOs are demanding a minimum of 30 % representation of women, as indicated in the United Nations Declaration on Gender and Development signed by Member States of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1997. Although the participation and representation are often referred to in certain political frameworks, implementing mechanisms for affirmative action were not developed along side of these commitments. As of October 2003, for example, the DRC transitional government was composed as follows: Ministers: 6 women, 30 men; Vice Ministers: 2 women and 23 men; Members of Parliament: 3 women and 117 men; National Assembly: 49 women and 451 men.

Within the DRC peace processes, the spirit of Resolution 1325 was not respected. Women represent more than half of the population of the DRC yet continue to be under-represented in all levels and aspects of the negotiation and political processes. It is unacceptable from the point of view of democratic development that their representation in decision-making remains so low. In general, groups working on the rights of women see ICD as a failure with regards to the promotion of the representation of women in politics. These groups have expressed the necessity of working on all fronts to ensure the effective implementation of Resolution 1325, particularly within the context of the upcoming presidential elections. In order for Resolution 1325 to be of any significance in these elections, a concerted awareness raising effort among civil society and government needs to be undertaken throughout the country.

Rights and Democracy, in collaboration with Congolese non-governmental organizations coordinated a Resolution 1325 sensitization and training campaign. Throughout last year, consultations were held in Kinshasa, Lumumbashi in Kasi east and west, Bandundu and in the lower Congo region. With the support of MONUC the resolution was translated into local dialects and printed on brochures. It is valuable and important for this type of campaign to continue in the eastern region of the DRC through local partnership.

One of the priorities of the Ministry of Family and Women's Affairs is the preparation of women for the election process, a focus in line with the priorities of the transition government for free, democratic and transparent elections. The Ministry is supporting initiatives on training and sensitizing national opinion, and in particular women, on the importance and opportunities of becoming involved in the electoral process.

Areas of Further Action:

- Identify the obstacles to women's political participation and train candidates at both national and international levels. Common Cause, for example, advocates an exchange program between Congolese women and women from neighbouring countries who have experience in participating and organizing local elections.
- Adopt a gender analysis at all levels of the electoral process, from population census and civic education campaigns to voter registration procedures and electoral operations. This would imply in particular that the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), its provincial staff and liaison offices be equipped with staff that would reflect the 30 % quota minimum as well as experts from both civil society and experts that can address issues and questions relating to gender and the electoral process.
- The registration and voting stations should be accessible and physically safe for all members of the voting population. Given the geographic nature of the DRC and the high levels of insecurity throughout the country, the ICE in collaboration with MONUC should organize for secure and appropriate transportation for women in the rural and remote regions of the country. MONUC should be tasked with ensuring the security of these stations during registration and during voting.

- Decentralize political training and sensitization courses to ensure that a majority of Congolese women residing in rural and remote regions receive the necessary information.
- Members of civil society could create an observation committee comprised of both international and national representatives from NGOs and government to ensure that a gender sensitive approach is integrated in to the electoral process.

Implementation of Articles 9, 10 and 11 of Resolution 1325: sexual violence and ending impunity:

Article 9: Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Article 10: Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict.

Article 11: Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting on 31 October 2000.

Ending sexual violence and impunity of perpetrators of rape and gender-based violence is a priority for Congolese women. All parties to the conflict use the raping of girls and women as a weapon of war. Men who maintain a position of power within communities and who may not necessarily be engaged directly in the conflict also use rape. Congolese women are demanding an international tribunal on war crimes and crimes against humanity for those who committed such offenses prior to July 1 2003.

According to the Human Rights Watch Report entitled Democratic Republic of the Congo: Confronting Impunity, January 2004, the Security Council, has expressed concern about violence in the DRC and stressed the need for a system built on accountability. The Security Council condemns “ the acts of violence systematically perpetrated against civilians, including the massacres as well as other atrocities and violation of international humanitarian law and human rights, in particular, sexual violence against women and girls.”^{xix} Although the Security Council continues to urge the Secretary General to assist the transition government of the DRC to address such crimes and to end impunity, a weak infrastructure, particularly within the national justice system impedes thorough investigations and prosecutions. Human Rights Watch advocates for the creation of a Group of Experts, international and

Congolese, that could study alternate justice mechanisms to investigate and prosecute crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Areas for Further Action:

- With regards to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC), there needs to be representation of women and an expert on gender-based violence on the Commission itself. This would facilitate the adoption of measures that would guarantee the protection of witnesses and victims. The TRC should also address reparation for and rehabilitation of victims of human rights violations. Programmes need to be established that take into account the situation of female victims of rape who contracted HIV/AIDS.
- There is a need for cohesiveness in policy and programming at all levels of intervention. Resolution 1325 should be used in coordination with the application of other international instruments, resolutions, conventions, treaties and declarations.
- Appropriate indicators need to be developed in order to monitor the implementation of Resolution 1325.
- In order for the implementation of Resolution 1325 to be effective and sustainable, it needs to be seen as a strategic tool that is necessary for conflict resolution, recovery and development. Political will at all levels of decision making, from local to national needs to exist in order to have a successful application of the resolution.

About the Presenters:**Chantale Walker**

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Chantale's work currently centres around issues of women, peace and security, violence against women, the Commission on Human Rights, the OAS, the OSCE and the Commonwealth. She holds a Masters degree in Political Science from York University. Before starting with the International Women's Equality section she worked at the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development and Human Rights Internet. She has published in the Human Rights Tribune and Canadian Woman Studies Journal / les cahiers de la femme.

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Sheri is a MA candidate in social anthropology at York University in Toronto. Previously with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) UN office she worked on SC Resolution 1325 and helped develop the PeaceWomen.org website. Sheri did an internship with the Governance, Peace and Security section at UNIFEM on their women and armed conflict web portal, which was launched in October 2003. Her research focuses on transnational advocacy networks around Resolution 1325.

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ⁱ CPCC, 1 Nicholas Street, Suite 1216, Ottawa ON, K1N 7B7 Canada, Tel: 613-241-3446, Fax: 613-241-4846, Email: cpcc@web.ca Internet: www.peacebuild.ca

ⁱⁱ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1296 on Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1366 on the Role of the Security Council in the Prevention of Armed Conflict and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1460 in Children in Armed Conflict.

ⁱⁱⁱ As outlined by Eva Mackey (2001) the Canadian multicultural policies hold power and control in more subtle manners. I thank her for the idea of how to conceptualize these 'different' forms of power.

^{iv} For example the title "The Untapped Resource: Women in Peace Negotiations" can be found in the journal Conflict Trends. Issue 3/2003: "Women, Peace and Security". <http://www.accord.org.za/web.nsf/Pub%5CConflictTrends2003-3?OpenPage>. In a report called "More than Victims: The Role of Women in Conflict Prevention, it states: "Women represent an untapped resource in peacebuilding".

^v Statement by H.E. Mr. Ole Peter Kolby Ambassador Permanent Representative New York, 28 October 2002. Retrieved Feb 3rd, 2004. <http://www.norway-un.org/cgi-bin/wbch3.exe?ce=9807>

^{vi} Kirshenbaum, Gayle. "In U.N. Peacekeeping, Women Are an Untapped Resource." *Ms. Magazine*. January/February 1997, Vol. 7, No. 4, 20-21.

^{vii} Liechtenstein on Women, Peace and Security, H.E. Ambassador Christian Wenaweser, Permanent Representative of the Principality of Liechtenstein to the United Nations, UN Security Council Open Debate, 29 October 2003 <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/SCOpenDebate2003/Liechtenstein2003.html>

^{viii} United Nations Development Fund, Essentials "From Recovery to Transition: Women, the Untapped Resource. No. 11, July 2003. <http://www.undp.org/eo/documents/essentials/Gender.pdf>

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^x Cohn, Kinsella, Gibbins in forthcoming publication called "Women, Peace and Security: Resolution 1325" in the International Feminist Journal of Politics.

^{xi} "Militarized Masculinities and the Politics of Peacekeeping: The Canadian Case," in Ken Booth (ed.), Security, Community and Emancipation, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, forthcoming 2000), 22 manuscript pages.

^{xii} Iraqi Women's Political Involvement Growing, U.S. Official Says Women's achievements under-reported, State Dept.'s Ponticelli adds Created: 10 Dec 2003 Updated: 10 Dec 2003. Retrieved February 16, 2004: <http://usinfo.state.gov/dhr/Archive/2003/Dec/11-841556.html>

^{xiii} United States Works to Empower Women in Iraq, State Department fact sheet recounts U.S. efforts to support women, Created: 13 Jan 2004 Updated: 13 Jan 2004, Retrieved February 16, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/dhr/Archive/2004/Jan/14-955169.html>

^{xiv} Ambassador Sir Emyr Jones Parry, Permanent Representative from the United Kingdom to the UN, October 29, 2003.

^{xv} Statement by Sir Emyr Jones Parry, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in the Security Council on UK Intervention: Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security Statement, 29 October 2003. Retrieved February 3rd, 2004.
<http://www.peacewomen.org/un/SCOpenDebate2003/UK2003.html>

^{xvi} Diane Nelson uses Mark Wigley's definition of prosthesis which is "a foreign element that reconstructs that which cannot stand up on its own, at once propping up and extending its host. The prosthesis is always structural, establishing the place it appears to be added to" (Wigley 1991:9 cited in Nelson 2001:319).

^{xvii} Cohn, Carol. 2004. "Feminist Peacemaking". Women's Review of Books, vol. XXI, no. 5 February. P8-9.

^{xviii} The Nairobi Declaration

^{xix} Human Rights Watch. Democratic Republic of the Congo: Confronting Impunity. January 2004.
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