

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development

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Forum Report



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Contents:

Preface	3
Recommendations	4
Minister's Statement	5
Voices from South Asia	15
<i>Nelofer Pazira</i>	9
<i>Paula Bajerjee</i>	10
<i>Ayesha Haroon</i>	12
<i>Kabita Chakma</i>	13
<i>Shobha Gautam</i>	15
<i>Selvarashin Croos</i>	17
International Responses	18
<i>Nanda Na Chamassak</i>	18
<i>Kate White</i>	18
Canadian Government Responses	19
Civil Society's Role in Peacebuilding	21
Conclusion	23
Annexes	
Annex I: Biographies	24
Annex II: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325	26
Annex III: List of Participants	29



PREFACE

By Richard Harmston, Executive Director
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As a forum on South Asian human development, SAP Canada creates opportunities for Canadian organizations to gain knowledge about this vital part of the world community, about the issues affecting peoples' lives, and about our connections with them. The issues we address begin with economic and social conditions of disadvantaged people in villages then widen out to encompass broader questions of peace, governance, and human rights. The focus on security arose from the experience of our partners in South Asia.

In 1999, with support from the Canadian International Development Agency, we organized a series of community-based 'dialogues with the poor'. We heard women, men, and youth talk about their lives in their own terms. The over-riding message was one of insecurity, particularly from women, usually the most disadvantaged. Their insecurity was described in economic, social, political, and highly personal terms. This expression has guided us in identifying the issues we take up.

A year later, our SAP partners in the region decided to address the issue of small arms, previously not on their agenda. The key factor in their choice was insecurity: small arms have become a community development issue, a serious impediment to building peaceful and prosperous communities in South Asia.

Hence peace and security is integral for people's development. Human development and progress in South Asia has been held back by conflict and violence. The different dimensions of this problem include: the chronic conflict between India and Pakistan; recent civil wars in Sri Lanka and Nepal; struggles for recognition and rights by minorities in Bangladesh and India; clashes over land rights; the violence of politics, ethnicity and religion; domestic conflict; and the very real struggles of day-to-day life.

We are struck by the impact that all of these struggles have on the lives of women in South Asia, and about the gender dimensions to

the conflicts. Many women's organisations have taken stands and action in response, to push back against the violence. They work to bring peaceful values and solutions to these harsh realities.

Through the Women and Leadership Forum we wanted to explore this theme in more depth and hear from women directly involved to discuss their views and activities, to frame the issues for government and civil society organisations alike and to identify actions to follow. In the Forum, eight women presented their perspectives and analysis, and the participants discussed current Canadian strategies to address the issues. The following report captures the deliberations and recommendations that emerged. What is not captured easily is friendship and solidarity generated in the hearts and minds of all who participated. The relationships built, networking started and actions envisaged will, we hope, contribute to greater peace in South Asia as a prerequisite for people to make far better lives for themselves.

Please absorb the pages that follow and share with others.



Recommendations from Women and Leadership:

Voices for Security and Development Forum

During the panels and subsequent discussions, the South Asian resource people and the discussants put forward several recommendations. Some suggestions were broadly focused to cover the whole region, while others were country-specific. Some were addressed to governments, others to donors and still others to community-based organisations (CBOs). The implementation of several recommendations would clearly rely upon co-operation between governments and non-government actors.

Regional:

- ⑤ Encourage and support the formation of a South Asian Network for Gender and Security.
- ⑤ Promote and publicize United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which for the first time recognises the links between gender equality and global security in South Asia
- ⑤ Ensure women's representation at the commencement of peace negotiations. Donors should provide international support and extra funds, which can help overcome male opposition to women's participation in peace talks.
- ⑤ Adapt the peace agenda to local conditions, so that it becomes pertinent to cultures, traditions and political situations of each state or region.
- ⑤ Train South Asian peacekeepers on gender before undertaking missions abroad.
- ⑤ Train Canadian and developed states' peacekeepers and investigators in gender sensitivity issues.
- ⑤ Undertake rehabilitation programs for female combatants in a post-conflict situation.
- ⑤ Ensure protection for the marginalized women in the areas of conflict.

- ⑤ Introduce laws for women's property inheritance in South Asian countries where such laws do not exist. This will allow women, especially war widows, to maintain some security for the remaining family.
- ⑤ Sensitise grassroots policy-makers on gender so that they support women, who are usually the most economically dependent and therefore in the weakest position to challenge discrimination.
- ⑤ Undertake changes so that women may be fully active in civil, administrative and security positions within their community.
- ⑤ Support the introduction of Peace Education.
- ⑤ Redefine the concept of peace. Rather than simply encompass a political state of affairs, governments should link measures for peace to concerns of security.
- ⑤ Encourage the development of a peace strategy around the concept of peace-movement cells. Experience in Assam, India has taught that alliances and movements that come together to achieve short-term goals and then disperse back into cells give women a useful amount of anonymity and protection from retaliation.
- ⑤ Address the problem that domestic violence increases after cease-fires and that men accustomed to carrying arms in conflict situations may, on returning to their homes and communities, resort to violence against wives and families as a result of frustration with the difficulties of resettlement.
- ⑤ Provide physiological counselling for trauma victims in refugee camps and post-conflict communities. Counselling centres must be gender-sensitive and should include a "safe" area for the privacy of women.
- ⑤ When international NGOs withdraw staff due to danger of a situation, donors should re-channel funds through the local CBO partners.

- Support with funds the participation of women from the outset of peace negotiations.

Country Specific:

In Afghanistan: The government, in co-operation with others, should disarm the warlords, provide micro-finance for women to improve their economic situation, organise exposure visits of Afghan women to other South Asian countries, train women journalists, and help establish community radio run by women for women.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh: the Bangladesh government should be urged by donors and CSOs to take a broad range of measures to improve the conditions of the Jumma people, especially of women. Specifically, Bangladesh should carry out demilitarisation of the zone; support the peace process by more swiftly implementing the 1997 peace accord; restore the lands confiscated from the Jumma people; stop official violence against Jumma women; design development programs to empower the local women; support capacity-building schemes for the local civil society organizations; enrol Jumma women in government jobs and post them back in appropriate positions in CHT; and design educational programs for Bangladeshis in general, to increase understanding about CHT's particular character.

In Nepal: the government in co-operation with others should provide immediate assistance to the women who are caught in the crossfire between government forces and Maoist insurgents, support women's peace groups, and encourage the development of Peace Journalism.

Minister's statement

The Honourable Susan Whelan, Canadian Minister for International Cooperation and Minister responsible for Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), was due to make the keynote address, but could not attend due to an unscheduled Cabinet meeting. Her Parliamentary Secretary, Marlene Jennings, M.P., took her place as the keynote speaker and read Minister Whelan's speech. Many of the thoughts in the speech became a prelude to similar sentiments expressed and elaborated by the speakers from South Asia, so that it made a fitting start to the two-day forum.

CIDA, the Minister said, has been working for a long time on peace-building, gender equality and increasing women's participation in decision-making, and has seen how often conflict hinders and even reverses the gains made in development. War, she said, is not gender-neutral and often alters the roles of men and women within a family and within society. CIDA has supported projects looking at the situation of girls in military groups; and it made clear that, beyond being victims, "girls have also been combatants, intelligence officers, spies, porters and cooks." Despite these multiple roles, rehabilitation programs have not taken female combatants into account; peace negotiations have only begun to include women; and peacekeepers and investigators who are not trained in gender sensitivity or human rights may well overlook women's needs.

However, Ms. Jennings stressed that there is a brighter side and promising trends in the area of gender and security. Internationally awareness is growing that women can and do play special roles as facilitators in peace negotiations and rehabilitation. The Strategy on Conflict Prevention agreed at the 2001 G8 Summit took this into account and expressed concern for the special needs of female ex-combatants and the importance of gender-sensitivity training for peacekeepers. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, recognizing the links between gender equality and global security for the first time, was "one of the biggest steps forward and, I'm proud to say, Canada played a key role in making Resolution 1325 a reality." Canada heads the Friends of 1325 group of like-minded countries working to keep these issues actively on the UN agenda. She gave examples of CIDA's support to women's groups in Afghanistan and Nepal working for gender equality and sustainable peace.



From the efforts CIDA had made to support gender equality in peacebuilding, the minister drew several lessons. Timing is key; international support and extra funds can help overcome male opposition to women's participation in peace talks; even though numbers of men and women taking part may be equal, participation may still be lopsidedly male; it takes care and creativity to make sure women feel safe to speak in public; and good health and literacy are among the factors allowing marginalized women to take the lead in peace-building initiatives. All these areas, she thought, are connected as well as complex. In the end, it takes more than government, NGOs and the private sector to make a lasting difference.

South Asia, she added, was one of the world's most strife-torn and militarised regions. "What underlies and feeds this strife is the unacceptable levels of poverty, deprivation and inequality." CIDA's work in the region ranged from education and promoting gender equality to supporting the fight against HIV/AIDS. It had recently contributed \$2 million to help the peace process in Sri Lanka, and was supporting Afghanistan's efforts in reconstruction. She also commended SAP Canada for promoting development interests in Canada and its "unique niche in facilitating regional networking and collaboration" in regions where mutual understanding and communication can be key to preventing conflict.

When she read the Minister's words, that "the diversity of Canadians is one of our great strengths in the world", Ms. Jennings (who is a Member of Parliament from Montreal) interjected that she herself was of African ancestry, and of Belgian, French and Native or First Nations stock, and drew a laugh when she said, "I always say, I'm a real Canadian." She ended with this statement from Minister Whelan:

"The fact that we have, in Canada, a country where all people can live together in peace, speaking different languages, practicing different religions, belonging to different ethnic groups and living different lifestyles means that we have valuable experience in building a culture of peace and diversity that we can share."



Rita Manchanda

As the executive director of the South Asia Forum for Human Rights and a well-known journalist and writer on security and human rights issues, Ms. Manchanda was asked to frame the issues for the two-day forum in Ottawa. She spoke by phone from Kathmandu, Nepal.

She began: "One begins by recognizing, or understanding, that women's experience of conflict is different from men's, and therefore women's experience of security – or, rather, insecurity – would also be different. The most obvious example of this is the gender violence which is the experience of women in conflict. Particularly after Yugoslavia there is a very sophisticated discourse that has been developed of rape as an instrument of war, which feeds back into understanding now the use of rape in the 1971 war in Bangladesh (or East Pakistan as it was at that time). There are other aspects like the experience of women as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or refugees, which is a gender-differentiated experience from that of men. As men go underground to join militant groups or flee across the border, the women are left to manage the farm; it is the women who are left to manage survival. Because of this recognition of this gender-differentiated experience of women in conflict, there has grown an understanding of a differentiated notion of security of women.

"It is also located in the concept of the continuum of conflict, which is that women physically experience what is a linkage between the violence of the battlefield with the domestic violence in the home. Studies have established a correlation in the increase of domestic violence as societies get more and more brutalized. This has particularly been reflected in the 'aftermath literature' in South Africa, where you have a very high incidence of domestic violence, and in particular, rape. It also highlights the fact that security here is not being seen as something that is just an absence of violence, or disarmament or demobilization; but, if you have no physical security, if you have no economic security, then there is no real security, there is no real peace.

"The international community talks of our region as the most dangerous place in the world because of nuclear weapons. If you ask women, if you ask marginal groups, what makes it dangerous and insecure for them, they will talk about life-threatening risks – of

maternal mortality, unemployment, poverty, honour killings – and these all point to structural violence that is the endemic violence deeply rooted in systematic inequality that is life-threatening. Because of women's experience of day-to-day managing of human security, this experience is the new dimension that women bring in the whole question of developing an alternative discourse of human security, alternate to the realism paradigm of power and security. Sometimes it is pejoratively referred to as 'domesticating the peace agenda' but they also bring in a much more radical dimension, and that is the social justice agenda. Women know what it is to be oppressed and excluded, because that is what has been their experience historically and today. So they also bring in this dimension of being particularly sensitive to what oppression is all about, what inequality, what exclusion is all about. It is argued that this is already expressed at the grassroots level, in the kind of inclusive politics that women bring, if they are allowed to the peace table. They also bring differentiated skills, because they are more used to listening, much more used to compromise."

Ms. Manchanda answered questions on a wide range of subjects from forum participants. One person asked what provisions are made to facilitate the participation of women from all levels of society – women of different ages, or from different socio-economic class backgrounds. She replied: "Language is a major problem. We recently had a meeting in Jammu, in which we called together women from all parts of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and we had two Kashmiri women who did not speak Urdu, while most of the other women came from a privileged background as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and social activists. I was afraid the two would just be tokenism. But I was amazed that, when we came to the point of asking 'what can we do? How can we mobilize?' this woman, who came from a very underprivileged background and had lost her son and was a member of the Association of the Parents of the Disappeared, spoke up and with great confidence said: 'We are the building blocks with which you have to work. We women are already out on the street; we are too worked up to stay at home. We will go from house to house, identifying women like us to become a nucleus for you to work with, to mobilize more and more women.' Suddenly a lot of the other women became quite inspired, and said, 'Yes, we can work on this. There are so many in my neighbourhood.' This woman became the catalyst for inspiring the others to think of

Overview

ways and means of going ahead. That made me feel that some of the reservations I had about a mixed group are perhaps unfounded. I am not by any means denying that differences of race, caste or class are significant, but that experience showed to me that in a situation of crisis, those differences don't tend to matter."

There were two questions about how to broaden out from a circle of women activists on peace, and what role the private sector can play in the area of gender and conflict. Ms. Manchanda said she was impressed by the "Women Waging Peace" network organized from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She is a member of it, and said it gathered hundreds of women from many conflict zones (Colombia, Somalia, Palestine-Israel and India-Pakistan) and had dialogues with policy makers, touching on a redefinition of security from a gender perspective. But, she added, it was "an uphill battle." In Sierra Leone, for example, women were not recognized as combatants and received no money to demobilize. She was worried that in Sri Lanka and Northeast India there would be no framework to reintegrate such women into society. Exceptionally, Naga women "put themselves on the map with the Indian prime minister, and became important stakeholders, recognized by the militants" after the 1997 cease-fire. Monica Williams

in Northern Ireland had to form her own party to get attention, and women in Burundi "fought for years just to get observer status at talks."

The private sector had a huge role to play in strengthening the peace process in Sri Lanka, she felt. In general, the business community is "an extremely interesting resource" for these initiatives: a group of businesswomen in the Women's Leadership Forum are strongly behind the "Women Waging Peace" network at Harvard. She added: "I just wish they were a little more forthcoming in supporting some of the less visible initiatives. They are in the forefront of social welfare activities, extremely important in terms of giving women economic independence that enables women to be much

more active in the sphere of peace-building but they are usually much more reticent about coming in on issues like straight peace-building."

Asked further about the link between battlefield and domestic violence, Ms. Manchanda said she thought the whole concept of masculinity and femininity "is at the heart of conflict", and one had to "deconstruct the whole cultural construct of masculinity and femininity in order to move forward." She told of the Muttahida Qaumi (MQM) conflict in Karachi in the 1980s. A colleague was interviewing a woman who said her husband used to be "so mild-mannered but, ever since he started bringing a gun home, he was now threatening her with it." Israeli women have said this about Israeli men, she said; Palestinian women have said this. It is particularly true in the aftermath of conflict. "In South Africa a great deal of work has been done on trying to understand the whole question of protest...Masculinity – men unemployed, men used to weapons, men now faced with a sense of loss of identity, hitting at the women at home as well as the very high incidence of rape on the streets."

In a final question she was asked about her "peace journalism" initiative, and said they were looking at critiquing "war journalism" and considering the possibility of developing in South Asia a "peace journalism" way of reporting. She knew of such initiatives elsewhere (including the UN Media and Peace Institute in Paris) but none yet in South Asia. It involves encouraging journalists, "when they go to a conflict, don't always talk to the political leaders – talk also to the women. And don't talk to the women just in terms of their human tragedy, but ask those who are outside the political frame, 'What do you think of the conflict, and of the violence, and what could be a solution?' It is really adding another dimension to the conflict resolution perspective, arguing that you have to democratize the process and bring in many more stakeholders if you are going to get an enduring peace. It aims to complement what has normally been a focus on political leaders and military group leaders who articulate what the problem is, and who reinforce the polarities of differences. Maybe by going to the people who live there, you get new perspectives and options that are usually excluded and which might make for transforming the conflict."

Nelofer Pazira

"My talk will be a conversation and a snapshot of Afghanistan," said Ms. Nelofer Pazira – a journalist (graduate of Carleton University), filmmaker and the star actor in the movie Kandahar. She spoke of her return to Afghanistan after 13 years. She grew up in Kabul under the Russian occupation, until her family fled to Pakistan in 1989 when she was sixteen.

Voices from South-Asia

She told the story of a woman who had been a teacher in Kandahar before the Taliban takeover and who is now in her early 50s. Mrs. Amajan has rented "a typical house" and set up the Kandahar Women's Centre, to teach literacy to a group of 36 young widows. Mrs. Amajan has no outside funds (foreign aid has not gone to the people, she said); so, after two hours of daily lessons to read and write, the young women do three hours of embroidery to pay for the centre's upkeep and for some personal income. Many women Ms. Pazira met had taken their own initiative, had realized the importance of education, and had made the "revolutionary connection" between education and economic well-being. One indirect result of the war had been to end the notion of "identifying education with westernism."

That was "the good side of change," she said. The difficult side is that Kandahar in particular is male-dominated. Mrs. Amajan has wanted to expand her centre into teaching hair-dressing and also computer work, so that the young women would become so much part of public life that they would not be marginalized. To do this, she has had to seek permission from the Kandahar governor "who insists he has to decide." The governor is one of the warlords to whom power passed after the Taliban's defeat. The government does not challenge the warlords. NGOs must route their aid and efforts through them. One warlord she encountered pays a group of teachers, and thereby controls the schools at which they teach. The international community, she said, has ignored the issue of disarming the warlords and their armies. "Unless the country is completely disarmed, we will never feel secure." [The process of forming a national army was begun, with some supporting aid from Canada, the weekend of the forum.]

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

Ms. Pazira said she knew of no one doing work on post-war trauma, the problems resulting from the deaths of family members, from life under the Taliban, from displacement of peoples. There is a history of hatred after 23 years of war, and "war has become a psyche, that could erupt again at any moment." Some 85 per cent of Afghan people are not urbanized, and their identity is "entangled with the tribal community." She herself had been an immigrant to Canada "with little experience of war"; so she understood when donor countries and foreign NGOs talk mostly about the physical rebuilding of Afghanistan and about removing landmines and the American cluster-bombs. "But in Canada," she said, "we forget the psychological problems of hatred and ignorance linked with ethnic identities. We think funding schools and giving books are enough." But hatred affects daily life and, importantly, the upbringing of children. South Africa had succeeded in dealing with the hatred stemming from the apartheid period; perhaps Afghanistan could adapt what was done there.

Women in other countries, she agreed, could offer useful examples; but Afghan women in rural areas know nothing about them. "They are forced to learn tales of martial heroes." Iranian women are seen as good role models and, based on their experience, women in Malaysia had succeeded in changing the laws on domestic violence. In Kabul there were some seven or eight magazines published by and for women, but they did not reach far because of the high illiteracy rate. Radio was the best medium for social programs and it fit Afghanistan's oral culture. She knew of a radio program in China where a woman asked her listeners to call in with their problems. This would be a good way in Afghanistan to tell women how to deal with their war experiences, but at present it wasn't possible, as a broad-based telephone system is not working.

She spoke further about warlords, in answer to questions. They had gained increased power by being "hired to do the dirty work" for the coalition forces in the Tora Bora mountains and elsewhere. They spread fear and exerted power through the money they had. Some of them who in 1992 had formed a coalition government of 15 Islamic parties, had

moved on to control the drug trade. Others were providing leadership and a "civil society function" that the present government does not. She had met one leader of the Uzbek community who had a particularly ruthless reputation. He told her: "Don't call me warlord. I'm a diplomat." Afghanistan, she said, needed more outside peacekeepers who could push the creation of a national army, and get the warlords to provide reliable men for the army. It was important to disarm the different warlords' armies, she said, "before they become another monster."

Paula Banerjee

The subject of Dr. Paula Banerjee's talk was "Amidst Armed Conflict: Women in Assam, Nagaland and Manipur", but she also presented a paper entitled "Women's Interventions for Peace in the North-East [of India]" and it was on that more positive note that Dr. Banerjee set her remarks. She

won an award this year for her work on women engaged in grass-roots peacemaking in South Asia. As a professor at the University of Calcutta in the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, she is working near the troubled seven states of Northeast India, where there has been ethnic conflict for 50 years. Twenty of them she said, have been "extremely bloody."

Dealing first with Assam, Dr. Banerjee said there had been "a growing alienation of women from institutional politics" since the Assam Gono Parishad (AGP) came to power there in 1983. In the 1978 legislative elections, 215 women were candidates and 21 won; in the 1996 elections only two women were elected from the AGP, which "does not even bother to practice tokenism as far as

women are concerned." The women of Manipur have a history of militancy and led uprisings against the British. Although in 1996 female voters outnumbered males, only two women candidates contested the state elections, neither won; Naga women have a relatively high literacy rate (55.7 percent), are extremely independent and outnumber men as cultivators, yet there are no Naga women in either the state assembly or the national parliament. Men, said Dr. Banerjee, completely dominate electoral politics in the northeast, and thereby the seats of power. "It is in the politics for peace that [women] are able to negotiate some spaces of action. Women dominate the peace movements in sheer numbers."

A number of women's groups organize sporadically a peace movement based on a particular issue. "They protest for the redress of a specific violation. They remain organized for a short period of time, after which they disperse. This gives them a certain amount of anonymity and protection." These tactics were learnt after the Matri Manch in Assam protested in 1989-91 against the disappearance of their sons in army atrocities, and then were intimidated when they broadened their protests; similarly, assassins killed four activists in 1996 the Bodo Women's Justice Forum when they were trying to organize an Assamese-Bodo dialogue on peace.

Other peace groups who try to collaborate with special interest groups and sustain their movement this way follow a different tactic. An example is the Meira Paibies, or the Torchbearers group, who have linked themselves with the rebel Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) after campaigning in Manipur against the increasing consumption of alcohol by men. The PLA picked up this campaign, imposing "a ban on bootlegging and booze" in January 1990, and the state government was moved to declare Manipur a dry state two months later. The Meira Paibies women have expanded their activities, and now campaign against atrocities by the security forces, keeping night-long watches to foil raids on homes and also dissuading counter-insurgency forces from arresting innocent bystanders for questioning. They have also been effective, said Dr. Banerjee, in curbing domestic violence.

A third approach she described was that of the Naga Mothers' Association, (NMA) which accepts single women as members, and was formed in 1984 with the aim of promoting "more responsible

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

living and human development." It has managed to carve out an independent space for its actions and become a negotiating force in different spheres of social but also political crisis. It successfully mediated between the state government and the students' federation over an age-limit for youth employment, and has campaigned against "the rampant abuse of alcohol and drugs." The NMA, said Dr. Banerjee, has also started anonymous HIV testing, particularly of pregnant women, and is pioneering the care of AIDS patients – the first group to do so in South Asia. It moved into the political sphere in 1994, coining the slogan "Shed No More Blood" and speaking out against the killings not only by the army but also by the militants. Every May 12 the NMA celebrates "the Day of Mourning" to mourn all those who have died in ethnic conflict. In 1997 the NMA mediated between the government of India and a faction of militants, and facilitated a cease-fire – "the only women's group in South Asia who has participated in a cease-fire negotiation."

In 1997 also, another peace group, the Tangkhul Shanao Long (TSL), which operates in both Nagaland and Manipur, tackled a traumatic crisis when the Assam Rifles went on a rampage in Ukhrul town after being ambushed by militants. The women persuaded the army to release scores of civilians and helped townsfolk, shopkeepers and villagers to return to normal life. Also in Manipur one of the units of the Naga Women's Union works to improve the social standing of women of the Moyon tribe. It has called for the equal right of women to inherit property (among all 40 Naga ethnic groups, women are excluded from inheriting "immoveable parental property" – that is, land). Slowly the Naga tribes in Manipur are correcting this discrimination and their tribal councils have it on their agenda.

In Assam the most successful group campaigning for the empowerment of women has been the Chapar Anchalik Mahila Samiti, working in a largely rural area and holding frequent meetings to increase women's legal awareness and their literacy. They are also starting protests against violence. They use the tactic of gathering a group of women for a short campaign and then dispersing. Dr. Banerjee concludes: "It is apparent that those groups who have a broader definition of peace are more successful than those who think that peace is a political state of affairs. The NMA or the Chapar Anchalik Mahila Samiti believe that political solutions alone cannot bring

peace. They work towards a betterment of their own society and, in this way, they equate peace with justice and development."

Speaking during a question period, Dr. Banerjee also told of the Athwas Group working in Kashmir, going to "villages of widows" and planning six visits to bring women from the Muslim and Pundit sides, to talk together. She commented: "State-to-state dialogue won't work by itself. There is no possibility of peace unless you bring in [to the discussion] the people who are living in Jammu and Kashmir." She also spoke of the riots in Gujarat state "bursting in our faces." The women's movement there was taken aback to discover women had been involved in the looting and killing; but they were going to the camps of displaced women and finding jobs for many of them. In this case, she said, the media had played a positive role in trying to bring out the root causes of communal conflict. Dr. Banerjee concluded by saying that she would further like to see the media in both Kashmir and Northeast India play an equally worthwhile role.



Ayesha Haroon



In Ms. Ayesha Haroon's talk on "Pakistan Women: Security in their Community and the World", much of the focus was on the October 10, 2002 elections to the National Assembly and on the fact that 72 women – almost one-quarter of the total membership – were now in parliament. She also offered her views on how the election results would affect the women's movement and women generally in Pakistan. Ms. Haroon is based in Lahore and is the resident editor of *The Nation*, a daily newspaper independent of political parties.

The Pakistan election changed the political landscape. Six parties won directly elected seats. A major issue was the continuing role of the military and of General Pervez Musharraf on the political scene. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) of former

leader Nawaz Sharif having split in two, the pro-Musharraf section (Quaid-I-Azam) won 77 seats to the PML (Nawaz) section's 14. The next largest winner was the Pakistan People's Party of Benazir Bhutto with 62 seats – but she and Nawaz Sharif had previously been barred by a constitutional amendment from being prime minister. The surprise result was the strong showing of an alliance of six religious parties, prominent in Frontier Province and Balochistan, which campaigned as the Muttahida Majlis-I-Amal (MMA) and won 52 seats. As well, the Muttahida Qaumi (MQM) won 13 in their Karachi stronghold, the National Alliance 13, Independent candidates 24 and other smaller parties 17.

Ms. Haroon said that international pressure for elections was important; she believed that General Masharraf would not otherwise have moved to hold them within three years of the coup that brought this unexpected military government to power. She explained how it had imposed a totally new structure of local government and how Musharraf had brought in 27 constitutional amendments, including

ones that gave him five more years as president, as well as the power to dismiss both the government and the assembly. She pointed out that election rules now require directly elected candidates to have a B.A. degree, and there was a provision for 60 women to be selected by the parties to sit in the assembly. Since another 12 women had won direct elections, a total of 72 women now sat in the 342-seat assembly.

The transition from military government to one of elected parliamentarians took one month. On 21 November 2002, the assembly elected as Prime Minister, Zafarullah Khan Jamali of the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q). Neither the MMA nor the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) joined, but which has support from smaller parties. The provincial governments had still to be formed, but the North West Frontier and Balochistan provinces would be under the control or strong influence, of the religious parties. In Frontier province there was already an atmosphere of clamping down on women's political and social activities. As a first move, she foresaw female television announcers putting a veil over their head, and certainly co-education was "deemed bad" by the MMA. That alliance had opposed both Musharraf's rule and the presence of American troops in Afghanistan; but the religious parties would not influence foreign policy nor control the country's nuclear weapons. The United States was, therefore, unlikely to bring any pressure.

Ms. Haroon said that, although General Musharraf claims his amendments are now part of the constitution, in fact their inclusion requires a two-thirds vote of the national assembly. For that, the government will need MMA support as the PPP campaigned against the amendments. Mr. Jamali had won a bare majority on November 21.

Ms. Haroon was happy about the presence of so many women in parliament, but 60 of them do not have constituencies: they come from feudal families and were put into the assembly by fathers or brothers who did not have the B.A. qualification to be candidates for election. As well the 72 women are linked to different parties and are unlikely to combine and become any kind of counterweight to MMA's anti-feminism, especially if the 12 elected women do not show a lead. The strategy of non-governmental groups will be to sensitise the 60 selected women parliamentarians

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

and hope they will move on local issues, many of them having a background as housewives. But, since they did not campaign for election, she did not know how they would legitimately raise their voices in parliament.

The Pakistan High Commissioner to Canada, Shahid Malik, gave his government's position on several points. General Musharraf, he said, had held elections within the agreed time limit of three years, and the 27 constitutional amendments had been made "after much debate." It was a "quantum leap" to have so many women in parliament, and the international community should welcome the presence of religious parties who had, after all, won in free and fair elections. Pakistan's foreign policy, he said, would not likely change.

Answering questions, Ms. Haroon suggested that the B.A. requirement for candidates was a form of apartheid, creating a new class of Pakistani citizens, much as British India had imposed a property qualification on candidates. As for the likely impact of these elections on women generally, Ms. Haroon recalled the wave of repression of women that has swept away women's freedoms gained in the Sixties (when women could bicycle around cities and enjoy pursuits like ballroom dancing). "By the 1980s a girl at university might be beaten if she were seen with a boy," she said; and fundamentalist students pronounced one week of the school year a time when "progressive boys might be taken away for a beating." In general, she was not optimistic about the medium-term impact of these elections.

Kabita Chakma



Ms. Kabita Chakma spoke about the "Security of Indigenous Women in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)." Ms. Chakma has been working for the human rights of the indigenous Jummas in the CHT region of Bangladesh. In 1990 she enrolled as an international student at the University of Sydney, and now has an architect's qualifications.

She first gave some background on the Chittagong Hill Tracts, saying it was the traditional homeland of 12 different indigenous peoples collectively known as Jummas. Most Jummas are Buddhist, in contrast to the Muslim population of the Bangladesh plainlands. The area of the CHT is one-tenth of the total area of Bangladesh, but only 10 per cent of this area is available for use due to the flooding of land from the construction of the Kaptai hydroelectric dam and the creation of protected forest reserves. So land availability in the CHT at 1 per cent of the total area of Bangladesh is equivalent to the Jummas' ratio of 1 per cent of the total population. The British administered the CHT separately from the plainland and limited Bengali migration from the plains. Although the religious and cultural affinity of the Jumma people is with their neighbours in northeast India, the British ignored their demands to be part of India in the 1947 Partition; so the CHT became part of East Pakistan and, after its liberation in 1971, of Bangladesh. In 1975 martial law was imposed and a large number of troops moved into the CHT "as part of a government strategy to create a 'homogenous' Bengali nation." "In response to the human rights violations by the military, a Jumma rebel group started a guerrilla war," she added. In 1978 the government began a transmigration program to bring Bengalese into the CHT, and in the next five years some 250,000

landless Bengalese were settled. This involved the eviction of Jummas from their homesteads and land. Today the non-Jumma population is about half the total CHT population.

Over 25 years of military occupation, Ms. Chakma said, security forces and Bengali settlers have subjected the Jummas to many forms of harassment, ranging from arson and arbitrary arrest to forced labour and eviction. Many thousands of Jummas have consequently become refugees within the country – the Bangladesh government in May 2000 identified 90,200 Jumma families as “internally displaced persons”. Meanwhile, some 70,000 other refugees survived until recently in sordid conditions in camps in India. They have now returned home, following the Peace Agreement signed in December 1997. But the accord has not ended the fighting nor have the main Jumma demands been met, she said. These are: constitutional recognition of the Jumma peoples; demilitarisation of the CHT; and rehabilitation of the government-sponsored Bengali transmigrants to areas outside the CHT.

In January 2001, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the accord, noting that “...there remains much to be done and the process of implementation should be greatly accelerated.” The European Parliament also called on the Bangladesh government to “ensure protection for the tribal peoples in the Chittagong Hills Tracts.”

Ms. Chakma explained that, five years after the signing of the Peace Accord, there is no sign of army withdrawal from the CHT and, in this militarised situation the Jumma women – and particularly the poorest and landless – are most vulnerable to violence. “Sexual violence, such as rape, gang rape, molestation and harassment, is especially prevalent.” She gave documented examples of such violence carried out by security forces, adding that nearly half the rape victims were under 18.

She also gave a detailed account of the midnight abduction of Kalpana Chakma (no relation) and two brothers by plainclothes security men at gunpoint on the day of the 1997 election. The brothers managed to escape, and complained to the police and civil administrator, naming the lieutenant commanding the local army camp as one of the abductors. Protests against Kalpana Chakma’s

kidnapping led to a confrontation with settlers and security troops, and a student was shot dead and his body taken by settlers. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina established a commission of inquiry. The report was never made public. It apparently stated that Kalpana Chakma was still alive but, despite requests from Amnesty International and others, her whereabouts have never been disclosed, leading some to believe she may have undergone a forced marriage to an army officer. Ms. Chakma said she had given so much detail about Kalpana’s disappearance in order to highlight the fact that “in a normal context where the rule of law prevails, there would be recourse to the police, the judicial system and even the government, to ensure the proper investigation of such an incident.” However, in the militarised context of the CHT, the police and judiciary are often excluded – Jummas who are police and civil administrators are generally not posted to their own region.

Ms. Chakma said she is therefore urging the Bangladesh government to appoint Jumma women who have appropriate qualifications to civil, administrative and security roles in their own homeland. She said foreign governments could add their pressure in this respect, and could help Jummas – as Australia has done with 50 university scholarships over the last decade – study abroad. In particular, women could be educated “to take up those positions that are so often seen to be part of the problem- that is, as police, civil administrators, army personnel, lawyers, judges and politicians.”

There had been, she added, difficulties with the Indian government, which did not recognize those who fled from the CHT as refugees, yet kept them in camps and provided only basic food. This meant that the UNHCR was excluded from giving assistance. When they returned under the repatriation program in 1997-8, few families received the full allocation of two years’ food ration and funds, and more than 3,000 families have never recovered their homesteads. Many returning Jumma women refugees have consequently become domestic workers in Bengali homes, and subject to exploitation and violence.

The forum heard two statements on the escalating security crisis in Nepal.



Shobha Gautam

Ms. Shobha Gautam, a journalist with 18 years of experience who has made many visits to the Maoist-affected districts of Nepal, gave an overview of the conflict that has intensified over a period of seven years. She focused in particular on the situation of women guerrillas and of villagers trapped between the two sides. She drew on material in her book, *Women and Children in the Periphery of a People's War*, which tells of some of "the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in Nepal" of remote villages in Rolpa, Rukum and Jajarkot districts. Ms. Rita Thapa, who is a long-time feminist educator, followed with a description of her work in conflict transformation and peacebuilding, both in founding Tewa, the Nepal Women's Fund, and more recently in founding Nagarik Aawaz, a coalition of civil society organisations demonstrating for peace.

Ms. Gautam said that, since the conflict began in 1995, more than 7,000 Nepalese had lost their lives, thousands of families are homeless, and thousands of children are out of school and living dangerously. The government declared a state of emergency in November 2001, and this has polarized the population further. She gave an example of a woman who died from loss of blood while giving birth in a cave. Health workers suspected her of being a Maoist and would not help her for fear of government reprisals. She added: "The government commonly assumes that all members of a community in Maoist-controlled areas support the Maoists, and consequently punishes them by stopping the provision of all basic services. As women and children form the majority of village populations, they bear the brunt of these policies. Many women whom the government has charged with being Maoists are leaving their villages and going to the jungle." As a result, these women are excluded from all basic services such as health care, food, shelter and education.

Village schools have become a target for Maoist attacks, since security forces often use them for shelter. The Maoists also demand donations of villagers, as well as food and shelter, and loot property from homes. If women refuse these demands, their husbands are

often tortured in front of them. Ms. Gautam summed up: "The options for the villagers are therefore limited: they must fully support the Maoists, leave the village or be ready to die. It is this reality which lends itself to government thinking that all people remaining in the villages are Maoists, and is used to justify the withdrawal of basic services."

She explained the origins of the conflict. In Nepal's first general elections in 1991, she said, the communist party won throughout Rolpa district in mid-western Nepal. However, the government restricted its powers through arrests and various methods of suppression. The Maoist cadres became militant. The police meanwhile were using sexual violence as a tool of suppression, raping women in custody, and this fuelled the Maoist cause. The government failed to reduce the old divisions of caste and class, and the Maoists were able to convince villagers and the lower castes that they alone could bring change, said Ms. Gautam.

Women today comprise an estimated one-third of the Maoist armed forces, she went on, and gave three reasons for women joining the Maoists: they were students or cultural activists who had become politically involved; women seeking revenge on security forces for police atrocities (husbands killed, children raped); and women who had been harassed by security forces and become social outcasts. As for the rural women trapped by both sides, nearly all were living in insecure areas, since only the capital Kathmandu and the headquarters of districts are still under government control. As many men have left the villages, many women are now heads of households and try to provide for families with decreasing means and a lack of basic services. The media in Nepal and elsewhere could do much more to highlight the difficulties of these women.

How, in these circumstances, can a mother in a village who might have two sons on opposite sides, work for peace? Women's groups at the regional or national level are more visible, but they are far removed from the problems of a village caught in the crossfire. In the year since the emergency was declared, Ms. Gautam has been to several villages, but foreign NGOs cannot go there with any ease. CIDA may have plans for peacebuilding such as ceasefires for immunization, but nobody is taking the lead to go into the villages. As for governments, the British is unhelpfully supplying helicopters to the

government, and the Indian is playing a double game. If India closed the border with Nepal, it could influence on the government of Nepal to start a peace process.

Rita Thapa added further statistics and gave several examples of the desperate situation of war widows. The death tolled 6,000 Maoists, 900 civilian police, 100 armed police, 200 military personnel and about 800 civilians. More than 400 post offices had been destroyed, as well as hydro plants and other industries; there had been a general closure of schools in rural areas, and a large decline in the tourist industry. Parliament and locally-elected bodies were dysfunctional. The political parties have "warring factions and are behaving like children." Everywhere there is instability, a complete lack of trust and a general atmosphere of terror.

In her paper "War widows: The suffering and misery of Surkhet's war-displaced is heartbreaking", Ms. Thapa told how this town which was the "once-vibrant hub of the mid-west has turned into a township at the edge of a war zone" with a dusk-to-dawn curfew and "a pervasive pall of fear." It is crowded with boys and girls who have fled from conflict in the hills, and with young men heading for India to seek work. In nearby Chinchu she met several widows, including one whose husband ran the only pharmacy until he was dragged from bed and executed by Maoists for being a Nepalese Congress supporter. Another widow's husband had been shot dead by security forces for returning from the forest an hour after curfew. When Ms. Thapa raised with the community development officer the need for of state support in such a case, his reply was that the husband should have stayed indoors during the curfew.

Surkhet, she thinks, is the tip of the iceberg. "After all, this is at the edge of Mao-land. In the interior, there must be many, many more in misery." She argues for support to the non-profit People Help Organization (PHO), a local group entirely run by women and able to target relief quickly. Unfortunately, she adds, most local groups are "not articulate enough to talk to donor bureaucrats in Kathmandu directly, so how will they get the resources they need?" The PHO told her it lobbied for cash from the United Nations' Peace Fund – and was refused.

She herself, having founded Tewa, the Nepal Women's Fund, 15 years ago, has learnt the way around the circle of key donors; and she praised one donor in particular – the Urgent Action Fund in Britain, which makes decisions within 72 hours. Her new initiative with Nagarik Aawaz is partially aimed at asking NGOs abroad to take on Nepalese youths of 18 to 24 years and prepare them with skills for peacebuilding in the villages.

She ended her paper with a stern warning: "The state has not yet thought out a strategic response to the problem [of raising funds for relief and peace-building] and we cannot afford to allow donors to tie their hands and wait for things to improve. Under the surface of supposed law and order is a volcano that is about to erupt, and that social upheaval might be more difficult to manage than the violence we see now. The donors have withdrawn their staff [from Nepal]. Fine. But what stops them from working with local NGOs still active in the field?"

Since a peace agreement was signed in February 2002, Sri Lanka is in a more hopeful state than that of Nepal. But the post-conflict situation faces individuals and communities with a set of horrendous problems. Ms. Selvadharshini Thevanesan Croos, who is working as a field research officer with the Catholic Organization for Relief and Development (CORDAID), has spent the past year visiting more than 100 communities in the northern part of the island state, listening to their concerns – particularly those of women – and helping to organize meetings with groups from different backgrounds to decide on common actions. Having built a network of women's groups throughout Sri Lanka, she has most recently been drawing the many threads together to build confidence and trust across the ethnic divide, and to ensure that women take part fully and equally with men in community-based peacebuilding. In her talk to the forum, she summarized her paper on "Ethnic violence in Sri Lanka and the impact on women".



Mrs. Croos first gave figures of the cost of the protracted civil war waged since 1983 in the northern and eastern parts of the country between successive governments of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elan (LTTE). An estimated 60,000 people have died, leaving some 40,000 war widows, three-quarters of whom are now heads of households with little or no food security. Another one million people have been internally displaced, and unknown thousands have fled abroad as refugees, including a large number to Canada. "There is hardly anyone in the north and east who is not affected," she said.

Selvadarshini Croos

A table in her paper from UN Human Development Report 1997 shows that Sri Lankan women are well ahead of the average of all developing countries in life expectancy (74.6 years to 63.5), in adult literacy (86.9 percent to 60.3) and in combined primary, secondary and tertiary school enrolment (68 percent to 51.6 percent). Indeed, they surpass their own menfolk in school enrolment (68 to 65 percent); yet their share of earned income is only half, and women are trapped in low-skill jobs such as domestic service, garment making and on tea cultivations. Ms. Croos mentioned a number of recent legal measures to protect women, raising the legal age of marriage and including marital rape and sexual harassment in the Penal Code. However, she said that women in rural villages have not seen any practical changes in their position.

Women who were displaced and had to move to welfare centres have faced particular suffering, she said, as they lacked water and sanitation. "Often they had to take bullock carts to get to clinics, and resort to open-air toilets in the jungle." Nearly half the children born in these centres in 2001 were underweight or malnourished, and more than half the lactating mothers are anaemic. War widows also face difficulties in obtaining death certificates for loved ones, and thus get inadequate rations and other assistance from the government. Displaced people started returning to their home areas after February 2002, only to find villages devastated and also resistance from those who had remained to sharing the limited resources still available, such as common water sources.

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

Domestic violence has also increased, during the years of conflict, Ms. Croos said. Sri Lankan security forces have been involved in most of the rape cases. Abject poverty in the war zone was, she said, a major reason for domestic violence. Women who were economically dependent remained in the weakest position to challenge discrimination. Other women were expected to support their men with daily earnings, in order to cover family expenses; yet their hourly wage is little more than half the rate for men doing the same job. A large number of early marriages took place in government welfare centres, which allowed the males to escape arrest (and possibly torture) they might otherwise have risked as unattached targets for army recruiting. Often in these cases the husband and wife did not know each other before marriage, had no understanding between them – and violence follows. A number of police stations have a "Women desk" to receive complaints, but these are few and are not open at night when most incidents of violence against women occur.

As a result of the political tensions women have been reluctant to come forward in the public service. Only one Tamil woman has a high post in government, and few exist in the middle level. Ms. Croos said that common problems in forming women's groups in northern Sri Lanka included a lack of awareness of their rights, coupled with men's negative attitudes toward educated women. There is also a traditional male control of community-based organizations. She listed a number of particular needs. Included counselling for trauma victim; support for female-headed households; training women in leadership skills and as entrepreneurs with marketing knowledge; maternal nutrition and the health needs of adolescent girls; and gender sensitisation for officials. CORDAID puts emphasis in its Mannar district peace-building project creating more harmonious relations between village groups from different ethnic or religious backgrounds. There have, for example, been grievances following the displacement of Tamils and in turn their occupation of Moslem homes. First results over some eight months of the project, in terms of building trust across ethnic divides, have been encouraging; but Ms. Croos cautions: "We would like to recommend to donors that they allow time (and funding) for the process of building trust; and to separate this process from the delivery of material items (in emergency or rehabilitation programs)."

International Responses:

Nanda Na Champassak

Ms. Nanda Na Champassak, the information officer in Canada for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), first gave a thumbnail sketch of the UNHCR. Originally formed to protect one to two million people after World War II for three years, it now has under its mandate 19 million refugees, half of them female and 45 percent under 18 years of age (14 percent under five). UNHCR and its mandate, renewed every five years, includes finding "lasting solutions to their plight."

How far have we come in 52 years in protecting and helping women refugees? she asked. "A long way, but still far to go." Only in 1990 did it produce a comprehensive policy on and for women, followed by guidelines for UNHCR staff. The 1990s tested these principles with brutal ethnic conflicts, massive displacement and appalling human suffering. There was little awareness then of the special protection women and girls needed against sexual and physical abuse, harmful practices such as female genital mutilation, and discrimination in the distribution of food, goods and services.

Over the 1990s they had made strenuous efforts to improve protection. Gender equality training sessions are now routinely offered on all aspects of UNHCR's refugee programs and girls' enrolment in schools has increased, as has women's inclusion in camp management. Yet other services – safe houses, counselling for victims of sexual violence, reproductive health services – were not provided everywhere or in a systematic way. Ms. Champassak told of gender-based violence last year to some of the 100,000 Bhutanese refugees in seven camps in Nepal (no UNHCR staff being implicated). She also spoke of one unnamed state that refused to register a camp population of more than 30,000 refugees. As a result, they have no real freedom of movement, some have been arbitrarily arrested, and others have faced life-and-death delays in getting medical care. Local law authorities, she added, were complicit in abuses and "have become a major part of the problem." The lesson from this case was

that improved protection rests on several things, she said: "accountability, resources and State responsibility to uphold its international obligations."

Kate White

Ms. Kate White, president of the Canadian Committee for United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), spoke mainly about the part it had played in the debates of the United Nations Security Council and the landmark Resolution 1325 on women in peacebuilding and armed conflict. Before the council unanimously passed 1325 in October 2000, UNIFEM had prepared materials for the debate and arranged for women peace delegates and women affected by conflict to brief council members. It was the first UNSC resolution ever to deal with women in conflict and peacebuilding. A follow-up report to the UN Secretary-General in 2002 dealt with many aspects of the resolution: the necessary international legal framework needed, the process of demobilization rehabilitation and reintegration of female combatants, and humanitarian aid. UNIFEM's parallel document had dealt with the special discrimination suffered by women and girls caught in an armed conflict. UNIFEM's Trust Fund to Support Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women has, meanwhile, provided grants totalling US \$37 million to projects in more than 73 countries over the past five years.

She paid tribute to Senator Mobina Jaffer and former Senator Lois Wilson for the work they had done co-chairing the Canadian Committee for Women, Peace and Security to oversee implementation of 1325. Ms. White gave details of a poll taken in November 2002 on women in conflict: two-thirds of the men polled thought more should be done to protect women, 75 percent urged rigorous enforcement to stop violence; 45 percent wanted more funds for women's groups. This, she said, represented "a change in the landscape in a robust democracy." Later, there was a question about miscommunication over the language in 1325 and various people having difficulty over such phrases as "gender sensitivity".

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

Referring to the importance of precise gender language in 1325, Ms. White quoted the words of Cyrano de Bergerac: "The ink is my blood. The words are my soul."

As an example of UNIFEM's work, she told of her own recent visit to Cyprus where she went to both sides of the 'Green Line' as part of a civil society project on peace-building. They held roundtables in both parts and found women willing and ready to ask tough questions. Some 90 women's groups on the island formed a coalition and sent a report to the UN Secretary-General, and points from it were incorporated in the peace plan. She had just heard of 20,000 citizens in Turkish Cyprus rallying in the streets in support of peace negotiations, a rare event.

Government of Canada Responses:

Five government representatives spoke about Canadian responses on gender and security and answered questions about Canada's involvement and commitment. Two were from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), two from CIDA and one from the Department of National Defense (DND.)

Mr. Jim Junke, director for South Asia Division at DFAIT, emphasized how much it was in Canada's self-interest to promote the security and prosperity of the region. He dealt with four dimensions of this relationship grouped into legal, economic, political and security frameworks. In a final section he focused on the growing importance of the South Asian-Canadian community. He pointed out that 1 in 25 Canadians are of South Asian origin, and called this "a positive, catalytic factor in the formulation of Canadian policy, in interpreting Canada to South Asia, and vice versa." He brought out how English-language fiction writers living in Canada had become "a major medium for promoting awareness of South Asia and of gender issues."

Among the positive examples he gave of the relationship were assistance to strengthening national legal frameworks (the judiciary and police), commitments to the least developed countries under the WTO Doha Round and the market access initiative taken at the last G8 Summit, support of micro-credit schemes in Bangladesh, the

landmines treaty and assistance to rehabilitate child soldiers in Sri Lanka. He warned that in Bangladesh problems of law and order, including extra-judicial killings by troops, were "the leading issue, more than the paralysis in politics, and are making Bangladesh a harder sell for Canadian investors."

Ms. Ayesha Rekhi, a policy advisor at the Peacebuilding and Human Security Division at DFAIT, said that Canada's commitment to Resolution 1325 was multi-level. Internationally, Canada was a founder of the Coalition of Like-Minded States, which met regularly over the resolution's implementation, while the human security program in DFAIT funded specific initiatives. Canada and Britain together were developing a manual on gender training for the military, and had put material on gender and peacekeeping on their web pages (<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/genderandpeacekeeping/menu-e.asp>). Meanwhile, a Canadian Committee on Women, Peace and Security, composed of MPs, civil society and government officials, had worked on implementing 1325 and had conducted cross-Canada roundtable meetings with Afghan-Canadian women. There is also an inter-governmental working group. She added that the Secretary-General's report and the UNIFEM report in 2002 had given the department valuable guidance.

Ms. Maggie Paterson, senior advisor in the Gender Equality Division at CIDA, spent 16 years in South and Southeast Asia. She argued that one couldn't separate local, national and global actions on gender and security. There were successes at the local level (Dr. Banerjee, for one, had given examples) but action was not consistent. It was important to "think outside the box." So much was an issue of power relations. In the recent CIDA policy document Canada Making a Difference in the World: A Policy Statement on Strengthening Aid Effectiveness, gender equality was a crosscutting theme. Internationally CIDA had been active among the donor countries at the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC) where Diana Rivington of CIDA had chaired the committee on gender equality. Canada had also sent a gender equality advisor to West Africa, following allegations of abuse by aid workers. In South Africa the Canada Fund (administered by the diplomatic mission there) had helped provide training to women under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

(CEDAW) and had also funded gender training for local government officials. Inside CIDA they had established a Child Protection Unit and funded research on this problem.

She criticized the United Nations for a "massive under-representation of the numbers" when it estimated only 300,000 girls in military and paramilitary forces. There had consequently been a "real denial of girls as front-line combatants" and a bias to their disadvantage in disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation (DDR) programs. In Sierra Leone, an estimated 88 per cent of the girl soldiers had been denied access to DDR programs. More generally, she said Minister Susan Whelan was concerned with how to help bring a gender perspective in countries where policy makers were either ignorant or inactive on this subject. "Gender work must be grounded in a local perspective, and must follow consultation with both women and men." She believed it was important for Canada to speak up and support local voices. CIDA had been supporting the female workers in the Bangladesh garment industry, and she thought the changes achieved had helped revise ideas of purdah, the practice that includes the seclusion of women from public observation by wearing concealing clothing from head to toe and by the use of high walls, curtains, and screens erected within the home. This change certainly increased the public visibility of females around Dhaka.

She was followed by **Ms. Suehila Elkateb, program advisor in the Peacebuilding Unit of CIDA**, who spoke of projects her division had supported, including a media centre in Afghanistan, support for International Alert and Peacefund Canada. International Alert also hosted a forum in February 2003. The forum explored the implementation of Resolution 1325 in South Asia and followed up and followed up on recommendations of this Women and Leadership Forum. Ms. Elkateb said for Canadian NGOs "gender and peacebuilding is not on their radar. They don't give it visibility and we find projects we can support too rare."

Finally, **Major Grant Yakimenko** spoke frankly saying that "the military was a hard nut to crack" in gender awareness training. After meetings in Bangkok and Chile, the United Nations was producing 22 training modules for peacekeeping, and it included a module on gender awareness. NATO had also done similar work, and Canada

would take the best material from each of them. But to avoid the "So what?" response of soldiers to the subject of gender and to overcome the difficulties of incorporating the gender dimension in peace-building, Canada inserts it "under other names such as 'cultural aspects' or 'child combatants' or 'rules of engagement'. Soldiers accept it readily in this form, not being aware of it really being gender awareness training."

He was asked a question on Nepal where, as two earlier speakers had shown, notorious abuses of human rights, particularly of women, by the military had occurred. He said Canadian and Nepalese troops had trained together, and knew about these deplorable incidents. He said the United Nations couldn't refuse a country's offer to contribute to a peace-keeping force because of such behaviour internally. However, he thought that as part of a UN mission force the commanders had some extra control, and indeed one country behaving well could have a good effect on another contingent.

Civil Society's Role in Peacebuilding:

Dr Edna Keeble, professor at St Mary's University, Nova Scotia, is a scholar of "traditional security structures" but focused her talk on the point where the concept of security shifts from the national and militarised concept to that of human security. Human security, she said, "invites a gender understanding. Men's involvement in creating change is crucial." Mainstreaming gender, whose purpose is to eliminate inequality, will work only through changes in attitude.

Civil society, she thought, "has a more consensual, non-hierarchical structure, which is crucial to the concept of human security." The International Criminal Court and the work done toward outlawing the trafficking of women and children had come about through the pressure of women's groups. The recognition that women are targets and victims of conflict had forced a general mobilization (comparable to the mobilization in traditional security that precedes the outbreak of war). Women, she said, had a natural propensity to peace and questioned whether that inclination has kept women away from serving in the military and taking a place at the peace table. Further, had it recreated male domination? It was important to move from tokenism in the numbers of women decision-makers to a critical mass. Exceptional women leaders – Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher, Golda Meir – are explained away as "the only man in the Cabinet." She praised the UNIFEM document on 1325 as identifying women as full agents in building human security.

Mr. Stephen Baranyi, a senior program specialist in Peacebuilding and Reconstruction at the International Development Research Centre, said IDRC was only beginning to develop programming in this sphere in South Asia. So he drew examples from elsewhere, in particular from Guatemala.

He suggested there were three phases in women becoming more involved and in shaping peace processes. In the early 1990s (i.e., in Namibia, Cambodia and Angola) there was little participation by women, and peace negotiations were primarily between guerrillas and the state. In the mid-1990s South Africa "broke the pattern" and involved women in policy-making. Then in East Timor, after the United Nations intervened in 1999, women made up 30 per cent of the consultative assembly and became MPs and Cabinet members.

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

As well, women in Burundi built up their capacity for engagement and 16 of them were elected to the Transitional Assembly in January 2002.

He detailed Guatemala's transition from a 36-year war to its present peaceful state, and called this case of women's participation "quite inspiring and instructive." The Assembly of Civil Society, insisted upon by the guerrillas, produced "a series of very serious proposals, many of which were explicitly gender-sensitive due to the astute lobbying and coalition-building of the women's sector." Most of these provisions, he added, found their way into the peace accords hammered out in 1994-1996. Women have gone on to be active in the various commissions (on education, land and fiscal reform) set up to implement the accords. How did they achieve so much? Mr. Baranyi cited the political weakness of conservative forces, the military weakness of the guerrillas, support from the international community – and, quite as important, the skill of women's organizations to form broad coalitions across class and ethnic lines.

Of course, every situation is unique, he added. "We all have to find our own way, in line with the specific circumstances in our own societies." He ended with four strategic questions for reflection. How can we link local efforts to protect women and build peace to broader national processes? What can women's organizations do to bring involvement of civil society in peace negotiations and advance women's particular interests at key stages? How can we resist the temptation to invite Western military intervention to deal with the challenges of war, poor governance and gender inequality? Finally, what can the international community, and particularly Canadian NGOs, do to support more effectively the efforts of South Asian women to link local and national peace-building moves, to enable women's organizations to advance gender-specific priorities and "to nurture home-grown, regionally supported alternatives to western military intervention?"

Mr. Faruq Faisal, the Canadian program manager for SAP Canada, being the last speaker, was left to respond to these four questions. He took the participants through the 20-year journey SAP had made from work on traditional development to concerns about human security, to gender and security. He said through

"Poverty Dialogues" with women, men, and youth of Nepal, Pakistan, Cambodia and the Philippines, who defined security in their own terms of homes and communities, had been "a turning point for SAP." The dominant message was one of insecurity, particularly from women, usually the most disadvantaged. Their insecurity was described in economic, social, political, and personal terms.

In the context the problem of proliferating small arms had emerged, and the SAP network of five national cells had taken part in a series of discussions, the Women and Leadership forum being the latest. Two years of SAP Canada's work on the importance of peacemaking in Afghanistan had built the links for the important "Afghanistan of Tomorrow" conference in October 2001. SAP has also undertaken an initiative to "understanding public unrest in Nepal."

He went on to give his own recommendations on SAP Canada's future endeavours such as: SAP Canada should support its SAP Asia partners' initiatives on peace and security in Sri Lanka and Nepal; it should also continue to support small arms initiatives in South Asia; it should build up partnerships beyond the SAP network and collaborate with organizations like International Alert, Saferworld and others in developing projects; it should urge Canadian government to convince South Asian governments to train their forces before sending them on peacekeeping missions; this could have a good effect on reducing domestic violence after troops return home.



Conclusion

The Voices of South Asia speak from a personal experience of "Women and Leadership"- the subject of the forum. They are passionate and they are articulate.

Most Canadians have followed with anxiety and some knowledge the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, for Toronto has become the home to many Tamil exiles. They may also have known of the lengthy struggle of the peoples of northeastern India for greater autonomy. But the speakers at this forum told of two other conflicts that have had little notice outside the region. The first is the long-standing grievance of the peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in eastern Bangladesh over their eviction from large areas of their homeland and the settlement there of more than 250,000 Bengalis from the plains. The second is to learn how, from small beginnings seven years ago, the Maoist uprising in Nepal has spread throughout the country and paralysed the administration. Shobha Gautam and Rita Thapa brought the conflict in Nepal vividly to light, while Kabita Chakma's stories about the Jummas' loss of land in the CHT and military violence added a shadow to our knowledge of the other developments in Bangladesh, in which Canada has invested considerable aid and some pride.

The speakers also brought out several crosscutting themes, removing the illusion that a particular country had special experiences all its own. The most striking, and most appalling, is the prevalence of rape – that is, rape by military forces – as an instrument of war. Another, as Rita Manchanda and other speakers brought out clearly, was the continuum of violence from the battlefield into increased domestic violence. A growing volume of "aftermath literature" has underlined the problems and sufferings that women face after conflicts: war widows as heads of households in unsupported poverty, refugees returning to devastated homesteads, female combatants not being recognized in the funding for demobilization and rehabilitation, and exclusion even at the community level from decision-making. Ms. Selvadharshini Thevanesan Croos, having travelled widely in the northern parts of Sri Lanka, was a strong witness to these setbacks during a period in a country's history when female skills in reconciliation are so much in need.

What also came through in several presentations was, first, the gender-differentiated perspectives on conflict and security. The life-threatening risks to women in South Asia, says Rita Manchanda, are not nuclear weapons but the daily menaces of maternal mortality, unemployment, poverty and honour killings. Indeed, Pakistan's human rights commission underlined this last point a few days later, announcing that at least 461 young women had been killed in 2002 by family members in honour killings, compared with 371 the year before. Secondly, there was the positive aspect of this differentiation, the resilience of many women in situations of crushing difficulty. Ms. Nelofer Pazira gave the example of Mrs. Amajan in male-dominated Kandahar, who has picked up her career as a pre-Taliban teacher and begun a self-help literacy centre for young widows. Dr. Paula Banerjee recounted the story of a Kashmiri woman who inspired her much more privileged sisters with her advice on mobilizing local support. Most notably, Dr. Banerjee told of several women's groups in Nagaland and Manipur who have used varying tactics to campaign against atrocities by security forces, to empower women with legal knowledge, to work for social reforms, and to change laws on the inheritance of property.

In the final session Ayesha Haroon, a senior editor of a daily newspaper in Pakistan, broadened the range of situations that bring about insecurity for women. Most of these, she said, originated with the developed countries. For example, the World Trade Organization (WTO) regime and the introduction of genetically modified (GM) crops demand structures for regulation that hardly any country in the south is equipped to set up. Pressure to face these new situations, and to compete in a global economy means lowering wages in industries such as the garment trade and can mean wiping out the livelihoods of traditional farming families under corporate pressures from agribusiness. As well, states and governments that feel themselves "pressed by these factors have no time for women's issues." These were powerful points, which, due to a lack of time, the forum had not taken up for debate. Nor was there a full discussion about the insecurities and abuses into which the thousands of internally displaced people stumble. While these were not prevalent themes, they deserve to be further investigated.

Finally representatives of two United Nations agencies, the Canadian government and Canadian civil society spoke of their

activities and gave emphasis to their priorities. It was an opportunity for the visitors from South Asia to throw searching questions at officials from DFAIT, CIDA and DND. It was a stimulating second day after a first day that contained descriptions of harrowing experiences. For the most part, they reiterated points made in their main contributions. The points that the speakers called for strongly are summarized in the reports recommendations.

In his closing words, Richard Harmston said that the stories shared at the forum were a "clarion call for action" and that while SAP Canada is active in its pursuit to bring women to the negotiating table, the organisation is simply too small to take on the task alone. What we can do he continued, is work in solidarity with stakeholders to "get the word out." It is crucial that we build upon the actions of the participants of the Forum. Bringing various groups together from north and south, to partners of SAP, NGOs and government, we can build unified actions, to set the agenda. It is through the sharing of experiences, of stories and of knowledge that change is promoted.

Biographies

Dr. Paula Banerjee (India)

Paula Banerjee specialises in diplomatic history and has worked on American foreign policy in South Asia at the University of Cincinnati where she was the recipient of the prestigious Taft Fellowship. Her book entitled *When Ambitions Clash: Indo-US relations from 1947 to 1974* is forthcoming. She has been working on themes related to borders in South Asia and has published extensively in journals such as *International Studies* and *Canadian Women's Studies* on issues such as histories of borders and women in conflict situations. She has also worked extensively on women's interventions for peace in South Asia both as a researcher and an activist. She has co-authored a book on *Women in Society and Politics of France*. Paula received the *Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace, Fellow of Peace Award* in 2001-2002 for her work on women in grassroots peacemaking in South Asia. She is the recipient of a number of international and national awards and grants. She recently coordinated a *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees project on Practices of Refugee Rehabilitation and Care in India*. Currently, she is teaching at the *Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Calcutta*. She is also a member of the *Calcutta Research Group*, a body of young and socially committed researchers.

Ms. Kabita Chakma (Bangladesh)

Kabita Chakma comes from the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh. Since 1990, she has been working for the human rights of the indigenous Jummas in this region.

From 1990 to 1993, as an international student at the University of Sydney, she worked as the General Secretary of the International Students' Association for the Chittagong Hill Tracts. She presented the situation of Jumma indigenous women in the First Asian Indigenous Women's Conference in the Philippines in January 1993. She is a founding member of the Asian Indigenous Women's Network (AIWN). From mid 1993 to 1995, she worked in organising the Hill

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

Women's Federation in Bangladesh. During this period she had the opportunity to work in different parts of the CHT and in Dhaka.

In 1994-1995 she worked as an executive and founding member of the Bangladesh Indigenous and Hill Peoples Association for Advancement (BIHPAA), a research-based organization, in Dhaka. In 1995, she was instrumental in organising the first national conference on the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh with the National Committee on the Protection of Human Rights in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Since becoming an Australian resident in 1995, she formed the Jumma Peoples Network of the Asia-Pacific and has been researching issues relating to the CHT and publishing in academic journals. Formally trained as an architect, she is now studying for a PhD on domestic Chakma architecture at the University of Sydney. She is also a proud mother of two children.

Ms. Selvadharshini Thevanesan Croos (Sri Lanka)

Selvadharshini Thevanesan Croos (Dharshini) recently began as a field research officer with the Catholic Organization for Relief and Development (CORDAID), Sri Lanka. She has spent the past year intensively visiting over 100 communities in northern Sri Lanka listening to the concerns of community-level groups. These groups felt repressed and unable to speak publicly. In many cases, groups of village women approached her quietly and in confidence to tell their stories. Ms. Croos has been collecting information and facilitating meetings with groups from diverse backgrounds to decide on common actions to resolve or improve dialogue on conflicts.

As a member of CORDAID, Ms. Croos has been developing a network of contacts with women's groups in Sri Lanka, both formal and informal, to ensure the full and equal participation of women in community-level peacebuilding. More recently, Ms. Croos is responsible for drawing together the many threads to build confidence and trust across the conflict divide, and for ensuring that the full and equal participation of women in community-level peacebuilding becomes an attainable reality. Ms. Croos works and lives in Mannar, Sri Lanka.

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

Ms. Shobha Gautam (Nepal)

As a journalist with 18 years experience, and a women's activist, Shobha Gautam has recently worked at the South Asian Women's Institute for Peace Studies and coordinated the production of an in-depth report on Children and Conflict in Nepal for Save the Children Norway, in October 2002 and for the Nepal consultation meeting with International Alert on "UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security in Nepal" in January 2002.

Shobha has conducted many field study visits to the Maoist-affected districts of Rolpum, Rolpa, Dang, Jajarkot, Gorkha, Kailali, and Shurkit to assess the situation facing women and children. She was also a member of consultancy teams working on "Development and Conflict" for DFID Nepal in July 2002 and "The assessment of the conflict situation in Nepal" for Oxfam in May and June 2002.

In 2001, Shobha was the Organiser and Coordinator of a three-month research programme on women's political participation in politics, culminating in the signing by all major political parties of the Declaration on Enhancing Leadership of Women in Major Political Parties.

Shobha is also the author of *Women and Children in the Periphery of People's War* (2001) and the book *Study of Women Living in Conflict Situation in South Asia* (1999), for South Asian Forum for Human Rights. Shobha lives and works in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Ms. Ayesha Haroon (Pakistan)

Ayesha Haroon, from Lahore, Pakistan, has a Masters Degree in English literature and journalism. She is currently Resident Editor of *The Nation*, a prominent Pakistani daily. Previously, Ayesha did investigative reporting for *The Nation* on a wide range of issues including politics, economics, the social sector, women's issues, and the environment. She has also worked as a stringer for Reuters, a freelancer for the BBC and Special Correspondent for the *Frontier Post*, a Pakistani journal.

Ms. Rita Manchanda (India)

Rita Manchanda is the Programme Executive of South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR), Kathmandu, and coordinator of its Women and Peace and Media and Conflict programs. Academically, she trained in International Relations at the Graduate School for International Studies, University of Geneva. She is a well-known journalist and writer on South Asian security and human rights issues. She is a peace and human rights activist and local partner (for India-Pakistan) of the 'Women Waging Peace' network, a project of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and a founding member of the Pakistan India Forum for Peace and Democracy.

Currently Ms. Manchanda is researching feminizing security and developing a methodology for gendered mapping by local women activists of their experiences and perspectives on conflict situations. It is a means of reclaiming an alternative cartographic narrative and a tool for enabling women to communicate with national and international agencies. SAFHR's publication "Women Making Peace" (2002) is based on the Kathmandu experiment in gendered mapping. She is also collaboratively developing a model for more sensitive reporting of conflicts in the region and exploring a 'peace journalism' way of reporting from inside the mass media.

Ms. Rita Thapa (Nepal)

Rita has over twenty years experience as a feminist educator and community activist, initiating and supporting institutions for women's empowerment and for peace in Nepal and Asia as well as internationally.

Ms. Thapa is recognized for her ground-breaking work in founding Tewa, The Nepal Women's Fund, and is currently involved in founding "Nagarik Aawaz," an initiative for conflict transformation and peace-building in Nepal. In recognition of this exceptional "innovative contribution to the public good" Rita has received the rare honour of being named an Ashoka Fellow.

She is known and appreciated around the world as an inspiring teacher on feminist leadership and development and has extensive experience in building links among community, non-governmental, governmental, and academic institutions. She has served on the International Committee of the Regional Center for Strategic Studies, based in Colombo, Sri Lanka, is a past Board Member and Chair of the Global Fund for Women, and has just been invited to serve on the International Board of the Urgent Action Fund. She is currently the "2002 - Dame Nita Barrow Distinguished Visitor at the University of Toronto." Ms. Thapa is based in and works from Nepal.

S/RES/1325 (2000)

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

The Security Council

Recalling, its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and recalling also the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (international Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

Expressing the concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development – Report

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;
2. Encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
5. Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;
7. Urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and

United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

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;
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;
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;
11. Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and 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;

12. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;
13. Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;
14. Reaffirms its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;
15. Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;
16. Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;
17. Requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;
18. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Women and Leadership: Voices for Security and Development November 28 & 29, 2002, Ottawa, Ontario

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