Resolution 1325 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its
31 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999,
September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (200
as well as relevant statements of its President, and
President to the press on the occasion of the United Nat
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WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA

THE CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION
CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNIFEM
Working for Women's
Empowerment and
Gender Equality

WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA

A POLICY SEMINAR HOSTED BY
THE CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN
AND THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN

SEMINAR REPORT
THE VINEYARD HOTEL, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, 27 AND 28 OCTOBER 2005
RAPPORTEURS: YALIWE CLARKE AND HELEN SCANLON

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Acknowledgements

The Centre for Conflict Resolution

The Centre for Conflict Resolution is affiliated to the University of Cape Town (UCT), South Africa. The organisation has wide-ranging experience in conflict intervention in the Western Cape and southern Africa, and is working increasingly on a pan-continental basis to strengthen the conflict management capacity of Africa's regional organisations, as well as on policy research on South Africa's role in Africa; the UN's role in Africa; AU/NEPAD relations and HIV/AIDS and security.

United Nations Development Fund for Women

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) was created in 1976 and is the women's fund at the United Nations. UNIFEM provides financial and technical assistance to programmes and strategies that promote women's human rights, political participation and economic security. Within the UN system, the organisation promotes gender equality and links women's issues and concerns to national, regional and global agendas by fostering collaboration and providing technical expertise on gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment strategies. UNIFEM works in over 100 countries and has 14 Regional Programme Directors and a growing network of affiliated gender advisers and specialists.

About the Rapporteurs

Ms Yaliwe Clarke is a Senior Project Officer at the Centre for Conflict Resolution.
Dr Helen Scanlon is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Conflict Resolution.

Executive Summary

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, South Africa, and the United Nations (UN) Development Fund for Women's (UNIFEM) Southern and Central African Regional Offices co-hosted a policy advisory group meeting on "The Impact of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa", on 27 and 28 October 2005.

The intention of this seminar was to review the progress of the implementation of the resolution in Africa in the five years since its adoption by the United Nations in 2000.

The policy seminar created a forum for about 40 participants, including representatives from the African Union (AU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), academics, civil society groups and other policymakers, to assess the progress, relevance and future significance of UN Resolution 1325 to peace and security concerns on the African continent. The meeting also investigated the current debates over restructuring the UN in light of the resolution and its implications for the future of peacebuilding interventions in Africa. The policy advisory group further provided a platform for women working in conflict zones across the continent to share their experiences of the successes and challenges associated with engendering peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

In October 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 proposed a framework to address women's peace and security issues at the local, regional and international levels. The resolution is noteworthy in that it is the first internationally-recognised document to acknowledge the disproportionate impact of conflict on non-combatants, and the fact that women and children constitute more than 80 percent of the 40 million refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide. Broadly, 1325 recommends that the UN Security Council, UN member states and civil society should endeavour to address four important issues: first, the need for the participation of women in all decision-making and peace processes; second, the importance of integrating gender perspectives and training into peacekeeping operations; third, the obligation to protect women from gender-based violence in conflict zones; and fourth, the need to mainstream gender into UN reporting systems and programme implementation mechanisms. The resolution thus seeks to address the reality of the impact that armed conflicts, human rights abuses and humanitarian law have had on women and children, as well as the need to create gender parity at all levels of decision-making within UN Security Council-mandated missions. It also serves to remind governments of the still unachieved goals of gender equality previously set by national and international instruments.

Potentially, the resolution provides both an advocacy tool for engendering peacemaking processes and an instrument of international law that is binding on all UN member states which "agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council". Five years after its adoption, 1325 has been heralded as having achieved significant results internationally, but its impact on the peace and security debate in Africa is far more ambiguous.

With Resolution 1325 having been passed, the real challenge is to ensure its consistent implementation worldwide, particularly in those conflict and post-conflict zones such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan and Burundi where it is most urgently needed. As with other UN resolutions, adherence and implementation rely heavily on the extent to which member states are committed in both word and deed. The fifth anniversary of Resolution 1325 in 2005 provided an opportunity to consider the impact of these commitments thus

far; the challenges to the resolution's implementation, and the reality of women's participation in peacebuilding and in influencing national and regional policies in Africa. This also afforded an opportunity to formulate policy recommendations for the more effective functioning of 1325 in the future. The Cape Town seminar thus created a continental platform for women's groups from South, East, Central and West Africa to share their experiences of local and regional peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts and to identify some of the essential concerns for Africa in this critical area.

The Participation of Women in Decision-making and Peace Processes

A dominant theme at the Cape Town seminar was the challenge of ensuring the increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions, as well as during formal peace negotiations and processes. There have been a number of recent measures to increase the participation of women in leadership at the continental level. For example, both the AU's 2005 Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, and the 2004 Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa outline a framework committing African leaders to the principle of gender equality and set out key protection mechanisms for African women. Based on the AU policy on equal participation of women in decision-making positions, women now comprise 50 percent of the commissioners of the AU. Similar measures have been undertaken by African regional organisations to ensure increased gender parity within their organisations.

At the national level, post-conflict negotiations often provide a unique window of opportunity for ensuring the increased political representation of women and to demand equality under the law. A number of post-conflict African countries have seen some significant achievements in the participation of women in decision-making in recent years. Liberia made history in 2005 by electing as president the first African woman, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Three women are currently holding vice-presidential posts (in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Burundi) and two are prime ministers (in Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe). Furthermore, women are also finding ways to be heard at community and local decision-making processes.

Despite these gains, while Resolution 1325's commitment to the promotion of women in decision-making is welcome, it is also imperative that institutions themselves should transform and become conscientised on gender concerns. As long as countries maintain laws that discriminate against women, their participation in transitions from war to peace and, more generally, their full integration into society can not be realised. Often, traditional laws grant women a secondary status as minors, excluding them from, among other things, rights of guardianship over children and to own property. While international law may seek to address gender inequalities, social norms do not necessarily advance in line with these changes, and women often remain politically and economically disadvantaged. This tension between discriminatory customary law and state or international law must be recognised in post-conflict reconstruction strategies.

Furthermore, critics of the implementation of Resolution 1325 argue that the UN system itself has structural biases and limitations, which include the weak implementation of women's rights instruments and the lack of women in more senior positions. In October 2005, just one female Permanent Representative – Denmark's Ellen Margrethe Løj – sat on the UN Security Council, which consists of 15 member states. Furthermore, there are currently only two women Special Representatives of the UN Secretary-General heading 17 peacekeeping missions – in Georgia and Burundi – the highest position in the UN system in post-conflict countries. Thus, participants noted that promoting gender equality in the UN's administrative structures is critical to the effective implementation of Resolution 1325.

While women's movements in Africa have been actively lobbying governments to include women in national and continental peace and security initiatives, participants observed that the AU, Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and their member states still need to ensure that women are constructively and consistently involved in all matters of peace and security on the continent. Women still remain under-represented in the majority of peace processes such as in Sudan and the DRC.

Gender Perspectives and Training in Peacekeeping

Resolution 1325 calls on the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, to provide member states with training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and needs of women; to involve women in peacekeeping missions; and to ensure that all UN civilian personnel in peacekeeping operations receive similar training. It further requests member states to include HIV/AIDS awareness training in programmes for military and civilian police in preparation for deployment. The need to integrate gender perspectives and training into peacekeeping operations in Africa is critical, considering that over 85 percent of UN peacekeepers are currently deployed on the continent. These peacekeepers and aid workers often interact closely with local populations, posing the risk of introducing additional challenges such as sexually communicable diseases and female trafficking to already fragile transitions or post-conflict situations.

The UN Secretary-General's 2004 progress report on Resolution 1325 noted that the resolution has provided a significant shift in international understanding of armed conflict and that the most obvious changes have occurred in the area of peacekeeping. All peace operations since 2000 have included a gender adviser, resulting in the increase from two to 10 gender advisers in the 17 peacekeeping operations worldwide. The UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has also appointed a gender adviser at the UN Secretariat in New York. A gender resource manual has been developed to assist in the training of peacekeeping operatives prior to their deployment.

While these developments are significant, the UN continues to have a disproportionately small number of women in peacekeeping operations: currently only 25 percent of UN peacekeeping personnel are women. There is no effective accountability of peacekeepers in conflict areas at present, and recent examples in the DRC and Sudan's Darfur region have exposed flagrant abuse by sectors within these operations. There is therefore a further need to monitor the inclusion of gender training in peacekeeping forces to ensure the full protection of the security of women.

Consultation at all levels of peacekeeping and peacebuilding is needed to ensure that gender relations in the local context are more fully taken into account. In cases of sexual exploitation perpetrated by UN officials, its peacekeeping missions do not have the mandate to respond effectively. Sexual relationships between UN staff and local women are often born out of the desperate economic situations that civilians face in war-torn countries and the limited economic options available to women. While there have been some efforts to ensure that attention is paid to socio-economic and livelihood needs in countries such as Sudan, Sierra Leone, Burundi and the DRC, UN peacekeeping missions still do not have the mandate to provide socio-economic support to vulnerable communities. To recognise the different needs of women in emergency conflict situations, gender mainstreaming must take into account scenarios in which the most basic needs of women can be addressed as a priority. UN missions must ensure that communities are not isolated and left to fend for themselves in post-conflict situations.

The glaring deficit in gender sensitivity of Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) efforts by UN agencies was also noted. A key limitation has been the perception that DDR is solely about disarming men with

guns. This approach fails to recognise the role of women as both combatants and key actors in maintaining and enabling armed forces in cases like Liberia and Sierra Leone. To ensure that all of these issues are fully understood, closer co-operation needs to be created between civil society, governments, RECs and the AU to develop strategies for peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

The Protection of Women

A critical aspect of Resolution 1325 for Africa is its call for special measures to protect women and children and its emphasis on the responsibility of UN member states to prosecute those responsible for large-scale violations of women's rights in recent conflicts. This marks the evolution, in recent decades, of an international legal framework to protect the rights of women through the criminalisation of many types of gender violence. Of note is also the resolution's call for governments and international organisations to meet the specific needs of women and girls in refugee camps and settlements, where they are particularly vulnerable. Institutionally, the resolution calls for wide-scale restructuring of the UN system to accommodate the incorporation of these changes. However, in his 2004 report on Resolution 1325, Kofi Annan, citing examples in Burundi, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC and Darfur, noted the "collective failure in preventing such violence".

To enhance these recommendations, conflict monitoring and early-warning systems are needed to incorporate fully indicators which are gender-sensitive and can help to avert the prevalence of sexual violence during conflict and post-conflict situations. There is also a need to ensure effective monitoring of the implementation of humanitarian assistance in camps where women have been shown to be especially vulnerable. The impact of internal displacement on sexual abuse and the spread of HIV/AIDS in sustaining insecurity have been recognised by the resolution, but there has been an inadequate response in terms of helping victims to deal with the resulting trauma or the high rates of domestic violence in post-conflict societies. Programmes should thus be developed to address the psychological effects of violence and conflict on the lives of women. Further, health and education programmes alone will not be sufficient to address these issues since there remains an imperative to recognise how militaristic approaches to governance and security cultivate attitudes condoning gender-based violence. Donors and international organisations must move beyond rhetoric and allocate sufficient funds towards the protection of women during conflicts.

Gender Mainstreaming in United Nations Reporting and Implementation Mechanisms

The intention to mainstream gender in UN reporting systems and programme implementation mechanisms is a desirable addition to Resolution 1325. One measure to review the progress of the resolution within the UN system is the UN Secretary-General's periodic reports to the Security Council. While some of these reports' recommendations have been implemented, they require greater monitoring and evaluation. There is also a need to ensure that the resolution is not solely monitored by the UN system. African civil society has a pivotal role to play in assessing the impact of Resolution 1325. Assessing the implementation of 1325 can be strengthened by utilising the research capacity of civil society and developing links between these organisations and African governments.

There were strong calls for African governments and civil society to become fully engaged not only in implementing 1325, but also in disseminating material about its recommendations. Dissemination strategies need

to inform women of their rights as enshrined in the resolution and to be "user-friendly" through further translation into local languages. Suggestions were also made that the terminology in the document should be translated into language that is relevant to African women. These strategies need also to take into consideration that each country's experience of conflict is different.

Women's groups must forge partnerships with men to ensure the enactment of Resolution 1325 and to prevent the resolution being perceived as being solely a "women's issue". There is also the need for training to sensitise African men and women on gender issues in order to transform understanding about the impact of conflict on peace and security. The policy seminar concluded that, for Resolution 1325 to be successful, gender considerations must inform all African peace and security policies, post-conflict reconstruction, justice, and development programmes nationally, regionally and internationally.

> Africa still experiences recurring violent conflicts in communities where wars are sometimes viewed as gendered activities and issues of peace and security are often considered as male preserves.

ABOVE :	DELEGATES AT THE WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA SEMINAR
RIGHT:	MS LITHA MUSYIMI–OGANA, NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT, TSHWANE
FAR RIGHT:	MR DOMINIQUE RENE M BASSINGA, MONUC GENDER OFFICE, NEW YORK

1. Introduction

The Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, South Africa, and the United Nations (UN) Development Fund for Women's (UNIFEM) Southern and Central African regional offices co-hosted a policy advisory group meeting on "The Impact of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa", on 27 and 28 October 2005.

The intention of this seminar was to review the progress of the implementation of the resolution in Africa in the five years since its adoption by the United Nations in 2000.

The seminar created a forum for about 40 participants, including representatives from the United Nations, the African Union (AU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), academics, civil society groups and other policymakers, to assess the progress, relevance and future significance of Resolution 1325 to peace and security concerns on the African continent. The meeting also investigated the current debates over restructuring the UN in light of the resolution and its implication for the future of peacebuilding interventions in Africa. The policy advisory group further provided a platform for women working in conflict zones across the continent to share their experiences of the successes and challenges associated with engendering peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

In October 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 proposed a framework to address women's peace and security issues at the local, regional and international levels. The resolution is noteworthy in that it is the first internationally recognised document to acknowledge the disproportionate impact of conflict on non-combatants, and the fact that women and children constitute more than 80 percent of the 40 million refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide. Broadly, 1325 recommends that the UN Security Council, UN member states and civil society should endeavour to address four important issues: first, the need for the participation of women in all decision-making and peace processes in countries like the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Burundi,

> UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is noteworthy in that it is the first internationally recognised document to acknowledge the disproportionate impact of conflict on non-combatants, and the fact that women and children constitute more than 80 percent of the 40 million refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide.

Sierra Leone. Liberia and Sudan; second, the importance of integrating gender perspectives and training into peacekeeping operations; third, the obligation to protect women from gender-based violence in conflict zones; and fourth, the need to mainstream gender into UN reporting systems and programme implementation mechanisms. The resolution thus seeks to address the reality of the impact that armed conflicts, human rights abuses and humanitarian law have had on women and children, as well as the need to create gender parity at all levels of decision-making within UN Security Council-mandated missions. It also serves to remind governments of the still unachieved goals of gender equality previously set by national and international instruments.

1.1 Objectives

The primary intention of the Cape Town meeting in October 2005 was to define Africa's concerns over Resolution 1325 and to develop strategies for its effective implementation.

LAUNCH OF "AFRICAN WOMEN FOR PEACE: ADVOCACY MAGAZINE — SPECIAL EDITION".
FROM LEFT: DR JOHN MUTAMBA, MINISTRY OF GENDER AND FAMILY PROMOTION, KIGALI;
MS NOMCEBO MANZINI, UN DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN, JOHANNESBURG;
MS NOSIVIWE MADLALA-ROUTLEDGE, SOUTH AFRICAN DEPUTY MINISTER OF HEALTH;
MS THELMA EKIYOR, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN

MS HODAN ADDOU, UN DEVELOPMENT FUND
FOR WOMEN, NAIROBI

The seminar thus set out to focus on reviewing the progress and impact of the resolution from an African perspective. The meeting addressed the complex task of articulating women's issues in the challenging context of peace and security on the continent. Africa still experiences recurring violent conflicts in communities where wars are sometimes viewed as gendered activities and issues of peace and security are often considered as male preserves.[1] Engendering these structures is challenging and will require a shift in the understanding of women and men of gender roles in the area of peace and conflict. At the policy level, the political will to promote women's issues by African governments is often limited. Concerns remain that while African governments tend to lend support to resolutions, conventions and other mechanisms at the international level, their commitment to implementation at regional and national levels is often weak.

Five key objectives were therefore identified for the meeting:
- First, to provide a platform for key stakeholders in peacekeeping and peacebuilding to examine critically the relevance of UN Resolution 1325 to peace and security debates on the continent;
- Second, to assess the extent of women's participation and involvement in institutions and mechanisms for conflict prevention in Africa;
- Third, to examine the relevance of Resolution 1325 to efforts at gender mainstreaming in regional institutions such as the African Union and the Southern African Development Community;
- Fourth, to consider how best to bridge the gap between international policy on peace and security and the practical realities faced by women in national and regional conflict situations; and
- Fifth, to develop continental advocacy strategies for the inclusion of women in all issues affecting the peace and security of women in Africa not covered in Resolution 1325.

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1   T. Ekiyor, *Women's Empowerment in Peacebuilding: A Platform for Women's Participation in Decision Making*, African Women's Development Fund (AWDF) annual briefing paper, 2004, http://www.awdf.org/awdf/?pid=32&cid=36 (accessed 17 February 2006).

1.2. Background

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is seminal in its provision of mechanisms to address the traditional exclusion of women's issues from international peace and security initiatives.

Since the UN's creation in 1945, there have been increasingly vocal campaigns by women's groups for the recognition of gender issues as governance concerns. Consequently, key advancements have been made in international relations, such as the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which established a standard definition of discrimination against women, as well as a framework for countries to develop an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The emphasis by the UN on the role of women in conflict and peacebuilding nonetheless remained negligible in the second half of the 20th century.

In the last decade, however, there has been a growing acknowledgement by the UN of the ways in which conflicts affect women. The 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing, China, explicitly recognised that men, women, boys and girls experience peace, conflict and the recovery phases of wars differently.[2] International debates and resolutions have since increasingly focused on the impact of conflict on gender relations and the need to ensure the global participation and inclusion of women in decision-making processes in the peace and security field. These were augmented by the historic "Akayesu judgment", delivered by the Trial Chamber of the Rwanda Tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1998, which was the first explicit recognition of rape as being both an instrument of genocide and a crime against humanity. In 1999, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1265 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, recognising the need for specific protection of civilians and taking special note of vulnerable groups such as women and children in violent conflicts.[3] These and other events paved the way for the UN Security Council to deliberate on, and adopt, a resolution explicitly on women, peace and security: Resolution 1325.

LEFT: THE HON VALERIE NYIRAHABINEZA, MINISTER OF GENDER AND FAMILY PROMOTION, KIGALI

ABOVE: PROFESSOR PUMLA GOBODO-MADIKIZELA, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, CAPE TOWN

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2   Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women, 15 September 1995, A/CONF.177/20 (1995) and A/CONF.177/20/Add.1 (1995).
3   United Nations Resolution 1265, http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/267/94/PDF/N9926794.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 16 February 2006).

International attention on the plight of internally displaced persons, refugees and gender-based violence has escalated in recent years to become a global concern. In Africa, these concerns emanate from scenarios such as the Rwandan genocide in 1994 which resulted in an estimated 500,000 women and children being raped during the 100-day genocide by militia and soldiers, and the death of some 50,000 predominantly Hutu refugees from disease, hunger and lack of water in neighbouring Zaire (now DRC) and Tanzania.[4] Targeted mass rape and sexual abuse of women in African conflicts have continued unabated, as recent events in Sudan's Darfur region have shown. On a wider societal level, conflicts in Africa have been linked to the fragmentation and collapse of family structures. In many countries where conflict is prevalent, children have grown up experiencing nothing but violence on their path to adulthood. The potential impact that this has had on the future of these fractured societies is clearly enormous, but is as yet widely unacknowledged. Furthermore, armed conflicts and gender-based violence are major impediments to the achievement of sustainable development and human security on the continent.

Theoretically, UN Resolution 1325 holds governments accountable for the protection of their citizens – in particular women and children – but, thus far, its implementation seems to be taking effect in countries with more established human rights records: Canada, Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK) have all made significant strides in implementing Resolution 1325. While some African countries are part of the "Friends of 1325" (a group which advocates the implementation of the resolution globally), the success of the resolution in Africa has been difficult to assess.[5] The political will necessary for implementing the resolution at the national and regional level is not evident in many cases and this is compounded by the fact that there is no requirement in place to ensure observance by UN member states.

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS, WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA, THE VINEYARD HOTEL, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, 27 AND 28 OCTOBER 2005

4   Human Rights Watch Report, *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath,* September 1996, http://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm (accessed 16 February 2006).
5   Friends of 1325 is a voluntary, *ad hoc* group of UN Member States which advocates the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 and includes Australia, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Guinea, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Liechtenstein, Mexico, Namibia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, United Kingdom and the United States.

2. Seminar Themes and Debates

There is widespread consensus among stakeholders that Resolution 1325 represents a significant step in the process of engendering international peace and security issues. However, the resolution cannot be seen as a panacea for ensuring women's involvement in this traditionally male-dominated sphere.

Previous instruments and mechanisms intended to recognise gender concerns at both national and international levels, such as the CEDAW Convention, have faced significant implementation challenges. It is therefore critical that the opportunity offered by 1325 as a framework for facing the significant challenges posed by gender and conflict, is not lost. The resolution should be considered as the beginning of the process of effectively engendering peace and security issues internationally, regionally and nationally, and not as an end in itself.

> Armed conflicts and gender-based violence are major impediments to the achievement of sustainable development and human security on the continent.

The Cape Town policy advisory group meeting of October 2005 provided a forum for the articulation of African perspectives on the report. The advisory group comprised civil society representatives, academics and senior government officials. Among those who attended the meeting were Ms Valerie Nyirahabineza, Rwanda's Minister of Gender and Family Promotion; Ms Scholastica Kimaryo, UNDP Resident Representative and Co-ordinator of the UN System in South Africa; Ms Nomcebo Manzini, UNIFEM's Regional Director; Ms Hodan Addou, UNIFEM's Regional Peace and Security Adviser for East, Central and Southern Africa; Ms Litha Musyimi Ogana, NEPAD's Adviser on Gender and Civil Society; Ms Magdeline Mathiba-Madibele, head of SADC's Gender Unit; Dr Bernadette Lahai, Sierra Leonean Member of Parliament; and Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, of the University of Cape Town.

The seminar discussion focused mainly on the following five themes:
- The Role of the United Nations in Implementing Resolution 1325: Linking UN Reform to African Realities of Engendering Peace;
- The African Union and Women, Peace and Security;
- Engendering Regional Economic Communities;
- Implementing Resolution 1325 at the National Level; and
- Resolution 1325 as a Tool for Women's Peace Activism: Opportunities and Challenges.

Following are the main debates that informed these panels.

2.1 The Role of the United Nations in Implementing Resolution 1325: Linking UN Reform to African Realities of Engendering Peacebuilding

According to the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in a 2004 report, Resolution 1325 holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. [6]

The Cape Town policy seminar set out to consider the importance of the UN's 1325 pledge to engender peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts in Africa. This commitment is particularly relevant for the continent since it currently hosts the largest contingents of UN peacekeepers and humanitarian personnel in the world. [7] At the beginning of 2005, nearly 50,000 of the 65,000 – over 85 percent – of UN peacekeepers deployed worldwide were in Africa. [8] The UN clearly has a central role to play in ensuring the implementation of 1325 since the resolution makes the pursuit of gender equity relevant to all UN Security Council peacekeeping actions – from disarmament to post-conflict reconstruction.

A key challenge facing the world body, however, is that, as with other UN resolutions, adherence and implementation rely heavily on the commitment of member states as there is no obligation in place to ensure compliance with 1325. This is compounded by the fact that the UN system itself has structural biases which inhibit the effective incorporation of gender issues into the organs of the world body. Consequently, women's issues are often marginalised within the UN system and there is inadequate resourcing of women's rights instruments, as well as an absence of women in the UN's most senior positions. Thus, participants noted that gender equality in the UN's own restructuring process is critical to the effective implementation of Resolution 1325.

Despite the fact that the resolution "urges member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution of conflict",[9] there are currently only two women Special Representatives of the Secretary-General – Carolyn McAskie in Burundi and Heidi Tagliavini in Georgia – heading UN peacekeeping missions in what is the highest position in the UN system in conflict-ridden countries. The first Gender Adviser for the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) at the UN Headquarters was only appointed in 2004, four years after the adoption of Resolution 1325. As of September 2005, only 10 of 18 peacekeeping and political missions have a dedicated full-time gender adviser, six of which are in Africa. [10]

The UN has introduced some measures to seek to address these imbalances. For instance, the Department of Peacekeeping has appointed a Gender Adviser at the UN Headquarters in New York. Furthermore, in October 2005, the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, submitted a report on "Women, Peace and Security" to the Security Council. This report detailed an action plan to strengthen the commitments made by Resolution 1325 at the highest levels, to improve accountability, and to monitor further the implementation of the resolution within the

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6   UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security, 2004, S/2004/814,
    http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/634/68/PDF/N0263468.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 21 February 2006).
7   These include Sudan (UNMIS), Burundi (ONUB), Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), Liberia (UNMIL), DRC (MONUC), Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), Sierra Leone
    (UNAMSIL) and Western Sahara (MINURSO), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp (accessed 16 February 2006).
8   http://www.peacewomen.org/un/pkwatch/News/05/africanpeacekeeping.html (accessed 8 December 2005).
9   UNSC Resolution 1325, http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/267/94/PDF/N9926794.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 17 February 2006).
10 These include Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan, Burundi, the DRC and Côte d'Ivoire. United Nations, *Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security*, October
    2005, http://www.womenwarpeace.org/toolbox/sgreponwps05.pdf (accessed 16 February 2006).

UN system.[11] Debate over UN reform on its 60th anniversary in September 2005 also culminated in three potentially significant commitments in areas relevant to the peace and security of women. First, the agreement to create a Peacebuilding Commission; second, the promise to set up a Human Rights Council; and, finally, pledges over the "responsibility to protect" civilians from human rights abuses.[12] Since the mandate and operations of the proposed Peacebuilding Commission and Human Rights Council have yet to be fully defined, there exists a unique opportunity for policymakers to ensure that these bodies reflect gender concerns and involve women in UN-led peacebuilding processes.

While these initiatives could enhance the effectiveness of the UN's implementation of Resolution 1325, they are contingent on the UN's progress in ensuring that the principles of gender equity are mainstreamed into all activities related to peacekeeping, peacebuilding and conflict prevention and reconstruction. The Cape Town seminar discussed the pressing concern of ensuring gender balance in peacekeeping missions, especially since these operations often interact closely with local populations.[13] Where women are visible, their issues and concerns can be more successfully mainstreamed into peacebuilding efforts. However, there remains a disproportionately small number of women in peacekeeping operations – only 25 percent of UN peacekeeping personnel are women. As of July 2005, only 3,190 women of a total of 12,869 civilian personnel were serving in UN peacekeeping missions.[14]

In the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) in 2005, women constituted only four percent of military staff, one percent of the military population and 15 percent of the civilian military staff. [15] These statistics reflect the failure of the UN itself to practice the principles it espouses on the representation of women as enshrined in Resolution 1325. Given the male-dominated environment of the UN, both lobbying for the increased representation of women at all levels of the UN system, as well as the provision of adequate support for women currently holding UN and governmental positions are needed. The urgency of this recommendation is reinforced by the lack of full commitment by member states to other international pledges that call for the full involvement of women in political and economic decision-making by the world body.

A dominant theme at the Cape Town seminar was the challenge of involving women in decision-making positions during formal peace negotiations and processes. Post-conflict scenarios often create the space for women to demand equality under the law and their right to security. However, while many African women are engaged in peacebuilding at the community level, they are often excluded from government-led peace negotiations, resulting in their input not being fully incorporated into peace accords. Democratic processes are thus required to ensure that civil society and women's groups are more fully represented in peace processes from the outset.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 implores member states to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and calls for specialised training for all peacekeeping personnel on the special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations. Gender training is critical for peacekeeping forces and the training content and methodology should ensure that trainees are "conscientised" and not just "sensitised" on gender equality and its relevance to building sustainable peace. To ensure that training takes into account gender relations peculiar to the local context, adequate consultation with local actors at all levels of peacekeeping and

11   Report of the UN Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security, 10 October 2005, S/2005/636. p.1.
12   http://www.un.org/summit2005/Draft_Outcome130905.pdf (accessed 21 February 2006). See also CCR seminar report, "A More Secure Continent: African Perspectives on the UN High-Level Panel Report: A More Secure World, Our Shared Responsibility", http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za
13   See WomenWarPeace.org portal, http://www.womenwarpeace.org/burundi/burundi.htm (accessed 26 January 2006).
14   United Nations, Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security, October 2005, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed 16 February 2006).
15   D. Bassinga, Engendering Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa: Successes and Challenges, (unpublished paper presented at a CCR policy seminar on "The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on African Women, Peace and Security", 27 and 28 October 2005, Cape Town).

peacebuilding is important. Whereas international gender experts are relevant in certain situations, local actors are often better informed, having been through their own "lived" experiences of gender-based violence.

The Cape Town seminar also examined the link between conflict and gender-based exploitation by peacekeepers. Recent events in the DRC prompted the 2005 report of the UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Sexual Exploitation, Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al-Hussein, "A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peace Keeping Operations".[16] Since December 2004, the UN has endeavoured more aggressively to investigate and prosecute UN peacekeepers accused of sexual abuse. However, to date, progress in this area has been slow. As at October 2005, while investigations into allegations involving 152 peacekeeping personnel have been completed, only five UN staff members have been summarily dismissed.[17] This situation is exacerbated by the lack of well-functioning legal and judicial systems in war-torn countries, which creates an environment of de facto impunity. Concerns remain over the difficulty of prosecuting UN soldiers accused of sexual abuse once they return to their home countries. This is often compounded by the failure of troop-contributing countries to prosecute offenders, in part because many African countries have inadequate domestic legislation to address gender-based violence.[18]

The action plan on Resolution 1325 released in October 2005 by the UN Secretary-General commits to develop and fully implement codes of conduct and disciplinary procedures for all categories of UN staff to prevent and respond to sexual exploitation. The plan pledges to enhance monitoring mechanisms and to address cases of misconduct. However, in the absence of adequate finances, UN missions will continue to lag behind in the prevention of sexual exploitation and gender-based violence. Another target of the report was abuses committed by non-military personnel such as the allegations of sexual exploitation by humanitarian workers in Sierra Leone in 2002.[19]

As well as the legal and logistical challenges of convicting perpetrators of sexual abuse in UN peacekeeping missions, most missions are ill-equipped to prevent sexual exploitation due to the lack of qualified personnel in this area. Furthermore, conditions that allow UN peacekeepers to engage in unprotected sex with members of local communities are not sufficiently recognised. Sexual relationships between UN staff and local women are often born out of the desperate economic situations that civilians face during conflicts and the limited economic options available to women. The 2005 report on sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers revealed how "sexual abuse [by UN peacekeepers in the DRC] mostly involves the exchange of money (on average US$1-3 per encounter) for food (for immediate consumption or to barter later) or for jobs".[20] An unfortunate consequence of these inequitable relationships is that of abandoned "peacekeeper babies"; one participant from Sierra Leone estimated that soldiers of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Sierra Leone had fathered and abandoned some 17,000 children. Furthermore, the economic conditions of returning refugees and members of female-headed households generally worsen during post-conflict transitions. Measures to improve the stability of war-torn countries have to take into account the economic needs and institutional barriers to the economic advancement of women by considering these fundamental concerns.

16   K. Lynes and G. Torry (eds), *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women* (NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security: New York, October 2005), p.4.
17   ibid.
18   United Nations Report by Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein, *A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peace Keeping Operations,* 24 March 2005, A59/710 (2005), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/reports.htm (accessed 16 February 2006).
19   http://www.unicef.org/emerg/index_exploitation.html (accessed 21 February 2006).
20   United Nations Report by Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein, *A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peace Keeping Operations,* 24 March 2005, A/59/710 (2005), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/reports.htm (accessed 16 February 2006).

The need to identify various challenges posed by the realities of emergency situations and the difficulties posed by post-conflict development are important factors. Generally, the section of Resolution 1325 focusing on preventing and responding to gender-based violence in armed conflicts recommends enhancing legal frameworks and improving education and awareness programmes. However, the socio-economic situation in most African countries in which UN peacekeeping soldiers are deployed pose a host of challenges that UN peacekeeping missions are neither equipped nor prepared to address. In cases of sexual exploitation perpetrated by UN officials, UN missions in conflict situations do not have a mandate to respond to the socio-economic dimensions of the vulnerability of women and girls. Interviews with women in Sierra Leone who were forced into prostitution as a result of their economic circumstance revealed that they would "rather die of a disease than of hunger". This situation is evident in many conflict areas, despite efforts by the UN and civil society to raise awareness of the dangers of HIV/AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases. These issues must be brought to the fore during the national needs assessment missions that ultimately feed into the development of post-conflict reconstruction plans.[21]

Five years after the passage of Resolution 1325, there is a conspicuous deficit in the gender sensitivity of Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) efforts by UN agencies. The UN Secretary-General has stated the problem clearly in his periodic thematic and country reports to the Security Council.[22] A key limitation has been the perception of the purpose of DDR, which is often viewed as being solely the disarming of men with guns. In Sierra Leone, only six percent of DDR participants were women and 0.6 percent were girls, despite females comprising an estimated 12 percent of combatants. The low rate of participation was attributed in one study to women and girls being classified as "followers, slaves and domestics", even when they had engaged in active combat.[23] Thirty percent of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) guerilla movement was estimated to be female, but only 4,500 soldiers of the 26,000 demobilised in 2003 (17 percent) were women and 91 percent of the loans distributed to combatants were given to men. With direct reference to the experiences of women in Liberia who were involved in assisting the UN peacekeeping mission (UNMIL) with the DDR process, participants noted that a broader definition of "combatant" should be used to encourage women who were general "helpers" of armed forces to become active participants in the DDR process.

Resolution 1325 makes an explicit recommendation that all actors in negotiations to end armed conflict should recognise the "special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction".[24] Considering the prevalence of gender-based violence, arranged marriages, forced prostitution and the consequent spread of HIV/AIDS, DDR programmes should include a comprehensive system to address the psychological effects of violence and conflict on the lives of women. Past rehabilitation and integration efforts by UN missions provided little counselling and trauma healing for women victims of violence, although there have been some efforts in this area by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). The absence of family support structures, as well as the stigma associated with being raped or being a wife, cook, or forced prostitute during conflict, creates further barriers to post-conflict reconstruction efforts. This needs to be recognised more fully in implementing Resolution 1325.

21 Attempts have been made by the UN in this area during the Joint Assessment Mission for Sudan, http://www.unsudanig.org/JAM/index.jsp?cid=intro (accessed 26 January 2006).
22 UNIFEM, *Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration,* (UNIFEM, October 2004), p.3, http://www.womenwarpeace.org/issues/ddr/gettingitright.pdf (accessed 17 February 2006).
23 United Nations, *Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security,* October 2005, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed 16 February 2006).
24 http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf (accessed 25 November 2005).

2.2 The African Union and Women, Peace and Security

In November 2005, the AU Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa came into force. This protocol provides a legal framework committing African leaders to the principle of gender equity and sets out key protection mechanisms for African women.[25]

The document further seeks to address violations of African women's rights, outlines a framework for the protection of women in armed conflict, and provides provisions to address gender-based violence. Thus far, 15 African states have ratified the protocol: Benin, Cape Verde, Comoros, Djibouti, Gambia, Libya, Lesotho, Mali, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Senegal and Togo. The protocol builds on efforts to promote the participation of women in decision-making and gender equity at the level of African institutions over the last five years, through such instruments as the AU's 2004 Heads of State Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. This declaration commits AU members to ensure full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes, including the prevention, resolution and management of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

The cornerstone of implementing Resolution 1325 is its focus on the inclusion of women in decision-making processes.[26] The rationale for this stipulation is the understanding that, where women are visible in decision-making roles, their issues and concerns can be mainstreamed into policies and programmes. At the level of African institutions, major strides have been made in the last five years to elevate the status of women in decision-making. The establishment of the AU in 2002 was accompanied by a commitment to ensure gender parity within its Commission, and equitable representation of judges at the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights. The AU's Constitutive Act of 2000 also allows for the participation of civil society through structures such as the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), as well as the New Partnership for Africa's Development. The hope is that the creation of these organs will promote civil society participation in continental institutions and provide for the greater protection and monitoring of human rights.

In response to the commitment towards gender parity in its Constitutive Act, the AU made efforts towards gender mainstreaming.[27] Thus far, the AU Commission has mandated a 50 percent representation of women, resulting in half of the organisation's 10 commissioners being women. The AU Assembly has also created a Directorate on Women, Gender and Development in the Office of the Chairperson, Alpha Konare, to co-ordinate all activities and programmes of the Commission related to gender.[28] The Gender Directorate at the AU Commission in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, is dedicated to ensuring gender mainstreaming in the AU's policies and programmes. Furthermore, UNIFEM has been working with the AU to develop a gender strategy to inform its mediation efforts, focusing on strengthening the structures of continental peace processes. These changes have undoubtedly increased the focus on gender concerns within the organisation, but the effective mainstreaming of women's issues

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25   http://www.peacewomen.org/campaigns/global/Statement_Womens_Rights_Protocol_to_AU_Charter.htm (accessed 30 November 2005).
26   UN Resolution 1325, (2000), operative paragraphs 1,2, 3, http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/267/94/PDF/N9926794.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 17 February 2006).
27   Article 4 (1), African Union Constitutive Act, http://www.africaunion.org/root/au/AboutAU/Constitutive_Act_en.htm (accessed 17 February 2006).
28   Winnie Byanyima is currently head of the AU's Women, Gender and Development Directorate, http://www.un.org/webcast/csw2005/statements/050307unionafrica-e.pdf (accessed 17 February 2006).

into the AU's organs continues to be a challenge. In a 2004 address to the AU, Kofi Annan urged African states to "do everything they can to translate into reality the objectives of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security and to do so without delay".[29] However, the pace of the development of the AU's peace and security mechanisms to enshrine these goals has been slow.

The AU's 15-member Peace and Security Council (PSC) – the decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of African conflicts – has acknowledged the status of vulnerable persons, including women and children, in conflict situations, and called for the involvement of civil society and women's groups in supporting efforts to promote peace and security in Africa.[30] The specific mention of women's groups as viable actors in promoting stability is an acknowledgment of the multiple roles played by women in African conflicts beyond that of victims. However, the PSC fails to define clearly how women will be integrated into its structures and initiatives. It is not obvious what roles women will play in other security organs of the AU, for example, the Panel of the Wise; the Continental Early Warning System; the African Standby Force; the Military Staff Committee; and the Peace Fund. Furthermore, while NEPAD has stated its intention to work with women, it has failed to recognise or address the major issues of gender inequality, discrimination and oppression of women.[31]

A number of post-conflict African countries have seen some significant achievements in the participation of women in decision-making and peace processes in recent years. Liberia made history in 2005 by electing Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as the first African woman president.[32] Three women are currently holding vice-presidential posts (Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka in South Africa, Joyce Mujuru in Zimbabwe and Alice Nzomukunda in Burundi) and two are prime ministers (Luisa Diogo in Mozambique, and Maria do Carmo Silveira in Sao Tome and Principe). In 2005, Rwanda achieved the world's highest representation of women in parliament, with women constituting 48.8 percent of its parliamentarians. The parliaments of Rwanda, South Africa and Mozambique currently rank among those in the 17 top parliaments in the world in the area of women's representation.

> The current nature of warfare in Africa is testament to the fact that women remain targets of engendered forms of violence such as rape, forced prostitution and sexual slavery.

Despite this welcome increase in the number of women in decision-making positions, adequate capacity-building initiatives which capture the unique needs of African women are also necessary. There is a need to recognise the unequal power relations that still exist in public life in Africa and the discrimination that women continue to face when vying for and occupying public office. While the achievement of a critical mass of women in power is vital, it is also necessary that institutions transform themselves in order to be conscientised over gender concerns within peace and security issues.

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29   See http://www.africa-union.org/au%20summit%202004/speech%20Mr%20Kofi%20Annan%2006-07-04.pdf (accessed 17 February 2006).
30   See the African Union's Peace and Security Council's web page, http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/organs/The_Peace_%20and_Security_Council_en.htm (accessed 17 February 2006).
31   S. Longwe, *Assessment of the Gender Orientation of NEPAD,* in P. Anyang'Nyong'o et. al (eds.), *New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): A New Path?* (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2002), p.274.
32   UN, *Facts and Figures on Women Peace and Security,* October 2005, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed 16 February 2006).

ABOVE: DR BERNADETTE LAHAI, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, FREETOWN

RIGHT: MS ZAINAB HAWA BANGURA, NATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY GROUP, FREETOWN

> Gender advisers and HIV/AIDS policy advisers must establish close working partnerships in peacekeeping missions and incorporate gender-training aspects into HIV/AIDS training.

Although Resolution 1325 emphasises the responsibility of governments, the UN and organisations such as the AU both to protect women and children and to prosecute those responsible for crimes against humanity, Kofi Annan, in his 2004 report, noted the "collective failure in preventing such violence".[33] He cited examples in Burundi, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC and Darfur. The current nature of warfare in Africa is testament to the fact that women remain targets of engendered forms of violence such as rape, forced prostitution and sexual slavery. Since the passage of Resolution 1325, the wars in Liberia, the DRC and Sudan have all heard testimonies of women being raped as part of the weapons of these wars.

The ongoing war in Sudan's Darfur region, for example, shows that Resolution 1325 is not serving as a deterrent against sexual assaults on women during violent conflicts. According to an Amnesty International report entitled "Rape as a Weapon of War", Janjaweed militiamen were responsible for breaking women's limbs to prevent them from escaping rape, abduction and sexual slavery in the region.[34] UN Security Council Resolution 1590 of 2005 on Darfur specifically reaffirms an adherence to Resolution 1325.[35] However, the failure to address the question of who holds parties in conflicts accountable in an often anarchical environment of warfare is one of the major weaknesses of the resolution. In early 2005, the UN Security Council argued that responsibility rests primarily with the government of Sudan. The measures taken thus far by the Sudanese government have been both inadequate and ineffective, and have contributed to the climate of near-total impunity for human rights violations in Darfur. Due to a lack of confidence in the justice system, few victims have lodged official complaints relating to crimes committed against them or their families. Of the few cases where complaints have been made, most have not been properly pursued. In such situations, measures must be taken to help break the cycle of impunity through the use of

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33   UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security, 2004, S/2004/814,
      http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/634/68/PDF/N0263468.pdf?OpenElement (accessed 21 February 2006).
34   http://web.amnesty.org/actforwomen/conflict-1-eng (accessed 20 February 2006).
35   United Nations Security Council Resolution 1590 2005, S/RES/1590 (2005), http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions05.htm (accessed 29 March 2006).

universal jurisdiction by organs such as the AU, and public reporting of human rights violations in conflict situations. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which about 25 AU members have signed up to, can also be used to monitor the implementation of UN Resolution 1325.

While Resolution 1325 specifically calls for the prosecution of those responsible for sexual violence against women during conflicts, it does not address the cultural stereotypes and biases regarding sexual violence which impinge on the ability to prosecute these offences effectively. Even in times of peace, African women continue to face sexual violence in assumed safe environments such as their homes, schools and places of work. Although women's movements have tried to pressure their governments to domesticate provisions such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action, laws to prevent violence against women are largely absent at the continental level. Furthermore, little is being done to ensure that education systems and programmes change negative cultural belief systems that perpetuate discrimination and violence against women.

Resolution 1325 has also emphasised the incorporation of HIV/AIDS awareness into pre-deployment and in-mission training programmes, building on Security Council Resolution 1308 of 2000, which acknowledged the particular vulnerabilities of international peacekeeping personnel to HIV/AIDS.[36] With plans to create the AU's African Standby Force, it is important that these policies are mainstreamed into all continental deployment initiatives. Gender advisers and HIV/AIDS policy advisers must establish close working partnerships in peacekeeping missions and incorporate gender-training aspects into HIV/AIDS training.

The potential of the AU's commitment to the promotion of human security in its constitutive act and the relevance of Resolution 1325 in light of the AU's overall security architecture are also important. Violence and its consequences during armed conflicts – such as the fact that women and children constitute more than 80 percent of the 40 million refugees and internally displaced persons worldwide – are a clear sign that gender is central to the continental struggle against insecurity. Combining human security – that is, the protection of civilians across borders – and gender (the different ways in which women and men are affected) would help to confront the impact of gender inequality on continued insecurity in African societies. There is also a need to lobby for gender-sensitive policies governing refugees and internally displaced persons at the continental level.

THE SEMINAR IN SESSION

MS SARA HLUPEKILE LONGWE, LONGWE, CLARKE AND ASSOCIATES, LUSAKA

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36   http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/2000/sc2000.htm (accessed 21 February 2006).

2.3 Engendering Regional Economic Communities (RECs)

The increased visibility of Africa's Regional Economic Communities in peacekeeping initiatives on the continent in recent years is an important consideration when monitoring the implementation of Resolution 1325.

As has been apparent within the AU, there have been a number of measures by various RECs to mainstream gender concerns, through the creation of gender units or gender advisers within their organs. For example, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) established a Women's Desk in 1999 with the intention of promoting women's participation in IGAD's programmes. Its objectives include the enhancement of the role of women in current peace processes in countries of the IGAD region such as Sudan and Somalia, and the support of the efforts of member states to train women in "best practices" for conflict management and resolution, including early-warning mechanisms and small arms control. In May 2002, the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) established a gender policy that commits to mainstreaming gender perspectives in the conceptualisation, formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all its programmes and activities. The policy is also committed to promoting the full, effective, equal and meaningful participation and benefit of women in all areas of regional integration and co-operation.[38]

The Economic Community of West African States has also made progress in putting in place an institutional mechanism for mainstreaming gender into its work. In January 2003, ECOWAS leaders endorsed the establishment of a Gender Division in the ECOWAS secretariat in Abuja, Nigeria, and the restructuring of the West African Women's Association as the ECOWAS Gender and Development Centre. The purpose of the centre is to facilitate and co-ordinate programmes to ensure that integration programmes on the disparities between men and women are incorporated into the framework of the ECOWAS treaty of 1975. In southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community established a gender unit in 1997 whose primary responsibility is to co-ordinate SADC's efforts to ensure that the respective needs of women and men are integrated into the policies of its secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana. At the same time, a complementary structure introducing gender focal points in all SADC sectors was established to promote gender-responsive programme development.[39]

The adoption by IGAD's summit in 2002 of a resolution for the inclusion of women in the organisaton's peace processes is a landmark policy commitment to implement Resolution 1325. With the establishment of the Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Mechanism (CEWARN) also in 2002, IGAD has made efforts at mainstreaming gender into its peace and security structures. Women are represented in the conflict early-warning and early-response units (CEWERUs). The continuing challenge is that CEWERU's gender policies have yet to be fully institutionalised. To enhance these processes, all conflict monitoring and early-warning systems on the continent must incorporate indicators into their activities which can help to avert the prevalence of sexual violence during conflict and in post-conflict situations. There is also a need to review these indicators, to ensure that they are gender-sensitive, and that women are recruited as field monitors.

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38   COMESA Gender Policy, http://www.comesa.int/publications/gender%20policy/Multi-language_content.2005-09-09.3403/view (accessed 17 February 2006).
39   B. Kethusegile-Juru and R. Kandawasvika-Nhuudu, *Audit of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development – Institutional Mechanisms,* p.2, (unpublished paper, SADC Secretariat Gender Unit, 2005).

Certain activities by RECs have demonstrated the central role that these organisations can play in the implementation of Resolution 1325. IGAD proved integral in ensuring that women were among delegates to the 2002-2004 Somalia peace talks. As a result of these efforts, women were involved in the drafting commission and one woman signed the accord on behalf of women and civil society groups. Despite these initiatives, however, it still remains difficult to estimate the extent to which women's issues are being fully integrated into regional peace and security policies and initiatives by Africa's RECs. The collaboration between gender units or desks and regional peacebuilding, peacemaking and peacekeeping initiatives remains weak. While African women are visible in peace organisations in their local communities and at national and regional levels, they are still rarely part of official peace processes.

The Cape Town seminar focused specifically on challenges that the SADC Gender Unit has faced in implementing Resolution 1325. A key problem with commitments over gender issues is that they are generally non-systematic and non-binding. Thus, the gap between policy and practice often compromises the efforts of member states. Furthermore, there has been inconsistency in the implementation by member states of SADC's Gender and Development Declaration. There has also been slow progress in promoting the domestication of international instruments, including Resolution 1325, by the organisation. Moreover, the contradictions that often exist between customary law and modern codified law when it comes to women's rights are not addressed in SADC's constitution, nor have they been sufficiently identified. The SADC secretariat lacks resources successfully to co-ordinate the implementation of its gender strategy, although the organisation recently committed to ensuring the effective involvement of women in peacebuilding processes and conflict situations.[40] These concerns must be considered by all African RECs and measures must be taken to address them.

> While African women are visible in peace organisations in their local communities and at national and regional levels, they are rarely part of official peace processes.

ABOVE: MS HYACINTHE BUDOMO, UN DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN, KIGALI

FROM LEFT: MS ECOMA BASSEY ALAGA, WEST AFRICA NETWORK FOR PEACEBUILDING, ACCRA; MS LEYMAH ROBERTA GBOWEE, WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING NETWORK, MONROVIA; MS SCHOLASTICA KIMARYO, UN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (CCR BOARD MEMBER), TSHWANE

40   Southern African Development Community (SADC), Draft Gender-Based Regional Integration Plan: Strategic Implementation Framework 2006-2010, http://www.uneca.org/eca_programmes/srdc/sa/Gender.html (accessed 17 February 2006).

2.4 Implementing Resolution 1325 at the National Level

One of the principle objectives of Resolution 1325 is to promote the mainstreaming of gender justice and gender equality in peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts at the national level. Without this, international efforts will prove ineffective.

Countries emerging from war face significant challenges within the humanitarian, development and security spheres. Consequently, there is an urgent need to enshrine gender justice during transitions from conflict. Unique opportunities exist during this phase to ensure the direct participation of women in the transition process in order to promote gender equality. This necessitates the central involvement of civil society, governments, as well as international actors, in driving change.[41] Many post-conflict countries, or countries currently in conflict, are signatories to the CEDAW Convention, often termed the "international bill of rights for women". These include Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone.[42] Enshrining these principles through the creation of new constitutions and the strengthening of governance institutions provide an important step towards the realisation of democracy in these countries.

As indicated earlier, Resolution 1325 urges UN member states to ensure the "increased representation of women at all decision-making levels", and many post-conflict African countries have achieved significant gains in the increased participation of women in decision-making processes in recent years. The inclusion of women in the processes and mechanisms for developing and amending constitutions and electoral laws is a vital element of this progress. There are further steps that can enable the inclusion of gender parity in constitution-building such as public consultations as well as promoting the involvement of women in the drafting process. Each component of drafting a new constitution should involve women. Civic education should increase public understanding of the process and emphasise the importance of a constitution for democracy. For example, in Eritrea, this was done through songs, poems, stories, radio and local theatre in various languages.[43] In Rwanda, a women's committee conducted training, awareness and sensitisation programmes on the constitution throughout the country. [44]

To achieve greater gender parity, a number of African governments have adopted temporary special measures aimed at accelerating *de facto* equality between men and women. For example, Rwanda's 2003 constitution articulates the need for commitment to equality between women and men.[45] This notion is supported by a guarantee that at least 30 percent of all posts in decision-making organs will be awarded to women. Countries such as Eritrea have also introduced gender quotas for parliaments, while major political parties in Botswana, South Africa and Zambia have instituted minimum thresholds. The DRC has recently put in place a quota system in its constitution.

While these events are encouraging, the resumption of traditional, post-conflict social structures and gender divisions can compromise the effective participation of women, even where affirmative action programmes exist. Gender justice cannot be effectively realised as long as countries continue to maintain laws that discriminate

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41   W. Chege, *Strengthening Governance Institutions, Mechanisms, Policies and Strategies* (unpublished paper presented at the CCR policy seminar on "The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa", 27 and 28 October 2005).

42   United Nations, *Facts and Figures on Women, Peace and Security*, October 2005, http://www.unifem.org/news-events/currents/documents/currents200510_WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed 16 February 2006).

43   V. Hart, *Democratic Constitution-Making*, United States Institute of Peace, Special Report No. 107, July 2003, p.41, http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr107.html (accessed 17 February 2006).

44   UN, *Facts and Figures on Women Peace and Security*, October 2005, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/ianwge/taskforces/wps/WPS_Facts.pdf (accessed 16 February 2006).

45   http://www.ipu.org/news-e/127.htm (accessed 29 March 2006).

against women. Affirmative action policies are not enough to transform attitudes, practices and perceptions. Evidence suggests that despite women often being more visible in non-traditional areas such as local political institutions during conflicts, they tend to return to their less public roles after conflicts. Often, traditional law reduces women to a secondary status as minors, excluding them from certain rights such as that of guardianship over children, or the right to own property. While affirmative action was identified as a key mechanism to increase women's participation in decision-making structures on the continent, it should not be used in the absence of longer-term strategies to transform discriminatory practices and gender-oppressive cultural belief systems.

The imperative to forge partnerships with men as strategic allies for achieving gender equality is important. Building a "culture of peace" requires that men interrogate the relationship between masculinity and violence, thereby "contesting the hegemony of masculinities which emphasise violence, confrontation and domination, replacing them with patterns of masculinity more open to negotiation, cooperation and equality".[46] Identifying and transforming the widely-held norms underlying the relations between women and men is a necessary precondition for altering discriminatory attitudes and practices that disadvantage women and deny them their human rights. Platforms should be created for men – who remain the majority of policymakers on the continent – to reflect critically on their gender roles and how gender stereotypes have rendered society oppressive and unhelpful in creating meaningful relationships between men and women.

> Technical, material and financial assistance are needed to promote women candidates for elected positions, as well as to encourage the political involvement of women at all levels of society.

The need to engage men in discussions over the abuse of women and children in the post conflict setting was also identified as an important issue. This is critical in curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS, as well as gender-based violence on the continent. Many countries emerging from conflict in Africa have been subject to high rates of domestic violence, the causes of which currently remain unaddressed. Furthermore, in 2005, just under two-thirds of all people living with HIV were in sub-Saharan Africa, as were 77 percent of infected women globally. Among those between the ages of 15-24 living with HIV/AIDS in this region, three in four are female. The vulnerability of women to HIV/AIDS is often exacerbated by the fact that women are often not in a position to negotiate with potential sexual partners. Furthermore, it has been revealed that the rate of HIV-transmission increases during conflicts and in post-conflict situations.

It is essential that further support be provided at the national level to enable the participation of women in political, legislative, judicial, electoral and economic reconstruction processes and reform commissions. Many women have made personal and public sacrifices to challenge systems that maintain negative attitudes towards the leadership of women. In cultures of political violence, however, many women are either excluded or are reluctant to take on public roles. Support is required to maintain the solidarity and morale of women under such circumstances. Technical, material and financial assistance are needed to promote women candidates for elected positions, as well as to encourage the political involvement of women at all levels of society.

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46   R. Connell, *Masculinities in Southern Africa*, p.51, cited in C. Scott, *Men as Allies to Women's Involvement in Peace and Security,* (unpublished paper presented at CCR seminar on *"The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa"*, held on 27 and 28 October 2005), p.3.

2.5 Resolution 1325 as a Tool for Women's Peace Activism: Opportunities and Challenges

Significantly, Resolution 1325 represents an official endorsement by the UN Security Council of the inclusion of civil society in peace processes and the implementation of peace agreements.

The resolution pledges that UN missions will consult with local and international women's groups during peacekeeping efforts. For example, the Liberian Women's Network (WIPNET) was called on by the UN mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in 2004 to assist during the country's DDR programme. These women provided combatants with essential services and were tasked with safeguarding under-age combatants. Women's activism prior to, and during, peace negotiations can thus provide a platform for the increased participation of women in post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

The relevance of women in peacekeeping initiatives on the continent has been increasingly apparent in recent years. In Liberia, for example, women were markedly involved in the effort to end the country's civil war. In 2003, a campaign entitled "Mass Action for Peace" incorporated women from many sectors of Liberia, ranging from those in displaced camps, to churches and NGOs. Adopting the slogan, "We Want Peace; No More War", these women – who always dressed in white – became a constant presence on the streets of Liberia's capital, Monrovia. As support for this initiative became acknowledged, women were later able to meet with the then president Charles Taylor. Members of the group demanded an unconditional ceasefire, dialogue for a negotiated settlement and an external intervention force. Subsequently, when peace talks started, Liberian women were able to make their presence felt with the support of the Women in Peacebuilding Network (of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding, WANEP) and the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET). During the negotiation process, these organisations held a parallel meeting of women who put forth "The Golden Tulip Declaration of Liberian Women Attending the Peace Talks" in August 2003. The declaration identified the recommendations of Resolution 1325 for the incorporation of a gender perspective into peacekeeping and the participation of women in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction.

> Grassroots women's groups have also shown ingenuity in advocating their inclusion in peace processes. Women have used song and dance peacefully to demonstrate for inclusion in these processes.

In 2001, an association of Rwandan women ex-combatants from diverse political groupings – including former members of the Rwandese Patriotic Army and the Rwandan Defence Forces – formed *Ndabaga*, which adopted the role of "broker" between female ex-combatants and the country's National Demobilisation Commission (NDC). With more than 443 members, these women worked together towards individual and collective demobilisation of themselves and other ex-combatants. Women encouraged their brothers, husbands and sons to return to their country. Despite capacity constraints such as a lack of resources to cover basic costs and offer skills training for its members, *Ndabaga* has continued to grow in standing. Many of its founding members have become active in Rwandan politics, with some of its members now serving in Rwanda's parliament.

In the case of Burundi, an umbrella group of women's organisations, *Collectif des Associations et ONGs Féminines du Burundi* (CAFOB), played a significant role in advocating the increased participation of Burundian women during the peace negotiation process. In 1994, Burundian women created CAFOB with the objective of strengthening the operational capacities of member associations and supporting the role of Burundian women in peacebuilding, national reconciliation and development. CAFOB grew from seven to 52 associations and lobbied persistently for women to participate in the Burundian peace process.[47] During the Arusha peace talks in 2000, women – with the financial and technical support of UNIFEM and other organisations – were able to attend the meeting as observers as a result of these efforts. Throughout the process women contributed to debates across ethnic, class and political backgrounds about the draft peace agreement signed in August 2000. The All-Party Burundi Women Peace Conference was held in July 2000 and made clear recommendations on strategies to protect women's rights which were presented to, and discussed by, the negotiating parties. Twenty-three of the women's recommendations were later incorporated into the agreement, including the legalisation of the right of women to inherit land and the promotion of the education of girls. The result of CAFOB's lobbying was the inclusion of women's concerns by government and transitional institutions in peace and development activities.

On the continental level, the Federation of African Women Peace Networks (FERFAP) represents one of the longest-standing women's peace networks, grouping together more than 20 women's organisations in over 15 countries. FERFAP aims at encouraging women to be involved in peacebuilding efforts in Africa and has become a regional platform through which women affected by conflicts can articulate their priorities and concerns to policymakers and decision-makers. FERFAP has enhanced the visibility of women's efforts in peacebuilding through the concept of the Peace Torch, which began in Dakar, Senegal, in 1994, when FERFAP was created, and subsequently travelled to Beijing in 1995.[48] The Peace Torch is now recognised worldwide as a symbol of peace and tolerance. Many of the women from FERFAP have led peace missions to countries in crisis and have extensive experience in peacebuilding and conflict prevention and resolution.

Based on the experiences of women's organisations from Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Sudan, the DRC and Somalia, the Cape Town policy advisory group made recommendations to ensure the further inclusion of women peacemakers in negotiation processes. For women to participate more effectively in peace processes, women's groups need to identify their common priorities and from these, develop a strong, unified agenda. This can only be achieved through coalition-building that extends beyond ethnic, political and regional alliances. Skills training in negotiation, mediation and post-conflict transformation were identified as important for developing the inclusion of women and their ability to influence political processes of peace negotiations. In line with Resolution 1325, UNIFEM has played a key role in providing financial and technical assistance to programmes and strategies that promote the political participation of women in peace processes, such as the Darfur peace talks which started in Abuja, Nigeria, in 2005. However, these programmes need to be extended in order for African women to make an effective input into formal peace processes.

Grassroots women's groups have also shown ingenuity in advocating their inclusion in peace processes. Women have used song and dance peacefully to demonstrate for incorporation in these processes. For example, in Liberia, women's groups physically barricaded peace talks with their bodies as human shields to convey their message.[49]

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47   http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Burundi/Sabine2002.html (accessed 12 December 2005).
48   C. Mabobori, *Women's Participation in Peace Processes as an Entry Point to Decision-Making,* (unpublished paper presented at the CCR policy seminar on
      "The Impact of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa", 27 and 28 October 2005), p.4.
49   Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE), "Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange, Nurturers of Peace, Sustainers of Africa:
      Selected Women's Peace Initiatives", (Kampala: Isis-WICCE, August 2005), p.62.

These acts have assisted in increasing public awareness of women's involvement in peacebuilding initiatives but there remains a dearth of publicity on interventions by women at the community level and these need to be documented. With direct reference to the experiences of women from Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi, women's contributions to peace processes should be documented and publicised so as to encourage women's groups in other parts of Africa.

Many women's groups in Africa have not used Resolution 1325 in their advocacy campaigns, since to date the resolution has not been widely disseminated among women's groups and local populations. The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG) surveyed over 100 participants on Resolution 1325 in 2005 and found that while participants indicated that they had heard of the resolution, they were unaware of its content. The level of consciousness about the resolution is even less in countries emerging from violent conflicts. Sierra Leone was regarded as a country in dire need of awareness-raising programmes on the gender dimensions of peacebuilding and the content and relevance of Resolution 1325 to the country's post-conflict reconstruction efforts. The resolution can only serve to address women's experiences in conflict and post-conflict situations if civil society groups, working at a local level, know how to use it. This is especially important in holding national and international bodies accountable to the obligations laid out in the resolution.

In terms of strengthening the resolution, African governments and civil society must become fully engaged in not only implementing 1325, but also in disseminating material about its recommendations. In the last five years, women's groups in Africa have focused on raising awareness of the resolution through translating the document into indigenous African languages and infusing the document's recommendations into programmes on conflict transformation.[50] Dissemination strategies need to be further extended through further translation into "user-friendly" language.

ABOVE LEFT :	MS NOMCEBO MANZINI, UN DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN, JOHANNESBURG
ABOVE:	DR ADEKEYE ADEBAJO, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN
ABOVE RIGHT:	MME FLORENCE BOLOKO, UNION NATIONALE DES ASSOCIATIONS FAMILIALES, KINSHASA
LEFT:	THE HON CATHERINE MABOBORI, FEDERATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN'S PEACE NETWORKS, BUJUMBURA

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50   Currently, Resolution 1325 has been translated into Bari (Sudan), Ciluba (DRC), Dinka (Sudan), Hausa and Igbo (both Nigeria), Luganda (Uganda), Luo (Northern Uganda, Western Kenya), Nuer (Sudan), Oshiwambo (Namibia), Sangho (Central African Republic), Shilook (Sudan), Xhosa (South Africa), Zande (Sudan), Zulu (South Africa) and Yoruba (Nigeria).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The presentations and discussions at the policy advisory group meeting on the "Impact of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Africa" in Cape Town identified certain core policy issues that need to be addressed by national, regional and external actors.

Some of the recommendations will require further research; others are actionable by the seminar hosts (UNIFEM and CCR) and relevant stakeholders on the continent. It was apparent during proceedings that concerns remain in Africa over the extent to which Resolution 1325 has been effectively implemented on the continent. Through the identification of impediments to its realisation, the Cape Town meeting noted that certain strategies could further enable the engendering of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts in Africa.

There is an urgent need to ensure a more rapid implementation of Resolution 1325, considering the extensive involvement of international organisations in peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts in Africa. Gender perspectives must be incorporated into all peacekeeping activities – from the onset of ceasefire negotiations to post-conflict reconstruction. Concerns also continue over how peacekeeping operations can be adequately monitored to ensure that they are successful. The pressing task of ensuring gender balance in peacekeeping missions was identified, especially since these operations often interact closely with local populations. Training of peacekeepers must take into account gender relations specific to the local context. There should also be adequate consultation with local actors at all levels of peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Whereas international gender experts are appropriate in certain situations, local actors are often better informed, having been through their own "lived" experiences of gender-based violence.

Concern was voiced over the continued abuse of women during conflicts. Peacekeeping missions need to take into account the unequal power relations between men and women, especially in conflict zones. Multi-sectoral strategies must also be put in place to support the survivors of violence. For example, economic recovery programmes should be increased. However, the perceived dichotomy between humanitarian emergency and developmental needs limits the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions in responding to the causes of gender-based violence and exploitation.

Given the legal and logistical challenges of convicting perpetrators of sexual abuse in peacekeeping missions, most peacekeeping missions are ill-equipped to prevent sexual exploitation. The importance of gender training for peacekeeping forces must be reiterated and training content and methodologies should ensure that trainees are "conscientised" and not just "sensitised" on gender equality and its relevance to building sustainable peace in previously war-torn societies.

With regard to DDR programmes, a broader definition of "combatant" should be used to encourage women who were general "helpers" of armed forces to become active participants in DDR processes. Considering the prevalence of gender-based violence and the consequent spread of AIDS in post-conflict societies, DDR programmes should include a comprehensive system to address the psychological effects of violence and conflicts on the lives of women.

Due to the male-dominated environment of the UN, adequate support should be provided to women currently holding UN and governmental positions so that they are better able to influence policy and practice. Training in

negotiation, mediation, post-conflict transformation and governance were identified as important for developing the skills of women in leadership and governance positions and in providing technical expertise to influence political processes of peace negotiations.

At the continental level, the seminar noted the possibility of using the African Peer Review Mechanism to monitor the implementation of Resolution 1325. The AU's Directorate for Gender, Women and Development and the gender units of Africa's Regional Economic Communities will be critical to this process. At the regional level, early-warning systems are yet to develop and implement effective gender-sensitive indicators. There is a need to review these indicators and make sure they are gender-sensitive, as well as to recruit women as field monitors. CCR and UNIFEM could assist the SADC gender unit in incorporating Resolution 1325 into its work.

It is essential that substantial financial and material support be provided for local NGOs in order to increase the participation of women in political, legislative, judicial, electoral and economic reconstruction processes, as well as reform commissions at the national level. Technical, material and financial assistance are needed to support women candidates for elected positions, as well as to support the political participation of women at all levels of society. The active participation of women in the processes and mechanisms for developing and amending new constitutions and electoral laws is also required, as well as the successful integration of gender-equity provisions into these documents.

While "affirmative action" was identified as a key mechanism for increasing the participation of women in decision-making structures on the continent, caution must be exercised to avoid using it in the absence of longer-term strategies to change discriminatory cultural belief systems. Identifying and transforming the widely-held norms underlying the relationships between women and men is a necessary precondition for altering the characteristic power imbalance that disadvantage women and deny them their human rights.[51] Platforms should be created for men – as the overwhelming majority of policymakers on the continent – critically to reflect on their gender roles and how gender stereotypes have rendered society oppressive and unhelpful in creating meaningful relationships between men and women.

With regard to the involvement of women in peace processes on the continent, it was recommended that civil society and women's groups be included from the outset. Financial and human resources need to be made available to support the efforts of women to be included in peace processes. Many women make personal and public sacrifices to challenge systems that have negative attitudes towards the leadership of women. Support is required to maintain and increase the solidarity and morale of women peace activists under such circumstances.

Dissemination strategies also need to be extended to inform women of their rights as enshrined in Resolution 1325. Such strategies must be "user-friendly" through further translation into local languages. Grassroots women's groups have also shown ingenuity in advocating their inclusion in peace processes. These efforts should be documented, and gender-sensitive transitional tools and guiding principles should be developed. Finally, for Resolution 1325 ultimately to be successful, gender considerations must inform all African peace and security policies, post-conflict reconstruction, justice, and development programmes nationally, regionally and internationally.

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51   R. Connell, *Masculinities in Southern Africa,* p.51, cited in C. Scott, *Men as Allies to Women's Involvement in Peace and Security,* p.3.

Annex I

Ms Scholastica Kimaryo
United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative and Co-ordinator of the UN System in South Africa

It gives me great pleasure and honour to have been invited to address this important policy seminar that will deliberate on a topic close to my heart — the impact of UN Resolution 1325 on women's peace and security in Africa.

The impact of war on women had traditionally been a non-subject. However, in the last five years, it has become prominent as policymakers and practitioners in the field of peace and security have begun to realise the "silent emergency" that women and children in conflict situations find themselves in, as the late James P Grant of UNICEF memorably characterised preventive children's care in the Third World.

The basic analysis of how seriously women are affected by today's wars, and how little input they have in mainstreaming peace and security policy and practice, is now widely accepted among international agencies that work in these areas. Whereas the women's movement in Africa has made some strides in engaging in Track II peace-building interventions and lobbying policymakers to include women in national and continental peace and security initiatives, the African Union (AU) and its Regional Economic Communities (RECs) still face the challenge of ensuring that women are constructively involved in matters of peace and security on the continent.

Violence against women, particularly sexual violence, was a major element of Rwanda's genocide of 1994, as well as in Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and now prevalent in Sudan, and threaten the very fabric of these societies. All attempts at peacemaking and reconciliation will, therefore, be doomed unless the issue of the impact of war on women is accorded full recognition and is thus seriously addressed. Also linked to war is the issue of displacement. Available data indicates that there are at least 40 million refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) in the world, 80 percent of whom are women and children.

In addition, available evidenced shows that the displacement phenomenon impacts differently on men, who tend to be more actively involved in the military groups pursuing conflict and less involved in keeping life going for their dependents. Hence, the link between displacement, sexual violence, women's psycho-social health and displacement is stark. In fact, over the years its becoming increasingly clear that conflict, war and internal displacement are among the core reasons why the HIV/AIDS pandemic afflicts Africa more than any other continent in the world. This is due, in large measure, to the huge internal displacement caused by civil wars, as well as recurrent famines – conditions which significantly contribute to violence against women in IDP camps, including rape, thus exacerbating women's higher susceptibility to HIV infection.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, needless to say, women's security is relevant during both peace and war time. Statistics show that women experience violence in the confines of their homes – often at the hands of husbands and family members. This physical violence is often accompanied by rape and psychological abuse – all experiences that still pervade the daily existence of many women across the continent and, indeed, throughout the world.

In August 1999, 250 survivors of gender violence from all over Africa testified before the newly-established African Court of Women. Rwandan and Somali women told of gang rapes in refugee camps, Ethiopian women told of child marriages, and a Kenyan described being raped by a minister of religion when she was 13 years old (*Mail and Guardian*, 3 August 1999).

In addition, the role of negative cultural practices such as early marriage, the beating of wives and female genital mutilation cannot be overlooked. These practices regrettably continue to be legitimised by customary laws in various parts of Africa. There are still countries where women cannot inherit property or own land. Although women's movements across the continent have made strides in pushing governments to enact laws that promote women's rights, there are still countries that have not enshrined women's rights in the constitution. We strongly appeal to the governments of these countries to promptly heed the call of the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Further, in October 2000, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace ad Security. It underlined the vital role of women in situations of both war and peace, thereby mandating a review of both the impact of conflict on women and their role in peacebuilding. Women's groups across the world were hopeful that this signified a change towards the promotion of women's peace and security, although cynicism about the UN's commitment to fundamental change is widespread.

As a result of Resolution 1325, the UN commissioned a major report carried out under its aegis by the UN Department for the Advancement of Women on behalf of the Secretary-General. It sets out the record from all the UN organisations involved with aspects of war and peace, and makes many important recommendations. A second report was undertaken by the UN's Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). It was based on the experience of women on the ground in a number of conflict zones. These reports revealed something unique – women's resilience. Despite the horrific violence and loss, many women continue to transcend their sorrow and discovered in themselves the courage and will to rebuild their lives and communities. Examples are given of women in Sudan – from the north and south – who took the initiative to come together across ethnic and religious divides to talk about building peace. In Ghana, women refugees from Liberia learned construction skills through a UNIFEM-supported programme and built a safer camp for themselves and their families.

Examples abound and I am sure we will hear many more testimonies during the course of this seminar. Whereas these examples are inspiring, it is important that women should not do this on their own. A conducive policy framework with concomitant practical support structures is absolutely necessary to ensure that women's efforts are recognised and enhanced while their fundamental rights, both in peace and wartime, are strictly upheld.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, this policy seminar provides a timely platform for both policymakers and practitioners across the continent to review the impact of UN Resolution 1325. It would be of vital importance to know, for example, the extent to which UN Resolution 1325 has impacted on peace and security on the African continent. Has the African Union and its Regional Economic Communities made any strides in mainstreaming gender in their peace and security architecture? What of the women's movement on the continent – how has Resolution 1325 informed their work in peace and security?

This seminar, therefore, affords all of us a unique opportunity – as women and men from the continent – to expressly state how we want to promote our peace and security.

I thank you for your attention.

Annex 2

Agenda

Day One: 27 October 2005

9h00–9h30   **Welcome and Introductions**
Chair/Discussant: Prof Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town

Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Executive Director, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Ms Thelma Ekiyor, Senior Manager, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Ms Nomcebo Manzini, Regional Programme Director, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Johannesburg

9h30 – 10h15   Session I: Keynote Address
Ms Scholastica Kimaryo, United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative and Co-ordinator of the UN System in South Africa, Tshwane

10h15 – 10h30   Tea/Coffee

10h30 – 11h50   **Session II: The Role of the United Nations in Implementing Resolution 1325: Linking UN Reform to African Realities of Engendering Peacebuilding**

Chair/Discussant: Mme Marie-Thérèse Modua, Ministère des Droits Humains, Democratic Republic of the Congo

Ms Nomcebo Manzini, Regional Programme Director, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Johannesburg, "UN Gender Reform and its Implications for Africa: Progress or Regress?"

Mr Dominique Rene M Bassinga, Gender Adviser, Office of the Deputy Special Representative to the Secretary-General, United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, "Engendering Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa: Successes and Challenges"

Ms Hodan Addou, Regional Peace and Security Adviser for East, Central and Southern Africa, United Nations Development Fund for Women, "Addressing Sexual Exploitation and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) in Peacekeeping Operations and Humanitarian Missions"

Plenary Discussion

11h50 -13h10   **Session III: The African Union and Women, Peace and Security**

Chair/Discussant: Ms Zainab Hawa Bangura, Executive Director, National Accountability Group, Sierra Leone

Ms Litha Musyimi–Ogana, Adviser: Gender and Civil Society, New Partnership for Africa's Development, "Mainstreaming Gender in the NEPAD/AU Peace and Security Structures"

Dr Helen Scanlon, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, "The Importance of Women's Peace and Security in the Evolving Human Security Architecture"

Ms Sara Longwe, Partner, Longwe, Clarke and Associates, "Mainstreaming Gender in the Peace and Security Field in Africa: Analysing the Gap between Policy Formulation, Accountability, and Implementation"

Plenary discussion

13h15 – 14h15   Lunch

14h15 – 15h15   **Session IV: Engendering Regional Economic Communities**

Chair/Discussant: Hon Valerie Nyirahabineza, Minister of Gender and Family Promotion, Rwanda

Ms Magdeline Mathiba–Madibela, Head: Gender Unit, Southern Africa Development Community, "Engendering SADC and Implementing 1325"

Ms Wangeci Chege, Research Consultant, Human Rights and Good Governance, Nairobi, "Strengthening Governance Institutions, Mechanisms, Policies and Strategies"

Mr Edwin Rutto, Programme Officer, Africa Peace Forum, Nairobi, "Engendering Early-Warning Systems: The Case Study of IGAD and CEWARN"

Plenary discussion

15h35 – 15h50   Tea/Coffee

15h50 – 17h00   **Session V: Implementing Resolution 1325 at the National Level**

Chair/Discussant: Dr Bernadette Lahai, Member of Parliament, Sierra Leone

Mme Florence Boloko, President, Synergie 1325, "Implementation of 1325 in the Democratic Republic of Congo"

Ms Marie Goretti Nduwayo, National Programme Officer, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Burundi, "Successes and Challenges of Implementing 1325 in Burundi"

Plenary Discussion

18h30 – 19h30   Launch of "African Women For Peace: Advocacy Magazine – Special Edition"

Chair: Ms Thelma Ekiyor, Senior Manager, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Guest speaker: Ms Nosiviwe Madlala-Routledge, Deputy Minister of Health and former Deputy Minister of Defence, South Africa

Discussant: Ms Nomcebo Manzini, Regional Programme Director, United Nations Development Fund for Women

Day Two: 28 October 2005

9h05 – 10h05   **Session VI: Resolution 1325 as a Tool for Women's Peace Activism: Opportunities and Challenges**

Chair/Discussant: Ms Asna N'diaye, Regional Gender Adviser, United Nations Development Programme, Addis Ababa

Ms Betty Kabera, Vice-President, Ndabaga Association, Kigali, "The Role of Women in Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration Rehabilitation (DDR): Experiences from Rwanda"

Ms Leymah Gbowee, National Co-ordinator, Women in Peacebuilding Network, Monrovia, "Liberian Women's Participation in the DDR process in Liberia"

Plenary discussion

10h05 –10h20   Tea/Coffee break

10h20 -11h20   Session VI: Continued

Chair/Discussant: **Mr John Mutamba**, Director of Gender, Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, Kigali, Rwanda

Hon Catherine Mabobori, Member of Parliament, Burundi, "Women's Participation in Peace Processes as an Entry Point to Decision-making"

Mr Chuck Scott, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, "Men as Allies to Women's Involvement in Peace and Security"

Plenary discussion

11h20 -12h30   **Session VII: Policy Recommendations, Rapporteurs' Report and Way Forward**

Chair/Discussants: **Ms Hodan Addou**, Regional Peace and Security Adviser for East and Central Africa, United Nations Development Fund for Women, Nairobi

Ms Thelma Ekiyor, Senior Manager, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Dr Helen Scanlon, Senior Researcher, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

Ms Yaliwe Clarke, Senior Project Officer, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town

12h30 – 13h30   Lunch and Conclusion

Annex 3

List of Participants

1. Ms Hodan Addou
   UN Development Fund for Women
   Nairobi
   Kenya

2. Dr Adekeye Adebajo
   Centre for Conflict Resolution
   Cape Town
   South Africa

3. Ms Ecoma Bassey Alaga
   West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
   Accra
   Ghana

4. Ms Razaan Bailey
   Centre for Conflict Resolution
   Cape Town
   South Africa

5. Ms Zainab Hawa Bangura
   National Accountability Group
   Freetown
   Sierra Leone

6. Mr Dominique Rene M Bassinga
   MONUC Gender Office
   New York
   United States

7. Prof Jane Bennett
   University of Cape Town
   Cape Town
   South Africa

8. Mme Florence Boloko
   Union Nationale des Associations Familiales
   Kinshasa
   Democratic Republic of the Congo

9. Ms Hyacinthe Budomo
   UN Development Fund for Women
   Kigali
   Rwanda

10. Ms Mary Chan
    New Sudan Women's Association
    Khartoum
    Sudan

11. Ms Wangeci Chege
    Human Rights and Good Governance
    Nairobi
    Kenya

12. Ms Yaliwe Clarke
    Centre for Conflict Resolution
    Cape Town
    South Africa

13. Ms Thelma Ekiyor
    Centre for Conflict Resolution
    Cape Town
    South Africa

14. Ms Leymah Roberta Gbowee
    Women and Peacebuilding Network
    Monrovia
    Liberia

15. Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela
    Dept of Psychology
    University of Cape Town
    South Africa

16. Mr Moissa Hakizimana
    University of the Western Cape
    Cape Town
    South Africa

17. Ms Betty Kabera
    Ndabaga Association
    Kigali
    Rwanda

18. Ms Scholastica Kimaryo
    UN Development Programme
    Tshwane
    South Africa

19. Mr Augustine Kimonyo
    University of Cape Town
    Cape Town
    South Africa

20. Dr Bernadette Lahai
    Member of Parliament
    Freetown
    Sierra Leone

21. Ms Sara Hlupekile Longwe
    Longwe, Clarke and Associates
    Lusaka
    Zambia

22. Hon Catherine Mabobori
    Federation of African Women's Peace Networks
    Bujumbura
    Burundi

23. Ms Victoria Maloka
    Centre for Conflict Resolution
    Cape Town
    South Africa

24. Ms Nomcebo Manzini
    UN Development Fund for Women
    Johannesburg
    South Africa

25. Ms Noria Mashumba
    Centre for Conflict Resolution
    Cape Town
    South Africa

26. Ms Magdeline Mathiba-Madibele
    Southern Africa Development Community
    Gaborone
    Botswana

27. Mme Marie-Thérèse Modua
    Ministère des Droits Humains
    Kinshasa
    Democratic Republic of the Congo

28. Ms Dahabo Omar Mohamed
    IIDA Women's Development Organisation
    Mogadishu
    Somalia

29. Ms Ayaan M Mohamud
    UN Development Fund for Women
    Mogadishu
    Somalia

30. Ms Litha Musyimi–Ogana
    New Partnership for Africa's Development
    Tshwane
    South Africa

31. Dr John Mutamba
    Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion
    Kigali
    Rwanda

32. Ms Asna N'diaye
    UN Development Programme
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33. Ms Marie Goretti Nduwayo
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    Bujumbura
    Burundi

34. The Hon Valerie Nyirahabineza
    Minister of Gender and Family Promotion
    Kigali
    Rwanda

35. Ms Jeanne S Nzungize
    NEPAD Secretariat
    Tshwane
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36. Ms Elizabeth Powley
    Women Waging Peace
    Kigali
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37. Mr Edwin Rutto
    Africa Peace Forum
    Nairobi
    Kenya

38. Dr Helen Scanlon
    Centre for Conflict Resolution
    Cape Town
    South Africa

39. Mr Charles Scott
    Centre for Conflict Resolution
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40. Ms Jabulile Tsabedze
    Women and Law in Southern Africa
    Mbabane
    Swaziland

41. Ms Francine Umurungi
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Annex 4

United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/1325 (2000) (Resolution 1325)

Adopted by the United Nations 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 for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing 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 ondurable 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,

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 peacebuilding 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 peacebuilding 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.

(The resolution was accessed at http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement on 24 May 2006)

TOP LEFT :	MS YALIWE CLARKE, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN
TOP RIGHT:	DR HELEN SCANLON, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN
ABOVE:	DR JOHN MUTAMBA, MINISTRY OF GENDER AND FAMILY PROMOTION, KIGALI
RIGHT:	MS MARY CHAN, NEW SUDAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, KHARTOUM

LEFT :	MS MAGDELINE MATHIBA-MADIBELE, SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, GABORONE
BELOW LEFT:	MS THELMA EKIYOR, CENTRE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CAPE TOWN
BELOW RIGHT:	MS LEYMAH ROBERTA GBOWEE, WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING NETWORK, MONROVIA
BOTTOM:	DR BERNADETTE LAHAI, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, FREETOWN

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THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S SECURITY

THE UNITED NATIONS, REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND FUTURE SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA

The inter-related and vexing issues of political instability in Africa and international security were specifically focused on at this policy seminar, held from 21 – 23 May 2004 in Claremont, Cape Town.

SOUTH AFRICA IN AFRICA

THE POST-APARTHEID DECADE

The role that South Africa has played on the African continent and the challenges that persist in South Africa's domestic transformation 10 years into democracy were assessed at this meeting in Stellenbosch, Cape Town, from 29 July - 1 August 2004.
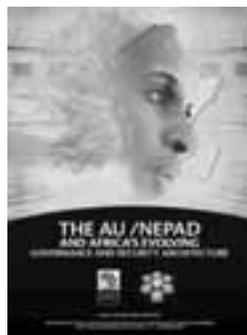
## THE AU/NEPAD AND AFRICA'S EVOLVING GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY ARCHITECURE

The state of governance and security in Africa under the AU and NEPAD were analysed and assessed at this policy advisory group meeting in Misty Hills, Johannesburg, on 11 and 12 December 2004.

A MORE SECURE CONTINENT

AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE UN HIGH-LEVEL PANEL REPORT, A MORE SECURE WORLD: OUR SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

African perspectives on the United Nations' (UN) High-Level Panel report on Threats, Challenges and Change were considered at this policy advisory group meeting in Somerset West, Cape Town, on 23 and 24 April 2005.
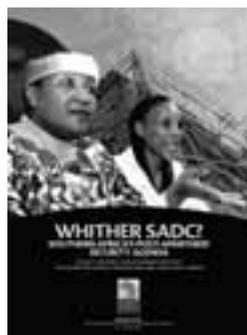
WHITHER SADC?

**SOUTHERN AFRICA'S POST-APARTHEID SECURITY AGENDA**

The role and capacity of South Africa as Chair of the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS) were focused on at this meeting in Oudekraal, Cape Town, on 18 and 19 June 2005.

BUILDING AN AFRICAN UNION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

**RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES (RECS), NEPAD AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

This seminar in Cape Town from 20 – 22 August 2005 made policy recommendations on how the AU's institutions, including NEPAD, could achieve their aims and objectives.
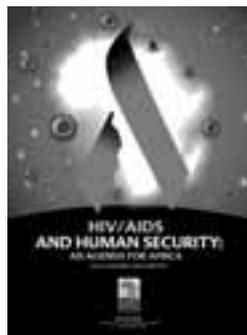
HIV/AIDS AND HUMAN SECURITY:

AN AGENDA FOR AFRICA

The links between human security and the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa, and the potential role of African leadership in addressing this crisis were analysed at this policy advisory group meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 9 and 10 September 2005.
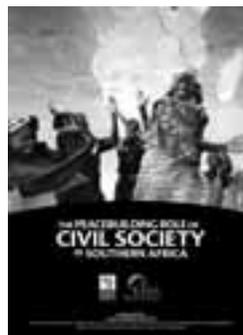
THE PEACE-BUILDING ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

This meeting, held at the Maseru Sun, Lesotho, on 14 and 15 October 2005, explores civil society in relation to southern Africa, democratic governance, its nexus with government, and draws on comparative experiences in peacebuilding.

Notes

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