

EDITORIAL

The voices of silences and the cries of powerlessness in a changing international system

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When I was thinking about the presentation of the publication of the Barcelona Declaration on the Human Right to Peace (http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/DeclaraciolCIP_010610_.pdf) in five languages, I emphasised the increasingly central role in society and the international system of individuals and therefore of the private organisations that individuals create, some of which are linked to civil society and others to the world of business and enterprise.

We are in a new international situation, which took shape in the early 1970s, in which various actors are simultaneously trying to free themselves from state supervision. We are witnessing the replacement of the classic international system, with clearly defined frontiers and rules of operation, by a globalised social system with emerging trends that are sometimes contradictory: globalisation, regionalisation, fragmentation and localisation. This system has vague outlines, a partially random system of regulation and involves various types of logic. The predominant phenomena is globalisation, i.e. the intensification and internationalisation of cross-frontier relations of all types by means of factors such as technological changes that enable time and space to be compressed, which affects both economic and social relations.

This process of replacement is slow, inconsistent and incomplete. This explains the coexistence of interactions, patterns and trends and operating regulations of the old system: in classic terms, the old one is not dead and the new one has yet to thrive.

That is the reason for the persistence of long-term conflicts and situations such as the Sahara conflict and the failure to implement the 1991 agreement, sanctioned by the United Nations and hindered by the failure to agree on a census and a mechanism for implementing the contents of the resolutions, which is a case of self-determination that therefore implies creating some sort of mechanism providing the population with the right to decide on its future. For this reason, conflicts often develop and lead to further violent episodes, that are partially linked to the initial causes, as occurred in the Sahara in November 2009, where the social dimension – the real and objective social and economic deprivation of the Sahrawi population; and the relative deprivation, by comparison with the situation among the Moroccan colonists – took precedence over the right to decide in the demands of the protest camp organised in the occupied territories. That is why **the voices of the silences** are also audible, as both states and global civil society speak for them: the ongoing inability of the United Nations, i.e. of its member states, and especially the five countries that invoked the idea of “equal states but with unequal responsibilities” in 1945 to justify their status as permanent members of the Security Council; the gallant role of Spain, as the ex-colonial power, and many others. That is also the reason for the partisan use of facts, even before they have been ascertained, and the trivialisation and inappropriate use of essential and precise concepts such as genocide and the persistent use of prohibitions of the right to information: to put it in terms of the theory of communication, it is a way of making noise, to prevent the eloquent voice of so many silences.

Finally, this coexistence of systems also explains the constant eruption into our lives of the **cries of powerlessness**, from those suffering directly from injustices and inequalities, but also from those organising the fight against them, who create tools to construct hopes and transform conflicts. These cries frequently repeat the social aspect of globalisation, which infuses areas as varied as social life and communications, security, ecology and the environment, the regulation of everyday life, human rights, culture and ideology. There is a growing interconnection between subjects and people, arising from the fact that we live in a “global village”, the seedbed for “globalised societies.” This is precisely the context in which we have to place the “In depth” blog in this issue of the magazine, which is written by women building peace, who are the leaders in the medium- and long-term, but who are currently invisible and present. They are invisible because they are part of civil society and because they are women; present, because they are women and have different and more inclusive ways and methods and above all, they emphasise the transformation of social relations, a wide-ranging in-depth change over the long term.

They give us a lesson: how to work effectively to accelerate change in the international system and return to normality: silences and voices as distinctive spaces.

CONTENT

EDITORIAL	1	INTERVIEW	16
IN DEPTH	2	PLATFORM	18
INTRODUCTION	2	Côte d'Ivoire and an end to the crisis: elections with a doubly uncertain result	18
CENTRAL ARTICLES	3	Peace, conflicts and security in Africa: Afropessimism in decline?	19
Builders of peace: a legacy awaiting examination and dissemination	3	RECOMMENDATIONS	20
Resolution 1325 on the role of women in the construction of peace, ten years after its approval	5	NEWS	23
The participation of women and the inclusion of the gender perspective in peace processes	7	ICIP News	23
Implementing resolution 1325: International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Israeli-Palestinian Peace	8	International News	25
Peace: an ethical imperative	9		
FIND OUT MORE	11		
INTERVIEW	15		

IN DEPTH

INTRODUCCION

Women building peace: invisibility and presence

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In the last issue of Peace in Progress, we looked at the role of civil society in all phases of a conflict, considered in its most plural and broadest sense. Women building peace are an active part in terms of their creativity and commitment. In this issue, we would therefore like to look at the role of women in the construction of peace with contributions by various authors who have worked on various aspects of this contribution.

This subject is also linked to invisibility and presence. Women committed to building peace mostly work at a grassroots level, and are often organised in informal networks or working in the micropolitics of relations. They rarely enter the sphere of the visible, which in the world we live in is connected to the seats of power and the media. They are therefore present and active for peace in all stages of conflicts and in all social arenas, but are also invisible. Carmen Magallón also discusses the presence and invisibility of women working for peace, and suggests six ways of recovering and fostering the threads of thought and action by women so that they become part of a legacy and a cultural framework aimed at reducing violence and constructing peace by improving human coexistence.

We have also wanted to highlight the work done on the construction of peace by women with Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council (SCR 1325), the tenth anniversary of which fell in October of this year. The article by Manuela Mesa provides an overview of those ten years, looking at the progress made and the difficulties in implementing the actions proposed by SCR 1325. The United Nations has been very active over those ten years in terms of the institutional embodiment and the monitoring systems related to the application of SCR 1325, but the member States have been much less active in the application of Action Plans, and the ten years have also seen the strengthening of women's movements for peace and security around the world.

As it is well known, SCR 1325 recognised the contribution of women to the construction of peace for the first time and as a consequence, declared that women's participation is necessary in peace negotiations, in decision-making authorities and international institutions for the management and prevention of conflicts. This resolution also attempts to tackle the issue

of sexual violence in contexts of armed conflict, urging the protection of women and girls and calling for no impunity for the crimes committed. Over its ten-year history, SCR 1325 has contributed to raising the profile of women, but there is a risk of making them more visible as victims of violence than as agents of peace. While it is essential to take steps to protect women and girls from sexual violence and work vigorously to end the impunity of the perpetrators, it is also necessary to raise the profile of women's work for peace, placing them in relevant positions in negotiations and in short, acknowledging them as actors that contribute creative and effective solutions in the various phases of conflicts, so that as their presence becomes increasingly highly valued, and with the inclusion of the gender perspective, they will be contributing to reducing the violence against them.

As a result, we have asked for a range of articles focusing on raising awareness of the role of women as agents of peace. The article by Maria Villellas shows that it is necessary to include not only women but also a gender perspective in peace processes when considering what the integration of this perspective involves and what issues have to be covered on an agenda that includes it. These issues are related to violence, security, legislative and economic reforms, which enable progress to be made in redefining the relations between men and women and an end to the patriarchal logic of violence and exclusion, and the construction of a peace that is inclusive and therefore sustainable.

Renata Capella talks about the experience of the International Women's Commission (IWC) for a peace in the Middle East as an example of the application of the SCR 1325 at a local level. Based on the previous initiatives by grassroots women's movement, the IWC is a high level political commission that aims to influence peace and security policies in the Middle East with its own proposals.

Olga Amparo Sánchez talks about creating peace in her country, Colombia, based on a feminist ethic. This entails making progress on the eradication of sexism and militarism, creating feminist policies for peace with proposals such as disobeying orders for war, mobilisation to demand dialogue and political negotiation that leads to peace without impunity.

The interview with Nekane Altzelai sheds light on the experience of Ahotsak, a project that brought together women from across the spectrum of political, trade union and social movements in the Basque Country to debate on peace and the resolution of the conflict there. She points out that Ahotsak has been the only initiative that has succeeded in representing all the Basque political forces when dealing with this issue, and that the work of Ahotsak has been possible thanks to the desire to find common ground by working from the perspective of empathy and openness towards the other's point of view.

With these articles, we hope to have brought together reflections, points of view and experiences related with women's work in the construction of peace that contributes to transforming their presence into visibility.

CENTRALS ARTICLES

Builders of peace: a legacy awaiting examination and dissemination

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The historian Carmina García Herrero explains that in 1429, when the armies of Aragon and Navarre were preparing to fight against the Castilian army, the Queen of Aragon, Maria of Castile, hurried to the battlefield and pitched her tent right in the middle to prevent it. By doing so, she took responsibility for offering those involved an alternative solution, a task in which other mediators had failed. This was not an isolated case, and does not do justice to the variety of civilising influences that powerful women or those close to power have had at many points in history. C. García Herrero uses three verbs to describe these roles: mediate, arbitrate and establish. Mediation and arbitration in particular are clearly connected with what we today consider necessary for the management of conflicts within a framework of a culture for peace. According to the historian, queens were expected by society to be "agents of peace and agreement" as part of a very deep-rooted secular tradition in the Middle Ages, as shown by the fact that "between the sixth century and the early fourteenth century, of the twelve queens regnant who were made saints, five were canonised to a large extent as a result of their

direct involvement in processes creating and maintaining harmony".¹ She adds that this work was not only done by queens, as "common women" also acted as peacemakers, and as such ran great risks.

A look at history, which shows the attitudes, actions and thought of women committed to reducing violence in various ways, is a task that is ongoing but incomplete. We need to continue calling into question the history that has been passed down to us, which until relatively recently only highlighted the facts that patriarchal power considered most important: wars, changes to frontiers, conquests and the subjugations of peoples by others; in short, events created by the logic of domination. By contrast, the part of the historical narrative that received less emphasis covered tasks that was essential for maintaining life, which were devalued and rendered invisible, by being described as “naturally” the work of women and other marginalised groups: child rearing, the care of animals and food production, work linked to emotions and care, mediation, cooperation, and in short, the response to the multiple facets of human vulnerability.

The women's movement, feminism in its broadest sense, which contributed the energy and conceptual tools to question the inequality and knowledge passed down, now faces the challenge of disseminating this work for constructing peace. Women from all ages have rejected violence in all its aspects: structural, symbolic and direct. The experience of a majority of women has been that it is possible to see clearly that violence destroys the work it is supposed to protect, the conditions for survival of the community.

There is a feminine wisdom that is aware of the value of blood: how blood creates life and can save lives, and which refuses to shed it; which thinks and strongly rejects how unacceptable it is that it is traded; which knows how much a life costs, and how it is easier to destroy it than to take it forward.

The legacy of the female constructors of peace is passed down to us within that wisdom and based on vital, plural and multiple experiences, with the face and body of a woman. The following methods may be useful in its ongoing recovery:

One: the recovery of outstanding female constructors of peace, knowledge of their lives, their work and the events in which they were involved: politicians, mystics, trade unionists, literati, artists, reformers, non-violent revolutionaries, queens, Nobel Laureates (Bertha von Suttner, Jane Addams, Rigoberta Menchú, Wangari Maathai).

Two: the recovery and dissemination of the ideas and commitment of thinkers who in various eras gave the world reflections and thoughts which made up a civilising rationality vital for the construction of a culture of peace (Rosa Luxemburg, Virginia Woolf, Simone Weil, Petra Kelly).

Three: raising the profile of the grassroots work done by organised women's groups against war and violence all over the world. With very varied perspectives, philosophies and objectives, they generally share the desire to undermine the logic that places human beings' lives at stake in the pursuit of material, ideological, power, sovereignty or other interests.

Women's groups exist: a) To oppose war and policies of militarism and aggression implemented by their governments or the groups to which they belong (such as the Women in Black network). b) To bring together, by means of relationships and the search for points in common, people from opposing groups of which they are part, to break down the barriers between factions and bring together divided communities (women in Palestine and Israel; Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots; Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland; Somalis from the five clans forming a sixth clan, etc.) c) To seek non-military solutions to structural conflict (the Colombian women's Ruta pacífica, Mothers against drugs, etc.). d) To rescue husbands and sons from a war that they do not believe in (Code Pink and soldiers' mothers in the United States; Russian mothers in the war against Chechnya...). e) Action against impunity: so that the genocides, disappearances and persecutions suffered by specific groups are not repeated (the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the Widows of Guatemala, the Mothers of El Salvador, etc.). f) To support women who live in situations of war or a lack of freedom and human rights, in countries other than their own (many Women in Black groups.). g) To make the grassroots work of women count in decision-making and lobbying (UNIFEM, the Women, Peace and Security group, WILPF, women of the European Parliament and other parliaments).

Four: the recovery and dissemination of the value and meaning of the everyday work of countless nameless women who worked as carers, nurses, teachers, who were a majority in both rich and poor countries, performing the hardest tasks in hospitals, schools, homes for the elderly, etc.

Five: knowledge of the work of the leaders and international organisations within the current of internationalist feminism, with emphasis on centres of power: this trend can be traced from the First World War to the recent creation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) at the United Nations.

Six: visibility and space for researchers, teaching staff, journalists and everyone working to disseminate and raise the profile of this female legacy of the construction of peace. The aim is for the threads of thought and ac-

tion aimed at a reduction of violence and the construction of peace that these women left us to be gathered and included in the cultural fabric as a resource necessary for improving humanity's plural and troubled coexistence.

Zaragoza, 8 September 2010

1. García Herrero, Carmina (2009), "El entorno femenino de los Reyes de Aragón". A: Ángel Sesma Muñoz (dir.), *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia (1208-1458). La Monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*. Saragossa, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Gobierno de Aragón, Colección Actas, 74, p. 329.

Resolution 1325 on the role of women in the construction of peace, ten years after its approval

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October 2010 saw the tenth anniversary of the passing by the United Nations Security Council of Resolution 1325 on the role of women in the construction of peace. The resolution was the result of hard work by many organisations in civil society (NGOs, women's groups, peace and human rights organisations, etc.) which had worked together for years to place the issue of women, peace and security on the international agenda and in the decisions made by the United Nations. The passing of this resolution led to other subsequent resolutions,¹ but all must be seen in a joint and complementary context.

Resolution 1325 combines two dimensions. First, it calls for increased protection for women in armed conflicts, and second, it highlights the importance of women's participation in peace processes and post-war rehabilitation.

The resolution was accompanied by the Action Plans² which have been adopted by some governments in order to facilitate its implementation and to adapt it to the needs and characteristics of each situation. The production of these plans has in many cases being a participatory and dynamic process with a great deal of interaction between the organisations of civil society and governments.

An overview of the progress made over the last ten years shows a situation containing positive and negative factors. First, significant formal and institutional progress has undoubtedly been made, both within the United Nations, and in other international and regional intergovernmental bodies. In particular, the major breakthroughs in the two years prior to the tenth anniversary include the appointment of Margot Wallstrom in March 2010 by the General Secretary as the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict. This new post enables progress in preventing this type of violence to be made, and is a major step forward in ending impunity. Michele Bachelet (ex-president of Chile) was appointed director of UN Women, the new agency specialising in women's issues, on 14 September 2010. This organisation brings together in one institution the four United Nations funds and programmes that had previously worked in the field of women's issues: the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Division for the Advancement of Women, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), and the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues (OSAGI). In terms of its mandate and institutional profile, it will be similar to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the organisation's head will have the rank of under-secretary-general, the highest rank within the administrative hierarchy of the international body, after the Secretary General.

Elsewhere, the resolution has been highly effective in structuring and reinforcing a global women's movement based around issues of peace and security.

Many initiatives from civil society have taken place in these years, which have brought together organisations from various places in the world based on an agenda of peace and gender issues. Pressure has been brought to bear on governments and various international institutions for gender issues to be included in the design, planning and assessment of programmes, although the results of this work have been uneven.

This is due to the major obstacles that this agenda still has to face. The transition from words and good intentions to implementing the proposals and initiatives involved in the effective application of Resolution 1325 and those following it has been very difficult. The situation of women who live in conflict zones has not significantly improved. In 2010 alone, the year of the tenth anniversary, cases of sexual violence continued to be recorded, such as the mass rapes of women in the Kivu region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as a result of which the special representative has called for the application of sanctions. Over 8,000 women were raped in the country in 2009. Cases like these show that greater pressure from the international community and greater political will by governments are necessary for this issue to remain a priority and for very strict measures preventing these situations from arising to be taken.

In countries that have adopted Action Plans as required by the Resolution, there are often no clear and/or reliable indicators showing which measures work and which ones do not. In this area, the United Nations has worked intensively on the definition of indicators, with the participation of fourteen UN organisations led by UNIFEM, in close concentration with member states and women's groups from civil society from all over the world. This work culminated in the Secretary General's report (S/2010/173) presented on 27 April 2010, which recommended a series of international indicators on the application of Resolution 1325 in various areas, and in particular, as regards the participation of women in all aspects of conflict prevention and resolution, the prevention of violence against women, and the protection of women's rights during and after conflicts.

The major problem with the proposed indicators is that they require an appropriate level of financing to ensure that their compliance is monitored, and this will be difficult in many countries. As pointed out by ambassador Chowdhury (2010)³, this task is left to the governments, which means that many of them will not complete it, unless there is major pressure in the international arena and specific financing lines are created.

Furthermore, some of these indicators have limits per se, especially those of a quantitative nature which focus on increasing the number of women at various levels of decision-making. Increasing the number of women may represent a first step, but the inclusion of the gender perspective must also include qualitative measures that really change the power relations in political, social, and military structures which entail ending the inequality and violence that women in situations of conflict suffer from. This implies supporting women committed to the values of equality, the promotion of peace, sustainable development, human rights and justice. A major commitment by the international community, the Secretary General and the United Nations system will be essential in achieving breakthroughs.

The Secretary General of the United Nations can contribute to providing a new political boost for this agenda, which together with the synergies created between various local, national and international actors, could lead to significant breakthroughs in the application of the Resolution. However, it is also important that the United Nations system also does its work, which includes the gender dimension in all agencies and the creation of specific programmes, appointing specialists and mobilising resources.

Member states must show the political will necessary to include women's issues, peace and security on its agenda, and create programs fostering the prevention of violence against women and their increased participation in decision-making arenas.

Finally, the role of civil society will be vital in this process, as has become clear over these years, in which it has been able to make this Resolution a tool for mobilisation could change, and for placing gender issues on the international agenda. A meeting of the Security Council to discuss the Resolution is scheduled for the last week of October 2010 at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. In the preceding months, organisations in civil society have been preparing proposals and initiative.⁴ The aim is for this anniversary to be the starting point for real progress in the situation of women in areas of conflict, and for greater recognition of women in the construction of peace.

1. These include Resolution 1820 of 19 June 2008, covering sexual violence and other problems in United Nations peacekeeping operations, and Resolution 1889, which has been passed, covering the relationship between women, peace and security, and specifically issues relating to the planning and financing of external aid in post-conflict situations.

2. 19 countries currently have an Action Plan: Austria, Belgium, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Spain, Finland, the Philippines, The Netherlands, Iceland, Liberia, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sweden, Switzerland and Uganda.

3. Anwarul K. Chowdhury, "Doable Fast-Track Indicator for Turning the Promise into Reality", 27 July 2010, available at: <http://ipsterraviva.net/UN/currentNew.aspx?new=7979>

4. These initiatives can be monitored at: <http://www.gnwp.org>.

The participation of women and the inclusion of the gender perspective in peace processes

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Peace processes are above all unique opportunities for societies that have been affected by armed conflicts to end direct violence, but can also act as a trigger for more profound transformational processes. In this regard, peace processes can be exceptional opportunities for transforming the structural causes that led to the armed conflicts, and for designing policies to deal with issues such as exclusion, poverty and democratisation.

These processes are usually defined as organised efforts to end armed conflicts by means of dialogue, involving the parties in the conflict, and very often, involve external assistance. The main objective is therefore to end armed violence by means of dialogue as opposed to by military methods. However, from a feminist point of view, this conception is insufficient, because as many authors have pointed out, and the facts on the ground stubbornly show, the end of armed conflicts does not necessarily mean the end of violence for women.

Women and the gender perspective have been absent from peace processes. The presence of women in negotiating teams has often been of a token nature and negotiations like those in Guatemala, Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka, in which women have played an important role, are not representative of the majority of peace processes. Furthermore, the gender aspect has also not been included on the agendas of negotiations. The opportunity to envisage changes in negotiating formats and new agendas for peace processes is therefore a challenge that is unfulfilled as well as urgent, taking into account that the inclusion of certain issues at the negotiating table may have major effects on the lives of individuals and especially of women.

The presence of women in the negotiations is a prerequisite in achieving processes that take the gender dimension into account, but this presence in itself is no guarantee of issues linked to gender inequality being covered, or the gender perspective being included in the discussions, or influencing the decisions taken or the agreements reached. Peace processes require the presence of women, but they also need agendas that include the gender dimension. The patriarchy's status as a cornerstone for violence and armed conflicts throughout history reinforces the need to include the gender perspective in peace processes.

In order to move forward from the idea of merely including women in peace processes towards a more broad-based focus, which includes the gender perspective in peace processes, it is necessary to consider what this integration involves, and what issues need to be covered. The exclusion of women from peace processes has led to very specific peace processes, which focus mainly on issues such as ceasefire agreements, arms control, distribution of power by means of electoral formulas, agreements to form governments, and the distribution and division of territory. This means that many issues are excluded from both the discussions and formal agreements. Nonetheless, agreements can be decisive documents formalising the framework in which post-conflict policies are designed. It is therefore necessary to start with an assessment of the impact of gender on armed conflicts, the acknowledgement of the various experiences of women in these conflicts, and to call into question ideas such as post-conflict (which suggest that violence against women can continue despite the end of armed violence) and reconstruction/rehabilitation, as many women may prefer not to return to the situation that prevailed before the conflict, but instead to begin profound reforms ranging their status in a given society.

Which issues need to be covered on an agenda that takes the gender perspective into account? The list of issues may be very long, but some are essential in any peace negotiation. The first issue is violence. In the post-war period, women must deal with the consequences of the violence that took place during the armed conflict, and especially sexual violence. Violence in the domestic sphere generally increases during this period, and it shifts from the public to the private space. The inclusion of this issue in peace agreements means that the opportunities for impunity are reduced, and there is more and greater protection for women survivors. It also implies the creation of more secure states without sacrificing the security of many of its citizens, who are women. Second, consideration must be given to the issue of security, the re-establishment of which is one of the main post-war challenges, so that women are not marginalised or excluded from the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration processes, for example. The stereotyped notion of the role of the combatant, and the idea that women do not represent a threat to the resumption of armed hostilities may lead to this exclusion. Third, the legislative and economic reforms that are approved would also be vital in the transformation or persistence of gender inequalities. Laws which exclude women have been used to legitimise political, social and cultural practices which have prevented them from fully developing their skills, and have led to the social normalisation of violence against women, their lack of access to ownership, and hindered their personal autonomy. In short, they have been denied their full rights as citizens. It is therefore necessary to end discriminatory legislation in this period. In the economic arena, an important challenge is to ensure that the breakthroughs made by women during the fighting in terms of autonomy are not cut back due to the important transformations in social roles that occur during these

periods. Meanwhile, a critical perspective on liberal economic reforms, especially those imposed by international bodies, which have a serious impact on women's everyday life, is also necessary.

In short, a broader outlook is necessary to ensure that the construction of peace does not reproduce the patriarchal paragon of violence and exclusion. The aim must be not only to include women, but also to adopt critical positions from which to redefine gender relations, in order to construct a truly sustainable and inclusive peace.

Implementing resolution 1325: International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Israeli-Palestinian Peace

Renata Capella Soler

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In article published in the newspaper *Ha'aretz*, last November, Robert Serry, the UN special coordinator for the Middle East peace process highlighted the need to increase participation by women at the negotiating table: "For my part," he said, "I will continue to engage women leaders and civil society organizations and urge the leaderships on both sides to include women in their inner circles of advisers on the peace process".¹

The limited presence of women with decision-making powers in the negotiating teams involved in the Middle East is in contrast to many women's leadership in the non-governmental sphere. As members of civil society, Israeli and Palestinian women have been organising activities in favour of peace for over twenty years, through various movements. In 1988, when their meetings were still prohibited, some Israeli and Palestinian women began to explore parts to dialogue, ordered to work *together* towards peace and justice. Since then, they have spared no effort to cooperate in the construction of peace, against the backdrop of the Israeli occupation, the profound asymmetries between those involved, the "anti-normalisation" rhetoric in Palestinian society, the failure of the Oslo process and the outbreak of the *Intifadas* of 1987 and 2000.

In this context, the International Women's Commission (IWC) was established in 2005 to create a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East. This ambitious project shows the effect that the Security Council's Resolution 1325 had on local initiatives. It is a tripartite commission established under the auspices of the UN, and specifically the United Nations Development Fund for Women, part of UN Women (UNIFEM), and its members include not only female Palestinian and Israeli leaders, but also women from the international arena, with extensive experience in conflict resolution and international relations, from both the north and south.

With this link between the local level of action and international mechanisms and global agendas, the IWC is attempting to strengthen the Israeli and Palestinian women's movements that are working for peace: first, by helping to overcome stagnation in bilateral relations, and second, by improving their opportunities to influence decision-making.

In fact, as a high level initiative, the IWC shows that after years of campaigning and debate, these women in civil society want to *participate* on equal terms in the processes for adopting decisions related to conflict resolution. Unlike previous initiatives, such as the *Jerusalem Link* of the nineties, the IWC is not a grassroots dialogue group, but instead a high-level political mission which aims to influence the policies that determine peace and security in the Middle East.

While applying the lessons learnt from previous initiatives, the IWC underlines the need to recognise and constructively manage the asymmetries between the parties in any process focusing on the construction of peace. The IWC is aware of the contradictions involved in the work to promote understanding between occupiers and occupied, and

instead aims to undertake joint political work and to speak with a single voice, according to its Charter of Principles, "dedicated to an end of the the Israeli occupation and a just peace based on international law [including relevant UN resolutions], human rights and equality".²

The IWC's political vision involves a profound review of the approaches that determine today's policies in the Middle East and is committed to alternative concepts of peace and security. The IWC does not believe it is possible to construct peace without taking into account concepts of justice, at both a domestic level and in foreign affairs. That is why its work in favour of peace is closely linked to demands for social justice and respect international law, with particular emphasis on accountability in cases of human rights violations. It is also critical of the logic of military security, which has today dominated the negotiating table, and demands that it is replaced by the concept of human security.

This conceptual reformulation has practical implications in terms of creating strategies for the construction of peace. For example, when the international community talks about promoting peace in the Middle East, it basically means the desire to resolve the conflict, taking the war of June 1967 and the "land for peace" formula arising from the Security Council's Resolution 242 as the starting point. However, based on the concept that peace is inseparable from justice, the IWC believes that the conflict cannot be resolved without considering its roots and the 1948 war. In line with this perspective, some of the Palestinian members of the IWC are Israeli citizens, and not only inhabitants of the occupied Palestinian Territories. In 2008, they succeeded in agreeing on a *Paper of Understanding*, a joint version of the history of the conflict – an undoubted success taking into account the deep disagreement that usually prevails between Israelis and Palestinians on this subject.

In his article, Robert Serry strongly supports the work of the IWC and other initiatives by women in civil society working for peace and justice in the Middle East. Hopefully, his comments will be the starting point for the creation of political spaces which provide them with access to the corridors of power and thereby enable them to exert influence. In view of the lack of success of the formal initiatives for the construction of peace in the Middle East and the growing frustration arising from it, there are good reasons to seriously consider the alternative proposals by these Palestinians and Israelis based on their experience as women, experts and pacifist.

1. Robert Serry, "Women at the Peace Table. The 10th anniversary of a UN resolution linking women, peace and security is a reminder of the importance of having women involved in peace negotiations". Ha'aretz, 3 November 2010 (<http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/women-at-the-peace-table-1.322054>).
2. For the original text in English, see the IWC Charter of Principles at: <http://iwc-peace.org/>.

Peace: an ethical imperative

Olga Amparo Sánchez Gómez

Corporación Casa de la Mujer, Bogotá. The peaceful path for Colombian women



"Historically, women have dismantled the idea of confrontation by sitting down to talk with all parties involved. It is much more important to sit down at a table and talk than to sit in front of a grave and cry"

Platform of Palestinian women artists - 2009

"We who lost the peace" is the title of a beautiful text, written by the Spanish feminist Llum Quiñonero, which talks about winning during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 and provides a cross-section of Spanish society at that time. The author uses the testimony of four women who narrate their political, cultural and social experiences in "dimensions that are sometimes little known, which shed light on the various horizons of collective experience, creativity, initiative and the capacity for civic involvement by women" (Llum Quiñonero, 2005:11).

"We who lost the peace" is a text that since it came into my hands, has made me wonder whether Colombian feminists, or those who write history, will in a few years time say: "we who lost the peace." I prefer to think, dream and act, in order to be able to say in the not too distant future: "we who won the peace."

From the stance we assume to win the peace and oppose war, we declare with all our energy and strength: "we who are winning the peace". Allow me to dream and believe in these adverse times. We feminists are winning the peace because we are still constructing a new ethic based on a feminist perspective, to highlight the hegemonic discourses and practices that reproduce and justify relations of oppression and subordination between women and

men, between regions, between ethnic groups, and which create arguments that aim, on “democratic” grounds, to depoliticise the causes and consequences of war, poverty and violence against women.

The feminist ethic is based on conditions of oppression and subordination between women and men, based on individual and collective political and social practices. This feminist ethic questions the patriarchal construction of the “woman,” and calls for consciousness of conditions of exploitation, discrimination, alienation, violence and exclusion towards women and towards other exploited and excluded groups. This feminist ethic questions violence as a means of dealing with public and private conflicts, the militarization of men’s and women’s lives, the immoral distribution of resources and wealth and the annihilation of ecosystems, among other issues.

This ethic can lead us to reject complicity in a patriarchal pact that is nourished by the sexual division of labour, and to work for justice and integrity between women and men. It is an ethic which thinks in terms of a new rise in our lives and leads us towards a different paradigm of freedom. It is a feminist ethic that includes respect, honesty, transparency, mutual trust, flexibility, and the spirit of cooperation.

In order to be able to build a humanitarian, free, egalitarian, just society, that is decent for women and men, it is necessary to be constantly engaged in self-criticism, and to deconstruct attitudes and prejudices. It is necessary to construct values that end the fear, solitude and silence demanded of opponents and women, in order to maintain the patriarchal order and war as a means to resolve conflict. These are new values that involve the voice of women, the oppressed and subjected and their demands as an act of rebellion against this exclusive, and warlike and militaristic system.

Publicly and politically committed women are the target for sanctions and political indoctrination, which basically aim to control us using a single model, which internalises the threat of fear, which teaches us not to rebel.

Engaging in feminist politics does not only involve participating in struggles to eradicate inequalities, injustice and exclusion; it is also women’s task to deconstruct the relationships of oppression and subordination between men and women and to build alliances to predicate violence against themselves and against others, to become the subjects and objects of agreements, to be spokespersons speaking with their own voice, and for this voice to be valued, i.e. to be women who agree on a new order, to be political subjects, to deconstruct the patriarchal pact based on a feminist ethic.

Engaging in feminist politics in favour of peace involves declaring ourselves to be conscientious objectors, in disobedience to the patriarchal mandates of war, nationalism and militarism. As feminists we have the ethical obligation to rebel against all types of patriarchal authority. We are contributing to the eradication of sexism and militarism with what we do publicly and in private, with words, actions and symbols.

It is incumbent on us to demand dialogue, which is the least that we owe the innocent victims of this immoral war. It is essential that those involved sit down to negotiate, despite so much blood having been shed. This is the definitive moment for beginning a process of exchange that opens up spaces for political negotiation. We must foster a real peace process and one that first means an end to confrontation. Peace cannot be based on impunity: the violence must end, but there must be sanctions for all the crimes that have been committed.

We must once again take to the streets to demand, to protest, to face the terror and fear through which they want to silence us, and do so now because we all deserve a different life. Because we want to have a present free of violence and public and private wars. Taking to the streets as a means of protecting the sacred right to rebellion is today an imperative because we must make our resistance to war and to militarist politics visible, and we must make a commitment to solidarity between women beyond ethnic frontiers.

We believe that there can be no peace if not everyone is able to express themselves and achieve their aspirations in a fair, free and egalitarian world. There can be no peace while half of humanity, women, is oppressed and prevented from developing fully.

FIND OUT MORE

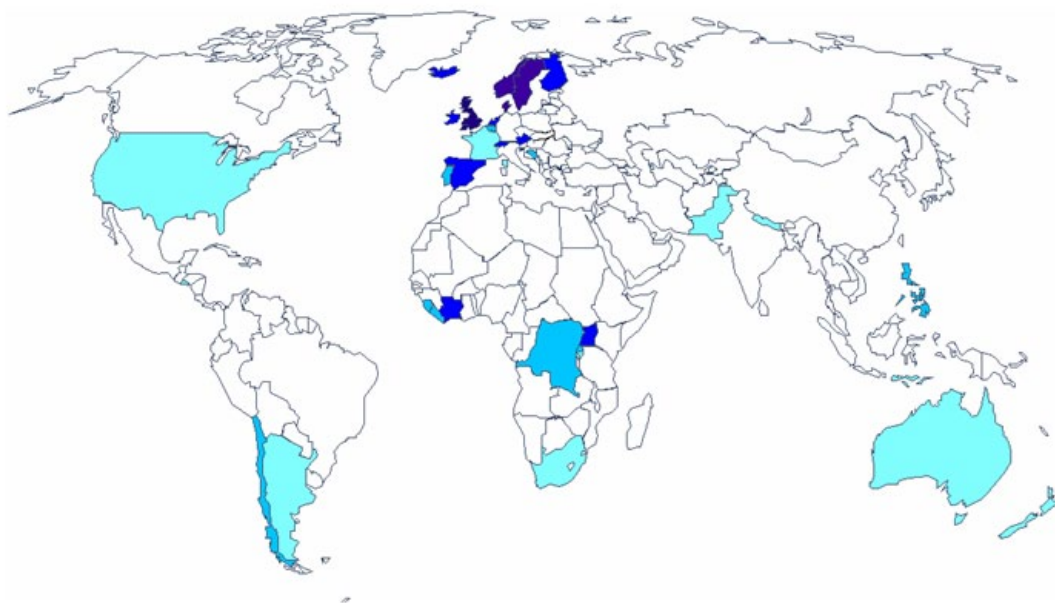
In this section, we present three pieces of material related to the international agenda on women, peace and security. First, a table showing the UN instruments relating to women, peace and security. Second, a map showing the state of implementation of SCR 1325 by states by means of the National Action Plans (NAPs). The third resource is the full text of SCR 1325 and related websites.

Instruments passed by the United Nations related to the Women, Peace and Security agenda

Year	Resolutions/agreements/declarations
1979	Approval of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Ratified by 165 countries.
1982	The UN General Assembly Resolution 3763 on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Co-operation.
1985	Third World Conference on Women: explicit recognition of the role women in peace and development.
1994	Declaration on the Eradication of Violence against Women.
1995	Fourth World Conference on Women; Beijing Platform for Action.
1999	UN Security Council Resolution 1265 on the protection of civilians during armed conflict; includes the gender perspective in humanitarian assistance.
2000	The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action for the inclusion of the gender perspective in multidimensional peace support operations.
2000	UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.
2003	Report by the General Secretary to the UN General Assembly on the inclusion of the gender perspective in peacekeeping work.
2004	Conclusions reached on the participation of women on equal terms in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts and consolidation of peace after conflicts by the Commission on the Legal and Social Status of Women.
2004	Report by the General Secretary to the UN Security Council on Women, Peace and Security.
2008	Resolution 1820 by the UN Security Council on sexual violence as a weapon of war and the need to protect civilians from it.
2009	Resolution 1888 by the UN Security Council on the provision of measures to fight sexual violence and the inclusion of the gender perspective in peacekeeping missions.
2009	Resolution 1889 by the UN Security Council on the promotion equality and empowerment of women in the construction of peace in post-conflict situations
2010	Secretary General's Report to the UN Security Council on <i>Women, Peace and Security</i> , on the establishment of indicators for the application of SCR 1325 in the areas of prevention, participation, protection, aid and recovery.
2010	Report of the UN Security Council on <i>Women, peace and security</i> , on the tenth anniversary of SCR 1325 in order to provide an overview of its application and establish the outlook for the future.

Source: Villellas, M., The role of women in the construction of peace, Seminar on Resolution 1325, Madrid, 2 February 2010, 3; Magallón, C., *Mujeres en pie de paz*, pub. Siglo XXI, Madrid, 2006, p. 160. Completed by Júlia Boada.

The table shows us the background to SCR 1325, passed in 2000, and the subsequent resolutions and reports regarding its application. As it can be seen, slow progress was made on eliminating discrimination and violence against women and recognising their role in the construction of peace between 1975 and 1995. By specifically dealing with the situation of women in armed conflicts, the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action was a starting point that fostered the work of non-governmental women's organisations that promoted and finally succeeded in achieving the passing of SCR 1325. The table shows how the UN's work intensified after 2000, and how the presence of the issue of women, peace and security became consolidated on the international agenda.



National Action Plans for the application of Resolution 1325

- Countries which implemented their NAP in years 2005 and 2006
- Countries which implemented their NAP in years 2007 and 2008
- Countries which implemented their NAP in years 2009 and 2010
- Countries which are in the process of preparing their NAP

Year	Countries
2005	Denmark
2006	Norway, the United Kingdom, Sweden
2007	Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland
2008	Cote d'Ivoire, Finland, Ireland, Iceland, Uganda
2009	Belgium, Liberia, Portugal, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Chile
2010	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Philippines, Rwanda
In the process of	Argentina, Australia, Burundi, Canada, El Salvador, France, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, South Africa, East Timor.

This map aims to show which United Nations member states have approved National Action Plans for the application of Resolution 1325. The objective of these plans is to transfer the contents of the resolution to local actors and for the latter to implement them with specific instruments and measures. These plans also aim to create networks of dialogue between international, governmental and civil society actors.

The map shows the countries that have adopted a NAP or are in the process of doing so. The countries shown in white, the most numerous group, are those that have not begun any process for the production of an NAP. The map shows that the dark blue countries, the first to adopt the Plans, were in Scandinavia, with Denmark leading the way (2005). In subsequent years, other European countries designed and approved their NAPs. In 2008, several African countries also joined the NAP approval process, including Liberia, the first country in a post-war situation that adopted a National Action Plan. In the last two years, countries all over the world (except for Oceania) have approved action plans. Finally, eleven countries are currently preparing for the implementation of Resolution 1325 by producing a National Action Plan.

Resolution 1325 (2000)

Passed by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265

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

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

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter 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 on durable peace and reconciliation,
Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, 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 Multi-dimensional 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:
 - The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
 - 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;
 - Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
9. *Calls* upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
10. *Calls* on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based

violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

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

Websites for finding out more:

Related to SCR 1325

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. The driving force behind SCR 1325. It is currently monitoring its implementation. It aims to be a bridge between human rights advocates working in conflict situations and United Nations policymakers.

<http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/>

The Women and Peace Portal created by WILPF after the SCR 1325 was passed. Contains information and resources for women's organisations and fosters the exchange of news and points of view. Publishes an electronic bulletin.

<http://www.peacewomen.org/>

UNIFEM Portal created two years after the SCR 1325 was passed, providing information and documentation with a gender perspective on countries in conflict, the impact of the conflict on women and their work on the construction of peace.

<http://www.womenwarpeace.org/>

United Nations on Women, Peace and Security. Provides information and resources on gender equality and the empowerment of women.

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/wps/>

State of the National Action Plans

<http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/national-action-plans-naps>

<http://www.un-instraw.org/peace-and-security/knowledge-management/unscr-1325-national-action-plan-map.html>

Mila Ramos: "Ten years of Resolution 1325"

<http://resolucion1325.blogspot.com/>

Carmen Magallón: "Women, peace and security: an overview of Resolution 1325"

<http://www.ceipaz.org/images/contenido/03.%20carmen%20magallon.pdf>

Organisations supporting initiatives by women constructing peace

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Founded in 1915 after the International Congress of Women at The Hague, it has a long tradition of commitment to feminism and antimilitarism. Its members include Nobel laureates like Jane Addams and leading pacifist thinkers and activists, such as Alva Myrdal, Elise Boulding and Coretta Scott King. It was one of the NGOs that promoted SCR 1325.

<http://www.wilpfinternational.org/peace/index.htm>

Hunt Alternatives Fund. Promotes political leadership by women, among other activities.
<http://www.huntalternatives.org/index.cfm>

Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation. Supports the organisation of women in conflict zones.
<http://www.kvinnatillkvinna.se/en>

IANSA. An international women's network established in 2001 working on the links between gender, women's rights, small arms and armed violence.
<http://www.iansa-women.org/>

Materials produced by Júlia Boada and Elena Grau

INTERVIEW

Interview with Nekane Altzelai

Ex-MP in the Basque Parliament and member of Ahotsak, women for peace



How did Ahotsak come about? What were the factors that brought together women from such a broad political spectrum in the same place?

Like most parliaments, the arena of "serious politics" in the Basque Parliament was also occupied exclusively by men and they let us women deal with "politics of small things," or in other words, social policy. Despite this, social policy provided a solution to society's everyday problems. By assuming this responsibility, we tried to pass the laws, plans and any initiative presented to Parliament with the highest possible level of consensus, and it was even possible to pass some issues unanimously. As that was possible in social issues, and bearing in mind that a relationship of trust, and even a friendship, had built up between us, we decided to take advantage of this experience

acquired in debates on social policy for the debate on the classification and conflict resolution in the Basque Country.

How did being only women facilitate the building of bridges that spanned the divisions between parties? What did it mean to you to be only women in Ahotsak?

It was easy to build bridges between us, because we already had the experience from other debates. Furthermore, none of us held major posts in the executives of the parties that we represented, and I do believe that was essential for women from different parties coming together in the Ahotsak project. It was an initiative that was still outstanding, but which was necessary, so that women could provide another point of view. For example, when the social movement Elkarri organised a peace conference, it was impossible for the representatives of the various political parties to sit down around a table. It was obvious that it would be impossible for them to meet publicly, but it was also impossible in private and behind closed doors. Nonetheless, a roundtable of women from various political parties was organised and took place. What is more, it was very successful, it filled the Euskalduna Conference Centre, and another hall had to be provided so that women who were unable to get in could follow it by video link. The event encouraged us and made us aware of the need for Ahotsak.

What do you think has been the main contribution by Ahotsak to the peace process in the Basque country?

The main contribution has consisted of being able to show that despite our differences, there is always something that unites us, but it is important to want to reach that common space, to want to learn about other different people, to try and put yourself in their place, and to accept that despite not agreeing with their ideas, they are right about some things, empathy. As a conclusion to the exercise, we wrote a founding document for Ahotsak. You might think that it is just a piece of paper. But it is the first document signed by women from various political parties, trade unions, feminist organisations and other social spheres. It is also a document with content that I invite you to read; in it, we define and specify the meaning of peace, we describe the process, while taking various points of view into account.

Do you think that women have been able to contribute anything specific to the peace process?

As well as the various documents for reflection and debate we have published, the most important thing is that we have shown that understanding is possible, which is something that seems impossible in the Basque Country.

If the peace process in the Basque country was re-established, do you think that mechanisms should be established to ensure the presence of women in the process?

I believe that another peace process will be established in the Basque Country and I believe it will be in the very near future. We are ready, when that time comes, because bridges, once they have been created, last forever and are

always useful, as they are now. To clarify this answer, I can say that one of the initiatives that we were involved in was the attempt to create Ahotsak groups at a local level, in order to make women participate in the peace process, because we considered that feeling an active part makes it easier to become involved and feel identified with this peace process. To do so, we organised a series of conferences in various towns and the result is that in the majority of cases, women with various points of view came together at the conference, despite the fact that they had never talked to each other about the subject, despite living in the same towns and knowing each other. Nonetheless, these women have a great deal to contribute and need to be integrated into the process.

What subjects need to be on the agenda for negotiations in the Basque country? How can the gender dimension be added to this agenda?

The agenda would be the one suggested by the various political agents. But it would obviously have to include the Basque people's right to decide, territoriality, victims and prisoners.

Do you feel backed by the Security Council's Resolution 1325? How?

We always knew that as Ahotsak became more widely known, we would come in for criticism and that the most common one would be what was the point of a women's group in the peace process, as if it was a just a whim. In that respect, Resolution 1325 has been vital for us and we put that on record in our founding document. On more than one occasion since, we have recalled that in Resolution 1325, the UN calls for the active participation of women in peace processes.

What role could women have in a scenario after a peace agreement?

After the agreement, the important thing will be to consolidate it, means that the majority must adhere to it, so it is important that we feel represented by it. In that respect, exercises like the series of conferences in the towns, which we started in the previous process, will be necessary. We will need spaces in which those who are different can share with us what brings us together.

INTERVIEW

Venance Konan, writer and journalist, Côte d'Ivoire

Cèlia Cernadas



Venance Konan is the most widely-read writer in Côte d'Ivoire. His novels – the latest of which is entitled *Les Catapilas, ces ingrats*– examine the most polarising debate in the country: the one concerning identity. The definition of who is and who is not Ivorian has been at the heart of the conflicts in the Côte d'Ivoire over the last decade, which in practice have left the country split into two halves. Konan, a collaborator with publications including *Afrique Magazine*, is sceptical about the usefulness of the presidential elections in solving the endemic problems of Côte d'Ivoire. The interview with the writer took place recently in Abidjan, the country's economic capital, during the seminar "*Conditions pour la consolidation de la paix en Côte d'Ivoire*", organised by the ICIP.

After ten years without a vote, we know that the presidential elections will not suddenly end the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, but can they be seen as an essential step in the peace process?

I do not think that these elections are an end to the crisis at all, because among other things, there has been no transitional team, without the current politicians, to prepare the country or to solve the consistent underlying problems. Not a single one of the factors that unleashed the crisis has been resolved. Nobody has done anything to solve what we call "the foreigner issue": we have a part of

the population here, in the north of the country, which has lived nowhere else, which has never set foot outside the country, which is Ivorian, but which is still foreign under the law. The issue of land ownership, which is fundamental, has not been settled; the problems of schooling and education and reintegration of young people and rebels into the system have not been solved. We have all these problems on the table, and none of them have been solved. And we can add others: impunity, violence; poverty, which is increasing, and corruption. Corruption in Côte d'Ivoire is very widespread and affects the entire society.

Let's talk about the foreigner issue. Côte d'Ivoire, the world's leading cocoa exporter, was always a rich country that attracted many immigrants and was a call of attraction in West Africa.

Even before independence, Côte d'Ivoire always attracted people from elsewhere in the region. Until the 1990s, it was

undoubtedly the most prosperous country in West Africa. Large communities of Lebanese, Nigerians, Beninese, and Guineans, among others, came after being attracted by the country's economic dynamism and the relatively high level of political freedom. Despite the one-party state - as in the majority of African countries after independence - it was far from being a dictatorship. For a long time, the immigrants were not a problem, because they did jobs that were necessary and difficult; above all, they worked on the plantations, while in the boom years, the Ivorians preferred to wear a suit and tie and work in air-conditioned offices.

And why has nationality become a source of conflict?

What made things different was the onset of the economic crisis, in the early nineties: the immigrants became a scapegoat. We have immigrants, from Burkina Faso and Mali, who have lived here for twenty or thirty years, who are prevented from owning land by law - they are only allowed to rent it - and from carrying the card which identifies them as Ivorians. So access to land has become another major problem. There are fifth generation immigrants, with parents and grandparents born in Côte d'Ivoire, but who are always considered foreigners.

Rejection of foreigners shifted onto the political scene in the 1990s with the emergence of Alassane Ouattara, one of the two candidates in this second round, and his presidential ambitions. To what extent was the Ouattara case the trigger for the current conflict?

Ouattara wanted to be president in the mid-nineties, but was prevented from doing so as a foreigner after the constitutional amendment that stated that only people with an Ivorian father and mother could be considered Ivorian was passed. Ouattara is from the north, and of Burkinabè origin. At that time, the majority of the population in the hinterland supported Ouattara and slowly, the country started to fall apart. In 2002, when the rebellion started, what the majority of people fighting were demanding was to be Ivorian: they wanted to be considered citizens of the country. And in the end, we have reached these presidential elections without resolving the problem of eligibility. The Pretoria emergency agreement has been necessary for Ouattara to be able to run again. And the issue of the legitimacy of President Gbagbo, whose election victory in 2000 is still not recognised by many people, has still not been resolved.

Has the government therefore not learnt the lesson?

Obviously not. Politicians must be brave, you have to be brave to recognise the nationality of that part of the population and find a way of integrating them. Parties must stop fanning the flames and making calculations about the political returns they can obtain from the question of identity. We have had a crisis and an armed rebellion, but what has been done since 2002? The same men who promoted the laws that divide the Ivorian people are still on the political scene, and the Constitution has not been changed since then. There is no will to solve that aspect of the crisis.

There is a tendency to simplify African conflicts by defining them as ethnic conflicts or religious conflicts. Do any of those factors define the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire?

Obviously most of those who rebelled are from the North, where the majority ethnic groups are not the President's. So there is an ethnic factor. But the religious factor is not important: the North is not completely Islamic; there are many Christians. Guillaume Soro, the leader of the rebellion, was a Christian.

The rebellion in 2002 led to French intervention and the deployment of the UN's UNOCI mission. And what has their presence contributed to?

When the crisis started and the UN forces arrived, everyone thought that the solution would be quick. Unfortunately, I can tell you that that has not been the case. So I wonder what they are doing here. What did they do when the government bombed the North in 2004? Or when it shot demonstrators? What are they doing here? I don't know.

As is the case in many other African countries, Ivorian politics has been dominated by the same people for years. Is it necessary to get rid of them to be able to start again?

Indeed, there is an entire generation that has been wasted because it has no means of access to power. Côte d'Ivoire lives on hate, the hate between the three men who have been the major players over the last two decades - Gbagbo, Ouattara and Bedièthere - and who have engaged in opportunist alliances when it has suited them. We must move away from this dynamic, whatever it takes, and make way for a younger generation that is more in touch with reality and people's problems.

PLATFORM

Côte d'Ivoire and an end to the crisis: elections with a doubly uncertain result

Rafael Grasa
ICIP President



A few years ago, a French economist, Serge C. Kolm, wrote an excellent book with the thought-provoking title of *Elections are not democracy*, in which he used Dahl's theory of polyarchy to argue that the mere existence of free and regular elections was no guarantee of the existence of democracy, even in a limited definition of the term. I think he was right in many cases: elections and alternating in power are at least a potential situation for finding a way out of a crisis and beginning a process for the transformation of the conflict, and therefore of the social relations between people and social groups. Furthermore, in the case of Africa, this central role of elections is even more important due to the fact that over the last decade there have been many episodes of political violence, some of which have been intense and long-lasting, which have coincided with elections. Elections are therefore not democracy, they can be decisive in achieving it or pushing it further away, at least in the case of prolonged social conflicts with recurring episodes of violence.

This was the case in the presidential elections in Côte d'Ivoire, held over two rounds on 31 October and 28 November: they are (I hope I will not have to write "they were" in a few weeks time) the opportunity to end a decade of crisis, coups and states of emergency, violence, and also to confront almost two decades of deterioration in the model of the country and nation that emerged from independence. First the economic model, based on cocoa and coffee, an abundance of land and patronage relationships collapsed, after various economic crises. Afterwards, with the death of Biogny, the model of citizenship, nation and political system was destroyed, due to the great difficulty in the transition from a one-party state to a multi-party system based on fractured ethnic identities and on the partial patrimonialism of the state by one ethnic group, the Baule. This latter problem, common to much of Africa at the end of the colonial legacy, has specificities and aggravating factors in the Ivorian case, which are one of the roots of the crisis and the rebellion of 2002.

The first round of the presidential elections was exemplary, with very few incidents, a turnout of over 80% and a result that with the withdrawal of Bedié saw a run-off between president Gbagbo and the opposition leader Ouattara in the second round. The key to the results of the campaign and of the second round was the agreements with Bedié, who gave his backing to Ouattara (both had worked closely with Boigny) and above all, the ability to transfer the political agreement into real voting by the population. The major doubt was whether the Catholic Baules would vote for a Muslim Senufo, who was the paradigm of non-Ivorian identity by having a direct Burkinabè ancestor. It appeared so, with a lower turnout (of around 70%), with Ouattara obtaining 54% of the votes, albeit pending confirmation by the Constitutional Court, as Gbagbo challenged the count in various northern regions. From that point on, confusion reigned. The electoral commission, which was independent in name only, has been prevented from giving the results in the stipulated time, as some of its members (those in the president's party) failed to comply, despite the desperate attempts of the commission's president (belonging to Bedié's party). Now the issue is the responsibility of the Constitutional Court, chaired by one of Gbagbo's confidants: the verdict is due on 9 December. A week of curfew and closed frontiers and an end to the admission of foreign media (on the night of 2 December) suggest pessimism. However, the international observers were unanimous: 95% of the second round was democratic and fair.

On 2 December, an Ivorian friend told me: "Abidjan is deserted, people are texting each other all the time, there are constant rumours, the television is poisonous, they are bringing the country to its knees. Everyone is scared of a state of emergency and of the opportunity for an end to the crisis and reconstructing a beautiful country to be lost." In the words of the song by Tiken Jah Fakoly: "it is politicians and politics that ruin a country." Like me, he was worried about hopes for an end to the crisis and transformation of the conflict being dashed. At present, the initial requirements, free elections, have been partially fulfilled, but the count has not been constitutionally completed and it remains to be seen whether the results are accepted by the state bodies (the Constitutional Court) and the president's party and machine.

If they are accepted, the country can put an end to its state of emergency. It is a divided country with a state that is absent in half the territory, a population that is tired and fearful, a president and parliament with no electoral legitimacy and a whole series of problems to solve. The road will be a long one: we have to consider the legislative elections (in February) and the conditions for ending the crisis. In specific terms, according to the seminar organised by the ICIP in September, (http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/relatoria_costadivori.pdf):

these conditions are reform of the security sector, agrarian reform, Ivorian nationality and identity, redeployment of the state, respect for human rights and opportunities for young people. They are serious challenges, but are achievable, bearing in mind the country's capacities and opportunities for creating a lasting "coalition of wills." The results of the

elections are uncertain in two ways: who has won, and above all, whether or not this will lead to an end to the crisis. Now, at this point in time, we are trembling before taking the first step, a condition that is necessary but not enough. What happens in the coming weeks will be vital: a window of opportunity will close or open. Everything could go very badly: there could be a resurgence of the violence of the past which may make the future impossible. A *coup d'état* or another state of emergency, perhaps not very bloody, "Honduras style," is very possible. Yet if there is hope, we have to trust and fight. That is why I remembered a song by Fakoli about an Ivorian's life in Paris: at the moment, "c'est pas l'enfer, ni le paradis". Let's see..

Some extracts from the text were published in the newspaper *Ara* on 3 December 2010.

Peace, conflicts and security in Africa: Afropessimism in decline?

Oscar Mateos

Lecturer at Ramon Llull University and ICIP collaborator



African societies have generally been interpreted in the light of discourses that have stigmatised the developments on the continent as a whole. In the construction of this account, analysis of armed conflicts, their causes and consequences, their workings and dynamics have played an extraordinarily central role, which has sometimes overshadowed the other factors and important events. This reductionist view of Africa, obsessed by the violence of wars, has also tended towards the diagnosis in which endogenous factors take priority over more complex analysis. The corruption of the elites ("neopatrimonialism"), factors vaguely linked to "African culture" and "traditions," and the failure to build a modern state in Africa in the context of decolonisation are some of the explanatory factors attributed to this image of Africa as a place that is violent, unstable and even anarchic.

Despite this, various arguments have been formulated against this discourse, which generally tend to emphasise external or exogenous factors. These include the dependence theories and work by authors such as Samir Amin, Frantz Fanon and Gunder Frank, since the 1960s. This Marxist-inspired school of thought suggests that the main explanatory factors are the damaging impact of foreign debt and the Structural Adjustment Plans, and the perverse role of the Western powers, their colonial legacy, the instrument of isolation in the bipolar context and the pillage of natural resources and the multinational companies' complicity. While this international and historical dimension provides us with many more clues than the discourse based on strictly endogenous factors, both frameworks share a tragic conclusion on the past, present and future of African societies: Africa is the great nightmare of western modernity, the territory of endless violence and underdevelopment for some, and pillage and exploitation of others.

These views have been broadly accepted by the majority of the media, which have ranged between an analysis focused on discussing the malevolent administration of the African elites, and the more sensitive and progressive views which blame the West for everything, or almost everything. The debates on the causes of African armed conflicts are good examples. In contrast to the reductionism of very influential works like the North American journalist Robert Kaplan's *The coming anarchy* (which analysed violence in west Africa in terms of a meaningless, "tribalist" violence, and which was heavily influenced by neo-Malthusian theories), articles, books and studies have attempted to explain African wars based on the equally simple idea of the multinational companies' greed for mineral resources for example and their complicity with local elites have proliferated in recent years.

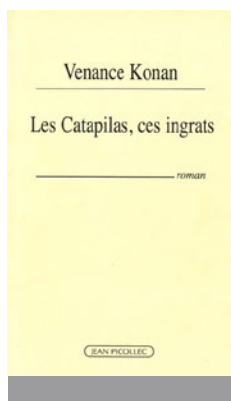
Among other thinkers, the French economist Serge Latouche has coined the neologism of *Afropessimism* to describe these perspectives. In his book *The other Africa*, Latouche argues that only one perspective has been offered in an attempt to explain Africa, which has dominated the interpretations and – more seriously – the Western agenda and interventions. According to this perspective, it is a continent racked by violence, hunger, destruction, and corruption, desperately seeking western aid. The author considers that there are two key factors that should be considered in this discourse. First, if we accept the total failure of post-colonial Africa, should *Afropessimism* not consider whether in fact this failure is the result of its attempts at Westernisation? Latouche asks what the effects of centuries of colonisation and slave trafficking were and how much the discourse of "civilising" and "developmentalism" (free exchange, modernisation, etc.) is responsible. And he raises a question that is stating the obvious: is there not "another Africa" apart from the tragic and pathological image?

The questions are thought-provoking, as they at least force us to question our clichés about the continent and raise the possibility of a much more complex diagnosis, perhaps unattainable, but more balanced. In this respect, recent years have also shed light on a school of thought and analysis which suggests that things are changing. First, there is the view that armed conflict and violence are no longer – if they ever were exclusively – the most

important and relevant phenomenon in Africa. The reduction in the number of conflicts since the late nineties would suggest that Africa has achieved some degree of political and institutional stability after the convulsive first few years of the post-cold war period. Second, this discourse also emphasises that during the 1990s, the regional African organisations (especially ECOWAS in west Africa), the civil societies, and the new African Union (a more and modernised version of the OAS) shows that Africa has become aware and has tried to implement the idea of “African solutions for African problems.” With all limitations inherent in this situation, this current of thought aims to end the stereotyped image of Africa by highlighting that things could be changing.

By way of a conclusion, here are a few final questions. How far does the positivisation of the situation in Africa correspond to reality? Is this *Afrooptimism* just as naïve as the *Afropessimism* in terms of reality being much more complex? Is there a place for an *Afropragmatic* or *Afrorealistic* vision, as suggested by authors like David Francis from Sierra Leone, or Mbuyi Kabunda from the Congo, which are equidistant from the other two discourses and suggest a dynamic and changing Africa but which faces major and constant problems and complexities? All these questions at least lead us to a more profound and varied diagnosis that is not restricted to the *Afropessimism* that has placed Africa in a permanent state of emergency.

RECOMMENDATIONS



Les catapilas, ces ingrats

Venance Konan. *Les catapilas, ces ingrats*. Paris: Jean Picollec, 2009.0

Les Catapilas, ces ingrats is the latest novel by the most popular writer in Côte d'Ivoire. Venance Konan uses fiction to review the recent history of Cote d'Ivoire, including coup attempts, the crisis of 1999 and the armed rebellion of 2002, while focusing on what he considers to be the key question in Ivorian politics: identity and the rejection of foreigners.

The story is based around the character of Robert, a man in his fifties who is elected president of the youth in an ordinary village on the coast of Côte d'Ivoire. Like many native Ivorians, Robert has sold his land to immigrants to the country. These foreigners are the *Catapilas* of the title, because their farming skills are reminiscent of the famous Caterpillar tractors and machinery. The dispute over land ownership when the economic crisis arrives begins to poison coexistence, as has been the case in Côte d'Ivoire over the last decade. Venance Konan uses humour and sarcasm to depict a village in which everyday life – weddings, funerals, getting together to watch a football match, a beer in the bar – is gradually polluted by the political conflict between the governing party and the

opposition.

Les Catapilas, ces ingrats is the second novel in which Venance Konan examines what he calls “the foreigner issue” using the same backdrop and same characters (the previous novel, *Robert et les Catapilas*, was published in 2005). The author is a strong advocate of tolerance, and reminds us that everyone, in Africa and elsewhere, is a foreigner at some point. And that the problem in his country is that the lessons of past crises have not been learned, and that politicians continue to manipulate the issue of identity in their own interests.

C.C.



Peacebuilding

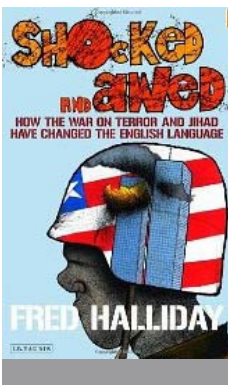
Elisabeth Porter. *Peacebuilding. Women in International Relations*. Nova York: Routledge, 2007.

The author argues that the construction of peace can be seen in a broader sense than the way in which it is usually framed at the United Nations. With this book, she aims to highlight some key ideas and practices in the construction of peace, considered in its broadest sense as a range of formal and informal processes that occur during pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict situations.

From this point of view, the work of women in conflicts and societies in transition can be assessed as contributions to the construction of a sustainable peace based on justice. Despite Porter's argument that the construction of peace is relevant to men and women, she decides to emphasise women's experience in the construction of peace in various international situations, highlighting the lessons that can be learnt from the good practices in the construction of peace based on SCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.

The author constructs her argument based on the theoretical perspective of peace and conflict studies, international relations, political theory and feminist ethics, and concludes that the inclusion of women in decision-making in societies in transition entails a major commitment to gender justice, equality, human rights for women and the reconstruction of relations in demilitarised societies. The construction of peace must be truly inclusive of women and men in all aspects of life if reconciliation is to be something more than a slogan.

E.G.



Shocked and Awed

Fred Halliday. *Shocked and Awed: How the War on Terror and Jihad have Changed the English Language*. Tauris, 2010.

Fred Halliday, emeritus professor of International Relations at the London School and ICREA lecturer at the IBEI (Barcelona Institute of International Studies) died in April 2010. His friends, colleagues and students from around the world have written a great deal (see *opendemocracy*) about his contributions on a human and intellectual level: twenty books written, knowledge of ten languages, a taste for teaching and conversation, analytical non-conformism and critical ability, and a commitment to thorough research.

Shocked and Awed. How the war on the terror and jihad have changed the English language, London: Tauris, 2010) is a posthumous book, submitted for publication before his death, and a valuable contribution to understanding in dictionary format, in 12 chapters (ranging from US Intelligence and 11 September to the euphemisms of war, such as "collateral damage", taking in jihad, Israel and Palestine and the use of the exculpatory passive form of verbs). It is a magnificent work

that includes research and fact gathering (linguistic items and expressions really used and gathered over seven years), an accurate contextual analysis of the expressions and a particularly painstaking theoretical and interpretative framework. In specific terms, as the author says in the introduction, it is a study of the relationship between power and words, and how language is used to attempt to control events and facts, and a study of the order and disorder of words. To quote literally, "that those who seek to control events, people and their minds also seek to control language is a truism on politics, as it is of the major religions." What is interesting and what the book shows is the attempt to control all of this, with the same level of failure, is as prevalent among those who oppose the states who do so. It is a great book, which once again shows how much we still miss Fred. Thank you for this gift which I believe will not be the last. Make an effort to read it, and enjoy it while you learn.

R. G.



Disputes and words

Weidler Guerra Curvelo. *La disputa y la palabra. La ley en la sociedad Wayuu*. Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 2002.

For the *Wayuu*, an indigenous people of Colombia and Venezuela, disagreements between individuals and groups are not necessarily undesirable or symptoms of a social pathology. Indeed, they are considered as recurring events that are inherent to community life, and the conflict resolution process is perceived as an opportunity to improve social relations. This process takes place by means of *palabrer*os or *pütchipü'ü*, who are specialists in resolving disputes using words.

The author explains how the *palabrer*os use effective rhetoric to maintain social harmony with no need for police involvement, the use of force or other coercive mechanisms. It emphasises that *Wayuu* justice is restorative rather than punitive. The book also looks at the coexistence and tensions between this traditional system of resolving disputes and the application of national legislation.

The *Wayuu* legal system has recently been declared part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. The ICIP took an interest in the subject, and organised a talk with Weidler Guerra and other specialists on indigenous peoples and conflict resolution on 26 November.

The author, a renowned Colombian anthropologist and ex-secretary for indigenous affairs in the Department of La Guajira, also has *Wayuu* indigenous roots and is related to *palabrer*os. As well as the quality of his ethnographic studies, his roots and his links with the community studied means that reading a book is essential for experts and will arouse the interest of novices.

The book *La disputa y la palabra. La ley en la sociedad Wayuu*. [*Disputes and words. Law in Wayuu society*] is available at the ICIP Documentation Centre.

S.P.

Clowns and monsters

Albert Sánchez Piñol. *Pallassos i monstres*. Barcelona: La Campana, 2000. 4a edició.



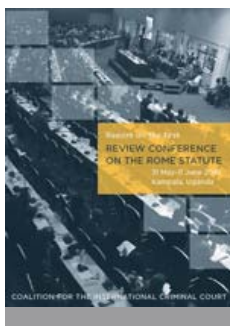
This anthropological essay is perhaps more well-known due to its author's literary reputation, and shows the darker side of eight individuals who do not deserve to be remembered by history that should not be forgotten. It does so with a degree of narrative skill that sometimes makes you feel guilty about enjoying reading it. This is because you are enjoying it while you are learning about the deterioration of the situation in Africa after decolonisation and its responsibilities, which also affect us. At this point, the book's message becomes more specific. For example: before colonisation, there was no hunger in Africa on the scale that we see it today.

Clowns and monsters is a book that is unfortunately always timely. The *clown monsters* because these dictators are all both things) depicted by Albert Sánchez Piñol are real. And perhaps that is why the tragic aspect of the book is much more important than its comic side, which it must be said makes it easier to read. This comic touch causes the reader to smile, while anger fills one's entire body as we learn about extreme cruelty, surreal situations and incompetence disguised as fear and ignorance. This is in addition to the acquiescence, support or even interests of the so-called first world countries, who are interested in looking after economic and geostrategic interests

that benefit the few, while their rhetoric about the defence of democratic freedoms and human rights fades away as time passes.

Perhaps the book leaves an impression of Africa that is too negative and too pessimistic, and perhaps needs to be complemented with other views and other stories, because political science has for some time suggested that a dictator cannot survive in the long term without the support of a reasonable proportion of the population. If that is the case, it will be interesting to find out the positive aspects of the government (if it can be described as such) of the *clown monsters* who spent their time torturing and massacring their populations. In any event, in a fascinating and essential piece of historical memory, the author reminds us that not very far away (either in time or in space), cruel and an exceptional dictators created reigns of terror with everyone's complicity. Could it happen again?

J.A.



Report on the first Review Conference on the Rome Statute

http://www.iccnw.org/documents/RC_Report_finalweb.pdf

The Coalition for the International Criminal Court publishes its report on the Statute of Rome Review Conference

The first Statute of Rome Review Conference, a major event in the development of international justice, took place between 31 May and 11 June 2010 in Kampala (Uganda).

Experts in international justice from 115 governments, high-ranking representatives of the United Nations and special and ad hoc international criminal courts, journalists, academics and over 600 representatives from almost 150 NGOs from all over the world met to consider the possible amendments to the Statute of Rome and proposals for improving the work of the International

Criminal Court. Representatives of the ICIP also attended.

Five months later, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, a platform consisting of over 2,500 NGOs in 150 different countries, published its Report on the first Review Conference on the Rome Statute to explain the proposals and provide an overview.

Despite dealing with highly complex issues, the coalition explained each of the points covered and agreed at the conference in detail, in a highly comprehensive and easily understandable way, even for readers without a legal grounding.

S. P.

NEWS

ICIP NEWS

Flaws and challenges in the architecture of peace and security in Africa

The seminars on "Peace, conflict and security in Africa", organised by the ICIP with the collaboration of Casa Àfrica and the Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona (CCCB) and held between 3 and 5 November, brought together a dozen European and African experts to discuss the challenges and perspectives in this field, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of African states. The seminars were attended by around one hundred people, and considered the role of the UN in the processes for constructing peace in Africa, cooperation between the European Union and the African Union, the feasibility and workings of regional security organisations such as the ECOWAS, the role of women in conflict resolution and reconciliation, and the successes and limitations of combatant demobilisation and reinclusion policies, especially in West Africa. The speakers agreed that it is necessary to deconstruct the monolithic and alarmist of Africa which has been prevalent to date in the more classic Afropessimistic view of the continent, and to consider new ways of dealing with conflicts that take their structural causes - historic, socio-economic and identity-based - into account that trigger and accelerate them, and to invest more effort in prevention and containment.

More information on the seminar: <http://www.gencat.cat/icip/cat/noticies10.html>.

Peace movements in Italy and Spain: an exchange of experiences

As a result of an ICIP initiative, activists from the peace movements in Italy, Spain and Catalonia met in Barcelona to share experiences, review the breakthroughs made by the movement and analyse the outlook for the future. The seminars, which took place on 29 and 30 October, were entitled "Peace in movement. Experiences of the peace movement in Italy and Spain," and were attended by very well-known figures in European pacifism, such as the journalist **Giuliana Sgrena**, the famous Italian conscientious objector **Giuliano Pontara** and the Italian journalist, writer and activist **Luciana Castellina**, a founding member of the Italian Communist Party, ex-editor of the newspaper *Il Manifesto*, and an Italian and European Member of Parliament. Despite the seminars taking place behind closed doors, Castellina shared her

experiences at a talk at the ICIP offices on 28 October, in which she recalls the initial friction between communism and pacifism and held the nuclear threat contributed to increasing activism. The other participants in the talk, chaired by the director of the ICIP, Tica Font, were Francesc Tubau, from the Aturem La Guerra Platform, and Pepe Beúnza, Spain's first conscientious objector.

More information on the talk: <http://www.gencat.cat/icip/cat/noticies9.html>.

“Everyday life in Kabul,” a new multimedia project by Alberto Arce and the ICIP

In this project, the award-winning freelance journalist Alberto Arce (born 1976) documents small fragments of everyday life in the Afghan capital, nine years after the beginning of the war against the Taliban. The series, produced in collaboration with the photographer Ricardo García Vilanova, consists of nine multimedia reports including video, text and images, and is the result of Arce's trip to Afghanistan in June and July. A new report is released and uploaded every week, in collaboration with the social journalism website “Periodismo humano.” The series has been produced in four languages: Catalan, Spanish, English and French. The ICIP has financed this production in full, in order to show how today's armed conflicts affect the civilian population.

<http://vidaenkabul.periodismohumano.com/cat/>.

<http://vidaenkabul.periodismohumano.com/>

<http://vidaenkabul.periodismohumano.com/en/>

<http://www.vidaenkabul.periodismohumano.com/fr/>

Almost fifty applications for grants and research grants

The call for training and research grants for new research personnel for 2011 led to 35 applications: 14 from the UAB, 11 from the UB, 4 from the URV, 3 from the UPF, 3 from the UPC and 1 from the UdL. This grants programme, financed by the ICIP and managed by AGAUR, will receive one hundred thousand euros every year. The recipients are new researchers taking a master's degree and wishing to undertake a doctorate project that falls within the ICIP's areas of interest. The grants programme for peace research work, for specific projects, received 12 applications in the 2011 round.

The decision of the selection committees will be announced in December.

New publications: Working Papers, reports and books

“The OAS and the promotion of democracy in the Americas: an objective under construction,” by Neus Ramis, is the title of the seventh *Working Paper* published this year by the ICIP. The study shows that since the end of the Cold War, democracy has become one of the basic objectives in the planned for integration of the Americas as a hemisphere, but argues that this objective is still under construction in terms of action. The document is currently available in Spanish:

http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/WP10_7_CAST.pdf.

To coincide with the second round of presidential elections in Côte d'Ivoire, the ICIP has published the report on the seminar “Conditions pour la consolidation de la paix en Côte de Ivoire”, which was held in the country's economic capital, Abidjan, in late September. The seminar was organised by the ICIP in collaboration with the CERAP (Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix) and the University of Bouaké. Document available at:

http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/relatoria_costadivori.pdf.

The ICIP has published the book containing all the material that was produced at the first international session in Barcelona in March. The first part includes the document prepared by the Russell Tribunal's Committee of experts from Catalonia and Spain, which the tribunal used to state the necessary precedents to make a ruling. The second part includes the testimony by all the experts who appeared during the session; this shows what happened in Barcelona in detail, and provides a better understanding of how the RTP works. The third part contains the conclusions of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine at its Barcelona session. These are preliminary conclusions that will be added to those of other sessions that will be held in London and New York, and which will culminate in the final conclusions that will be announced at the South Africa session in September 2011. Finally, a series of appendices are included which provide useful information on the Barcelona session. Document available at:

http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/document_russell_tribunal.pdf.

The third volume of the collection “ICIP Documents” is available in print (Spanish) and in digital format (Spanish and En-

glish). "Measuring peace. Initiatives, limitations and proposals" includes the report and conclusions of the seminars held under the same title in Barcelona in March.

PDF (Spanish): http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/icip_documento_1_03a_2010.pdf.

PDF (English): http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/icip_documento_1_03_2010.pdf.

The ICIP at the Santiago de Compostela 2010 Forum

The ICIP participated in the World Education Forum, held between 10 and 13 December as part of the Santiago 2010 Forum. The forum focused on the areas of education, research and the culture of peace. The ICIP was responsible for organising two workshops. The first, entitled: "Can peace be measured?" involved the ICIP director, Tica Font, and the president of the Institute, Rafael Grasa, as well as members of the School for a Culture of Peace, the Josep Maria Delàs Peace Studies Centre and the University of Granada Peace and Conflict Institute. The workshop presented the methodology and the study "Towards a peace index," and analysed the political, ethical and methodological limitations involved in attempting to measure it. The second workshop, led by Elena Grau, the ICIP's researcher and programme coordinator, and Dani Lagartofernández, a photographer, communicator and collaborator with the Institute, presented proposals for the communication of peace in an unconventional format. The ICIP also collaborated with a workshop organised by AIPAZ entitled "Old and new issues in research and education for peace." Finally, the ICIP president spoke to the international plenary session on research for peace.

More information on the Forum: http://www.foro2010.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=8&Itemid=101&lang=es.

Presentation of the new book by Rafael Grasa, an overview of research into peace

Fifty years of progress in peace research. Trends and proposals for observation, research and action is the title of the new book by the lecturer in International Relations at the UAB and ICIP president Rafael Grasa. The book, part of the "Research X Peace" collection published by the Government of Catalonia's Office for the Promotion of Peace and Human Rights, was presented at 6 pm on 15 December at the ICIP offices (Gran Via 658, Barcelona).

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Côte d'Ivoire holds presidential elections in a very tense atmosphere

Eight years after the armed rebellion that shattered the country, Côte d'Ivoire has finally held its first presidential elections for a decade. The second round was a run-off between Laurent Gbagbo, the incumbent for the last ten years, and the ex-prime minister and the favourite among the population in the north of the country, Alassane Ouattara.

The elections, which had been postponed six times, were one of the points covered by the political agreements signed in Ouagadougou in 2007, aimed at promoting unity. They are also considered an important step forward in the peace process to overcome the political and social instability that has dogged Côte d'Ivoire in recent years, according to the seminar organised by the ICIP in the country's economic capital, Abidjan, in late September. International observers certified that as a whole, the elections were fair.

However, the delay and confusion in the proclamation results has obstructed what was a unique opportunity to move forward towards reconciliation. The victor was the opposition candidate Ouattara, with 54% of the votes, according to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). However, the IEC announced the results too late, which increased the tension and confrontations between the two sides. The Constitutional Court will have the final word.

Ouattara accuses Gbagbo of wanting to steal the elections; the president's supporters allege that fraud was committed in the four northern provinces and have lodged an appeal. Mistrust aggravates the division that has prevailed in Côte d'Ivoire since 2002, with a loyalist south and a north controlled by the ex-rebels of the Forces Nouvelles.

For the latest news on the presidential elections in Côte d'Ivoire:

http://www.abidjan.net/elections2010/index_2T.asp

Report on the seminar "Conditions pour la consolidation de la paix en Côte d'Ivoire", Abidjan, September 2010:

http://www.gencat.cat/icip/pdf/relatoria_costadivori.pdf

Progress against enforced disappearances

The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/landmark-enforced-disappearances-convention-enter-force-2010-11-25>), will come into force on 23 December, 30 days after Iraq became the twentieth state to ratify it. Brazil has also ratified it since then. The Convention is binding, and it is anticipated to contribute to ending the impunity that all too often accompanies one of the most serious international crimes, which is also a crime that causes the most pain, not only to the direct victims, but to their families, the circle of friends and the communities to which they belong.

International law is moving towards greater protection of human rights. Among other issues, in the case of enforced disappearances, the convention's imminent entry into force entails a long awaited recognition of the seriousness of this crime, a classification of states' responsibilities and a much needed focus on the rights of direct and indirect victims.

Spain is one of the 21 states party to the convention, as well as Albania, Germany, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Honduras, Iraq, Japan, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Nigeria, Paraguay, Senegal, Uruguay and Chile.

More information at:

United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (<http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=10561&LangID=E>)

International Coalition Against Enforced Disappearances (<http://www.icaed.org/>)

Closing the net around Al-Bashir

The Sudanese president Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir is subject to an arrest warrant from the International Criminal Court (ICC) for crimes against humanity and war crimes, and another warrant on three counts of genocide.

Despite the seriousness of the charges against him and the principle of cooperation with the ICC that should bind all the states party to the Statute of Rome, some of Al-Bashir's African counterparts appear to be willing to protect him. The African Union (AU) has adopted resolutions calling on states not to cooperate in the arrest of the Sudanese president, and in recent months Al-Bashir has been able to travel freely and been granted the honours usually conferred on heads of state, to countries including Chad and Kenya.

However, some optimistic signs seem to suggest that he has a dwindling number of supporters outside his own country and is not welcome everywhere in Africa. Botswana and South Africa have already stated their firm intention to cooperate with the Court in his arrest. There is at least one other African country where it appears that the Sudanese president will have to think twice before visiting. Indeed, despite initially being invited to visit, Al-Bashir finally failed to attend the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the independence of the Central African Republic, which took place in Bangui on 1 December. He is also not expected to attend the summit between the European Union and the AU which will take place in Libya this month. According to various sources, the Libyan authorities have withdrawn the invitation they sent him last summer and asked him not to take part to avoid diplomatic problems with European Union representatives.

More information at:

Coalition for the International Criminal Court (<http://www.iccnw.org/?mod=darfur#20>)

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Design/Layout: ComCom

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