

Shadow report of the German Women's Security Council

concerning the governmental report on “measures on the
implementation of the 1325 Security Council Resolution (peace,
women, security)”

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Preface

The Women's Security Council was founded in March 2003 as a network of peace researchers, peace activists, members of political institutions and development organisations. The Women's Security Council (in the text referred to as WSC) understands itself as a lobby for the acknowledgement and realisation of the UN security resolution 1325 which legally requires the inclusion of women at all levels of peace processes since its agreement in October 2000. The council organised various events, initiatives, activities and publications around the issue since its foundation (for more detailed information, please see www.frauensicherheitsrat.de as well as www.gwi-boell.de).

Yet, lobbying for the Resolution 1325 is not the sole aim of the WSC. Moreover, it proclaims civil instead of military interventions, it works as a networking base for women in Germany and Europe who are working on exterior and security matters and announces gender sensible security policies.

This shadow report focuses on the second realisation report of the government from November 2007. In that report the government states what kind of measurements have been realised since the introduction of the Resolution 1325 as well as since the publication of the first report under the red-green government in 2004. The report looks at all activities between the time period June 2004 to 2007.

Also for us, the WSC, this is the second shadow report. The first one from October 2004 analysed in particular the 2004 report of the red-green government. Unfortunately, we must state that we remain with the same critical attitude albeit some positive developments. However, nothing elementary has changed. The government itself states on page 9 that one could barely talk of a full realisation of the resolution. This concerns both, the international as well as the national level.

1 General aspects

1.1 Civil power Germany still without national action plan 1325

One of the main reasons for the weak performance of Germany is the continuant governmental resistance to set up a national action plan for the Resolution 1325. This resistance started already during the office of the red-green government. The former exterior state minister, Kerstin Müller, was in favour of such a plan, yet failed to enforce it eventually.

The new black-red government pursues with this dismissive approach. On page 9 of the report this approach is justified as for that the inclusion of Gender Mainstreaming is “incorporated as leading doctrine in the rules and regulations of the government already” since the year 2000 and this cross sectional approach is hence understood “as the appropriate way to employ the resolution”. There are also two further action plans which incorporate some of the ideas of the Resolution 1325: the action plan Civil Crisis Prevention as well as the action plan to Combat Violence Against Women. The report states on page 17 that the cross sectional approach of Gender Mainstreaming is a recurrent theme within the general action plan of Civil Crisis Prevention. We, as the WSC, then presume that the government is familiar with action plans that are unknown to us. A 2006 report of the WSC noticed a general lack of the inclusion of the Resolution 1325 ideas as well as the systematic implementation of Gender Mainstreaming.

The WSC believes that the governmental reference towards other action plans and the instrument of Gender Mainstreaming is a mere excuse to avoid political commitment as well as a possible rating of the resolution implementation. Hence, the danger that the Resolution 1325 requests wont be dealt with as a coherent and general strategy further persists. The report of the government only shows that Germany’s peace and conflict policy is still not adequately modified to account for Gender Mainstreaming.

Therefore, we cannot refrain from repeating our criticisms of the year 2004. Just like the first, also the second governmental implementation report aims to simulate the problem of a term confusion. The cross sectional approach of Gender Mainstreaming is neither identical with women advancement nor congruent with the target orientated Resolution 1325. Gender Mainstreaming is a method to build equity between men and women. Ministers and authorities are obliged to reassess every political initiative that supports women and men

equally, or, if that is not the case, they are obliged to find the appropriate compensation measures.

The Resolution 1325 comprises goals, which are here summarised in three “P’s”:

War Prevention

Women Participation at all levels of peacekeeping processes (prevention, handling and reconciliation of conflicts)

Protection of women and children in war- and conflict regions, especially from sexual violence

The governments of many other European countries have a similar take on it. Albeit the fact that they are obliged to employ Gender Mainstreaming according to fixed EU laws, they avoid the pitfall of affirming directly and indirectly that the cross sectional approach and the implementation of the Resolution 1325 could generate the same results. 8 European states have established national action plans for the implementation of the Resolution 1325 over the last years: the United Kingdom, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Iceland. This seems to be a pan-Europe trend which is even further expedited through European initiatives by the WSC. Responsible parliamentarians in the respective countries as well as at EU level are also working on the development of national action plans for the implementation of the Resolution 1325, since these plans are believed to be indispensable if the guidelines of the Resolution are ought to be fulfilled.

It is only the German federal government that tends to close itself up from these insights and arguments. In this sense the German government does not comply with its claim to be a civil power. A civil power should make every effort to involve society as a whole as well as to assure equal representation and empowerment of women and men. Furthermore, this should be its internal, (hence national), as well as external (international) goal which determines also its foreign policy.

A national action plan would furthermore allow to formulate precise time targets and quotas for various areas and sanctions. The WSC as well as other international feminist organisation argue that the implementation of the Resolution 1325 failed nationally and internationally precisely *because* governments as well as the EU failed to have clear and commensurable

goals. The WSC of the government already presented a draft for a clearly defined and measurable implementation of the Resolution in 2003. Already former UN secretary Kofi Annan suggested to write such a draft.

1.2 Lack of coherent overall strategy

The report presented by the German government does indeed contain a series of notable improvements, particularly at the level of policy statements, but these are all isolated strategies which are not combined into an overall approach for peace and gender policy. The statement by the German government on page 9 of its report, that “the successful achievements so far in applying Security Council Resolution 1325 in Germany... have been judged as positive in expert studies”, is not backed up by any kind of documentation of this assertion. The WSC is aware of many expert studies on the topic of Resolution 1325, but none which express such an opinion. We therefore strongly urge a coherent overall strategy for gender-sensitive peace and security policies, as defined in UN Resolution 1325.

Here too, we have to repeat the criticism we made in 2004: UN Resolution 1325 puts forwards many targets which would cause a change of direction in existing (inter)national foreign and security policies. Change of direction in the sense that foreign and security policy would no longer be decided almost exclusively by men. And change of direction also in the sense that in wartime, conflict and post-war situations, women would be given the chance to co-operate on an equal footing at all levels in the formulation of processes, thus also gaining access to positions of leadership.

In many parts of the world, men attempt, through violent conflicts, employing military resources and forms of mass repression, to shore up their social supremacy, to retain all the leading positions in politics and in society, while marginalizing women, keeping them in their current subordinate role. Afghanistan and Iraq are two particularly pertinent examples. Resolution 1325 would for the first time offer an instrument to stop this extremely undemocratic development. In this context, also note that Iraq is a sorry example of how in the immediate aftermath of an international military intervention, women are initially repressed even further and lose more rights.

1.3 Problematic definition of security

In the German government's report there is only a vague definition of security. This definition of security focuses primarily on scenarios of assumed or real threats for Germany and the whole of the Western world, but it neglects the needs of the concrete and very varied real life situations of women and men particularly in other regions of the world. The concept of Human Security, which includes some very innovative elements, and which has recently been adopted by countries such as Canada and Switzerland, is not acknowledged.

There is also no reference to the fact that foreign and security policy at both the national and international level is determined by men, and therefore also determined by their patterns of thinking and of acting and their frames of reference. In many countries, – masculinity is equated with an ability to fight and bear weapons, which has many fatal consequences.

From our point of view, Resolution 1325 is a key to a lasting, stable peace based on an absence of force at the personal, structural and cultural levels, on social justice and justice between the sexes. In contrast, the German government's report seems to be focussing on a goal of peace which is determined by short-term, one-dimensional stability of the countries of the Western world.

1.4 Improvements on the normative level

In comparison to the 2004 report, the 2007 report does reflect some improvements – in the logical sequence and breakdown of the report, but also in the content. A positive element is that the 2006 Action Plan for “Civil Crisis Prevention” has had a new chapter added about “Gender Equality and Crisis Prevention”. And at the supra-national level, the German government has acted in support of a gender-sensitive approach to legislation. For example, the German government supports the efforts for Gender Mainstreaming at NATO, the OECD and the Council of Europe. At the international level, Germany is supporting training measures for sensitisation to gender issues.

1.5 Shortfalls in implementation

Nevertheless, there remains a remarkable degree of discrepancy between the legislative efforts, and the actual implementation of UN Resolution 1325. At the national level, as mentioned above, a new chapter about gender equality does now exist in the Action Plan for “Civil Crisis Prevention”, but there are no concrete plans or budgets for the realisation of these commitments. Furthermore, the Women’s Security Council deplores the lack of involvement and participation of the civilian community, particularly those NGOs which work in the field of crisis and conflict management, and have a gender-sensitive approach.

In international crisis interventions, the ratio of women in the German Army and Police Forces has increased. But, in the opinion of the Women’s Security Council, a higher ratio of women is indispensable in civil crisis interventions in order to give due weight to the needs, interests and problems of women and girls in post-war situations. Germany is increasingly becoming involved in international crisis interventions, particularly in the context of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). And within the framework of the ESDP there are no strategies for a systematic implementation of Resolution 1325. Overall, we can see that women are in the minority in UN or EU peace missions, and are as good as totally absent from any leadership positions.

The problem of the lack of an overall strategy to implement UN Resolution 1325 is also typified by the example of the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration of female combatants in post-conflict situations. The 2007 report does include some self-criticism here, stating that there is an urgent need for action. The improvement of the security situation at the outset of measures to promote peace, is one of the absolute priorities of such a mission. But men and women have different experiences, needs and perspectives in relation to security. A gender-sensitive strategy, and suitable programs, are absolutely necessary if an intervention is not going to fail. This is shown in the cited examples of the Republic of Congo, Burundi and Sierra Leone. The main point here, is to work towards a situation where gender-sensitive strategies are not only defined, but are also financed and implemented systematically. And in addition, more attention must be paid to the special needs of women and girls in refugee camps.

2 INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS

2.1 Participation of women at the national level

The report describes in detail which measures and laws have been passed in order to increase gender justice at the national level: Gender Mainstreaming, the Equal Treatment law, the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, the Federal Organisations Membership Act. As explained in Section 1.1, this is an issue of Gender Mainstreaming and not related to implementation of Resolution 1325: Germany is neither a Failed State nor a Post-Conflict Country, for which the Resolution requires suitable involvement of women in reconstruction. But the situation is different when looking at the promotion of female soldiers, police officers and expert staff in the Centre for International Peace Operations: this is relevant for Germany within the meaning of the Resolution.

2.2 Participation of women at the regional level

Here we are looking at the ratio of women in the OECD, NATO and the Council of Europe.

The number of women in NATO is not listed; it is likely to be very low at levels above the secretarial. According to the report, it is to be achieved “not by quotas, but by fair conditions of competition and recruitment ... as well as improvements of working conditions, for example, part-time working”. This paragraph illustrates the policy of lip-service and speaks for itself – independently of the question whether NATO is actually needed since the collapse of state socialism.

2.3 Participation of women at the international level

This presents the ratio of German women in selected UN institutions, in particular UNICEF and UNESCO. The UN child aid organisation and UN culture organisation are likely to be the most “women-heavy” UN bodies, except for the small and grossly underfunded UN women’s fund, UNIFEM.

2.4 Information and training material for military and civil police

The informational campaign by the Federal Agency for Health Education “Don’t Give AIDS a Chance” is a praiseworthy initiative, and equally deserving of recognition is the fact that the Centre for Internal Leadership of the German Army takes on this theme in a working document about conflict situations during foreign interventions. The German government’s report – as was also true of the previous report in 2004 – does not describe whether and how soldiers or civilian personnel of both sexes have been trained on this topic, nor how they act on location. This is a serious omission, as it is vital that training include positioning in the relevant cultural context. In countries of intervention, there are major known cultural differences to the approach to AIDS.

2.5 EU level

Strangely, the EU level only appears in the German government’s report under the point “Support for training measures to improve awareness of gender issues”. Here it is reported that Germany is supporting “the integration of a gender perspective in the context of the European Security and Defence Policy”. But there is no further information about what this support looks like in practice, nor what it consists of.

That all EU Missions must have Gender Advisors is definitely to be viewed as progress. The presence and interventions of the female Swedish Gender Advisor in the EUFOR Mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo, which is mentioned in the report, was, according to all the parties involved, a major factor in making the mission successful and in establishing good contacts with the civilian population.

The Women's Security Council sees it as imperative that the EU also draw up a Europe-wide action plan to implement the Resolution, and that the German government, as the largest member state, should be an advocate for this. The sharp increase in the number of crisis interventions under the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in the recent past is the very reason why a coherent gender-sensitive overall strategy is just as necessary here as at the national level. Within the context of the ESDP, we have seen that there is progress on multiple fronts in terms of declarations of intent, but the implementation and financing of gender-sensitive strategies and programs are still lacking.

2.6 UN level

The German intervention in support of a reference to Resolution 1325 in the final document of the 2005 World Summit to Review Progress on the Millennium Declaration deserves praise. What is less obviously justified is the statement that Germany contributed to ensuring the inclusion of gender justice as a subject for the newly created UN Peace-Building Commission and its strategies for Burundi and Sierra Leone. An expert from the Women's Security Council was working at that time in the UN in New York, and can report from her own experience that it was only thanks to pressure from the non-governmental organizations, that this topic was addressed by the UN Peace-Building Commission. The German government is stealing other people's thunder. And in any case, Resolution 1325 is **not** an integral part of the founding resolution of the Peace-Building Commission.

2.7 German Intervention in Afghanistan

A lengthy section of the German government's report is devoted to the topic of Afghanistan and the activities there in support of Afghan women and girls. Again, we have to refer back to our statement in 2004: the Women's Security Council recognises that the German government supports many helpful and useful projects in this war-torn country. But there is

an irreconcilable contradiction in the German policy on Afghanistan: the issue of the warlords. The regional warlords are now, as ever, the main obstacle to a democratisation of the country and the emancipation of women.

At the St Petersburg conference, the commanders of the former “Northern Alliance” were rewarded for their part in driving out the Taliban with numerous posts in the interim government. And subsequently many warlords have obtained seats in the parliament and in the government by use of tricks and threats, so that about half the parliament is made up of war criminals and Islamists.

In order to protect themselves from any criminal prosecution, the parliament and the government scandalously declared an amnesty for all war crimes in March 2007. In order to disguise the enormity of this law, President Karzai had one amendment added: private individuals can now press charges against war criminals in the courts. But any private individual who dared to take on the mighty warlords and drug barons would be risking their life. The countless mass rapes and other war crimes will therefore go unpunished, although immunity for acts of sexual violence of war is in direct contravention of Resolution 1325.

The German Women’s Security Council therefore joined forces with Womnet and about 50 other human rights organisations grouped in the “Human Rights Forum” to issue a statement on the occasion of the 2007 International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, which calls on the German government as one of the main sources of financing for the reconstruction process, to exert pressure “to end the scandal of immunity”. The statement also says, “Immunity rewards both the criminal and the crime. Immunity invites the commission of further crimes. Immunity destroys morale. Immunity accelerates and multiplies the cycle of violence. Immunity robs the victims of the will to live, and destroys their identity. This is particularly true of acts of sexual violence of war. We Germans should show particular sensitivity and responsibility on this subject. Countless Nazi criminals were permitted to carry on their careers in the civil service, while the surviving victims waited in vain for public acknowledgement of the wrongs they had suffered. Many convulsions of the post-war era, including the Red Army Fraction terrorism, only make sense if you understand this immunity ... The warlords must no longer be allowed to kidnap the future of the country.”

3 CONCLUSIONS

Once again, it is clear that the refusal of the German government to develop its own action plan for the systematic implementation of Resolution 1325 has an impact. In particular, the 2007 report reflects a hole at the core: there is no coherent overall strategy, which could be developed based on a national action plan relating to civil crisis prevention, and the peace strategies in countries in crisis where interventions occur. Germany has sufficient gender-sensitive expertise in the individual Ministries, the Agency for Technical Cooperation and certainly in civilian sectors of society, to set up such an action plan and to define budgets for gender-sensitive peace policies in the context of crisis prevention.

4 RECOMMENDATIONS

As none of our recommendations in the Shadow Report from 2004 have been implemented, we have to repeat here some core aspects, in the light of our current assessment. Drawing our conclusions from the requirements of Resolution 1325, from the German government's report, and against the background of our own expertise, activities and experience, the Women's Security Council recommends to the German government:

- The development of a coherent approach plus implementation measures for UN Resolution 1325, involving civilian and gender-sensitive organisations and groups. This includes:
 - Close collaboration between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Economics. Governments which consistently trample on women's rights should be criticised for this misbehaviour using all available diplomatic means, and in some cases economic ties must be given up.
 - The assignment of funds to institutions for development aid which are active in war zones, crisis or post-war regions, should be explicitly linked to proof of their gender competence, and to the reflection of this concept in their work.
- Members of the German Army and civilian organisations serving the Federal Republic should only be sent on missions abroad when those taking part, of either sex, can demonstrate that they can contribute gender-awareness competence.
- The development of a catalogue of criteria for evaluating the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, together with the development of standards. This includes a precise definition of what "suitable" participation of women means, in detail and in different countries; how to judge whether measures introduced in line with the Resolution were successful, etc.

- Making the concept of Security more precise, or redefining it, to take adequate account of the basic (security) problems of women in times of war and post-war, whenever “Security” or “Peace” are being defined or established.
- Development of a gender index for the area of Foreign and Security policy. This involves criteria for a gender-sensitive security concept, for recording violence against women, as well as the participation of women in missions and in the democratisation process.
- The systematic promotion of gender-sensitive studies on Foreign and Security policy topics and the conditions in individual countries.
- Setting up a national monitoring centre for the implementation of Resolution 1325, involving civilian groups.
- More transparency from the “Friends of Resolution 1325”.
- Development of consistent counter-strategies against sexual and domestic violence in crisis regions and post-war societies, and linking this to corresponding training in Germany (e.g., for female soldiers).
- Punishment of German Army soldiers (of either sex) who are guilty of (sexual) violence when serving abroad.
- Creation of a permanent budget line for non-bureaucratic, first-line help for traumatised women and girls, men and boys, such as those from war and crisis areas who flee to Germany.
- Organisation of an international expert conference on the implementation of UN Resolution 1325.

On the international stage, the Women’s Security Council recommends that the German government strive towards the following in international bodies, particularly in the UN:

- The development of an EU-wide action plan for implementation of the Resolution.
- Setting up a monitoring centre within the UN system, to track the implementation of Resolution 1325, involving NGOs and representatives of civilian society.
- Setting up a body to monitor human rights in post-war societies.
- Setting up a pool of national and international experts of both sexes for implementation of Resolution 1325 in post-war countries such as Afghanistan.
- Methodically sending UN observers to post-war regions to monitor the post-war process and the humanitarian situation. These missions must include a minimum of 40 percent women.
- Organisation of an international expert conference against sexual violence in a war context.
- Trauma-sensitive gynaecological and psycho-social support for survivors of sexual violence of war, which helps to reinforce the potential of women and girls.
- A supplementary rule to UN Resolution 1325, stating that in all peace processes, and in all bodies charged with the implementation of peace agreements, at least 30 percent women must be involved.
- A supplementary rule to UN Resolution 1325, stating that in case of serious infringement against its requirements, funds for reconstruction of a country will be reduced.
- Creation of a UN Trust Fund for the support of women peace activists around the world.
- Introduction of a women's quota for senior posts at the UN of at least 35% by 2015.

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5 APPENDIX

UN Resolution 1325 in English as a pdf-file can be found at:

http://www.unfpa.org/women/docs/res_1325e.pdf

The German Women's Security Council (FSR): Who it is and what it wants

In March 2003 around 50 women from technical, political and NGO backgrounds joined forces in a country-wide network for feminist peace and security policy, called the German Women's Security Council. Political foundations are members, including the Platform for Civilian Conflict Management (Plattform f. Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung), Amnesty International, Medica Mondiale, the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation and the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, the Hessian Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research (Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung) and the Women's Network for Peace (Frauennetzwerk für Frieden).

The Women's Security Council has set itself the task of reinforcing the role of women in peace and security policies, and also providing political impetus for a more rapid implementation of UN Resolution 1325. In its initial stages, another explicit goal was to critically monitor the activities of the German government during Germany's two-year membership on the UN Security Council. At present, the focus of the Women's Security Council's work is the development of a national German action plan for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, and also the implementation of the Resolution at the EU level.

Working basis

The most important basis for the work of the Women's Security Council is Resolution 1325, which was unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council on 31st October 2000. This demands the equal participation of women in peace-keeping or peace-building measures.

The basic assumptions of the Women's Security Council's work

Traditional national Foreign and Security policy is still very much a male domain. The key political discussions and decisions are dominated by men; very few women can be found in positions of responsibility. Alternative analysis or ways of viewing international relations are barely to be heard, let alone to have influence on operational Foreign and Security policy. On the other hand, the State and its overwhelmingly male representatives affect women in their social context primarily as victims and passive sufferers in military conflicts. Too little attention is paid to the fact that women organise the survival of the community in war and post-war periods, and it is their work that is the main contribution in (re)building society. In the same way, the active role of women in peace processes, in crisis prevention and in non-violent conflict management and transformation is barely noticed. Women are rarely if ever included in official peace negotiations or UN Missions. The needs of women and girls are still too often disregarded in conflict zones, refugee camps or when establishing development projects. At both the national and international levels, we are still a long way from implementing Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council from October 2000.

The goals of the Women's Security Council

- Pooling expertise in policies concerning women
- Inclusion of a gender-based perspective in Foreign and Security policy
- Providing impetus for the national implementation of UN Resolution 1325
- Critical review of the efforts of the German government in Foreign and Security policy
- Defence of international law and human rights standards
- Re-definition of the concept of Security from a gender-specific angle
- Development of a catalogue of criteria with a gender-specific approach toward civilian peace missions
- Sensitivity towards and support for women in regions in crisis

How the Women's Security Council works

The WSC is an autonomous working group of committed women from organisations which represent women's interests, peace and development in the areas of Foreign and Security policy, political foundations and peace research institutes. It is represented and managed by a – maximum – ten-person steering group. Information is shared via an internal email network. At least once a year, all individuals and groups attached to the WSC are invited to a common event, where possible linked to a public event.

The WSC provides a pool of women experts for gender-sensitive Foreign and Security policies.

Active participation and suggestions are explicitly requested.

The members of the steering group are currently:

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www.gwi-boell.de (www.glow-boell.de)