

Shadow Report

Related to the „Report of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)“

Prepared by the Women's Security Council in Germany, Oktober 2004

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Preliminary Remarks

Approximately 50 women belong to the Women's Security Council, which was founded in March 2003. These women come from political organizations involved in peace and development, as well as from political foundations and peace studies institutes. From the Council's perspective, its main task is to critically accompany the federal government during its two year membership on the UN Security Council and especially to observe the implementation of Resolution 1325.

This "shadow report" prepared by the Women's Security Council relates to the "Report of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)" from 2004. The federal government's report was written for the UN Secretary General. To mark the fourth anniversary of Resolution 1325 in October 2004, Kofi Annan will submit both an international and internal UN evaluation of the implementation of the resolution. For that reason he has requested reports from the governments of the UN member nations. The reports of the member states can be found on the website www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/responses1325.html.

Part A: General Aspects

First of all, it should be stated positively that the federal government took seriously its responsibility to prepare a report, unlike most of the other states. The majority of the governments of the UN member countries have not prepared a report. Even the countries which profess themselves to be promoters of Resolution 1325 and formed an informal club called "Friends of the Resolution 1325" have submitted only a few pages. Together with Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany is among those which have given the most detailed responses to the UN Secretary General.

We would also like to make clear that our criticism of passages in the report is not directed toward those people within the ministries who have worked diligently for the furtherance of gender awareness and for the implementation of the resolution. We are aware of the difficult and thankless situation of committed women and men in the ministries who take seriously the democratic mission of bringing about justice between the genders and who work with gender issues. On the one hand they are burdened by their under-representation; on the other hand their work is devalued by colleagues thinking in traditional ways, who consider "gendering" as ideological ballast or a bureaucratic waste of time. With our comments on the deficits in and requirements for implementation of Resolution 1325 in the political arena, we hope to be able to support these women and men in their positions and their commitment by making clear the need for more gender expertise in the ministries.

1. Individual measures instead of overall strategies

The report of the federal government catalogues many efforts undertaken to implement Resolution 1325. It presents in great detail the individual initiatives, projects, and programs in the area of gender oriented peace and conflict work which the federal government initiated and/or promoted. It also makes numerous declarations of intention. This diversity of projects is welcomed, even though the limited time period and the frequent lack of sustainable effects from the projects

seem questionable to us. Noticeable is how often the report loses itself in details and enumerations. One does not find a systematic presentation of possible plans and their implementation, so a view toward a unified objective seems to be missing.

In addition to that, we regret that despite its gender related theme, gender sensitive language is missing in the report.

Furthermore, the report gives the impression that a conceptual confusion is present. In many points the efforts toward gender mainstreaming, to which the federal government as a UN and EU member has pledged itself, are presented as efforts toward the implementation of Resolution of 1325. Moreover, the concept of gender mainstreaming often seems to be confused with efforts for the advancement of women.

Gender Mainstreaming is a **method** through which to establish justice between men and women. The ministries and authorities are obliged to test every political initiative to see if it fosters women and men equally, and if it does not, then undertake efforts to equalize matters.

Resolution 1325, on the other hand, contains goals that can be summarized under three P's:

Prevention of wars

Participation of women at all levels of peace processes (prevention, handling, and settlement of conflicts)

Protection of women and girls in war and crisis regions, especially protection from sexual violence.

Gender mainstreaming can be a good strategy for implementing Resolution 1325, but it need not be, since there is no single general prescription for how to put it into effect.

2. The lack of concrete perspectives and initiatives from women.

From our perspective, UN Resolution 1325 offers many suggestions on how to generate an impulse for changing existing (inter)national foreign and security policies. An impulse for change in the sense that foreign and security policies are no longer to be decided exclusively by men. And an impulse toward change also in the sense that in crisis, war, and post-war situations, women should have the chance, with equal rights, to participate at all levels in the fashioning of the processes and thereby also to reach positions of leadership.

In many parts of the world, men are attempting to secure their social supremacy and maintain all leading political and social positions while marginalizing women to the edges of the society. They do this through violent confrontations, using military means and severe methods of oppression. Afghanistan and Iraq are in this case two concrete examples. With Resolution 1325, for the first time, a tool is available for stopping these extremely undemocratic developments.

3. The lack of concrete time limits and quotas

The implementation of Resolution 1325 clearly needs more than declarations of intentions. From our perspective, concrete time limits and quotas are necessary, both at the national and international level. Back in 2003 we submitted to the federal

government an “Action Plan for the Expedited Implementation of Resolution 1325” (see appendix). Besides concrete and measurably formulated goals, progress reports and statistics are also lacking on the basis of which one could measure the implementation of the resolution. The gender action plan of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) from 2001 schedules such regular reviews and reports.

4. The problematic and deficient concept of security.

In general, we consider it problematic that the Federal Republic, in agreement with the security strategy of the European Union, uses in its security and defense planning a conception of security that is based on a rather vague definition. This conception orients itself on conjectured threat scenarios and not on elements in the concrete and multifaceted realities in the lives of women and men. And beyond that, a reflection is lacking on the fact that the foreign and security policies at the national and international level are determined by men and thereby by their thought patterns and ways of perceiving things.

Resolution 1325 is a key for a sustainable and stable structure for a peace which would be based on freedom from violence at the personal, structural, and cultural levels as well as on a social justice that includes justice between genders. In contrast to that, the report of the federal government orients itself toward a goal of peace which is directed toward short-term and one-dimensional stability.

5. The inadequate inclusion of civilian society

We also consider it problematic that in the federal government’s foreign and security policies, especially in the areas of crisis prevention and conflict settlements, a systematic inclusion of civilian society is largely missing. Especially gender oriented civilian groups are not being included.

6. The inadequate political participation of women

In its report, the federal government refers to the Constitution, in which Article 3 stipulates gender equality, as does the federal Equal Status Law. Now today, 55 years after the adoption of the Constitution, equality still has not been realized. And the federal Equal Status Law of 2001 does not reach into certain levels, above all because of the absence of concrete possibilities for sanctions. Besides, it deals just with civil service and affiliated institutions and organizations, not however with the private sector. In addition to that, the implementation of the EU policies against discrimination, which are obligatory for the European states, still has not been done.

The federal government refers to a comparatively high proportion of women in the federal government and in Parliament. Yet in the foreign, defense, and security ministries, women still have only limited decision-making responsibility, similarly so in the field of internal security. For example, women have been inadequately represented on the defense committees during the 15 legislative periods of the lower house of Parliament. Compared with the preceding legislative period, one can actually notice a decline. Currently both the chairpersons and all four representatives are men. Of the thirteen full committee members of the Socialist Party of Germany (SPD), only six are female; of the 12 Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union (CDU/CSU) members, there are ten men and two women. The Free Democratic Party (FDP) is the only gender balanced representation: one woman and one man. Alliance 90/The Greens has two men and one woman as full members and

proxies. So the lower house of Parliament does not model gender mainstreaming in the development of its defense policies.

7. Few lasting initiatives by the federal government in the UN Security Council

It is a positive accomplishment of the German government that it has brought to discussion, both at the international level and the UN, the significance of a gender perspective for peace processes and the implementation of Resolution 1325. However, these proclamations scarcely go beyond declarations of intentions. The German government has not yet proposed any concrete timetables, quota guidelines, or considerations regarding sanctions and incentives that could accelerate the implementation of the resolution.

Germany's status as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council ends in 2004. The report from the federal government gives no indication if and how a longer-term continuation of work on the implementation of Resolution 1325 is being planned, for example, through the timely assembling of trans-national coalitions.

8. The lack of transparency in the "Friends of Resolution 1325"

The federal government emphasizes that it joined the club "Friends of the Resolution 1325". We take this as a positive step without being able to evaluate it in its particulars since the information policies of this club leave a great deal to be desired. It appears scarcely possible for NGOs to find out things about the club's concrete work, such as what initiatives are being planned or promoted, or what discussions are being held. Here more transparency would not only be possible, but also urgently needed.

9. The action plan for civil conflict resolution is too non-binding

It is a positive thing that the federal government has developed a plan of action "Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution, and Consolidating Peace." In parts it clearly brings to discussion the gender problematic and the lack of participation by women in the structures of power. Yet the plan of action comes to a standstill because of its non-binding nature. No conceptual integration of a gender perspective is apparent, and no concrete actions are named. Accordingly there are no time guidelines and certainly not any measures for gauging possible progress.

Part B: The Integration of Women and Gender Perspective in National and Supranational Institutions.

1. The German Armed Forces: the inadequate representation of women and the deficiency in gender awareness training.

The German armed forces have in the meantime also opened their armed units to women, however with restrictions. Since 2004 there has been the draft of a **law to enforce the equality of female and male soldiers in the armed forces**, but its passage has been put off until January 2005. Moreover, the law suspends the enforcement of equality in "cases of tension and national defense," and limits it in foreign deployments (Paragraph 3). Gender equality is judged to be achieved (Paragraph 4) when women make up 15% of the section (in the sanitation detachment, where women have been active since 1975, it is achieved with 50%). These quota targets orient themselves on the current levels in armies with women soldiers such as in the USA or Israel. Thus the goal is to adapt to empirical values

and not to develop a model of gender equality. Moreover, studies consistently have shown that qualitative changes only come about when the participation of women is at 30% or more.

Admittedly we are conflicted over the expanding access to the armed forces for women. From the point of view of gender justice, it is desirable. But in the interest of peace policy, every promotion of militaristic skills among men and women is problematic. The federal government does not address these questions.

The topic of **military intervention** is also problematic. The German armed forces are currently being restructured into a military that should be capable of deployment around the world if the occasion were to arise (an army for interventions). Actually the federal government refers to the presence to be given to conflict prevention at the civilian level (see the plan of action above), but it offers no concrete criteria for deciding in which cases military intervention should happen and in which it should not. Certainly the aspect of gender plays no role in this concept.

The German armed forces also approach with less sensitivity the definition of the necessary skills needed by **members of the armed forces in foreign deployment**. In the defense policy guidelines, six skill categories in total are required of the members. What is missing, however, are the skills for dealing with gender as well as intercultural matters, which in the international arena are also indispensable. Moreover, in the analysis of the causes of conflicts there is a systematic diminishing of the role of gender relations in the development of conflicts. In this case the defense guidelines also serve as evidence. Most recently, since the developments in the former Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, it has indeed become known, even if insufficiently studied, that the dynamic between genders plays a prominent role in the violent unfolding of conflicts.

The armed forces, according to the government's report, restrict **internal gender mainstreaming** to facilitator-training. Violations of human rights, especially violence against women, apparently are being reduced to health policy and sexual hygiene issues. Women's rights and human rights organizations were not included in the development of this plan. The measures point to an approach that seeks to avoid conflict and restore harmony in a solicitous way, but these are not appropriate responses to the punishable character of gender discrimination that violates human rights. International agreements on human rights as well as the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Gender Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) are not training materials, no more than is Resolution 1325.

For human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and *medica mondiale*, the qualified training of soldiers prior to a foreign deployment is very important. Amnesty and *medica mondiale* have been trying for months for a direct dialogue with the government's minister for defense. They are demanding the integration of the topic of human rights in the training regimen as well as an institutionalized, regular, and independent monitoring of its success.

A handbook has been developed in the meantime for the continuing education of the members of the armed forces. Among other things it treats "women and men in the armed forces", "sexual harassment by individuals or groups", and "the compatibility of family and profession". Up to now the topic of foreign deployment was addressed at

most in connection with the compatibility of family and profession. (Forced) prostitution and other forms of sexualized violence or trafficking in women have not been dealt with to this point. To be sure, this continuing education is being evaluated. However this evaluation refers only to the class on the topic "Leading People", which is quite far from the actual activities of soldiers. The evaluation itself contains no gender component.

We consider it essential to expose the problems of (forced) prostitution, trafficking in women, and violence against women, especially since for several years accusations have been made against Germany soldiers in Macedonia and Kosovo that they have been involved in **forced prostitution**, the **prostitution of minors**, and have participated in or tolerated the **trafficking in young girls and women**. This last point was mentioned in the report "So does that mean I have rights? Protecting the human rights of women and girls trafficked for forced prostitution in Kosovo" by Amnesty International in May 2004 and in the report of the journalist Inge Bell for the program "Monitor" in September 2004. Certain findings by the armed forces indirectly support the accuracy of the accusations.

- Soldiers in the German army see themselves as well-paid forces behind the lines. That means that leisure activities play a big role (rest & recreation (R&R) are well-known from American forces in foreign deployments).
- It has always been taken for granted that soldiers must satisfy their sexual drives.
- The study "Violence against men", order by the federal ministry for Families, Seniors, Women, and Youths and published in September 2004, (www.bmfsfj.de/Forschungsnetz/Forschungsberichte), illustrates that the socialization in the armed forces does not further the development of communication and behavior that is free from force and violence, but indeed it does quite the contrary. It demonstrates that the army in Germany is the (single) institution in which violence in a severe form is authorized and "normal". Men in the armed forces experience the severest violence. Where violence among men is authorized, one can well suppose that it will also direct itself toward women.

It must be demanded that both a sensitization to any form of violence and a prohibition against violence should build the basis for human rights training in the German armed forces.

2. The Center for International Peace Deployments: a low level of gender awareness

In addition to conducting training, the Center for International Peace Deployments maintains files on potential peace specialists as well as a data bank of materials. The organization of events, the management and input of data, in short, traditional secretarial tasks, are usually handled by women at the Center. For that reason, the fact that there is a female majority among the employees of the Center is not something that can be held up positively. The Center is directed by a man. The main seminar leader and the majority of lecturers are male as well.

In the basic course at the Center, "Gender" is a low-level topic limited to one afternoon. During the course in March 2003, due to the illness of the instructor, the topic was simply cancelled. Other parts of the training, for example, having to do with

the police (behavior in dangerous situations, with two men as instructors), were not only gender insensitive, but actually sexist. Protests and criticism by the participants were dismissed with the comment: we have had these trainers for years and are very satisfied with them. It is a fact that the courses must have half of their participants be women, yet, for example, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe only sends women (no Germans among them) and the German armed forces send exclusively men.

In the context of the development of civilian capacities for crisis prevention and crisis management, in 2001 the European Council started the “European Community Project on Training for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management.” The “EU Group on Training”, in which training services from the EU member states are represented, has developed a European course syllabus for civilian experts. The program, which includes both a basic course and specialization courses on themes such as the rule of law, human rights, democratization, and organization of civilian administration, was offered during 2003 as a pilot project by the Center.

In response to inquiries, the organizers explicitly explained that they did not want to handle “gender” separately because the participants might otherwise turn off or might think of it as only “emancipation stuff”. The special situation of women in post-war periods apparently is not dealt with in any way, although in many post-war countries, forced prostitution, trafficking in women, and sexual violence have become social problems.

At the Center, no recommendations or guidelines are given which advocate for the inclusion of a gender perspective. In discussions with a few female workers at the Center, it became obvious that gender is handled under “intercultural competency”, if at all.

3. OSCE: a blemish

It is noticeable that the report of the German government with regard to the OSCE limits itself to enumerating the positions filled by German women. Here one could have expected exact statistical data that would give information on how many women and men work in gender specific ways. Since no guidelines are proposed for any special areas of emphasis or essential gender training, one can conclude that the measures are gender blind. In this case one should demand the systematic promotion of gender competence.

Part C: Gender Perspective in Cooperative Development Programs and Projects, Crisis Prevention and Conflict Resolution

For more than a decade, gender perspective has been a responsibility that transverses all aspects of cooperative work in developing areas of the world. Especially in crisis prevention and conflict settlement, one should not forget the differing effects that programs and projects have on women and men. Even more so, the lack of or the inadequate inclusion of a gender perspective affects the situation of women in a directly negative way. So it is a good thing that some committed staff of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (ECD) have

campaigned for the inclusion of a gender perspective and the advancement of women. Apparently, however, this political initiative has not been taken up by the whole ministry and its subordinate organizations.

This is also true of the training in the context of civilian peace service: to our knowledge it lacks the systematic incorporation of a gender perspective as well as an evaluation of gender. It seems to be a general problem that there is a wide gap between what is claimed and what is really the case. Even when gender specific strategies are present in the different development organizations, they are not actually systematically implemented. That means that they are not structurally anchored and so are still much too much dependent on the personal commitments of individuals.

1. Afghanistan: warlords obstructing the rights of women.

In this war-shattered country, the federal government supports many good and meaningful projects. Hardly any other state enjoys among the Afghans such high regard. Surely this is in part because in helping, Germany is not pursuing any obvious individual interests such as the building of an oil pipeline, and the projects are comparatively well organized. Nevertheless there is an irresolvable fundamental contradiction in the Germany policy in Afghanistan: the question of the warlords. These regional warlords are still the main obstacle to the democratization of the land and the emancipation of the women. Only 15,000 regular soldiers of the central government currently oppose the approximately 100,000 armed militia of the warlords. In the course of the presidential elections, at least 40,000 militia were supposed to be disarmed in the summer of 2004, but actually less than 10,000 turned in their weapons. That means that they are still in a position to severely oppress the population through the power of their weapons and to pursue their repressive policies toward women. It was not negligence, but rather a specific policy of the United States, after the fall of the Taliban, to leave the warlords in power as military maintainers of order in the regions. As a result, Afghanistan remains conflicted between two opposing powers: the military rule by individuals or the building up of democracy. Both at the same time are not possible.

The EU is pursuing a different strategy than the USA and is participating in the laborious process of re-building the state, with the Germany government having taken on as its main focus the training of the police. Nevertheless the anti-terror alliance with the USA makes sure that the gross contradictions that are appearing are not being addressed, let alone solved. And it should be added that the German government as well pumps a large part of its reconstruction monies, aside from Kabul, into autocratically governed provinces, while a province such as Nimroz, where the rights of women are being protected, is left with nothing. In this case the German government is neglecting to clearly signal the deliberate promotion of a model public policy toward women.

The training of the Afghan police is to a great extent without any gender perspective

The federal government correctly sees the building up of a multi-ethnic police force as an important element in the development of a new Afghan state. And we welcome the arduous and costly integration of women into the police classes. But a problem that needs to be raised is the lack of any gender perspective in this training. The Germany government contends that the future police women are being trained to

deal with domestic and sexual violence, forced marriages, and so-called “deaths to restore family honor.” Yet, in 2003, when a group of Afghan police women came to Germany at the invitation of the federal government, it turned out that the women in this regard had not been adequately trained in this regard, indeed if at all. From our perspective, the training programs being used so far are not suitable for adequately tackling the problem of sexualized violence. If the social peace process in Afghanistan is to be successful, the wide-spread practice of not punishing sexualized violence must be stopped.

However, the recruiting of female police officers is also problematic for this reason: the police have a very bad reputation among the populace, being seen as corrupt, violent, and immoral. As a result, only a few families allow their daughters to learn this profession. At this point, 33 police women have been trained, with all of them doing deskwork so they are not present in public. *medica mondiale* was obliged to report that prison personnel hired women criminals as future policewomen so that excesses by the guards would not become known and the victims could be kept quiet with the offer of a job. A female echelon in the police force must be built up, which would then help give the police a better image among the populace and make the profession more attractive to women.

In other areas as well, the advancement of Afghan women leaves much to be desired. For example, in 2002, young Afghan diplomats, the next generation, were in Berlin for training – they were almost exclusively men. Here as well the opportunity was missed to incorporate concepts of gender equality into the training program.

Women and Security

The military intervention in Afghanistan is a clear example of the fact that security is more complex than it is defined in politics (see above). Military security alone does not benefit women and girls; they need comprehensive protection from being violated in the public and private spheres.

Civilian security is a prerequisite for free access to education, health care and work, and political participation. This is not yet present in Afghanistan by the simple fact that the realities of life for women and their needs continue to be viewed as unimportant. According to an investigation for the “Legal Aid Fund Project” by *medica mondiale*, structural and domestic violence rose during the period from January to June 2004. Female delegates to the last Loya Jirga (Grand Council) were severely threatened, without any actions having been taken against the perpetrators. Although according to the constitution women have the same rights as men, the transgressions against them, on the contrary, remain unpunished.

Here the German government could assert its influence and link aid measures to gender policy guidelines.

A Pool for the Implementation of 1325

There is at present no strategy for a programmatic implementation of Resolution 1325 in Afghanistan, as the report from the government makes clear. For as much as individual efforts are to be welcomed, a systematic strategy is still missing. The setting up of a gender-pool with experts from national and international NGOs would be an important step in developing an implementation strategy and in advising the federal government on how to realize the resolution.

In view of the important role that women have filled in the post-war period during the building up of civilian society, German and international NGOs should oblige themselves to hire proportionally more women in order to lead by good example. Furthermore, the employment should be related to areas with responsibility for gender issues.

2. Projects in other Islamic countries: Women's rights remain a side issue.

When looking at other countries in the Islamic world, the federal government refers to numerous individual projects through which it is supporting the empowerment of women and networks for women. For as commendable as these programs advancing women might be, we see here a major contradiction in the German policy: without mentioning the systematic violations of human and women's rights, the federal government maintains economic and political relations with the most misogynous and reactionary regimes, such as Saudi Arabia. With a view toward Resolution 1325 and with reference to the UN Charter on Human Rights as well as the the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, one would expect that such systemic oppression of women should be brought to discussion at political and diplomatic levels, and political as well as economic relations should be linked to improvements.

3. Kosovo and Bosnia: The absence of gender mainstreaming in the civilian police force

The federal government reports that in Kosovo and Bosnia, respectively, 9.9% and 8% of the German police force stationed there are women. The contradiction between what is claimed and what is real shows itself quite clearly here, for it would be easier to increase the proportion of women here than in the military section. We want to stress that for investigating crimes of sexual violence a higher proportion of women is essential, while conversely a lower proportion of women leads almost inevitably to evasions of punishment. The Swedish representative to the European Parliament, Maybritt Theorien, has expounded on this connection in her "Report on the involvement of women in the peaceful settlement of conflicts". This report was published by the European Parliament's Committee for the Rights of Women and Equal Opportunity. (2000/2005(INI) of October 20, 2000).

4. AIDS prevention: inadequate information and education in the German armed forces

The federal government rightly points to the success of its campaign to fight HIV/AIDS. The level of information among the populace on the topic HIV/AIDS has been raised by nearly 100%. There are different brochures for girls, boys, women, men, and homosexuals. The knowledge and the protective actions of the populace, as well as the effectiveness of the measures, are checked with yearly surveys.

Nevertheless, there are gathering indications of a new dynamic in the AIDS epidemic in Germany. The Robert Koch Institute and the Federal Center for Health Information point out in their study "Aids in public consciousness in the Federal Republic of Germany 2003" that the initial diagnosis of men with same-sex contacts has risen again. In addition to that, protective behavior is waning.

The report of the federal government deals only briefly with AIDS prevention in the armed forces, and from our perspective that is inadequate. AIDS prevention in that setting was studied at the end of the 1990s. Among the many things the researchers

criticized were: the lack of up-to-date educational materials, the disparate and oversized groups, the lack of time for instruction, the inadequate qualification of the army physicians, as well as deficiencies in the instructional contents which were directed too little toward the changing of one's behavior and sense of responsibility. The knowledge, the competency, and the interest of the soldiers and superiors are inadequate. Already back in 1997, an appointed study group "HIV and AIDS" determined that "the measures for preventing AIDS in the armed forces urgently need to be rethought and speakers responsible for teaching AIDS prevention should be qualified for this task." The group also referred to the relative importance of AIDS prevention against the background of an expanded spectrum of responsibilities for the armed forces which they now carry out in countries with elevated HIV prevalence.

The study group presented a list of concrete recommendations: the updating and expansion of previously used media, improving personal communication, improving the qualifications of the experts and facilitators, developing and providing appropriate educational materials, etc.

Whether and how these recommendations were put into practice cannot really be determined since no progress report on this topic is available to us. In general, one can say, however, that it is not possible to infer from the current level of information in the populace (hitherto quite good) to what the level of information among the soldiers might be. Besides, in the training of soldiers for foreign deployments, it is important to connect this issue to the respective cultural setting, which also includes the topic of HIV/AIDS. There is a significant difference in dealing with HIV/AIDS in an informed and relatively prosperous society as opposed to those in which life is determined by limited education and income, and by the demands of daily existence. Even when soldiers show an appropriate knowledge of protective measures, it could be viewed from the side of the other party as less than necessary and possibly even be made more difficult. As a current UN-IRIN report from Liberia from October 5, 2004 notes, there the HIV/AIDS prevention efforts are collapsing. One reason, although not the only one, is because the people there live according to the motto: "I must die anyways, whether with or without AIDS"

5. Demobilization and Reintegration: programs only partly effective

As an example of an effort to reintegrate ex-combatants, the federal government refers to its ambitious plan to do that in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the framework of the "Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme in the Great Lakes Region", which it has helped finance. However, it has still not been shown that the goals formulated in the November 2003 position paper have been reached or implemented (MDRP Position Paper "Targeting MDRP Assistance: Ex-Combatants and Other War-Affected Population") Currently the World Bank is planning an initial "Mid-term Review", which is to evaluate the first phase (2002-2004). Heretofore only in two of the seven affected countries, namely Angola and Rwanda, have measures begun. Programs for Burundi, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Congo have been approved and are waiting for the signal to begin. The plans for the Republic of Congo and Uganda are at hand, but must be approved. Even though it is positive to note that in this project women have been explicitly included, it would be premature to judge this program as a success before the concrete results are available.

The MDRP position paper explicitly points out that in the first phase of the demobilization, women frequently were not included on the lists of ex-combatants and therefore were excluded from the very start from any of the reintegration measures. Since this registration was conducted mostly by authorities and organizations which were not paid by the “Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program“, the latter has only a very limited influence on the selection of the actual beneficiaries. Consequently, one must wait to see how the envisioned counter-measures for resolving the central problem are implemented locally. We hope that the “lessons learned” from Sierra Leone and other countries will last and the attempt will be made to learn from the experiences of the past.

Dr. Vanessa Farr, a proven DD&R expert (Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration), has, for example, often pointed out that the support of female Rwandan ex-combatants has not run efficiently so far, although they have united themselves quite strongly into an association. She recommends that the female ex-combatants cooperate more and more with the duly responsible UNIFEM-Program in Rwanda in order to better win recognition for their claim for consideration under the reintegration measures. Also a report comes out of Sierra Leone that women and girls still have no access to the reintegration measures. Their efforts to stand up for the interests of former female combatants are neither noted nor supported by the officials. The UNDP “Arms for Development Programme” merely mentions that more women should be provided access to positions of leadership. Whether this just simply has the character of an appeal remains to be seen. The workers on the scene had nothing to report on such measures.

A further disappointing example is Liberia. There, once again, the handing in of a weapon or munitions is required as a “criterion of qualification” for acceptance into the DD&R program. Consequently it is not surprising that again only 18% of the women are benefiting from the measures because women were not usually in armed service. They were “camp followers” or had other functions. By the way, participation in the demobilization efforts is definitely lucrative – an ex-combatant, after a five day stay in a demobilization camp, receives US\$ 150 and a packet of food as initial aid for reintegration. This sum corresponds to an average yearly wage in Liberia.

What we know from talks with former female fighters from many countries is that a main concern of these women is to keep their positions even after the demobilization. For these women, who fought side by side with the men during the war and some of whom filled leadership positions, it is difficult to comprehend why after the demobilization their male colleagues are assigned high political and economic posts, while they are suppose to slip back into their domestic roles. In order to make the peace process endure, it is centrally important to factor in the interests of the female combatants, to support their participation in the reconstruction, and to promote their taking up roles in politics and economic life after the conclusion of the armed dispute.

The July 2004 study from the United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) entitled “Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations“ makes a variety of concrete recommendations with regard to women and girls in a demobilization and reintegration process. Consciousness of this problematic has certainly increased in recent years, but the concrete implementation is still lacking.

A chronically weak spot in the DD&R program lies once again in the absence of training for DD&R experts in the area of gender expertise. Currently there are only a few certified gender experts in this field. It is moreover desirable that especially women be advanced as peacekeepers to support the DD&R process on site.

6. Violence against women: still not grounds for asylum

Even though the formulation in the report of the federal government suggests otherwise, violence against women cannot as yet be regarded as a reason for their seeking asylum. That is suppose to be different when the new immigration law takes effect, but it remains to be seen what the new practices of the foreign authorities who make these decisions will look like, decisions which have heretofore been extremely restrictive and repressive.

Part D: What is missing?

In an official report, what is unwritten is as important as what is written. A major difficulty in the implementation of Resolution 1325, in our view, is the absence of cooperative efforts with groups in civilian society – at the national, regional, and international levels.

Worldwide there are a large number of women's peace groups and networks which are quite active, especially in crisis regions. Yet they are not taken seriously and to some extent their existence is not taken into account: the ethnically expansive, functioning women's network in Kosovo is still today largely ignored; the Congolese women and their organization are being bypassed in their nation's peace process; the Israeli-Palestinian Jerusalem Link has been asking in vain for years for the inclusion of women in the near-East peace discussions, and so forth.

A political policy that wants to demand the serious implementation of Resolution 1325 will seek to link and ally itself with those forces in a society that are explicitly oriented toward peace. Correspondingly, it must be a part of the political policy of the federal government to systematically involve all of the civilian and women's groups in its own country in the development of security strategies and policies. Furthermore, along the lines of the Swiss model of the round table, the government must seek regular exchanges with them. The Women's Security Council is in this case an address for competence, and has repeatedly offered its cooperation.

In crisis and (post)war regions in which the federal government is politically or militarily present and has influence, it must work to see that the civilian and women's groups are systematically included in the processes of conflict settlement.

Part E: Recommendations

Drawing out the consequences of the objectives of Resolution 1325, the German governmental report, and against the background of its own competence, activities, and experiences, the Women's Security Council recommends to the federal government:

- The development of a general strategy with accompanying measures for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, and that would include the enlisting of

civilian and gender sensitive organizations and groups. In that plan would belong, among other things,

- A close coordination between the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Finance. Governments that systematically violate women's rights should, with all diplomatic means, be made aware of these abuses and if necessary economic relations with them ended.
- The awarding of grants to development agencies that work in war, crisis, and post-war regions will be linked to their demonstrable skills with gender issues and to corresponding strategies in their work.
- Members of the armed forces and civilian organizations serving the Federal Republic will only be sent to foreign deployment if the participants can bring with them a certifiable competency in gender issues.
- The development of a catalogue of criteria for evaluating the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 as well as the development of standards. For this one needs a precise definition of what the "adequate" participation of women means in detail and in different countries. After that one can judge whether measures that have been introduced according to the resolution have been successful, etc.
- A precise statement or a new definition of the concept of security that also appropriately takes into consideration the elementary (security) problems of women in war and post-war periods, when the issue is to define or establish the meaning of "security" and "peace."
- The development of a gender index for all areas of foreign and security policies. This is about criteria for a gender sensitive concept of security, for the assessment of violence toward women as well as about the participation of women in missions and in the democratization process.
- The systematic promotion of gender sensitive studies on questions of foreign and security policies and of the conditions in the individual countries.
- The establishment of a national position for monitoring the implementation of Resolution 1325 with the enlistment of civilian groups.
- More transparency from the "Friends of the Resolution 1325".
- The development of consistent counter-strategies against sexual and domestic violence in crisis areas and in post-war societies and connecting these with corresponding initiatives within Germany, for example, with soldiers in the armed forces.
- The punishment of German soldiers who are guilty during a foreign deployment of (sexual) violence.

- Setting up of a fixed budgetary item for non-bureaucratic, immediate aid for traumatized women and girls, men and boys in or from war or crisis areas, who take refuge in the Federal Republic.
- The organization of an international meeting of experts for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325.

For the international context, the Women's Security Council recommends to the federal government that with international decision-making groups and especially at the UN it works toward:

- The establishment of a monitoring position within the UN system which could check on the implementation of Resolution 1325, enlisting the help of NGOs and civilian representatives
- The establishment of an authority for monitoring human rights in post-war societies.
- The establishment of pools of national and international experts for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in post-war lands such as Afghanistan
- The general dispatching of UN observers into post-war regions to monitor the post-war process and the humanitarian situation. At least 40% of the participants in these missions must be women.
- The organization of an international conference of experts on war-related sexual violence.
- Trauma-sensitive gynecological and psychological support for survivors of sexualized violence during wartime, who can build up the potential of women and girls.
- An amendment to UN Resolution 1325 according to which in all peace processes and in all committees which are commissioned to implement the peace agreement, 30% of the contingent must be women.
- An amendment to UN Resolution 1325 according to which by serious breach of the stipulations, promised materials for the reconstruction of a country will be cut back.
- The creation of a UN trust fund for the promotion of women peace activists around the world
- The introduction of a quota for women of at least 35% by 2015 in the occupancy of the leadership positions within the UN

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APPENDIX

Plan of action for accelerating the implementation of Resolution 1325

We propose that the government concentrates in the near and medium-term period on some specific parts of Resolution 1325. In the long term perspective, of course all the demands have to be implemented.

Our recommendations are based on a critical view of three reports:

- (1.) The report of the UN working group, applied by the UN Security Council "Women, Peace and Security"
- (2.) the 21-Point Plan of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan concerning the implementation of Resolution 1325, which he presented on the basis of the study "Women, Peace and Security" on 16.10.2002 to the UN Security Council
- (3.) The study based on the experiences from crisis regions "Women, War and Peace" by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. This report was written in 2002 and was mandated by UNIFEM and completed with many recommendations towards UN Institutions.

In virtually all crisis regions in the world, there are women' initiatives engaged in dialogue for peace and reconciliation. Women and girls are not only victims (sometimes even perpetrators), they are also actors with a great social potential. The international community should do all it can to encourage and re-enforce this role.

It is a pity that this aspect appears only in the study of Rehn and Sirleaf, whereas it does not play a major role in the recommendations of Kofi Annan.

We have first concentrated on those aspects of the Resolution 1325 that strengthen the active role of women. The most important demand is: "Women must be better represented in the national, regional and international institutions, mechanisms for prevention, management and solution of conflict."

This request must be accompanied by concrete objectives (quotas). Quotas are, of course, not a panacea, and it could be difficult in some situations to implement them. However, to reject outright concrete quotas would present an invitation to non-binding regulation, and would strengthen the power of those are interested in keeping women to the periphery of political processes, for various reasons.

- **In all peace processes** and in all institutions, working for the implementation of peace treaties, we need **at least 30 % participation of women**. This is the case at the moment in Afghanistan, Iraq, Israel-Palestine and the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- An **UN-Intern Monitoring-Group** should be appointed to report back to the UN Secretary-General and the respective UN institutions on the progress of these conditions. If they are not implemented, already accorded money for reconstruction should be decreased. Example: If the minimum quota of 30% reaches less than 10% the money will be decreased by 10%.
- Since women dispose of much less financial resources than men, especially in non-industrialised countries, we support strongly the idea of Rehn and Sirleaf of **UN Trust Funds for the support of women peace activists**
- We must look upon **the establishing of equal opportunities** in the reconstruction phase of a country ravaged by war. **At least 30% of participants should be women** involved in the commissions working on the future **legal system** and elaborating **the constitution** of the respective country
- The preceding should equally apply for the first elections in the reconstruction phase. **At least 30% of the seats in national and regional parliaments have to be reserved**

for women. The few experiences with such regulations are very positive and should be examined by an **UN-financed study** in a differentiated way and be published for a broad and international audience.

- Also this process should be supervised by an **UN-Monitoring-Group** and there should be sanctions with decreased financing in case of non-co-operation.
- **Education and training** play a significant role in reconstruction processes. At least **50% of all educational programs should be reserved and promoted for women and girls.** The German government has taken strong engagements in Afghanistan and should reinforce the creation of unity within the UN, responsible for the co-ordination of education and training programs for women and girls in crisis regions.
- **Equal participation of women in the security and justice sectors** must be urgently promoted. Even before the training of police and judges begins, attention should be called to the fact that as many women as possible should be mobilised into this process. The programs should be gender sensitive. To the internationally guaranteed **women and human rights**, as well as to **the fight against sexualised and domestic violence** should be given due attention.
- The funds for **humanitarian aid** must be distributed through **gender budgets** in order to allow women and girls to profit from the funds as equally as men and boys. There has to be taken into account that in some crisis regions, gender imbalances occur due to the high amount of killed men during the war. In Afghanistan it is estimated that women compose of 60-65% of the population and 55-60% in Iraq.
- Globally, about 80% of the refugees are women and children. The **female refugees** must be obligatorily integrated in the building and managing of **refugee camps**, their experiences be used and their needs recognised. The high percentage of women refugees must be adequately considered for the construction of sanitary and protection facilities, for the supply with hygienic articles, medical and gynecological care.
- **Women should have many more positions of leadership in the UN than they have up to the present.** We strongly support the demand for **the next Secretary-General being female** and we ask the government to be engaged in the search and in the presentation of qualified women candidates.
- At the same time we are asking that **before 2005 at least 10% and before 2015, at least 30% of all UN-leading positions be fulfilled with women.** At the moment there are only six women at the head of an UN sub-organisation. The UN Secretary-General, who is in favour of this quota, has failed until now because of a lack of support from the UN member States in the search for qualified female candidates. We ask the government to present more female candidates and to support the consultation with other States, the candidatures of women and to support female candidates of other States.
- It is a similar case with the post of **UN Special advisers and ambassadors.** Amongst 68 special advisers only six of whom are women. We ask to fulfil at least the quota of 30% before 2005 and 50% before 2015. We ask the active support of female candidates by the government.
- We also need a **female quota for the military and civilian personal of UN peace missions.** The percentage of women should increase to 10% before 2005 and 30% before 2015. At the moment only 4% of UN police forces and 3% of the UN military are female.

- **The missions of the UN-Security Council** must from now on immediately be composed according to the gender balance principle (at least 40% of all missions should be women, and 40% men). The **gender perspective** should be obligatorily integrated in the missions' reports and prior to this gendered data be collected. Women's groups on the local, national and international level must be consulted. The government should support the UN Secretariat in the establishment of a databank of gender specialists, support women and peace networks.
- **Sexualised violence, torture and rape** are part of the most horribly violent acts and have nearly always have consequences for the whole life of the victim. Nevertheless, there is in many countries of the world still impunity for the perpetrators. In order to abolish this, or at least to limit it, there should be introduced, as already asked in CEDAW, a systematic necessity of annual reporting. Organisations of the civil society, women groups and peace initiatives should be consulted and integrated into this process. The materials should go from case to case to the International Criminal Court.
- In this context there should be implemented, as suggested by Rehn and Sirleaf, an **International Truth and Reconciliation Commission**, where victims of sexualised violence could testify.

This document of the Women's Security Council Germany is carried by its member organisations according to their constitutional tasks.