

JOAN B. KROC

Distinguished Lecture Series

Miria Matembe
Alma Viviana Pérez
Irene Santiago

Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding



JOAN B. KROC
INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE & JUSTICE
UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO



JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Distinguished Lecture Series

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JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

University of San Diego

San Diego, California

Miria Matembe, Alma Viviana Pérez, Irene Santiago

*Women, War and Peace:
The Politics of Peacebuilding*

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Fostering Peace, Cultivating Justice,

Creating a Safer World



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CONTENTS

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice	4
Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series	6
Biography of Miria Matembe	10
Biography of Alma Viviana Pérez	12
Biography of Irene Santiago	14
Welcome by Joyce Neu	16
Introduction by Dee Aker	20
Lecture – <i>Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding</i>	23
Questions and Answers	38
Related Resources	48
About the University of San Diego	50



JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE



The mission of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) is to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. Through education, research and peacemaking activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights. The Institute for Peace & Justice, located at the University of San Diego, draws upon Catholic social teaching that sees peace as inseparable from justice and acts to prevent and resolve conflicts that threaten local, national and international peace.

The IPJ was established in 2000 through a generous gift from the late Joan B. Kroc to the University of San Diego to create an institute for the study and practice of peace and justice. Programming began in early 2001 and the building was dedicated in December 2001 with a conference, “Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century.”

The Institute for Peace & Justice strives, in Joan B. Kroc’s words, to “not only talk about peace, but to make peace.” The IPJ offers its services to parties in conflict to provide mediation and facilitation, assessments, training and consultations. It advances peace with justice through work with members of civil society in zones of conflict and has a focus on mainstreaming women in peace processes.

The Women PeaceMakers Program brings into residence at the IPJ women who have been actively engaged in peacemaking in conflict areas around the

world to document their stories, share experiences with others working in peacemaking and allow time for reflection on their work.

A master’s program in Peace and Justice Studies trains future leaders in the field and will be expanded into the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, supported by a \$50 million endowment from the estate of Mrs. Kroc.

WorldLink, a year-round educational program for high school students from San Diego and Baja California connects youth to global affairs.

Country programs, such as the Nepal project, offer wide-ranging conflict assessments, mediation and conflict resolution training workshops.

Community outreach includes speakers, films, art and opportunities for discussion between community members, academics and practitioners on issues of peace and social justice, as well as dialogue with national and international leaders in government, non-governmental organizations and the military.

JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES

Endowed in 2003 by a generous gift to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice from the late Joan Kroc, philanthropist and international peace proponent, the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policymakers to share their knowledge and perspectives on issues related to peace and justice. The goal of the series is to deepen understanding of how to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace with justice.

The Distinguished Lecture Series offers the community at large an opportunity to engage with leaders who are working to forge new dialogues with parties in conflict and who seek to answer the question of how to create an enduring peace for tomorrow. The series, which is held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego, examines new developments in the search for effective tools to prevent and resolve conflict while protecting human rights and ensuring social justice.



DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES SPEAKERS

April 15, 2003 Robert Edgar, Ph.D.
General Secretary, National Council of Churches
The Role of the Church in U.S. Foreign Policy

May 8, 2003 Helen Caldicott, M.D.
President, Nuclear Policy Research Institute
The New Nuclear Danger

October 15, 2003 Richard J. Goldstone
Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa
The Role of International Law in Preventing Deadly Conflict

January 14, 2004 Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg
U.S. Department of State
Conflict, Gender and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field

April 14, 2004 General Anthony C. Zinni
United States Marine Corps (retired)
*From the Battlefield to the Negotiating Table:
Preventing Deadly Conflict*

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Secretary General – Palestinian Initiative for the
Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy
*Concept, Context and Process in Peacemaking:
The Palestinian-Israeli Experience*

November 17, 2004 Noeleen Heyzer, Ph.D.
Executive Director – United Nations Development
Fund for Women
*Women, War and Peace: Mobilizing for Security
and Justice in the 21st Century*

February 10, 2005 The Honorable Lloyd Axworthy, Ph.D.
President, University of Winnipeg
The Responsibility to Protect: Prescription for a Global Public Domain

March 31, 2005 Mary Robinson
Former President of Ireland and United Nations
High Commissioner for Human Rights
Human Rights and Ethical Globalization

October 27, 2005 His Excellency Ketumile Masire
Former President of the Republic of Botswana
*Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts*

January 27, 2006 Ambassador Christopher R. Hill
U.S. Department of State
U.S. Policy in East Asia and the Pacific

March 9, 2006 William F. Schulz
Executive Director – Amnesty International USA
Tainted Legacy: 9/11 and the Ruin of Human Rights

September 7, 2006 Shirin Ebadi
2003 Nobel Peace Laureate
Iran Awakening: Human Rights, Women and Islam

October 18, 2006 Miria Matembe, Alma Viviana Pérez, Irene Santiago
Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding

BIOGRAPHY OF MIRIA MATEMBE

Miria Matembe is a co-founder of Action for Development (ACFODE) in Kampala, Uganda, and a former member of parliament representing the Mbabara district of Uganda until 1989. She also represented her country as a member of the Pan-African Parliament, where she served as chairperson of its Committee on Rules. As former Minister of Ethics and Integrity from 1998 to 2003, she formulated the government's policy on corruption and helped set standards of ethics for professionals in public office. A former commissioner of the Uganda Constitutional Commission, she later served as delegate to the Constituent Assembly that promulgated the new national constitution in 1995. In 2002, she published a memoir entitled "Gender, Politics and Constitution Making in Uganda," in which she documents her experience in bringing gender issues to the forefront of national politics. A lawyer who has focused on human rights law, constitutional law and business law, Matembe has presented numerous papers at conferences in Africa and the United States. She was a fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, D.C. Matembe received her LL.B. from Makerere University, Uganda and her LL.M. from the University of Warwick, United Kingdom.



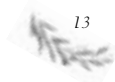
Miria Matembe of Uganda

BIOGRAPHY OF ALMA VIVIANA PÉREZ

Alma Viviana Pérez, consultant to the Colombian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Women and Gender Equality and the Colombian Agency for International Cooperation, works to raise awareness of gender perspectives and to implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. She was the first secretary of the Colombian Mission to the United Nations from 2001 to 2003 and has held positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a special adviser to the minister, general director of the Americas, deputy director of regional integration groups and deputy director for Latin America and the Caribbean, among others. Pérez has worked on foreign policy as a consultant to build bridges between government, civil society and women's organizations that are working on 1325 in Colombia. Pérez has participated in numerous conferences, published articles on Colombia's political situation and is a member of the faculty of finance, government and international relations at Universidad Externado de Colombia.



Alma Viviana Pérez of Colombia



BIOGRAPHY OF IRENE SANTIAGO

Irene Santiago is the chair and chief executive officer of the Mindanao Commission on Women and co-founder of the Mothers for Peace Movement in the Philippines. She is a senior advisor to the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process where she assists in policy and strategy formulation, specifically on demobilization, disarmament and reintegration. Santiago is one of two women on the Philippine government panel negotiating peace with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). In this role, she has brought gender issues into the peace talks. In 2005, Santiago was nominated as one of 1,000 Women for the Nobel Peace Prize. She has been a gender advocate for the past 30 years and has consulted for the World Bank and numerous international institutions, organizations and governments. Santiago served as the executive director of the NGO Forum on Women which was organized in parallel with the 1995 U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.



Irene Santiago of the Philippines

WELCOME BY JOYCE NEU, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (ON LEAVE) OF THE JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Good evening, everyone. It is my pleasure to welcome all of you to the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series here at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego. This year marks the fifth anniversary of the dedication of this beautiful building that you are sitting in. Five years ago, we were busy getting ready to dedicate this facility. We now have five years under our belt and I think quite a lot to show for it. One of the ways you can see what we have to show for it is by walking around and looking at some of the photographs on the walls to see the different events we have held, but more, is to talk some of the people in the audience who have taken part in different activities at the institute, either international activities that we have been engaged in or local activities in terms of our outreach. We are very thankful to all of you who have been our partners for the last five years and we look forward to having you as partners certainly at least for the next five years, hopefully a great deal longer. Welcome.

I know that Joan Kroc, were she here today, would be really delighted to see you all and to see the people who have been coming to the institute over the last five years to learn about a world at peace, as opposed to a world at war. Unfortunately, when she was dying in 2003, the war in Iraq was launched, and even then she was on the phone calling some of our elected officials to basically tell them they would never get another dime of her money if they voted for war in Iraq.

Unfortunately, as some of you may already know, our planned speaker for this evening, Elisabeth Rehn, the former defense minister of Finland, has been unable to travel here to San Diego due to a back injury that flared up over the weekend. She very apologetically had to cancel her appearance here this evening, but we are very, very fortunate and very grateful to three outstanding women who at the last minute were willing to speak tonight on this issue, "Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding."



Tonight's panel, in addition to being a part of the Distinguished Lecture Series, also serves as the opening of the institute's third annual Women PeaceMakers Conference,¹ which is funded by a grant of the Fred J. Hansen Foundation. Each year, this conference is planned during the residency of the four women peacemakers selected by the institute to be in residence here for eight weeks in order to document their stories of peacemaking, peacebuilding and human rights advocacy. We are also very pleased to welcome delegates from the United States and around the world who have come to join us in our discussions on gender balance in decision making in peacemaking and peacebuilding processes. We want to thank the men and women who have come from far and near to have discussions for this working conference to try to figure out how we can do a better job at gender inclusion in peace processes.

The men and women who are with us this evening and for the conference embody the spirit of Susan B. Anthony when she said, "Cautious, careful people always casting about to preserve their reputation or social standards never can bring about reform. Those who are really in earnest are willing to be anything or nothing in the world's estimation, and publicly and privately, in season and out, avow their sympathies and bear the consequences." We have a wonderful audience here this evening, very brave men and women, and again, Joan Kroc would be very proud and pleased to see these people because she certainly was one of these people who spoke out and actually put her money where her mouth was. One such earnest person who is an outspoken advocate for human rights and women's rights in particular is my colleague, Dr. Dee Aker, who will be moderating the panel this evening. I want to introduce her and just say a few things about her because most of you know of Dr. Aker, but you may not know a few things about her. She has been a very staunch advocate for women's rights and women's voices, going back more than 20 years. She has documented women's stories as an international correspondent to the *Women's Times* in San Diego, as well as being the producer and host of her own program on commercial television which included 236 30-minute interview and documentary programs on women for KUSI television here in San Diego.

These interviews now form part of an oral history library on women from around the world.

Dr. Aker, the interim director of the institute while I am on leave, is the director and inspiration behind the Women PeaceMakers Program and behind this conference. Dr. Aker is a psychologist and an anthropologist with experience in the field and in the classroom. She was a Peace Corps volunteer in Colombia — she raised rabbits, I believe. I am not sure how that experience has applied to her current work; maybe we could ask her. She has received numerous awards for her service to the San Diego community. Please join me in welcoming Dr. Aker, who will introduce our panel this evening.

¹ The international conference, "Who's Making Policy? What Difference Does It Make?" was held Oct. 18-20, 2006. Please see <http://peace.sandiego.edu/reports/ConferenceReports/WhosMakingPolicy.html> for more information and to view the conference report.

INTRODUCTION BY DEE AKER, INTERIM DIRECTOR OF THE JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Thank you very much, Joyce. The rabbits and I are ready to proceed.

I want to thank Joyce for the wonderful reminder of how important this place is and the people in it, and how excited Mrs. Kroc would be if she could be here this evening.

I would like to welcome all of you to the Distinguished Lecture Series panel, our first actual panel, on “Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding.” It is a privilege for the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego to be able to bring you a very special evening. We are gathered on the first eve of a conference in which women and men have come, many from the frontlines of peacebuilding and peacemaking in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe and elsewhere, to examine how we can be real activists, real policymakers and voices for peace with greater justice. This conference is about the politics of getting women to the peace table with men, the politics that must be done to keep them there and the politics of peacebuilding — what it might really be like if people who live on the frontlines and suffer the consequences of policies they had no influence in are at the table. The urgency of this task is felt by many of us, certainly all of us on the stage, many in the audience this evening. We are spending a lot of effort to have gender-inclusive peacebuilding and peacemaking be the heart and soul of what we propose would end some of the complications.

We look at a world of growing militarism; of powerful, negative, human rights-denying legislation; rising radical fundamentalisms; and an increase in poverty because of economic policies that have bottom lines for the few, rather than a right to decent life for the many. As all of us in this room know, the faces on the television; the bodies of our human community murdered, raped, trafficked, abused; and even the use of the word “genocide” so commonly now, suggest that there is something wrong with policies we currently have. Who’s making policy? What difference does it make? Some of us have been



Panelists (l-r) Irene Santiago, Alma Viviana Pérez, Miria Matembe and moderator Dee Aker

privileged to learn from real peacemakers on the ground, those survivors who stay and work and find out how to bring communities together that have been long separated — they are teaching us. We want to make sure that their voices are heard at the table.

Thirty years ago in Mexico City, the First U.N. World Conference on Women was held. Actually, most of the delegates were men — there were more men than women. But what happened at that conference changed life for a lot of people because women saw and had a chance to present their issues — and it really became a calling. It really became something we could put our minds around and look to change. Women took seriously the questions raised at that conference and discovered they had a lot of things in common, no matter what country they were from or how things were moving forward. They met and they continued to examine what was happening in their societies to women, to families. They did it in Copenhagen, they did it in Nairobi 10 years later,² and

² The Second World Conference on Women was held in Copenhagen, Denmark in 1980. In 1985, the Third World Conference on Women was held in Nairobi, Kenya.

they did it in region after region, nation after nation, until they had honed and articulated clearly and lobbied for some real changes. Woven into my own attempts to document and support the changes that will bring about some kind of gender-inclusive voice to the decision-making tables are the women you will meet this evening.

Miria Matembe actually welcomed me into war-ravaged Uganda 20 years ago. She was on the ground organizing from the NGO [nongovernmental organization] level, moving right into government, moving forward, becoming the minister of ethics and integrity — once she helped write the constitution. She, at the very beginning [of her time in office], had to go off as a delegate for her government to Beijing.

She goes to Beijing, and who should have organized the people in Beijing but Irene Santiago, who was the executive director of the NGO Forum. There were 35,000 people there from around the world. She represented the Asia group. It was hard, but it was exciting and it was real, and it changed a lot of things for all of us. Beijing came out with a statement, they called it a Platform for Action, which articulated specific points that we wanted to work with and look at.

One of the things five years later from that is how we weave in Alma Pérez. Alma has been very active in something called United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. I know we hear a lot about resolutions, but this is really a very important resolution. It says women have to be at the peacemaking tables, they have to be there after a conflict has ended, they have to be involved somehow. And so, Alma is moving forward and taking forward the work that has been done over the last years. She is consulting with the Organization of American States in moving things forward and she is representing Latin America on this panel.

With that, I would love to introduce Irene Santiago.



Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding

*Miria Matembe
Alma Viviana Pérez
Irene Santiago*

IRENE SANTIAGO

Distinguished board and officials of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, my colleagues at the table here, men and women, peacemakers gathered here, friends, it is a great honor to be here. Elisabeth Rehn's shoes are very big shoes, and we were told this morning that we were going to fill her shoes. But it is not with fear and trepidation that I accepted to speak at this panel because I know that I am among sisters and brothers, peacemakers all.

In hindsight, 1995 was a good year. I did not think so at the time because the massive political and logistical nightmare that was the NGO Forum on Women in China wore heavily on my shoulders, and as you can see, they are not very big ones. But we pulled it off. Thirty thousand participants, 500 events a day for 10 days. The NGO Forum on Women 1995 was the parallel event to the governmental Fourth World Conference on Women. What was remarkable about Beijing, as we call those twin events, was as much its process as its products. The product, Dee said, is the Beijing Platform for Action, but more than that, as I said, there were 500 events every day for 10 days. You can imagine what products there were and what processes were going on. And it is these that we must continue to build on.

*What was remarkable about Beijing ...
was as much its process as its products.*

The Fourth World Conference on Women was preceded by five regional conferences in Asia Pacific, Europe, the Arab region, Africa and Latin America. In each of these regional conferences, NGOs mustered all the resources that they could in order to run parallel forums that served to give women a stronger voice at the governmental conference certainly, but also enabled us to network closely across issues at the regional level. So, finally when we got to Beijing,



there was a strong women's team called Equipo that grew organically from the regional process. We can truly say that the Beijing Platform for Action with its 12 strategic areas of concern was a negotiated document, not just among the governments, but also between the governments and the women. It was a hard-fought struggle as the forces that would keep women's voices and concerns out of the U.N. document were formidable.

As the governmental conference deliberated on the Platform for Action, the NGOs also organized plenary sessions around five themes. They had identified five themes as having the highest impact on the largest number of women worldwide. These were, one, globalization and the impact of the technological revolution on work; two, violence against women, including increasing militarism; three, all forms of fundamentalisms: religious, ethnic, geographic, homophobic, etc.; four, governance, including issues of identity and citizenship; and five, homogenization of culture and communication.

Well, now, it is 2006, and it is not a good year. September 11 and terrorism, the invasion of Iraq, the increasing numbers of protracted social conflicts in the world, sit on top of those five themes we identified in 1995, and have either raised new issues or sharpened their impact even more. As we deliberate here for the next two days on gender-inclusive decision making for peace with justice, where are we at, specifically, in the politics of peacebuilding, which is the issue this panel is supposed to address?

A few months ago I was in a forum where a man from the ministry of defense of an Asian country I shall not name asked me, “Irene, we are talking about war here. Isn’t it a diversion to be talking about women and peace?” I have very expressive eyebrows, so you can imagine what they expressed at that moment.

Of course, I said that I could not believe I was hearing that question in a public forum in this day and age. But I was. Didn’t you hear the same thing, the same question asked by the people — usually men but not only them — in the labor movement? In the agrarian reform movement? In every liberation struggle? “You wait, women, wait — there are bigger things to fight for.”

Then I said, “Dare I say the ‘p’ word: patriarchy? Oh yes, we used to use that word in the ‘60s and the ‘70s, and slowly we stopped using it as we talked about women and development, women in development, gender and development, gender mainstreaming, and so on and so forth. We forgot the ‘p’ word. Patriarchy is about men’s obsessive need to control. Isn’t that one of the reasons for war? And if that is so, shouldn’t we be talking about women and men? About gender?” He did not ask a follow-up question.

Then another man said, “I am afraid to ask a question in case I am labeled politically incorrect.”

And I said, “Yes, you are right to be fearful. Being scared is the beginning of awareness.”

... apart from the forces of patriarchy, there are forces of fear and forces of want that together make violence an option for many.

So, apart from the forces of patriarchy, there are forces of fear and forces of want that together make violence an option for many. That is why Muhammad Yunus and Grameen Bank winning the Nobel Peace Prize is good,³ because it tells us that peace must confront all those forces: patriarchy, fear and want. If peace is to be for all and therefore, sustainable, Muhammad Yunus, an economist and a man, believed that women must be recognized and included. He knew that the forces of want and fear can be reduced, if not eradicated, by giving women a chance to choose to empower themselves. He made the connection for peace, as did the Nobel Peace Prize committee.

Eleven years after Beijing, we have learned about the politics of peacebuilding. Why are women still not at the table? Why are we not making the decisions? We have worked on quotas. We have done endless training and organizing. We have instruments. We have modalities. We have tools. We have all that. My colleagues on this panel will give you concrete situations and issues arising from their practical experience on the front lines. Allow me to be the philosophical one. If you want the practical me, you can come to my panel tomorrow night when I will speak about my own experiences as a negotiator.⁴

But tonight, I want to talk about politics, meaning power. After long years of reflecting on power and women, I have realized that we must start where the women’s movement has always started: with the word. In the beginning is the word, because if you can name it, you can have it. Remember “personal

³ Muhammad Yunus founded Grameen Bank on the idea of micro-credit loans to the poor. Yunus and Grameen Bank were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.

⁴ As part of the institute’s Women PeaceMakers Conference, Santiago spoke during the Women on the Frontlines Plenary Session. The title of her presentation was “At the table: Negotiating for peace in the Philippines.” For more information on the panel, please see the conference report at: <http://peace.sandiego.edu/reports/ConferenceReports/WhoIsMakingPolicy.html>.

is political”? Remember “women’s rights are human rights”? We had to name them. How many of us have seen women who are excellent community organizers desist from entering the public arena where bigger decisions are made? Not that we do not have the skills. Sometimes we may not have the experience in that public arena, but that does not stop the men usually. So, why won’t we go? Why won’t we go? Because power in the models that we see every day is not the power that we want to hold. We see power as manipulative and deceptive, even violent.

But what about this: if we define power another way, would women claim it? Power is the potency to act for what is good. There are three operative words here: potency, act, good. If you have the potency and you do not act, you are not powerful. If you have potency and you act, but you act for what is not good, you are not powerful. It is about capacity, action, values. If power is defined as the potency to act for what is good, would women claim power?

*If power is defined as the potency to act for what is good,
would women claim power?*

Our challenge in the peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding field, for women and men both, is to model that kind of power so that the person who struts to the meeting with his guns and his bodyguards and his arrogance will not be called powerful. He will just be called evil. And we will stop asking his kind to be a graduation speaker or a sponsor at our daughter’s wedding. At the table, at the top, where decisions are made, we do not need just any woman or just any man. We need leaders and managers who are steeped in notions of gender equality, human rights and social justice. When we have women and men like that, our world will be rearranged, rejuvenated, transformed.

In our quest for this type of world, we need to create an atmosphere of hope. Paulo Freire, that great Brazilian educator, once said that “one of our tasks is to unveil opportunities for hope, no matter what the obstacles may be. Without a minimum of hope,” he says, “we cannot so much as start the struggle. But without the struggle, hope dissipates, loses its bearings and turns into hopelessness. And hopelessness can become tragic despair, hence the need for a kind of education in hope.”

I have been an organizer for most of my adult life. I have learned such things as, “Begin with the people, but don’t end there,” “No one empowers anyone else. Only you can empower yourself,” and, “The potency to act for what is good is real power,” and it applies not only to peace, but to everything else. Salaam. Peace be with us all, inside and out.

ALMA VIVIANA PÉREZ

Hope. Hope is what we have, but hope is also what women had in 2000, and that was a good year. 2000 was the year of the Millennium Development Goals. Remember those? 2000 was also the year that women made such an achievement in the United Nations and in the international arena. They got a resolution of the Security Council all for themselves. I was in New York in December 2000; I was appointed at the Colombian mission to the United Nations as a diplomat. When I came into that room, my first thought was, “What a masculine place, this place.” Honestly, I thought that.

The Security Council is the place where you decide war and peace. And probably because of the energy that they got in Beijing, the women’s movement had to fight for their place at the table and fight for their papers. Everything in the international arena is about papers. It is about treaties. It is about resolutions. It is about declarations. We used to think that all of those papers had nothing to do with real life. When you go into the Security Council, then you realize that the paper from the Security Council certainly changed a lot of people’s lives. What happened that year was certainly amazing: women’s organizations were able to craft a resolution of the council, were able to lobby for that resolution and were able to make that resolution accepted and issued by the council. That was a landmark thing.

Resolution 1325 is not just any Security Council resolution. All Security Council resolutions are mandatory, as you know. All Security Council resolutions must be enforced by every member state of the United Nations, but [a resolution] is also a mandate for the whole United Nations system. Every agency in the United Nations has to comply with those resolutions. And 1325, when placed in that framework, three words [are essential]: women, peace, security — altogether. It was the first time that we had the visibility of the United Nations Security Council recognizing that peace and security are inextricably linked to equality between women and men. That sounds quite normal for us right now, but try to lobby a text into the Security Council saying so and it will take ages. And it took [a long time], but they did it. Since



Alma Viviana Pérez on Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series panel

that year, 2000, Resolution 1325 has been the framework in which the United Nations and the countries are moving toward, and should continue to move toward, to enforce several mandates, and I would say, four basic mandates.

First is that women should play an active role in peacemaking efforts — that means negotiations, that means political decisions, that means implementation mechanisms. Not every woman, but yes, those women who are working in the communities, those women who are part of women’s movements, those women who are able to get this paper, an international resolution, and enforce it.

The second mandate: protection of women in conflict situations. The resolution calls specifically for protection of women’s rights and addresses specifically gender justice: no peace without justice for crimes committed against women.

The third mandate: mainstreaming a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and I would say, into every operation the United Nations is

carrying out in the field. You are normally told in the street that Resolution 1325 only applies for those countries on the Security Council agenda. I have been told that in Colombia so many times. That resolution applies to all countries, to all of us, men and women, to all governments. And we should be able to make it real.

The last but not the least area is inclusion of the gender perspective in reports and implementation mechanisms. How many agreements, how many declarations does the United Nations have on social issues, on economic issues, on development issues? And women are not specifically there. What is not named does not exist. You cannot count on it, and so, you must ask for it.

Resolution 1325 is important not just because it has all of these mandates on it. It is important because not only were women's movements able to do all the lobbying in order to get the resolution through, but they have also joined the lobby now to keep it alive and to implement it. No other Security Council resolution has such a vibrant civil society movement behind it. I really believe that 1325 is living proof that civil society — a person like you, like me, that a person like my mother in Santa Marta, Colombia — can touch international reality and modify it. These people were able to draft a resolution for the council and now they are being able to enforce that resolution. This is something that we normally do not think we should be able to do. But we are doing it.

Resolution 1325 is important because ... no other Security Council resolution has such a vibrant civil society movement behind it.

Now that we have shaped the international agenda, we have certainly achieved quite a lot six years after. The United Nations has included women in every possible space, we are being named now, we have gender chapters in most of the reports the United Nations issues. We have more women in places of power — some are gender aware, some others are not.

But was that what we wanted? Because I haven't seen that change of people looking for the kind of power [Santiago] was mentioning. We have had 1325 for six years now. The point is we were able to shape international processes. We were able to shape international language. Do you see how politically incorrect it is to not talk about gender equality now? But try to make it real. That [is when it] seems to be politically correct. When you are going to sit at the table, don't people stare at you still if you are the only woman at the table?

Well, the point is that it is time for the national agenda. If we were able to get 1325 from the Security Council — if this robust women's movement was able to do so — it is the time for them and it is the time for all of you, women and men, to start the implementation of the spirit of Resolution 1325 at home. "At home" means in your country, in your region, in your neighborhood, in your place, delivering trainings on 1325. I have to say that that first thought of the Security Council changed my life. I went back to Colombia and I started spreading the word. Most people do not even know the topic. But once they know that, the feeling of empowerment is such that they are able to make big changes.

... it is the time for all of you, women and men, to start the implementation of the spirit of Resolution 1325 at home.

In Guatemala, Central America, I recently addressed a group of women and men peacemakers on 1325. There were women and men saying, "I need to go back and I need to start doing training on this because now we have an international instrument that we can comply with. So, my plea would be, go home, get the text, start reading, start asking. When you start in a place and there are no women at the table, ask for it, even if you are a grown person, even if you are an adolescent girl. Go to the schools and ask why there are no women on the school council? That will be the beginning of you building real power, not just any power. We all have a duty to do. I thank you.

MIRIA MATEMBE

Thank you so much. I would like to welcome you from Beijing, through New York and the United Nations, and back to Africa, to Uganda. I would like you to cross in your mind to Africa and listen to me a little bit. I just want to thank my colleagues for this wonderful presentation.

I just want to say that I have been a politician for the last 17 years. From Nairobi and the forward-looking strategies, through Beijing, through Beijing+10, here I am to share my experience with you. You will observe that all these meetings on the Platform for Action had these three words: peace, equality and development. Peace begins because it is clear that without peace, you cannot develop, and without equality, you cannot have either peace or development.

We should not be asked the data to justify why we should participate.

Being a politician, I have been confronted with questions as to why women should participate in politics. And I say that the fact that I am alive and am a human being and was created by God to exist side by side with a man is clear evidence that I must participate. We should not be asked the data to justify why we should participate. By the way, God created man after creating animals. What he missed in the animals, he put in man. And what he missed in man, finally he put in the woman. And he was satisfied that that was the complete job of creation. The whole idea was that men should sit together with women and decide the issues of governance of the animals and the rest of the things God put here. The fact that we are messing this world is because women are denied the opportunity to participate and influence the decisions. At the peace negotiations and peacemaking [tables], all these men are seated there, men who know how to make wars, and now they sit there and they want to make peace. Don't you see it is just a contradiction? And why they cannot see it is what I cannot understand. That is why God created women with a sixth sense to tell them. And the distinguished men, if you could listen to us, the world would be different.



Miria Matembe speaking at Women PeaceMakers Conference

Now, having said that, I would like to say that in Uganda, having emerged in 1986 out of wars, dictatorial rules and murderous regimes, women had become clever. We had suffered so much that when the democratization processes started in 1986, we said, "This time, we must be in there. You have not done good for us." The NRM [National Resistance Movement] government was very receptive; it was listening because some women had also participated in the wars to bring it into power. The NRM established democratic institutions and charged them with the responsibilities to democratize the country. One of these institutions was the Uganda Constitutional Commission. That commission was charged with the responsibility of putting in place a new constitution that would make a new Uganda. Because there were a lot of women, we said that we need to be there on this body also. The government appointed two women out of a 21-member commission. Don't worry, I was one of those women; we were two lawyers. I can assure you by the end of the constitution-making exercise, all those men seated there, the 19, were very gender sensitive. In fact, some of them found their way into the constituent assembly which promulgated the

constitution, and they were really talking for us, like they were purchased [by us]. But of course they had [only] been influenced.

At the peace negotiations and peacemaking [tables], all these men are seated there, men who know how to make wars, and now they sit there and they want to make peace. Don't you see it is just a contradiction?

You see, if these people were to allow us to sit with them at the peace negotiation tables, peace could be reached quickly because women know the language. You know, God gave us the responsibility of not only mothering human beings, but nurturing them. Has it occurred to you that it takes one minute or a second to make a baby, but both man and woman participate equally in that second or minute? But then, after that, the whole of human creation and nurturing is left to the woman. Nine months that human being is communicating to you, and then on to breastfeeding, and then on to nurturing and bringing up. We know human life more than they do and I wish they could let us make the decisions that concern human life. If we sat with them at the tables, I am sure they would change heart and maybe things would change. Therefore, really, we must be there.

So, for the women in Uganda, we said, “Look, we must participate in this constitution-making exercise,” and we did. We did a great job. All of that is certainly documented in my book.⁵ I want to tell you that we embraced the constitution-making exercise because women looked at this constitution as their savior. They thought it was the panacea to all the problems they were involved in, the problems of battering and inequality. Therefore, we participated fully. We really organized and participated, and as a result we came out with a very wonderful, gender-sensitive and responsive constitution.

⁵ See Related Resources.

This constitution and the exercise coincided with Beijing. In fact, by the time we went to Beijing, we were in the constituent assembly discussing this draft which had come out of the public — because the participatory method was used in making the constitution. The women used this method as a way of gender sensitization. Therefore, when we went to Beijing, we saw that Beijing has already decided these things, and since we are signatories to CEDAW [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women], we must incorporate all these things.

Eventually we came out with this wonderful constitution. As a result of this constitution which guarantees affirmative action and equal rights and many other things, the women in Uganda are participating in politics with good percentages. I mean, 28.8 percent in parliament is not so bad compared to America, the center of civilization and all power. In the cabinet and other high decision-making positions, it is between 20 and 30 percent, and in local government, it is 30 percent. We have the principle of gender balance which demands that in appointing people to positions of responsibility, there must be balance. But, we use a defective measuring [device]. Ours is so defective that if a commission is, for instance, seven people, then two are women and five are men. If there are four, one is a woman, and the balance is tilting [to one] side — but it is better than nothing.

So, I am here to tell you that we have all these politics and women are participating. But, if you want to know more, come tomorrow to my session when I'll be presenting with all this energy, with all this enthusiasm.⁶ We will talk about this high climax of Beijing and getting the constitution in place and what is happening right now as far as equality, peace and development are concerned. Thank you.

⁶ As part of the institute's Women PeaceMakers Conference, Matembe spoke during the Governance Plenary Session. Her presentation was entitled, “Challenges to gender justice: Betrayal of Uganda's affirmative action constitution.” In addition, Matembe facilitated a working session on “Writing women into constitutions — can it work?” For more information, please see the conference report at: <http://peace.sandiego.edu/reports/ConferenceReports/WhoIsMakingPolicy.html>.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The audience submitted questions which were read by the panel moderator, Dee Aker.

DA: I want to thank Miria and all of the panel members. To start off, let me ask Irene particularly, do you think that the kind of energy that produced Beijing and the Platform for Action, or the kind of energy that actually created the constitution of Uganda, Miria, can ever be regenerated? Is it possible? What do we need to do to do that?

IS: Hope. You have to hope. The energy that was so palpable in Beijing I think has been taken over by what I call technical people. The whole dynamism that comes from a movement as we go into gender mainstreaming becomes technical. So, people who know about modules and training and checklists get into the forefront because now we are trying to mainstream gender; it becomes a technical problem and the technical people come. There's a difference between a movement and the technical side of things. I am not saying the technical side of things is not good, but what I call the incandescent impetus is what I think is lost when a political problem becomes a technical one. I think we have sort of gone into that and a balance needs to be made. I am 65 years old; how many of the young people here in this room are going to take over the movement? I think most of us are now thinking of the successor generation who must come up with their own issues. They are not the same issues as our generation, but the young people have to come up and define their own issues again. I think we must not lose sight of what a movement is and what a movement can do, in the rush to doing the technical side of gender mainstreaming.

MM: I just want to say that we need the younger generation to be motivated and not to be complacent. For instance, at this age, I don't think I can have that spirit I had when [Dee] met me 20 years ago — can I revive that? I think my daughter or my daughter-in-law out there has to be provoked or challenged to move on. Of course, environment and circumstances are very different. I do



believe those people whom we took over from were also talking like this at that time; they had reached some level of climax. So, we need to really challenge our young people, both men and women, to come up and take up the mantle.

AP: If I may, let me start by saying that most women have the belief that in order to succeed in the peace and security world, they need to behave like men. That is the first problem. Most of them even believe — even if they are convinced that they will do it another way when they are in the seat — that in order to get the seat, they need to behave like men, act as men. That's not true. In the world are plenty of women doing community work through not only the international arena, but the national and the regional one. So, when you are talking about technical people, I ask you, who are the technical people? You all are the technical people. Get the treaties, get documents, get the information and ask. While you are asking for gender equality, while you are measuring it, you are the technical people, so you are the people we need to become.

DA: Thank you. The question here is, what can you say about the role of women in the Muslim world concerning peace and politics, in terms of your international experiences?

IS: I don't have an experience internationally, but I work with Muslim women in the Philippines because I come from Mindanao. The Bangsamoro struggle is certainly in the forefront of the issues we are facing. Women are coming out to have a voice, but it's a lesson that we have all had to learn, in that, for example, in the 1996 peace agreement there were no women at all, no participants in the technical committee, nowhere. So, when the resources were distributed or allocated, there were not any for women; they were all given to ex-combatants who were usually men. The women did get 10 percent of the resources that came as a result of the peace agreement. Nine years after they did an evaluation: the 10 percent are the only sustainable projects left.

So, they are saying that now that we are having another round of peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, knowing this [information about resource allocation after peace agreements], how do you now advocate within and without in order to make that happen? I think the Muslim women are saying we have to speak with our own voice now and not have the men speak for us. I think they learned from that. Also, [they want] to make sure that their role within the struggle is defined as part of an integral part of the struggle. Therefore, one of the things, for example, that we have been articulating is that we need a new definition of who is the ex-combatant, because the ex-combatants almost always get the resources. So, who is that? Who is that person? A lot of these things are things the Muslim women, at least in Mindanao, are now facing and discussing and really putting forward and advocating.

DA: I would like to add to that because of our experience at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, where in our Women PeaceMakers Program, at least five of our women peacemakers have been from the Islamic faith. They work on the ground, they actually negotiate, they facilitate meetings between

warlords, they do all these things — so while we may not be aware of it in the news that appears in the paper, there is a lot going on. That is always our issue: what's going on, on the ground with women who have pulled together a sense that we're going to survive this, we're going to do it differently and we're going to take care of those who are being injured by the process.

Our next question says that most people consider peacemaking something that follows war instead of precedes war, but if that is true, what do we want women to do to stop war before it even starts? How do we deal with those kinds of things that are the precursors?

IS: One of the books that you might like to read is a book by William Ury, who with Roger Fisher, wrote *Getting to Yes* — they are from the Harvard Negotiation Project. But William Ury on his own wrote a book called *The Third Side*. You're called a "third sider" because there is a side A and side B, the two disputants or people in conflict, and you take the third side. He lists 10 roles that a person who wants to do peace can take. Three of those roles are roles that you can use to prevent conflict, four to resolve conflict and three to contain conflict.

If you want to prevent, which is the question, you have to be a teacher, a provider and a bridge builder. Somebody needs to learn something, so you teach. There are basic needs that are not met, so you provide — and I think that is what Yunus was doing, he was doing both teaching and providing. And the last is being a bridge builder. So those are ways to prevent. Those are specific skills. When you want to resolve conflicts, then you become an arbiter, a mediator, an equalizer and a healer. Those who want to contain conflict become peacekeepers, referees and witnesses. So, there are 10 different roles, and those are definitely 10 different skills. One of the things that happens to us as peacemakers is that we get so caught up in the culture of peace as a value, but we don't learn the skills if we can't differentiate the skills.





MM: If I may add on, I think that women have a very big role to play in prevention of wars, but they never get that opportunity. First of all, women can be peacemakers right from their homes, for their society, if they are able to participate in decisions that are made. If you look at Africa, for instance, most of these wars are there because of greed, corruption, the men's ability to stick to power and use this power to rob nations, and this ends up in war. If women were participating in decision making, if they were in the political arena, if they were to participate in deciding what should be done within the economy, then they have a big role to play, and they can even detect the early warnings of potential conflict. But the situation is that we are not there. We are not there to prevent the men from doing what they do. But they can do a lot, even at a small level. That is why with our energy back home, like in Africa, they teach about these skills, the skills [Santiago] is talking about, so that as you bring up the children, as you deal with the youth, you tell them that wars are not good and corruption is not good, you teach values — human values that promote peace rather than wars. I think we are the majority of teachers who can do that.

DA: On that issue, I think I can ask this question: if we operate on the assumption that women are more natural peacemakers, how do you explain Condoleezza Rice or Hillary Clinton?

IS: Or Margaret Thatcher.

DA: Yes, and also the fearsome women who are part of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] in Sri Lanka?

MM: Surely that is easier for me to answer. Whose institutions and structures are these women operating in? [Santiago] talked about patriarchy. Patriarchy is very entrenched within the systems, within the laws, within everything that we do. That is why [Pérez] was saying that when women get there, they think they have to behave like men, because when you behave like a woman, they trust you as a woman, and then you don't fit, and at the end you are more tied into doing what they do. There is a need for transformation of systems, structures and institutions to enable us to expose our naturally given values of love for humankind, for provision for humankind.

So, if you look at Condoleezza Rice, she's been in the system of all these conservative Republicans. She does what Bush wants. What do you want her to do if she is to keep that job? I am telling you, you really need to understand the systems and structures. In any case, I am not saying that women are angels from heaven. Don't you know that man sinned and therefore, we fell short of God's glory, and the devil can use us to do wrong things? I am not saying here we are holy from heaven. No. I am saying we are created and entrusted with a responsibility to nurture human beings. But, this human being is nurtured within an environment that can affect their lives, conduct and behavior, and women are affected accordingly. Thank you.

DA: I have a question for Alma. Somebody would like you to comment on the Lysistrata movement in Colombia.

AP: Well, I don't know the Lysistrata movement in Colombia, but what I can tell you is there are a huge number of women's movements in Colombia working for peace. That gives me the opportunity to say that we know how to do peace in the middle of the conflict. We have been at it for 50 years. We have a generation of Colombians who have never lived in peace, and still we have women and men advocating for peace. We are in the middle of war, and though we may have some governance in the country, still we have people asking for humanitarian agreements, and there are women's movements advocating for humanitarian agreements.

We also in Colombia have all the range [of women]. We have women in the guerilla, women in the paramilitary, women in every front, women building bridges, women politicians — the president of the Colombian senate is a woman. We have quite a good participation of women in politics, though we haven't achieved the same level of participation at the local level, but we are working for it and we are working for it in the middle of the conflict we are living in. So, you can do both. You can be in conflict working for peace. You can be a woman and behave in a guerilla-like way. But, I also need to say here, you can be a man advocating for gender equality, and that makes you a very strong peacemaker in your own right. We have no better advocates and no better friends than the men who are committed to gender equality, and I think we never recognize that because we are very busy talking about women.

DA: Thank you. Do U.N. Security Council mandates for peacekeeping operations incorporate provisions that address gender issues in postconflict operations? Are commanders of peacekeeping operations provided with special assistance in gender issues, and are there cases of women commanding peacekeeping operations? Does anybody have any comments on their experiences with this? Those of you who are able to come back and observe another panel, I want to let you know that tomorrow we will be having Comfort Lamprey, who is the gender advisor to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations.⁷

⁷ As part of the institute's Women PeaceMakers Conference, Lamprey spoke during the Security Sector Plenary Session. The title of her presentation was, "Transforming gender disparity and gender insensitivity in international peacekeeping." For more information on the panel, please see the conference report at: <http://peace.sandiego.edu/reports/ConferenceReports/WhosMakingPolicy.html>.

AP: I know that there is a very dynamic movement inside the United Nations toward gender training for peacekeepers and towards engendering peacekeeping missions and peacekeeping operations. So far, they are developing mandates on that and they are starting to appoint gender advisors in each mission. However, we are still suffering the consequences of not having gender properly addressed in U.N. peacekeeping missions. There is still a road to walk. They are working on it, but there is still much more to be done in that field, specifically on the topic of sexual abuses for peacekeepers. There is a lot to do. I would say there is commitment in the United Nations, and that that commitment has been translated into mandates. We still need to see it translated into facts in most cases.

DA: Irene, we have a question for you. Since the Philippines has had women presidents, has there been any benefit?

AP: Look at the eyebrows.

IS: The eyebrows say it. I just wish that that question wasn't asked in public. Corazon Aquino's role was to restore democracy, and she did, in a very brilliant way. We asked her to become a president and she had not been prepared to lead a country out of crisis. Her legacy of having restored democracy — the only candidate that everybody could rally around — that is her place in history. Gloria Macapagal Arroyo,⁸ the current president, has been repeatedly asked to resign and will not resign. So, that is the political crisis in the country today in that she's been accused of cheating the elections and lying afterwards. Sound familiar? As I said, I've done a lot of reflection on women and politics, and I myself have run for public office. I ran against her in 1998. So, I keep telling the people in Mindanao, if you had voted for me for president, you know, we wouldn't have her. But, that's a joke.

So, in my reflections, that's the reason why I said what I said, that it can't just be any woman. It will have to be men and women steeped in the notions of gender equality, human rights and social justice. If you don't have those, what kind

⁸ Corazon Aquino was president of the Philippines from 1986 to 1992. Gloria Macapagal Arroyo has been president since 2001. She is currently serving a six-year term which began in 2004.

of a leader are you, no matter what your gender is? So we're talking of human qualities. I do not like to romanticize women as the nurturers, I really don't, because I think it does a disservice to women and to men, to human beings, because I think we should do better. We should do better in the way we raise our children. We have to do better in the way we structure our society. You have to keep saying a woman is not an angel. If you get Margaret Thatchers, you have to ask what happened. It's just not fair to put that burden on women, or to put that kind of onus on men.

Those of us working on peace, in fact, are starting to think in terms of what we teach, what values we teach, so that we see each other — I'm going to be spiritual here — as souls. Whatever roles we are playing are costumes. You may be a mother, a wife, a public official, Muslim, Buddhist — those are all costumes. In the end, each one of us is a soul. I think it's the only way I can see another person and live in peace. I cannot have conflict with such a person if I see that other person as a soul. I can have conflict with that other person in different roles. As we keep playing those roles, especially because those roles are played within the various -isms we have, then it becomes a source of conflict.

So, go home tonight and think. Think about the roles that you play and how those roles result so many times in the conflicts we are in as husband, wife, mother, daughter, all of those things. If we could just see each other as souls, I don't think there would be the conflicts we have today. Of course, you say, "So, what else is there, Irene?" Well, there's happiness and peace. I think if we start thinking that way, many of the things that we all want to achieve in this world we can in fact achieve.



RELATED RESOURCES

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WEB SITES:

Action for Development (ACFODE). ACFODE is an indigenous, voluntary, nongovernmental women's interest and development organization. Its mission is to promote women's empowerment, gender equality and equity in Uganda through spearheading advocacy and networking efforts to create an enabling environment, as well as increasing the capacities of women in local communities to manage their own activities in addition to standing up for their rights. Retrieved January 2007, from <http://www.wougnet.org/Profiles/acfode.html>

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Grameen Bank. Founded by Muhammad Yunus, the bank provides credit to the poorest of the poor in rural Bangladesh without any collateral. Yunus, currently the managing director, and the bank jointly received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006. Retrieved January 2007, from <http://www.grameen-info.org/#>

Mindanao Commission on Women. Created in 2001, the commission pursues not just a "woman's agenda," but a "Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development." The Commission is composed of 25 women leaders who have many years of experience working in development programs in Mindanao. Irene Santiago is the chair and CEO of the commission. Retrieved January 2007, from <http://www.mindanaowomen.org>

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