

ENDNOTES

19. The State Department has developed a three-tier system to reflect the extent to which governments comply with the "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000" passed by the US Congress. Tier 1 countries (e.g., Austria, Canada and the UK) comply fully with the Victims' Act minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. Tier 2 countries (e.g., Angola, Philippines, Guatemala and Brazil) are making progress toward compliance. Tier 3 countries (e.g., Belarus, Bahrain, Greece, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Russia) are making no progress. We believe this three-tier system is instructive because it illustrates the range of variance among States in their responses to trafficking.
20. CEDAW contains an article on prostitution that calls on States to take measures to "suppress all forms of traffic in women and the exploitation of prostitution" (Article 6). This article was not intended to include all prostitution.
21. *Women Watch*, the Website of the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, cites only one declaration drafted after (and subsequently not included in) Hevener-Kaufman's work: the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women of 1993.
22. Hevener-Kaufman, Natalie. *International Law and the Status of Women* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983), 6.
23. *Ibid.*, 7.
24. For a full explanation, see Hevener-Kaufman, *International Law and the Status of Women*.
25. *Ibid.*, 22.
26. *Ibid.*, 9.
27. The original agreement was drafted in 1904 and extended through conventions in 1910, 1921, 1933, and 1947.
28. Hevener-Kaufman, *International Law and the Status of Women*, 12.
29. *Ibid.*, 18-22.
30. Interview with an official at the Midwest Immigration and Human Rights Center, April 15, 2004.
31. Ratna Kapur, "The Tragedy of Victimization Rhetoric: Resurrecting the 'Native' Subject in International/Post-Colonial Feminist Legal Politics," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 15 (Spring 2002): 36-37.
32. Jordon, *The Annotated Guide*, 16.
33. The level of corruption and police violence against women in many countries targeted for these monies is a major concern; this stipulation in many ways further defeats a rights-based, feminist approach to trafficking. For a further discussion of this Convention Article, see Jordon, *The Annotated Guide*, 16.
34. Susan Tiefenbrun, "The Saga of Susannah, A U.S. Remedy for Sex Trafficking in Women: The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000," *Utah Law Review* 17 (2002): 111-113.
35. Nora Demleitner, "The Law at Crossroads: The Construction of Migrant Women Trafficked into Prostitution" in *Global Human Smuggling in Comparative Perspective*, eds. David Kyle and Rey Koslowski (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
36. Examples of two such documents are *Human Rights Standards for the Treatment of Trafficked Persons*, coauthored by the Global Alliance against Traffic in Women, the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women and Global Rights; and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights publication, *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking* ([http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/\(Symbol\)/E.2002.68.Add.1.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/E.2002.68.Add.1.En?Opendocument))
37. For more information on these documents, see: http://www.globalrights.org/site/DocServer/Traff_AnnoProtocol.pdf?docID=203 and <http://www.gaatw.org/>

"Like other international treaties, CEDAW amounts to a bill of rights, rights that may too often be honored in the breach, not so very different from 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. We may not need those rights in exactly the same way as women facing honor killings or genital mutilation. But, as we are so quick to note on other fronts, when the United States stands up for a principle it sends a message to the world about how that principle ought to be valued. Yet while America signs off on trade agreements and refugee treaties, it refuses to join the world community in standing up for the rights of women."

- Anna Quindlen,

Newsweek, 21 March 2005

UPDATES: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

In June the Massachusetts Joint Judiciary Committee held a hearing on HB706, which applies CEDAW and other international human rights treaties and standards "to attain social justice in the Commonwealth". An impressive list of endorsers had been amassed by the Massachusetts Human Rights for All Initiative — "a collaborative response of Amnesty International, the Coalition for a Strong United Nations, the Massachusetts CEDAW Project, Massachusetts Welfare Rights Union, Survivors Inc., and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to the opportunity HB706 offers for deepening our understanding of and commitment to universal human rights." Six people spoke in support; there was no public testimony in opposition.

Excerpts from written submissions to the committee:

"Human rights brings a human-centered approach to evaluating government performance and ensuring that policies and programs are responsive, efficient and fair.

. . . Anchoring our assessments of government performance in a model that cen-

ters human dignity and equality ensures that government fulfills its first and most significant obligation: to represent and serve the people. But it also dresses this lofty goal in sensible clothing that should appeal to all who support efficient and streamlined governance: e.g. a pro-active approach that seeks to identify problems and gaps before they squander resources and/or cause egregious harms.”

- Barbara Schulman,
coordinator of the New York City Human Rights Initiative, a coalition of over 80 community-based organizations, service providers, advocacy groups, policymakers, labor unions and human rights activists and educators working to strengthen human rights standards in the United States, particularly in New York City

“The work on HB 706 recognizes that the citizens of the State of Massachusetts must be guaranteed basic economic and social rights standards in order to protect the liberty and dignity that every democracy owes to its citizens. . . . It cannot be a question of investing in education at the cost of protecting health, or investing in security at the cost of education — but rather solutions must emerge from a solid commitment to guarantee all fundamental rights.”

- Catherine Albisa,
executive director of the National Economic and Social Rights Initiative

“Passing HB706 is an important step in bringing the state of Massachusetts in line with the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and other international human rights agreements. . . . I fervently urge the Massachusetts Joint Judiciary Committee to vote in favor of HB706, to . . . ensure not just the well-being, but the very survival of hundreds of thousands of women, children and men, both international and domestic victims of modern day slavery.”

- Mei-Mei Ellerman,
coordinator of Polaris Project Boston

The Massachusetts bill, similar to those passed unanimously by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 2002 and 2003, begins a process of examining state

laws and regulations for congruence with international human rights standards. In addition to authorizing public hearings into the status of human rights within Massachusetts, HB706 requires a review of existing state law and regulations. MassCEDAW has been working with the Community, Law and Difference program at Northeastern University’s School of Law to develop a methodology for conducting such a review and to “better understand the nature and scope of the gaps in human rights protections that would be addressed by the bill”. This “preliminary legal review examined five narrow topics, . . . in particular through the lens of CEDAW”: government benefits to poor families, pregnancy discrimination in employment, health care for older women, predatory lending, and violence against college women. “In each case, the findings were mixed. In some respects, Massachusetts’ law is consistent with the protections and guarantees offered under human rights law. Yet, despite the adoption of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Commonwealth’s constitution in 1976, troubling gaps continue to disadvantage the state’s women. . . . These snapshots offer only a partial picture of the ‘fit’ between international human rights standards and Massachusetts state law and regulations. Moreover, they do not address the political question of how Massachusetts might act to raise the bar of human rights protections offered to its residents. That is, however, a question we hope the passage of House Bill 706 will precipitate.” FMI: <<http://www.suffolk.edu/cwhhr/lcd.html>>

At the first public hearing on the NYC Human Rights Initiative’s innovative legislation, based on standards from CEDAW and CERD (Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination), thirty-four community leaders testified. As of 31 July, 32 City Council members had signed on as cosponsors. Results of the second hearing, in October, will be posted at <www.nychri.org>. WILD for Human rights says the model of implementation is similar to San Francisco and includes the ordinance, a race and gender analysis, and a City Taskforce as a monitoring body. The Human Rights in Government Operations Audit Law or “Human Rights GOAL” ex-

pands on the current NYC Human Rights Law, and, say its promoters, “emphasizes the centrality of good governance to ensuring human rights for all New Yorkers. Human Rights GOAL will equip our City government with the practical tools it needs to accurately assess its policies’ impacts upon different populations of New Yorkers; promote equality by enabling the City to stop discrimination before it happens; and give residents a greater say in solving the problems facing their communities. When we put universal human rights standards to work to address the problems facing the most vulnerable members of our local communities, we help to build a human rights culture from which we all ultimately benefit.”

For more on the Massachusetts & NYC initiatives and San Francisco’s pioneering methods of implementing CEDAW in the absence of US ratification, please review *Minerva* 26–28. Since the adoption of CEDAW by San Francisco, city departments have begun incorporating the treaty’s recommendations into hiring practices and budgets relating to services ranging from juvenile rehabilitation and domestic violence to public transportation.

WILD for Human Rights (Women’s Institute for Leadership Development for Human Rights <www.wildforhumanrights.org>) — primarily dedicated to working on local implementation of international treaties, in particular, CEDAW — has provided training and technical assistance, based on its successful San Francisco model (included in the UNIFEM collection of best practices worldwide), to the California cities of Berkeley, Santa Cruz, San Jose, Santa Clara, and Santa Rosa, and is exploring prospects in Atlanta and elsewhere. Chicago has passed a CEDAW resolution, and a coalition there is working on the details of its implementation.

CEDAW in handy pocket-size booklet form is available in multiples of 10 for \$5 (inclusive of postage and handling) from the Massachusetts CEDAW Project, c/o The Center for Women’s Health and Human Rights, Suffolk University, 8 Ashburton Place, Boston, MA 02108 <info@masscedaw.org>.

Millennium Development Goals & CEDAW

Caren Grown

Caren Grown is Director of the Poverty Reduction & Economic Governance team at the International Center for Research on Women (Washington, DC), seeking “to improve policies & programs to increase women’s control over productive assets and to expand their income-earning opportunities and capabilities”. Previously, Dr Grown was with the Center for Economic Studies at the US Census Bureau and then was a Senior Program Officer at the John D. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation. She holds a PhD in economics from the New School for Social Research, with specializations in gender, labor, and development economics. She has edited three special issues of *World Development* on macroeconomics, international trade, and gender inequality, and is the co-author with Gita Sen of *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women’s Perspectives* (Monthly Review Press, 1987).

Caren Grown serves on the Millennium Project’s Education and Gender Equality Task force, one of ten thematic task forces that carry out most of the Project’s analytical work. The Millennium Project was commissioned by the UN Secretary-General in 2002 to “develop a concrete action plan for the world to reverse the grinding poverty, hunger and disease affecting billions of people”. Headed by Professor Jeffrey Sachs, it presented its recommendations, *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*, to the Secretary-General in January 2005. The Millennium Project has been asked to continue operating in an advisory capacity through 2006.

At the Forty-ninth session of the Commission on the Status of Women (New York, 28 February – 11 March 2005), Caren Grown presented this statement as part of a panel discussion of “the linkages between the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome document of the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly and the internationally agreed development goals, including those contained in the Millennium Declaration: Progress, gaps and challenges”.

Before the Millennium Summit in 2000 nearly every country had made a commitment to equal rights for women and girls by ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Signatories are legally obligated to meet the commitments they specify. Often described as the international bill of rights for women, CEDAW provides for women’s equal enjoyment with men of civil, cultural, economic, political, and social rights. It is unique in establishing legal obligations for state parties to ensure that discrimination against women does not occur in the public sphere or the private sphere.

UN member states also made important commitments to promoting gender equality and women’s empowerment at many of the UN Conferences that were held in the 1990s, including the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The declarations and agreements made at these conferences underscored the importance of women’s rights and freedoms, persuaded governments to recognize the gendered consequences of population, social, and macroeconomic policies, and emphasized the importance of mainstreaming gender into all development policies and practice. The inclusion of gender equality and women’s empowerment as Millennium Development Goal 3 is a reminder that many of those promises have yet to be kept while simultaneously offering a critical opportunity to implement them.

Toward reaching Goal 3, the international development community has set this year as the deadline for reaching a first milestone: eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education. Unfortunately, progress has been slow and this first target will be missed in 19 countries for primary education and 24 countries for secondary. But it’s not too late to pick up the pace by building women’s capabilities, improving their access to economic and political opportunity, and guaranteeing women’s safety so that the Millennium Development Goal of gender equality and women’s empowerment can be met by 2015.

Because gender inequality is deeply rooted in entrenched attitudes, societal institutions, and market forces that vary from community to community, different steps are needed in different countries. The UN Millennium Project’s Task Force on Education and Gender Equality has outlined seven strategic priorities that require action today if Goal 3 is to be met within the next decade. These interdependent priorities can be applied in any setting, and are the minimum action necessary to alter the historical legacy of disadvantages against women. They include:

- (1) Strengthen opportunities for secondary education for girls while meeting commitments to universal primary education;
- (2) Guarantee sexual and reproductive health and rights;
- (3) Invest in infrastructure to reduce women’s and girls’ time burdens;
- (4) Guarantee women’s and girls’ property and inheritance rights;
- (5) Eliminate gender inequalities in employment by decreasing women’s reliance on informal employment, closing gender gaps in earnings, and reducing occupational segregation;
- (6) Increase women’s share of seats in national parliaments and local governmental bodies; and
- (7) Combat violence against girls and women.

The world community has the knowledge, technology and resources to reduce gender inequalities and empower women. Moreover, many developing country governments and communities already are taking the necessary steps to put these priorities into action. But to avoid missing the 2015 mark, political commitment at the highest international and national levels is needed to institute policies and make the investments that are necessary to achieve a world where women are healthy, safe and empowered to control their own destinies.

1 Strengthen Girls' Secondary Education

To date, global commitments to girls' education have focused on primary education. As a result, during the past decade girls' primary school enrollment rates have increased in most regions. This focus must continue, and international commitments to universal primary education must be met because primary education results in positive health outcomes for girls and women. However, research shows that secondary or postprimary education has the greatest payoff for women's empowerment – in the home, their communities, in labor markets, and in politics. So in addition to universal primary education, the Task Force is calling for a focus on girls' secondary education as well.

Many insights and lessons have been learned during the past two decades on how to eliminate gender disparities in education. The Task Force identifies four strategies that can be used in a variety of countries:

- Make girls' schooling more affordable by reducing fees and offering targeted scholarships;
- Build schools close to girls' homes and allow for flexible class schedules;
- Make schools girl-friendly by improving the safety, design and policies of schools, such as building latrines for girls and allowing married adolescents to attend school; and
- Improve the quality of education by training more women as teachers, especially in secondary schools, using gender-sensitive textbooks, and developing curriculum for girls that is strong in math and science.

In Mexico, the government – concerned by evidence that showed girls dropping out of school at high rates after primary school – initiated in 1997 a cash-for-education program called Progresá. Using an award system that grants girls incrementally higher payments as they progress through primary and secondary school, the program increased girls' primary school enrollment by 1 percent (to 93 percent) and increased secondary school enrollment by between 3.5 percent and 5.8 percent (to between 70 percent and 73 percent). Even small program changes can improve education for girls in short time.

2 Guarantee Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights

Currently, women's reproductive health remains poor, and in many developing countries, women's reproductive rights are not being fully realized. As a result, maternal mortality rates are high. A women's chance of dying from pregnancy-related complications is nearly 50 times higher in developing countries than in developed countries. Women also are increasingly vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections, particularly HIV. Many sexually active adolescents do not use contraception.

Of the roughly 260 million women ages 15–19 worldwide, both married and unmarried, about 11 percent (29 million) are sexually active and do not want to become pregnant but are not using a modern method of birth control. To ensure the health of women, children and families in developing countries, women must be guaranteed universal access to sexual and reproductive health services through the primary health care system, including full access to sexual and reproductive health information. Comprehensive sexuality education programs also are needed outside of the health care system.

Nearly half of maternal deaths in the developing world occur during labor, delivery or the immediate postpartum period. Access to skilled care and emergency obstetrics services during these periods is critical. However, about two-thirds of births worldwide occur outside of health facilities. Consequently, increasing wo-

men's access to emergency obstetric care is crucial to ensuring maternal health. Skilled birth attendants also are needed. In Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo, special training for non-specialist medical personnel, such as medical assistants and nurses, has led to lower maternal mortality rates in those countries.

A key lesson learned in the fight against HIV and AIDS is that single-purpose programs almost always fail to reach women. Instead, counseling, prevention, and treatment services for HIV and other sexually transmitted infections need to be integrated with other reproductive health services and made available through the primary health care system. Such an approach best helps the most vulnerable girls and women, such as poor women and adolescents. Moreover, when it comes to HIV and AIDS or any other reproductive health issue, men are important allies in improving women's health. They should be engaged both as partners and agents of change.

3 Infrastructure To Ease Time Burdens

Women's & girls' ability to go to school and participate in civic activities often is limited by their responsibilities at home. Routine tasks such as drawing water, collecting firewood or walking to market can take hours, not minutes. One study found that women in Zambia spent more than 800 hours a year collecting firewood and an additional 200 hours fetching water.

The time burden on women and girls can be dramatically reduced with the appropriate infrastructure: efficient energy sources, accessible and affordable transportation, and water and sanitation systems. Cooking fuels such as kerosene and LPG are recognized as good substitutes for traditional biofuels because of their higher thermal efficiency and relative lack of pollutants. Feeder and main roads can greatly expand women's opportunities, especially when combined with accessible and affordable modes of transportation. Finally, increasing women's participation in the design and implementation of infrastructure projects can help to overcome obstacles to access and affordability.

In Mali, the UN Industrial Development Organization and the International Fund for Agriculture worked with communities and women's groups to design and create platforms with a 10-horsepower diesel engine that supplies power for various activities, including agricultural milling and de-husking, lighting, welding and pumping water. Between 1999 and 2004, some 400 platforms were installed across the country, reaching 8,000 women. A study of the impact in twelve villages found several beneficial impacts. Women were able to save time and labor and shift into income-generating activities, leading to an average daily increase of \$0.47. More girls also stayed in school until grade 5, and women's health improved because they were able to visit local clinics more often.

4 Guarantee Property and Inheritance Rights

People who own and control assets such as land and housing have more economic security, are more likely to take economic risks that lead to growth, and receive important economic returns including income. Yet women in many countries are far less likely than men to own or control assets. Ensuring women's property and inheritance rights is a crucial step in empowering women.

Since 1995, there has been growing awareness and policy attention to this issue. But there is no easy fix. Interventions must be context-specific and considered carefully. To begin, countries need to identify the points at which discrimination occurs, including complex and archaic legal systems, deep-rooted social and cultural norms, and a persistent lack of awareness of individual rights and legal protections.

Within countries, several types of changes are necessary to ensure women's property rights: amending and harmonizing statutory and customary laws, promoting legal literacy, supporting women's organizations that can help women make land claims, and recording women's share of land or property. In areas that are moving toward formal land registration systems, joint titling can enhance women's access to land, helping to guard against capricious decision-

making by a spouse and protecting against the dispossession of women due to abandonment, separation, or divorce.

In Vietnam, marriage and family laws were revised in 2001, requiring both the husband's and wife's signatures on any document registering family assets and land use rights. This significantly changed the former policy where certificates only had space for one signature – typically the husband's – and women could only claim their rights in the presence of their husband. Following the revision of the law, the Vietnamese government selected two communes for a pilot project to reissue land title certificates with joint signatures. The project organized village meetings and distributed leaflets about the new law. As a result of the pilot, some 2,600 households now have joint titles. A 2002 evaluation concluded that the project also enabled the establishment of a gender responsive land administration system, improved the ability of local governments to implement land reform, enabled local practices to comply with national law, and disseminated knowledge on national law in remote communities.

5 Reduce Gender Inequality in Employment

In the past two decades, women increasingly are employed, in part because of global economic changes. Between 1990 and 2002, women's share of nonagricultural employment increased in 93 of 131 countries. Yet women's status in the labor market remains significantly inferior to men's. The preferential hiring of men, occupational segregation, and women receiving lower pay for equal work are all examples of gender inequality in employment which continue. Not only do such inequalities contravene women's right to work, but they are costly for women, their families, and their communities.

Interventions to address employment barriers and constraints take many forms, but they should be focused on reducing women's reliance on the informal market, closing the gender gap in earnings and reducing occupational segregation. Expansion of national policies and programs to

provide support for care—of children, people with disabilities, and the elderly—is an important intervention to enable women to participate in paid employment. In addition, broader economic and social policies are needed, such as supporting employment-enhancing economic growth in low-income countries; providing social protections like health and disability insurance; enforcing equality opportunity legislation, and reforming pension systems to reduce gender inequalities. The International Labour Organization (ILO) Decent Work initiative provides an international framework for promoting equal access to and treatment in employment.

6 Increase Women's Seats in Government

Ensuring that women can participate in decision making on equal footing with men in all political arenas is key to empowering women. In the past decade, some countries have made notable progress in increasing women's representation in political bodies. Still, in only 14 countries do women hold 30 percent or more of the seats in their national parliaments.

Three factors have proven successful in boosting women's participation in parliaments and local bodies. Gender quotas and reservations are an effective policy tool to increase women's representation. Strong women's movements and government policies that reduce women's multiple burdens also can facilitate women's political participation.

7 Combat Violence against Women

Violence against women occurs in epidemic proportions in many countries around the world. Surveys in various countries have found that between 10 percent and 69 percent of women report having experienced domestic violence.

Though no single intervention will eliminate violence against women, a combination of infra-structural, legal, judicial, enforcement, health, and other service-related actions can significantly reduce it and its consequences. First and foremost, however, violence against women must be

viewed as unacceptable. The Task Force recommends that the UN Secretary General, alongside heads of state, spearhead a global campaign establishing this norm and mobilizing resources and support to implement national plans to end violence against women.

Regional organizations can also play a role. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has helped reduce domestic violence through its lending programs. Since 1998, the IDB has approved more than \$123 million in lending for the control and prevention of domestic violence in five countries: Chile, Columbia, Honduras, Jamaica, and Uruguay. These loans raised substantial domestic counterparts in the five countries. Some loans also integrated gender concerns in project components such as providing victims treatment; and ensuring that domestic violence data are collected in national crime information systems, police are trained to handle domestic violence cases, and the courts train judges and probation officers on intra-family violence. Some funding also goes to women's non-governmental organizations that specialize in the research, advocacy, and treatment of violence against women.

Making It Happen

Although no country has successfully addressed all seven strategic priorities, some countries have shown that significant progress can be made to empower women and reduce gender disparities. The problem is not a lack of practical ways to ad-

dress gender inequality but rather a lack of change on a large and deep enough scale to transform the way societies define and organize men's and women's roles, responsibilities, and control over resources. To make change happen, countries need:

- **Political Commitment** – Political leaders must be committed and help mobilize individuals and institutions at all levels of government and within international bodies;
- **Technical Capacity** – Leaders and others need technical expertise and knowledge of how to mainstream gender concerns into development policies and programs;
- **Institutional and Structural Change** – Women's groups, civil society, and government agencies need to push for change in the rules, structures, and processes that specify how resources are allocated and how tasks, responsibilities, and values are assigned in institutions and society more broadly;
- **Adequate Resources** – Government and nongovernmental organizations need adequate funding for direct interventions, and to build capacity, collect data, and evaluate programs and policies for gender equality and women's empowerment; and
- **Accountability and Monitoring** – Governments, international institutional and civil society organizations need systems and best practices to ensure that fundamental change is broad-based and lasting.

Moreover, cost does not have to be a barrier. The Task Force collaborated with the UN Millennium Project to create a needs assessment methodology to help countries and organizations calculate the costs for fulfilling the different strategic priorities. Though not exact, the estimates provide a guide to the level of investment needed to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. Results from the assessment in Tajikistan – though preliminary – are illustrative, suggesting that the cost of universal primary and expanded secondary education would be roughly \$20 per person annually. The cost of setting up a primary health care system for child and maternal health, major infectious diseases, and sexual and reproductive health would average about \$29 per person annually. The cost of gender-specific interventions to meet Goal 3 in Tajikistan is estimated at \$10.56 million each year, which is 0.003 percent of its gross domestic product, and which contrasts with debt-servicing payments which accounted for about 4 percent of GDP in Tajikistan in 2001.

The next 10 years provide a new window of opportunity to take action on a global scale to achieve gender equality and empower women as part of meeting all of the MDGs. Governments and international organizations must set the tone and create the environment to make this possible. With adequate space and resources, women's organizations can help transform societies in ways that remove the women's constraints, guarantee their rights, and allow women to fulfill their potential.

From the first annual report by the Global Governance Initiative of the World Economic Forum:

The Millennium Declaration Goals are too large and too complex for governments to achieve alone. Governments may bear primary responsibility, but a broader response will be required for the international community to have any prospect of realizing the Declaration's ambitious expression of the global public interest. So the initiative has also attempted to assess what role the private sector, civil society and international organizations can be expected to play in achieving common objectives. Even after accounting for the efforts of such diverse actors towards a common purpose, the warning is clear: the world community is devoting less than half of the effort necessary to meet any of the goals. Yet, the positive results of many innovative programs from all sectors also give reason to be cautiously optimistic about our ability to solve these "solvable" problems.

A New Way of Doing the World's Business

Mary Robinson

This assessment of the recent United Nations summit, from the *International Herald Tribune* of 25 September 2005, is reprinted with permission.

NEW YORK - There was a vacuum here at the United Nations summit this month, an aching space demanding to be filled. What was lacking, quite simply, was leadership: the vision that could have put backbone into long overdue reform and new purpose into the multilateral drive to tackle poverty.

We didn't get it. And the disappointment felt by civil society across the world is palpable. Instead of opening a new chapter for the UN, we got a summit of fudge: the self-important restatement of goals already agreed and some shameful backsliding on old promises. As the leaders headed home, the world's desperate poor were left largely where they had been at the beginning of the week.

The New York Times called it "the Lost Summit," but I think that's too bleak. Rather, it was the week that the UN had its bluff called. What we saw was a 20th century institution - built on governments primarily concerned about their sovereignty - failing to address the complex and urgent problems of a 21st-century world that demand shared responsibility and joint action.

Just five years ago, the UN launched this new era in a spirit of hope with the Millennium Development Goals, those brave targets for real reduction in poverty. But those promises now seem set to join the pile of broken pledges that mark the old UN's history.

There were things to welcome in the summit agreement. One was the firm language over "responsibility to protect," that will now allow the international community to take uninhibited action when faced with acts of genocide. But this was just a single leg of a stool whose other props failed to materialize. The urgent issue of a new human rights council was pushed to the back burner, and nothing came up on how to tackle the trade in small arms - which are the real weapons of mass destruction. But, most distressingly, there was no significant impetus on development spending: the summit left the triumphal announcements after the G-8 meeting this summer looking hollow.

Curiously, however, the vacillations in the General Assembly chamber seemed to energize the people outside it. All around the UN building there were groups coming together, meetings of like-minded power brokers determined to move things forward on poverty and security. Here there was some hope. I saw senior representatives of the UN agencies and the World Bank linking up with some progressive governments and leaders from civil society and the business sector. Innovative moves came out of these, like the launch of new partnerships on maternal and child health and new approaches on climate change.

My own group, Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative, was getting business leaders together with civil society to give new energy to the World Trade Organization's Doha round. We're also working on new ways to strengthen local health systems. There is the Clinton Global Initiative and the Helsinki Process, in which I've had an interest from the beginning, where many different stakeholders, led by Finland and Tanzania, are coming together with fresh ideas.

This is a new way of doing business. It's forced on us by the realization that intergovernmental bodies are not getting the job done. Harnessing all stakeholders to solve problems is a radical new way forward. For too long these different communities -

corporate, civil society and development professionals - have operated alone. That has wasted talent and resources.

The summit's failures have made the tasks ahead more clear. What is needed now is concerted effort to fill the gaps that our leaders have left. Civil society, re-energized by the mass protests around the G-8 summit this summer; businesspeople with the vision to see that a secure and healthy world is a better place in which to operate will be critical actors in the times ahead.

From these new partnerships may well come the drive to push forward that revitalization of the UN we so badly need; to hold our leaders to account for those commitments they made five years ago and to achieve a successful conclusion to the Doha trade round.

The United Nations is too often blamed for the faults of the governments that constitute it. "We the peoples of the United Nations," begins the famous charter. Taking the UN back to the people should be the guiding principle now - letting their energy reshape it for the 21st century.

In today's world, no state can protect itself alone. A transparent and accountable United Nations is in the United States' interest. We know the UN needs reform, but it also needs resources.

- **Mary Robinson**, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, in a speech at Grace Cathedral during the 60th Anniversary celebration of the United Nations in San Francisco, 26 June, 2005

NOTES: Some Other Reactions to UN Reform World Summit

In anticipation of the United Nations 2005 World Summit in September, the NGO Working Group on Women Peace and Security (NGOWG) welcomed the report of the Secretary-General, *In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*, saying (April 2005): "We share the view of the Secretary-General that development, peace and human rights are inextricably linked and that their realization should be underpinned by the rule of law. Furthermore, we support his call for a new security consensus based on the recognition that all threats are interconnected and that 'in today's world no state, however powerful, can protect itself on its own'."

The NGOWG nevertheless was "deeply concerned by the lack of gender analysis and gender perspectives" throughout the report and offered recommendations to the negotiators regarding gender equality in all realms, gender mainstreaming in the UN system, engagement with civil society, participation of women in disarmament initiatives and in peacebuilding, and the goal of "a more consistent, timely, effective, ethical, and depoliticized Security Council response to situations where large numbers of civilians, particularly women

and girls, are under direct and systematic attack or threat of attack".

Reminding everyone that "the Millennium Development Goals do not represent the entire development agenda as other processes are also important", the Working Group urged that "clear links are made between achieving MDGs and implementing the outcomes of the UN global conferences of the 1990s, including those on women".

Yifat Susskind, Associate Director of MADRE, complained on 10 September that, "now that women's organizations, along with all non-governmental groups, have been shut out of the World Summit, it's left to UN Member States to ensure that the summit's outcome document can lead to policy changes that will benefit the world's poor", based on the MDGs, despite their "serious weaknesses".

To ensure that women's voices w[ould] be heard" at the Summit, three international rights organizations — the Centre for Women's Global Leadership, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, and the Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) — joined forces as the "Gender Monitoring

Group of the World Summit". They presented a position paper, *What's At Stake for Women*, and a series of critical press releases during the summit, and they endorsed Peruvian activist professor Virginia Vargas, one of two "civil society" speakers invited to address the assembled leaders on the closing night. She said:

A life without fear is not possible while political power is in alliance with the economic power of the arms trade. This alliance has no legitimacy to decide when a situation is an "imminent threat" or a "latent danger" because they themselves are the greatest threat and the biggest danger; because they resort to lies and to an arbitrary unilateralism to satisfy their thirst for permanent war.

We call for a general disarmament, not a "progressive" or a "selective" one. We call for a change in the logic of conflict resolution, broadening the approach to include other causes of fear. A life without fear for millions of women also requires consideration of violence as a brutal violation of human rights, in all its spheres — domestic, sexual and in armed conflicts. A life without fear is built by challenging racism, recognizing the rights and the autonomy of indigenous peoples. A life without fear must be built on a reaffirmation of the rights of social movements, such as women's movements, to contribute to a peace agenda. A life without fear requires

respect for the international agreements that represent a global ethical responsibility.

On 14 September, the “Reaching Critical Will” project of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom — along with the Lawyers’ Committee on Nuclear Policy, Greenpeace International, and the Arms Control Association — sent a letter to ambassadors expressing “bitter disappointment” that the Outcome Document adopted the previous day has no disarmament and non-proliferation section: “We are shocked that a process designed to revitalize the United Nations and create a comprehensive system of collective security tackling both new and old threats and addressing the security concerns of all states does not address the threats posed by nuclear weapons. Once again, a handful of spoilers were able to thwart the consensus developed by governments who understand the magnitude of this urgent threat. . . . Consequently, Governments . . . have missed an historic opportunity, not only to reinvigorate disarmament diplomacy but to take positive steps towards making the world a safer place.” Emphasizing “the need for action in this field”, they urged vigorous pursuit of “the creation of forums for progress, including revitalization of the First Committee of the General Assembly”.

Amnesty International (26 September) welcomed the decision by UN members to adopt a Summit Outcome Document “that unambiguously acknowledges that human rights are one of the three pillars of the UN, along with development and peace and security. The recognition that human rights are central to the UN, as well as states’ decision to double the regular budget resources of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights over the next five years are long overdue concrete advances in human rights protection. Other positive outcomes of the Summit include the unqualified acceptance by all states of their collective international responsibility to protect people from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity; strong commitments to end discrimination against women and impunity for violence against women; and the deci-

True liberty will only be possible if indivisible, universal and interdependent human rights are placed at the centre of the structure and the dynamics of the United Nations and if new structures incorporate the processes of democratisation . . . The United Nations cannot continue to be a forum solely for governments, as has been the case in this summit — democratic rebuilding must be open to multiple contributions from social movements and democratic forces to build a different world, without poverty and exclusions. The United Nations must recover its mission by being truly representative of ‘we the peoples’.

- Virginia Vargas

(of the Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan; Articulación Feminista Marcosur; International Council of the World Social Forum; Feminist Task Force of the Global Call to Action against Poverty), 16 September 2005.

sion to further mainstream human rights throughout the UN system. These positive outcomes reflect the commitment of a growing number of states from all regions to improve the capacity of the UN to promote and protect human rights, also evident in one of the Summit’s most important decisions: to create a Human Rights Council. Governments must now rapidly and effectively implement the human rights commitments they have undertaken in the Summit’s Outcome Document.” Amnesty is urging that the General Assembly negotiate the details of an effective Human Rights Council and establish it without delay, at the same level as the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC): as a principal organ. “The new Council must have credibility in the eyes of the world and especially of those in need. It must preserve all the strengths of the Commission on Human Rights, but it must also be able to protect human rights with more authority, more credibility and more effectiveness than the Commission has done.”

In establishing the Human Rights Council, Amnesty recommends that:

- Governments must ensure that the Council is operational by February 2006;
 - Governments must ensure that they will create a new Human Rights Council that substantively improves the UN’s promotion and protection of all human rights, so the new body must:
 - meet regularly throughout the year;
 - have a mandate to consider any matter relating to the promotion and protection of all human rights,
 - regularly examine the human rights record of all countries and effectively deal with urgent situations;
 - retain the strengths of the Commission on Human Rights, especially the unique rules and practices for participation by NGOs and its system of independent human rights experts, the “Special Procedures”;
 - have electoral rules that effectively provide for genuine election of Council membership (precluding ‘clean slates’), that provide for election by a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly and that ensure that Council membership is effectively open to all members;
 - Having welcomed the positive contribution to the promotion and implementation of human rights programmes by NGOs, governments must ensure that NGOs have full access to the open, transparent and inclusive negotiation process decided upon so that they can contribute to the Council’s creation in a timely and effective manner.
- Amnesty also recommends that
- Governments should announce their plans to integrate the promotion and protection of all human rights into national policies in their statements to the Third Committee of the General Assembly;
 - Governments and the UN Secretary-General must ensure that states’ resolve to support further mainstreaming of human rights throughout the UN system is translated into concrete steps at all levels of the organization, including in decision-making, programming and planning of funds, programmes and agencies;

- Governments must ensure that their resolve to double the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights' regular budget resources within five years is translated into specific and substantial budgetary allocations when the UN budget is adopted in the Fifth Committee later this year;
- Furthermore, governments must continue to increase the OHCHR's overall budget resources, with the aim of doubling these over the next five years;
- The Security Council should invite the High Commissioner for Human Rights to brief the Council regularly on human rights issues and developments;
- On the 60th anniversary of the UN, every government should develop an action programme to ratify or accede to all international human rights treaties and protocols adopted within the UN system by a set date no later than 2015;
- Governments must ensure that human rights and human rights institution-building are effectively integrated in the activities of the new Peacebuilding Commission, and support the early establishment of the rule of law assistance unit in the Secretariat to facilitate those efforts;
- When deciding on operational details for the Peacebuilding Commission, the General Assembly must acknowledge the expert knowledge of NGOs to the Peacebuilding Commission and provide for their effective contribution to its work;
- All states should review their laws and practices to ensure that all measures to combat terrorism comply with their obligations under international law, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law;
- The Counter-Terrorism Committee of the Security Council should regularly request all countries to report on how they are implementing the requirements of paragraph 85, on the progress made and the difficulties they encountered;
- The Security Council should ensure, and the Secretary-General advise, that the sanctions listing and de-listing provisions will be transparent and will meet international standards for due process;

- States should develop a legally binding instrument – an Arms Trade Treaty — to regulate the transfer of arms in accordance with states' obligations under international law, including human rights and humanitarian law.

“Although the Summit document supports implementation of the 2001 UN programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (94), Amnesty International regrets that world leaders failed to seize the opportunity of the Summit to agree to develop a legally binding international instrument on arms transfers in accordance with states' obligations under international law. There is growing international support for an Arms Trade Treaty to help curb the flow of arms to those using them to commit abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law.”

Amnesty International welcomes that, “for the first time, UN members have accepted their collective responsibility to act to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity if ‘national authorities manifestly fail’ to act to protect them. The Summit’s decision reinforces existing responsibilities under customary and conventional international law, and reaffirms that human rights are a concern of the international community as a whole that transcends state sovereignty. Whether states will implement their newly established resolve, and how well they will do so, will depend on the political will of the permanent five members of the Security Council to act to prevent and halt perpetration of these international crimes in the future and of the willingness of the General Assembly to exercise its powers under the UN Charter. . . . AI regrets that some permanent members of the Security Council opposed the proposed invitation to all permanent members of the Security Council to refrain from using their veto in cases of these grave crimes under international law.

Amnesty also finds it “unjustifiable that a document of such historic importance as

the Summit Outcome Document can exclude any reference to the need to end impunity for crimes under international law and a call for support for the International Criminal Court. This happened because one country refused to agree to any mention of the ICC in the document. Amnesty International welcomes the strong commitment to ending impunity and support for the ICC expressed by numerous states during the negotiations and urges them “to continue to express this support in forthcoming resolutions of the General Assembly and other UN bodies”. With Citizens for Global Solutions and many other organizations, AI continues to call on states that have not yet done so to ratify the Rome Statute and the Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the ICC and to implement these effectively in national law.

Amnesty also deplores that “many development objectives in the Outcome Document are aimed at the realisation of the rights to education, the right to the highest attainable standard of health and other measures aimed at freedom from want, but, regrettably, the document fails to acknowledge their human rights foundations”.

More encouragingly, states “decided to take effective measures to better protect internally displaced persons taking the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement as an important international framework, committed to safeguard the principle of refugee protection, and reaffirmed their determination to take measures to ensure that the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families are protected”.

Amnesty also welcomes the fact that the Summit Outcome Document “calls on states to prevent and criminalize the recruitment of children in armed conflict contrary to international law and to pay priority attention to becoming a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child”.

In Amnesty International’s view, “among the Summit’s key achievements is the strong language on gender issues. This should be followed through by

- Undertaking an immediate review of laws that may discriminate against women, “re-

pealing those that do discriminate and taking concrete action to guarantee the right of women to own and inherit property”;

- Promoting and protecting “the sexual rights and reproductive rights of all women, including their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality”;
- Ensuring “full and effective implementation” of Security Council resolution 1325.

Women’s Edge concluded (6 October 2005) that “some progress on women’s issues was one of the very few bright spots in an otherwise disappointing UN World Summit”, where “insurmountable political differences between leaders of poor developing nations and the West, especially the United States, killed any chance of progress. While the US focused on terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and reform of the United Nations, poor nations prioritized poverty reduction, debt relief,

the threat of infectious diseases and making global trade more equitable. The final document was a weak compromise, which left most divisive issues unresolved.” Lamenting the likely impact on women of insufficient commitment to all the Millennium Development Goals, Women’s Edge acknowledged that, “[o]n the face of it, the third Millennium Development Goal on equality for women was one of the Summit’s few successes. It has been expanded from its original focus on education for girls to include several new commitments: to prosecute those who commit violence against women, to provide universal access to family planning services, to ensure equal rights for women to own and inherit property and to increase the representation of women in governments worldwide. World leaders also agreed to repeal all laws that discriminate against women and promised to implement the landmark Security Council Resolution 1325, which promotes women’s increased participation in international peace and security negotiations.”

The summit missed a historic opportunity to make a real difference in ending poverty, which is the biggest roadblock to improving women’s lives.

- **Ritu Sharma**,
President and Co-Founder
of the Women’s Edge Coalition.

Post-Summit Reaction: The Good News

Barbara Crossette

Barbara Crossette, former *New York Times* bureau chief at the United Nations, is consulting editor to UNA-USA’s *The InterDependent*. This article, from the UNA-USA E-Newsletter of October 2005, is reprinted by permission of the United Nations Association of the USA and Ms Crossette. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of UNA-USA.

In the rush to pronounce the UN’s 60th anniversary summit a failure because some major structural reforms remain in dispute among member nations, there has been a tendency to overlook some very significant gains in the final agreement. Arguably, some of the pledges made in the social and humanitarian fields have far greater potential for helping the poorest people at the ends of the earth improve their lives than any tinkering with bureaucratic structures in New York.

Granted, the abject failure of nations to agree on how, specifically, to form a new human rights council in place of the discredited Human Rights Commission was one glaring exception to the hope of putting people first. Developing nations themselves killed that hope, fearing too much scrutiny. That’s not a good omen.

But member nations did accept — to the surprise of many — a new concept that has been under discussion around the organization since the turn of this millennium: the “responsibility to protect”. That provision in the final agreement says unambiguously that when governments fail to take action against enormous crimes within their borders such as genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity — including incitement to these crimes — the rest of the world must be prepared “to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner”.

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Only five years ago, Secretary-General Kofi Annan drew a storm of protest from developing nations when he talked about the “right to intervene”. He jokes now that “responsibility to protect” is more diplomatic. But the point that matters is that in one revolutionary step, the UN membership has tempered the long-held view that national sovereignty is inviolate when a population is abused.

Much has been said and written . . . about the importance of bringing the United States into line in support of the Millennium Development Goals, a set of eight measures intended to reduce poverty and spur growth by 2015. That is not the end of the story, however. The US, while unleashing an uproar with demands for hundreds of last-minute changes in the final document (a costly tactic that provoked damaging counter-demands from other nations) actually left many important social provisions in place. John R. Bolton, the US ambassador, did not demonstrate a desire to promote a conservative social agenda.

Perhaps nowhere in the agreement is this more evident than in the section of gender equality and the empowerment of women, increasingly seen as necessary in building stronger societies from the family up. Saying that “progress for women is progress for all”, the document specifically endorses the plan of action that emerged from the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in 1995 in Beijing. That includes a broad range of demands for reproductive health and rights — at least some of which the conservative religious right in the US and its counterparts in Muslim nations condemn.

Furthermore, the summit agreement calls for universal access to reproductive health “as set out at the International Conference on Population and Development”. That meeting was the groundbreaking 1994 Cairo population conference, which also outraged religious and social conservatives for its sweeping reinterpretation of population policies that put women at the center of decision-making in cutting population growth.

The summit document also guarantees “the free and equal right of women to own and inherit property”. To hundreds of millions of women around the world that is a monumental step forward, even though it may take years to bring that guarantee home.

“All forms of discrimination and violence against women and the girl child” are to be eliminated in another pledge. This includes abuses of women in conflict areas, now considered a violation of international law. Again, these guarantees may mean nothing overnight, but they do lay the groundwork for future accountability in many places where people have little more than the pledges of the UN to lean on in crisis. Disappointing to many women’s groups, however, was the absence of a mention of domestic violence, the front line of abuse for so many women and girls.

It is worth remembering that the guardians at the UN of these and other pledges will not be found in the Secretariat, where nations can stall or block action, but in the relevant agencies and programs, where the impetus for change and the willingness to carry it out are far greater.

Home Improvement, Planet Renovation

These notes regularly sample ways that international institutions, instruments, and movements affect women and are influenced by them: the urgencies and achievements of women as world citizens, working every day for peace & true security where common good might flourish.

BEIJING+10

The **Beijing+10** review at the 49th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was stalled when, during consultations on the draft declaration, the United States proposed amendments apparently aimed at weakening commitments to realizing women’s human rights.

The US proposal sought to restrict the scope of the Beijing commitments by stating that they did “not create any new international human rights” and in particular that they did “not include the right to abortion” (the Beijing Platform for Action stipulates that women “have the right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence”).

Amnesty International viewed this not only as an attack on that right “but also more generally as an attempt to stifle the evolution of the human rights framework”. Eventually, the United States withdrew its amendment and the Declaration was adopted as originally drafted by the CSW Bureau. Nevertheless, it was “extremely modest in scope and adds little beyond reaffirming commitments made ten years ago”, and an opportunity for progress was wasted (AI statement, 7 March 2005).

Another reaffirmative declaration was issued at the end of a four-day Tenth Anniversary conference in Beijing in August.

RESOLUTION 1325+5

The October five-year anniversary of **Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security** brings disappointment at UNIFEM and in most parts of the world that more has not been accomplished to include women “in all governance and decision-making processes”, especially peace-building, comments Nyaradzai Gumbonzvanda, a UNIFEM programme director. Only a few countries have passed (usually frail) laws aligned with Resolution 1325, to boost women’s participation in peace processes.

And the United Nations itself has not met its Beijing goal of 50-50 gender balance in the UN system by 2000. SC Resolution 1325 called for Secretary-General Kofi Annan to appoint more women as special representatives to conflict zones, but Canada’s deputy UN ambassador Gilbert Laurin has pointed out that “there is only one woman at the level of special representative of the secretary-general out of approximately 50 such positions”.

Nevertheless, for many women the resolution is a useful framework for their local conflict resolution work — in Somalia, for example, where women formed a sixth clan and eventually won a place in peace negotiations that had promised fair and equal accommodation of the five clans in Somalia, but none of the clans would submit a female representative. “The sixth clan successfully advocated for the inclusion of women’s human rights and affirmative action in the Somali charter,” reports Anja Tranovich (IPS, 19 July).

Following reports over the past two years or more of peacekeepers exploiting women and girls in their area of deployment, eight United Nations missions have been ordered to establish disciplinary units staffed by senior-level experts on personnel conduct. Among the recommended actions proposed by the Secretary-General’s Advisor on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by United Nations Peacekeeping Personnel, the “Conduct and Discipline Units” are charged with handling complaints and managing data while ensuring compliance with United Nations standards of conduct.

PEACEKEEPER SEX

Meanwhile, Jordan’s UN ambassador, Prince Zeid Ra’ad Zeid al-Husseini, who has served as a UN military observer in Bosnia and did extensive interviewing in the Democratic Republic of Congo, has delivered a report requested by the Secretary General that recommends “overhaul of a tattered UN military system in the world body’s 17 peacekeeping operations of some 64,000 personnel” (Evelyn Leopold, Reuters, 24 March 2005). “The reality of prostitution and other sexual exploitation in a peacekeeping context is profoundly disturbing to many because the United Nations has been mandated to enter into a broken society to help it,” he wrote. Peacekeepers can only be punished by their home countries, and that rarely happens. Prince Zeid proposed that the General Assembly approve binding rules — to be signed by every country contributing troops — that would include prosecutions and setting up funds for victims from docked pay, especially those with “peacekeeper babies”. He recommended that courts-martial be held in the country where the offense takes place so that witnesses could be available and accountability not be evaded, that sex crimes be investigated more professionally, and better communication of the UN’s rules on commercial or forced sex. UN civilian staff who violate the rules should be fired and fined, supporting a trust fund for victims and any children born to them. UN managers and military commanders should be rewarded for excellent adherence and removed from their posts for poor performance. Case progress should be reported regularly to the UN, and a new database should be created to make sure offenders are never deployed again.

Prince Zeid presented these and other recommendations to the Security Council at the end of May, saying, “We, the member states, have refrained, from opening up this subject to public discourse over the last 60 years (because) sentiments of pride, mixed in with a deep sense of embarrassment, have often produced in us only outright denials. And yet almost all countries that have participated in U.N. peacekeeping operations have, at one stage or another,

had some reason to feel deeply ashamed over the activities of some of their peacekeepers.” He estimated that it would take two years to put most of his recommendations in place and said that a legal team was studying “complex issues” of immunities for UN staff and what to do when they commit “frightful offenses, such as murder” (Evelyn Leopold, Reuters, 31 May 2005).

Jean-Marie Guehenno, the UN under-secretary-general for peacekeeping, gave the Council examples & statistics and warned that the problem of exploitation and abuse was likely “to look worse before it looks better” because victims were now more likely to come forward.

Requesting that the Secretary General include in his reports a summary of the “preventable measures taken to implement a zero-tolerance policy”, the Security Council stated that it “condemns in the strongest terms all acts of sexual abuse and exploitation committed by UN peacekeeping personnel. The distinguished and honorable record of accomplishment in UN peacekeeping is being tarnished by the acts of a few individuals.”

PROTOCOL ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN AFRICA

On **Africa Women’s Day** in July, women’s groups lamented that, more than two years after African Union adoption of the **Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa**, it still had an insufficient number of ratifications. Amnesty International urged African governments to demonstrate their expressed commitment to make women’s human rights a reality” by ratifying without further delay.

The Protocol guarantees a wide range of women’s civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights, including: the right to general and reproductive health; the right to life, integrity and security of person; protection from harmful traditional practices; prohibition of discrimination; protection of women in armed conflict; and access to justice.

UNFPA UNDERMINED

For the fourth year in a row, the Bush administration has decided to withhold funding appropriated by Congress for the United Nations Population Fund, based on unsubstantiated abortion allegations. UNFPA Executive Director Thoraya Ahmed Obaid reiterated that one goal of the fund is actually to help women avoid having abortions by enabling them to use family planning resources. "This decision is disheartening because it contradicts clear evidence that UNFPA works hard to end coercion by proving the efficacy and superiority of the voluntary approach to family planning over any other alternative," she said at the World Summit in September. UNFPA estimates that UNFPA the withheld money could prevent as many as 2 million unwanted pregnancies and 4,700 maternal deaths in developing countries and could support promising HIV-prevention efforts and treatment for young women suffering from obstetric fistula. According to the UN News Center (16 September), "The United States is the only country to ever deny funding to UNFPA for non-budgetary reasons in the agency's entire 36 years of operation. . . . The current Administration has so far withheld \$127 million in funds appropriated by Congress."

"We have found that most Americans (up to 70 percent by some polls) support the work that UNFPA is doing, but do not know that it is UNFPA that is doing it," Anika Rahman, President of **Americans for UNFPA**, told a Women's Edge interviewer (6 October). Her group is focusing on "educating legislators who influence US funding for UNFPA and also their constituents", and invites Americans to visit UNFPA field programs to witness the work.. Anyone can get involved by visiting their new website <www.americansforunfpa.org>.

"We cannot make poverty history until we stop violence against women and girls," said Thoraya Ahmed Obaid, at the London of the latest UNFPA *State of the World Population* report (12 October 2005). "We cannot make poverty history until women enjoy their full social, cultural, economic and political rights."

The world can do better. The solutions are well known and effective. They include universal education for all girls and boys, the removal of barriers to women's equal participation in social, cultural, economic and political life, the engagement of boys and men in the struggle for equity, mass awareness raising campaigns, and the implementation of laws and policies that promote and protect the full range of internationally agreed human rights, including the right to sexual and reproductive health. All of these actions fall under the banner of 'equality'.

Equality is an end in itself and a cornerstone of development. Equality is a goal that demands sustained political commitment and leadership.

- **Thoraya Obaid**,
Executive Director of UNFPA, World Population Day, 2005

By providing reproductive health care around the world and actively combating violence against women, UNFPA is assisting women achieve their life's goals and also helping nations to develop economically. UNFPA works to improve social and economic opportunities for adolescent girls in my country of origin, Bangladesh, for example, by finding feasible alternatives to child marriage such as education or employment.

When women are educated and empowered enough to be able to participate in politics and economics, their contributions spur economic development and improve standards of living for all.

- **Anika Rahman**,
President, Americans for UNFPA, interviewed by Women's Edge Coalition, 6 October 2005

AMERICAS AGENDA

Representatives of women's organizations throughout the hemisphere met in Buenos Aires in April at a Gender Forum of the Americas, the first in a series of meetings meant to encourage civil society participation in preparations for the 4th Summit of the Americas in Argentina in early November. The summit theme is "Creating Jobs to Confront Poverty and Strengthen Democratic Governance".

WORLD SUMMIT ON INFORMATION SOCIETY

Many questions have been raised about Tunisian repression of freedom of expression & association as the context for the next phase of the November World Summit on Information Society (WSIS), organized by the United Nations. Demonstrators — including a prominent human rights

defender and lawyer, Radhia Nasraoui — have been beaten by police officers; others have been detained and allegedly tortured. Amnesty International has called on the authorities to guarantee the protection of human rights defenders and civil society activists and ensure that they are able to carry out their activities without interference or fear of persecution. At the conclusion of the first phase of the WSIS that took place in Geneva in December 2003, a Declaration of Principles was adopted, in which respect for human rights and freedom of expression were reiterated as fundamental elements for the building of an "information society" where access to information, ideas and knowledge across the globe is guaranteed without restrictions.

WIGJ at ICC

Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice recently has conducted gender training

seminars for the ICC Registry (specifically for staff dealing with victims and witnesses, reparations and participation issues, and security personnel), for the Darfur investigation team, and for lawyers and human rights activists in Uganda — aiming to “assist in the development of an informed and supportive legal environment for women victims of the northern conflict; support and further stimulate local law reform efforts to promote gender equality; and support Ugandan (women) lawyers to be on the list of counsel authorised to represent victims before the ICC”.

GINETTA SAGAN AWARD TO ANTI-FGM CAMPAIGNER

Amnesty International USA presented its 2005 Ginetta Sagan Award (given for outstanding contributions to the human rights of women and children) to “an extraordinary and courageous human rights activist”, Hawa Aden Mohamed, who has opposed female genital mutilation in Somalia despite formidable opposition, some of it violent. She educates religious teachers about the dangers of FGM, and has organized protests by thousands of woman & girls. She is the founder of the Galkayo Education Centre for Peace and Development, in Puntland, a state in northeast Somalia. In addition to its work to end female genital mutilation, it runs educational programs for girls & women.

DEMOCRACY AWARD TO AFGHAN EDUCATOR

Sakena Yacoobi, founder of the Afghan Institute of Learning, was selected by the National Endowment for Democracy for the 2005 Democracy Award “for her efforts to advance women’s education in principles of democracy, women’s rights, strategies for peace-building and conflict resolution, and the importance of broad political participation in Afghanistan”. Ms Yacoobi said, “With education and literacy, people in Afghanistan - especially women - will be able to understand what democracy means. Through education, women will be able to obtain their rights, understand how they already act as leaders in their everyday lives, and contribute their leadership to help rebuild Afghanistan.”

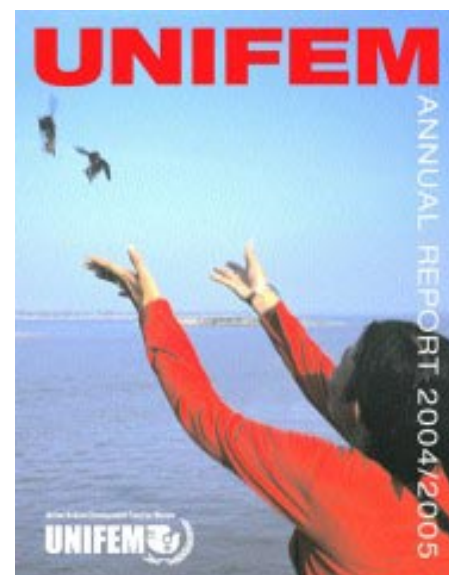
Resources

The **Inter-Agency Task Force on Women, Peace and Security** has prepared an *Inventory of United Nations Resources on Women, Peace and Security* that includes guidelines, training materials, manuals, and reports that entities of the UN system have developed in line with the critical area of concern “women and armed conflict” of the Beijing Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) and Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). The inventory has been produced to increase access of Member States, United Nations entities, civil society and non-governmental organizations to UN resources in the field of women, peace & security. The continuously updated inventory and electronic versions of most of the resources are available at <www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi>. Section I provides resources specific to women, peace & security, grouped alphabetically within the following themes: disarmament/demobilization/reintegration, gender-based violence, humanitarian response, peace operations and post-conflict reconstruction. Section II covers general publications on peace and security that include attention to gender and women’s issues. Section III provides a list of relevant websites. For each resource, the title, the issuing agency, and a brief description of the content are provided, as well as an internet address where it may be downloaded or ordered.

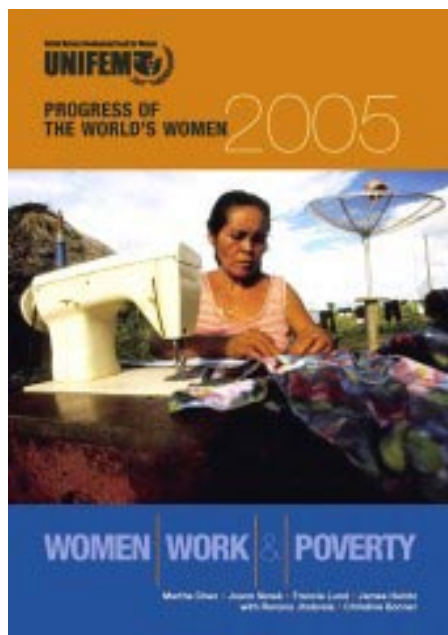
WomenWarPeace.org “is intended to address the lack of consolidated data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls as noted by Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). By no means exhaustive, this portal is meant to serve as a centralized repository of information from a wide variety of sources, with links to reports and data from the UN system to information and analysis from experts, academics, NGOs and media sources. Views expressed in external sources may not necessarily reflect those of UNIFEM or other UN departments, agencies, programmes or funds.” The site is supported by the United

Nations Foundation/UNFIP, the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) and the Government of Luxembourg.

Making rights a reality: Violence against women in armed conflict is a new guide from **Amnesty International** — intended especially for those with influence over public services, such as lawyers, teachers and police officers, as well as human rights campaigners — on using the law to press governments to implement their obligations toward women in armed conflict. “States have a duty to ensure women’s right to freedom from violence no matter what the context — war or peace, the home or the street — and regardless of the identity of the perpetrator — parent, partner, combatant or soldier. Over the past ten years, international law in various areas has addressed the worldwide phenomenon of violence against women. The problem is that those with power to secure a transformation in women’s lives are not taking action. Given the gap between standards on women’s rights and the reality on the ground, ensuring that the law is respected and implemented requires the hard work of advocates for women’s human rights. This guide shows how the law can be used as a tool to challenge and inspire governments to make rights a reality for women.” It is available at <<http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/engact770502004>>.



The *UNIFEM Annual Report 2004/2005* documents the organization's work to "foster women's empowerment and gender equality around the world", including "initiatives in promoting women's political participation and leadership in post-conflict situations, easing the burden of HIV/AIDS on women, promoting women's right to own land, and supporting the creation and implementation of gender-responsive budgets".



Progress of the World's Women 2005: Women, Work & Poverty, by Martha Chen, Joann Vanek, Francie Lund, James Heintz, with Renana Jhabvala and Christine Bonner, "marks the fifth anniversary of the UN Millennium Declaration and the tenth anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action. It argues that unless governments and policymakers pay more attention to employment, and its links to poverty, the campaign to make poverty history will not succeed, and the hope for gender equality will founder on the reality of women's growing economic insecurity. *Progress of the World's Women 2005* makes the case for an increased focus on women's informal employment as a key pathway to reducing poverty and strengthening women's economic security. It provides the latest available data on the size and composition of the informal economy and compares national data on average earnings and poverty risk across different segments of the

informal and formal workforces in six developing countries and one developed country to show the links between employment, gender and poverty. It looks at the costs and benefits of informal work and their consequences for women's economic security. Finally, it provides a strategic framework — with good practice examples — for how to promote decent work for women informal workers, and shows why strong organizations of workers in the informal economy are vital to effective policy reforms. This report can and should be used as a call to action to help advocates, policy makers, governments and the international community 'make poverty history'."

The **Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)** issued in March a global monitoring report, "**Beijing Betrayed**", assessing governments' implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action and the MDGs. "We found that governments have basically failed in their leadership to implement these commitments and that a vast majority of women at the lower economic level are becoming poorer," comments WEDO Executive Director June Zeitlin. "Although there have been some successes, progress has been very uneven. Again it's a question of political will. We are talking about changing patterns of behaviour and age-old discrimination: it doesn't disappear without really concerted action. . . . It's not just about helping women because women are half the population. Women are key agents of change, and yet this fact is not translated into public policy. This is what the monitoring report shows" (interview at UN by Haider Rizvi, IPS, 3 September 2005). FMI: <www.wedo.org>

WEDO also offers an **information and action guide on the Millennium Development Goals**, "their connection to women's equality and strategies to insure they include a gender perspective".

Migrants Rights International is "an independent global monitoring body focusing on the human rights of migrants. It promotes recognition and respect for the rights

of all migrants; advocates for ratification of the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families; facilitates the efforts of migrant associations and other non-governmental organizations in advocating for migrants rights; and monitors trends and developments in the situation of migrants' rights and welfare." FMI: <www.migrantwatch.org>

The **Migration Policy Institute (MPI)** is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think-tank in Washington, DC "dedicated to the study of the movement of people worldwide. MPI provides analysis, development, and evaluation of migration and refugee policies at the local, national, and international levels. It aims to meet the rising demand for pragmatic and thoughtful responses to the challenges and opportunities that large-scale migration, whether voluntary or forced, present to communities and institutions in an increasingly integrated world." FMI: <www.migrationpolicy.org>

The **Georgetown University Institute for the Study of International Migration** "focuses on all aspects of international migration, including the causes of and potential responses to population movements, immigration and refugee law and policy, comparative migration studies, the integration of immigrants into their host societies, and the effects of international migration on social, economic, demographic, foreign policy and national security concerns." FMI: <www.georgetown.edu>

Migrant World is a BBC News series of articles, interviews and personal stories about migration around the world. FMI: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk>>

The **International Metropolis Project** is "a set of coordinated activities carried out by a membership of research, policy and non-governmental organizations who share a vision of strengthened migration policy by means of applied academic research. The Metropolis membership is composed of representatives from over twenty countries and a number of international research and policy organizations representing a wide range of policy and academic inter-

ests. Members work collaboratively on issues of immigration and integration, always with the goal of strengthening policy and thereby allowing societies to better manage the challenges and opportunities that immigration presents, especially to their cities." FMI: <www.metropolis2004.ch>

"In Motion: The African-American Migration Experience", an extensive three-year project, presented its results in February in an exhibition at the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center and on its website <schomburgcenter.org>. Center director Howard Dodson told the *New York Times* that the project is organized around 13 migrations, two of them involuntary, and that broadening the examination of migration beyond the slave trade means "you come away with some very different perspectives". Twice as many sub-Saharan Africans — about one million — have migrated to the United States in the last 30 years as during the entire era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, according to the researchers.

Women, Ink <wink@womenink.org>:

• *The Future of Women's Rights: Global Visions and Strategies* (2004, 224 pages), edited by Joanna Kerr, Ellen Sprenger & Alison Symington, promotes forward thinking, both for women's movements globally and for specific organizations, by 16 authors whose views have been collected by the 100-country Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) and Mama Cash, the independent women's foundation based in Amsterdam. All are "deeply concerned at the recent emergence of various trends that may threaten the ongoing work of women's movements in advancing gender equality, women's human rights and sustainable human development" and "see a pressing need for women's movements to evaluate their methods, with a view to improving political work. They show how women should prepare for the current trends and what strategies they should prioritize in order to [avoid being] pushed onto the defensive."

• *The Global Women's Movement* (2005, 224 pages), by Peggy Antrobus, suggests

that, "of all the great social movements of the twentieth century, it is the 30-year spread and consolidation of the women's movement in the North and South that looks set to shape the course of social progress over the next generation. . . . [T]his overview of international women's movements . . . in their changing national and global context . . . looks at where women are now in the struggle against gender inequality, common issues they face around the world, what challenges confront these movements, and what strategies are needed to meet them." It offers "an invaluable aid to reflection and action for the next generation of women as they carry through the unfinished business of women's emancipation."

• *Common Ground or Mutual Exclusion? Women's Movements and International Relations* (2002, 236 pages), edited by Marianne Braig and Sonja Wolte, "opens a range of questions about the prospects for international women's movements to influence the international political agenda. Its contributors come from North and South, and include feminist academics and activists as well as mainstream scholars of international relations, who explore the concrete impacts women have made in areas such as development theory and practice, conflict management and the conceptualization and politics of human rights. They also reflect on how far the traditionally male-defined discipline of international relations has taken on board feminist thinking and recognizes women as actors in international politics. Among the controversial issues it addresses are: the intellectual relationship between feminism and mainstream scholarship; whether the radical potential of social movements and feminist critiques is being lost; how far feminist scholarship is removed from women's movements and politics; and differences in perspectives between women of the South and the North."

• *Feminist Politics, Activism & Vision: Local and Global Challenges* (2004, 392 pages), edited by Luciana Ricciutelli, Angela Miles, and Margaret H. McFadden, "brings together essays of remarkable variety and fresh insights from 24 leading feminists in Africa, Asia, Latin America, North America, Europe and Scandinavia.

The personal accounts, speeches and academic articles collected here reveal a vibrant and multifaceted transnational feminist community in struggle, redefining wealth, work, peace, democracy, family, human rights, development, community and citizenship. . . . At this time, when local concerns from livelihoods to water, from health care to citizenship, are so strongly influenced by global trends, one of the greatest challenges to women's movements is clarifying the links between the local and the global. The book shows that much feminist organizing today is grounded in awareness of these local/global links."

The UN History Project: Women Enrich the United Nations and Development (2005), steered by Deviki Jain, is "an examination of the UN's evolving role in fostering change in values and policies toward women across the world. Issues covered in this volume include the UN's attempts to forge gender equality from the 1940s through the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and other declarations, resolutions and recommendations of principles that translated into programs and action for women, often far in advance of the legal or actual situations in individual countries. The volume also tracks changes wrought from the first world conference on women in Mexico City to the fourth world conference in Beijing as well as the UN's role in measuring the undervalued contribution of women to economic development and the use of new indices to identify potential for future generations." The study also surveys funding agencies, including "the creation of the women's own innovative and experimental fund that was proposed at the Mexico Conference — the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM); support for women's training through the UN Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), also proposed at Mexico; as well as concern for reproductive health through UNFPA, and for the girl child through UNICEF." FMI: <<http://www.unhistory.org/publications/women.html>>

Archives of the four global Women's NGO Forums paralleling the UN world conferences on women - The records of the various committees responsible for organizing the four global non-governmental conferences that run parallel to the UN World Conferences on Women — the 1975 International Women's Year Tribune, and the NGO Women's Forums in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) — initially collected by the International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC), are now archived at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts (see <www.smith.edu/libraries/libs/ssc/home.html>), to ensure preservation and increase access by researchers. The files include the basic administrative, logistical and financial records of the various planning committees, the registration lists for three of the four Forums (the Nairobi registration lists were lost), and the daily conference newspapers. To these organizational files, IWTC added books, reports, monographs, and periodicals relevant to the four conferences. IWTC still maintains visual archives of the events, including audio tapes of the plenary speeches, posters, and a slide library (FMI: <www.iwtc.org>).

Mary P. Burke UN Women's Conference Archives Project - Professor Mary P. Burke of Suffolk University, who attended every UN Women's Conference since Mexico City in 1975, has donated her extensive collection of conference materials to the Center for Women's Health and Human Rights. Drs Amy Agigian and Laura Roskos are working with the Suffolk University Moakley Law Library's expert staff to catalog the materials, which will be available at the Law Library as a special collection, searchable on the Center's web site, and they are collecting oral testimony from the donor in order to "contextualize the materials and help illuminate the complex process through which these historic international conferences were accomplished". FMI: <cwhhr@suffolk.edu>

The International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement (IIAV), operating from the Nether-

lands, "maintains 85,000 fiction and non-fiction books covering all aspects of the position of women in the past (the oldest book dates back to 1578) and present (current research, papers, government reports and leaflets), periodicals and past volumes of magazines (some dating back to the early nineteenth century), newspaper clippings, including the biographical clippings of 7,500 women, and other media that provide a sense of women's history". FMI: <www.iiav.nl/eng/iiav/index.html>

Isis Journey, a 20-minute VCD (from <isis@isiswomen.org>), "chronicles the organizational life of Isis International, one of the world's first international women's information and documentation centers", from its birth in Rome, through the formation of Isis Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange in Geneva, to the move of Isis International to Santiago and Manila, and the founding of Isis-WICCE Kampala. It features letters, photos, and video clips from the second wave of the women's movement in the early 1970s, drawing attention to the central importance of "communication tools and processes".

The follow-up **Collective Journeys** website <www.collectivejourneys.org> "houses the collective journeys or unique stories of other women's information and communication organizations" in the hope that those organizations, especially from the South, "can gain more visibility . . . and become a stronger voice in the struggle for gender equality and social justice overall."

"Examining Feminist and Social Movements", the Women in Action Issue (No. 2/2004 <isis@isiswomen.org>) of Isis International-Manila's triannual magazine, "pulls together the perspectives and reflections of feminist activists on the changing nature of the women's movement. Focusing on the re-examination of the feminist movement vis-à-vis its renewed alliances with social justice movements" in the context of globalization and fundamentalisms, it includes a strategy conversation among six feminists from India, Fiji, Italy, Malaysia & the Philippines. Gender main-

streaming, "as a strategy to achieve gender equality", also is examined. "Overall, the collection of articles points to a desire to engage in critical self-reflection as a global feminist movement."

The papers of pioneering journalist Perdita Huston (1936-2001), who focused on "giving voice to the views of women affected by the major social, political and environmental issues of our times" (in the words of Anne Walker of the International Women's Tribune Center), are housed at the Maine Women's Writers Collection in the Abplanalp Library on the Westbrook College Campus of the University of New England at 716 Stevens Avenue, Portland, ME 04103 (tel 207-797-7688, ext. 4324; e-mail <mwwc@une.edu>, and the website. Curator Cally Gurley welcomes serious researchers; scholars may conduct preliminary research at the website <www.une.edu/mwwc> in advance of a visit or inquiry. Perdita Huston's last book, *Families As We Are: Conversations from Around the World* (2001), was reviewed by Susan Goodwillie Stedman in *Minerva* #21 (October 2001).

The San Francisco-originated **International Museum of Women (IMOW)**, "dedicated to chronicling and honoring the lives of women across the world", is scheduled to open in 2008, "offer[ing] exhibits and programs that inform visitors about women's issues and roles across cultures and throughout time, [and] provoking questions about the status quo through an examination of individual identity, cultural structures and social order". While searching for a permanent home, IMOW has presented several exhibits already, and is releasing an anthology — "a virtual exhibit and a multimedia education campaign on how women across the world imagine themselves". FMI: <www.imow.org/home.html>

The World Map of Women in Politics 2005, issued in March by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, reveals that seven developing countries — Rwanda,

Cuba, Costa Rica, Mozambique, Argentina, South Africa and Guyana — now rank among the 17 top performers, with more than 30 percent women parliamentarians. The traditional leader, Sweden, has dropped to #2, following Rwanda (48.8% women in the lower house and 34.6% in the upper house). The UK, USA and France are numbers 49, 60 and 70.

“If you look at where we are coming from, the proportion of women in government has unfortunately always been dismal,” IPU secretary-General Anders Johnsson told the IPS (4 March). “For two decades, women’s presence hovered between 11 and 13 percent. Now suddenly, in all regions, we are on an upward curve and for the first time have crossed the 15 percent mark. It’s a very significant and very positive sign — although this is not good enough.” He pointed out that, if the pace fails to pick up, it would take until 2025 for women’s overall representation to reach the critical mass of 30 percent, and until 2040 to achieve gender parity.

The new map shows little change in regional rankings, with the Nordic countries in the lead, followed by the Americas, the rest of the European continent, Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Pacific, and Arab countries. But the biggest change is a near doubling of the percentage of women MPs in the Arab world, from 3.5% to 6.5% — a relatively modest number, but possibly an important trend.

Meanwhile, however, the count of women heads of state or government has declined over the last five years. And within parliaments it remains disproportionately difficult for women to become presiding officers, the report notes, although this is more likely to happen in developing countries and transitional situations.

The **Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers** has launched a psycho-social web page at <www.child-soldiers.org> “to promote a constructive inter- and intra-disciplinary dialogue on relevant psycho-social issues in the area of children and armed conflict”. Leading experts will contribute up-to-date perspectives, beginning with an

article by Dr Elizabeth Jareg reflecting on lessons learned during her twenty years as a program advisor to Save the Children-Norway, working with children affected by armed conflict. The website also includes a bibliography on DDR (disarmament/demobilization/reintegration).

Looking ahead to the UN Preparatory Committee meeting on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in January in New York, Amnesty International and the Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons have developed a **Global Parliamentary Action in support of an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)**. FMI: <www.parliamentaryforum.org/>

UNESCO and the Palestine Ministry of Women’s Affairs are collaborating on establishing a **Palestine Women’s Resource Center** in Ramallah to serve as an observatory and clearinghouse on information related to women’s issues. It also is expected to do networking, advocacy, and policy-oriented research for gender equality and the human rights of Palestinian women.

“**Conversations with Women on Leadership and Social Transformation**”, by Srilatha Batliwala and Aruna Rao, may be seen at <www.gendernet.org/index.php/SEC41fbd73cde055>.



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