

New Bridges to Peace

*Enhancing National and International Security
by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women*

April 27-28, 2001

Workshop Report



Donna Ramsey Marshall
Rapporteur

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A Women In International Security Workshop Report

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Women In International Security (WIIS)
Center for Peace and Security Studies
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University
Box 571145
Washington, DC 20057
www.wiis.org

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Foreword

The role of women and women's nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in armed conflict was a key agenda item at the Beijing Plus Five Special Session of the UN General Assembly held at the UN headquarters in New York from June 5-9, 2000. The UN Security Council subsequently held an historic one-day debate on this issue. When designing assistance plans for war-torn countries, donor institutions—be they foundations, foreign states or international organizations—increasingly take into account the role of women and women's organizations.

Yet in spite of such recent positive developments, the international policymaking community's understanding of the role of women and women's organizations in war and in post-war reconstruction efforts is limited. Our knowledge of how war affects women is equally incomplete. Without better information, current international efforts to promote the role of women may well falter.

It is against this background that Women In International Security (WIIS) organized the April 2001 workshop, "New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women." As the world's leading organization for the academic and professional advancement of women in national and international security, WIIS was a natural host for such discussions. Our aim for the "New Bridges to Peace" workshop was two-fold. First, we wanted to learn about women's experiences in different war-torn regions around the world. Second, we hoped to increase communication and cooperation among women working for peace at the grassroots level and those working for peace at the national and international levels.

We, the co-chairs of the workshop, are humbled by the work of the many courageous women whose stories were presented at the "New Bridges to Peace" sessions. Their contributions remind us daily that truly democratic societies cannot emerge if the role of women and men as equal partners is not widely recognized and accepted. While certain issues do still affect women alone, many participants cautioned against the belief that there is an explicit "women's" perspective on issues of war and peace. All participants stressed the continuing importance of dialogue and networking among women and emphasized that greater participation by women at both the national and international levels is indispensable to developing a lasting peace. This point was

underscored by the German Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, who presented the keynote address, and stressed the importance of encouraging and sustaining women's engagement in the political process. Workshop participants urged WIIS to continue its work as a clearinghouse for information and contacts related to women's engagement and recommended periodically convening workshops on this topic both in the United States and abroad. WIIS has gladly accepted their challenge and will continue its efforts to expand its international activities, including through the establishment of new overseas affiliates.

An international workshop of exceptional caliber always depends on the dedicated efforts of many people. We thank the panelists and participants for taking time out of their busy schedules to prepare papers and presentations. We are particularly honored—as well as inspired—by the messages and contributions of Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul and the South African Deputy Minister of Defense, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge. Thanks, too, to the WIIS staff, especially Margaret Duden, who juggled travel schedules, papers, and inquiries with boundless enthusiasm and good cheer, and without whom this workshop would not have achieved such success. She made the work of the co-chairs a real joy. Special gratitude and recognition are also owed to Donna Ramsey Marshall, the author of this conference report and its appendices.

Finally, we thank our funders, the Ford Foundation, the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC), and the Washington office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Without their support, this workshop would not have been possible. We hope they will continue to collaborate with WIIS in its efforts to empower women from around the globe to build a better and more peaceful future. For our part, we look forward to continuing WIIS' work on these important issues and to strengthening our international ties.

Washington, DC October 2001

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat
WIIS Vice President

Lori Helene Gronich
WIIS Executive Board Member

One: Introduction

On April 27-28, 2001, Women In International Security (WIIS) convened a workshop entitled “New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women.” Drawing together approximately forty-five representatives of grassroots movements, nongovernmental organizations, academia, and the foreign policy community, WIIS—a US-based international nongovernmental organization dedicated to increasing the influence of women security specialists around the world—envisioned the workshop as a way to bridge the gap between women activists and organizers working for peace “on the ground,” and women working on peace and security issues at the national and international levels. The workshop was organized around the proposal that the international community must now move beyond simply recognizing women’s contributions to peace and security, and actively foster dialogue and collaboration among women toiling at all levels of societies. For while women are often among the hardest-hit victims of modern intrastate conflict, they are also often the most active agents of change, agitating for peace, reconciliation, and reconstruction in divided communities.

The international community has recently taken a number of steps that begin to recognize women’s contributions to peacebuilding efforts. On October 24, 2000, the United Nations Security Council held its first day-long debate on *Women and Peace and Security*.¹ The UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for 2001 chose *Women and War* as a focal theme. The twenty-third special session of the UN General Assembly, also known as Beijing Plus Five, recognized the importance of including women in peace negotiations and urged the UN system to involve more women in its peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities. Regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, have also been encouraged to incorporate a gender perspective into policies and programs addressing armed conflicts. One outcome of the “New Bridges to Peace” workshop was the conclusion that initiatives highlighting and supporting the role of women and women’s organizations in war-torn societies will likely fall short if they are not accompanied by sustained research and networking.

Women are working for peace in many capacities around the world. Most focus attention on the local level, addressing conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction or reconciliation as members of grassroots women's movements and nongovernmental organizations delivering key services to communities beset by violence. However, "often the women who do initiate and engage in these processes do not regard this activism as implicitly political or indeed as peacemaking *per se*."²

Moreover, as Noeleen Heyzer, the Executive Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) has written:

Even as women around the world are finding many new platforms to express their ideas and concerns, women's priorities in countries suffering armed violence continue to be largely marginalized. This occurs in large part because women's voices are rarely heard at the peace table. To change this situation and to curtail the cycle of poverty and violence that results, we must continue to support women's leadership in times of peace, but we must also make greater efforts to assist their attempts to participate as decision-makers in times of war.³

Political scientists and other experts on internal conflict and conflict resolution acknowledge the importance of civil society in building peace in war-torn societies. Yet research on the role of civil society organizations in conflict areas has so far been rather limited.⁴ As a result, NGOs' contributions to peace processes are not well documented or broadly understood. Research on the status of women and the role of women's organizations in war-torn societies is also quite modest.⁵ Systematic examination of their position and roles in conflict and post-conflict settings has yet to be comprehensively undertaken. Without further documentation and analysis, and without a deeper understanding of the impact of war on women and women's organizations as well as their contributions to peacemaking processes, it will be difficult to formulate sound policy recommendations. International assistance—while well intentioned—will prove ineffectual at best, and will be potentially even harmful.

WIIS aims to begin to bridge the divide between policymakers and practitioners by helping to develop a better understanding of these issues. As a non-partisan, international educational organization dedicated to advancing women in the field of international and national security, WIIS is particularly well-suited to the task. For more

than a decade, WIIS has created and nurtured bonds among women and helped women experts make inroads in both academic and policy circles. The “New Bridges to Peace” workshop developed as an initiative to spearhead WIIS’ efforts to promote the role of women—and organizations serving women—in war-torn societies. In convening this conference, WIIS organizers had three objectives:

1. to provide a platform for a wide range of women working in this field—local activists, conflict resolution analysts, mainstream political scientists, defense experts, area studies scholars, and military officers;
2. to create a dialogue between these different women; and
3. to identify new areas for research and policy action with respect to the role of women and women’s organizations in war-torn societies.

The workshop focused on the role of women and women’s organizations in post-Cold War conflicts, addressing questions of when and why women’s organizations emerge; what functions or roles they perform in societies (and how those roles shift over the life cycle of a conflict); what contributions they make to policy debates; and what sources of financial support they receive and how this influences the work they undertake. Another goal of the workshop was to begin identifying cross-cutting issues affecting the conflict resolution work of women’s organizations around the globe.

Presentations at the “New Bridges to Peace” workshop primarily addressed three regions of the world: the former Soviet Union, Europe, and Africa. These regions were selected because of WIIS’ strong links to women and women’s organizations there. This report draws on the panel papers and presentations, as well as on discussions among workshop participants.

Two: Emergence of Women’s Nongovernmental Organizations

From Africa to Asia, Latin America to the former Soviet Union, violent conflicts are tearing apart the social, political and economic fabric of societies. Women living in battle zones, however, are increasingly adopting a proactive stance and responding to the challenges (and opportunities) of war. Some take advantage of the changed political and social environment of societies in conflict (e.g., the breakdown of traditional sexual divisions of labor, the absence and/or preoccupation of men at war, etc.) to assume positions

of political, social, and economic influence. Others, in regions where women continue to be shut out of the formal political process, seek alternative methods of political involvement.

One of the main alternative routes to political action for women in war-torn regions is through the establishment of NGOs that address community needs, by undertaking projects from providing basic necessities of food and shelter to afflicted populations, to restoring health and education systems. The presence of the international donor community and the assistance it provides contribute significantly to the emergence and success of these NGOs and their leaders. In turn, the increased economic and political advancement of women activists helps to enhance the overall social status of women in societies previously characterized by patriarchy and a traditional sexual division of labor. The following section discusses the “when and why” of the emergence of women’s organizations and women leaders in times of conflict.

Patterns of Women’s Organizing

One of the more interesting observations emerging from workshop discussions concerned the patterns of women’s involvement in conflict-related NGO activity, in terms of both the amount and type of activities that women are undertaking in different phases of conflict. It became clear in the course of the workshop that women’s involvement in conflict itself is concentrated, for the most part, at the local, grassroots level. In the countries under discussion, women’s involvement at the national and regional levels tended to be minimal at best. Further, the extent of women’s involvement in NGO activity appeared to begin at a relatively low level prior to the outbreak of violent conflict (i.e., conflict prevention activity), increase somewhat during the active conflict phase (i.e., conflict resolution and war-fighting activity), and then jump dramatically in the immediate post-conflict, or transition, period (i.e., post-conflict reconstruction, reconciliation, and peacebuilding activities). Women were often left to “pick up the pieces” in societies shattered by what some have characterized as “men’s wars.” In the Balkans, for example, where civil society organizations enjoyed a certain degree of freedom and a long tradition of women’s activism, real NGOs did not begin to form until the late 1980s and early 1990s, when nationalism became particularly virulent. And it

was only with the outbreak of violent conflict that women's groups organized with an explicit anti-war mission.

Similarly, in the Caucasus region of the former Soviet Union and in Rwanda, women's NGOs formed only after violence subsided. This surge in women's NGO activity appears to be directly linked to the influx of aid and money from international organizations, and particularly to the direct support offered to organizations run by women. Certainly, the traditional exclusion of women from formal political processes in many countries has in part contributed to the concentration of women's activism in the nongovernmental sector at the local, grassroots level.

Women and Modern Intrastate Conflict

Violent intrastate conflict in the modern era has a profound effect on women. Before entering into a discussion of the emergence of women leaders and women's NGOs during such times, however, it is helpful to review the circumstances that formed the background and context for the WIIS workshop discussions. A striking characteristic of modern intrastate conflict concerns the extent to which civilian populations are affected by violence. In the protracted civil conflicts of the post-Cold War period, the theater of war is not clearly defined or situated—the whole society becomes a battleground. Complex, interdependent societal structures and social relations in developing regions are especially vulnerable to attack, neglect, and disruption.

Crucial distinctions between combatant and noncombatant are progressively more obscured as well. Civilians and families—always fundamentally affected by armed conflict—are increasingly caught in the crossfire of modern warfare. They are often deliberately targeted by one side or another in wars of attrition, and they are often accused of harboring or otherwise aiding the “enemy.” This phenomenon is clearly illustrated in the current conflict in Colombia, where the civilian population is trapped between government forces, right-wing paramilitaries, left-wing insurgents, and narco-guerrillas.

Societal infrastructure, such as communication and transportation, is also marked for destruction. “Home” is no longer safe and the pervasive insecurity caused by such situations forces civilians—the majority women and children—to flee the conflict,

leading to massive population displacements and humanitarian crises. According to workshop participant Lara Olson, the conflicts that broke out in the Caucasus region following the formal breakup of the Soviet Union resulted in an estimated 50-100 thousand deaths and one to one-and-a-half million refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The refugee and IDP situations in the Balkans and the Rwanda conflicts have also been severe.

Long-term instability, population displacement, infrastructure damage, and the shift of state resources from social projects to the war effort have contributed to economic destabilization and devastation in civil societies and countries beset by protracted conflict. In the Caucasus area, states became weakened and thus progressively less able to deal with the effects of war. As both Lara Olson and workshop panelist Fiona Hill noted, unemployment rates skyrocketed, health and education systems were ravaged, and the viability of fragile democratic institutions was threatened. Perhaps the most devastating consequence of sustained conflict in general, though, is the creation of a culture of violence, with its attendant societal demoralization and lasting legacy of hatred, distrust, and resentment among the parties. The effects of this heritage are pervasive and difficult to overcome, even after hostilities cease.⁶

Although many discussions of conflict take the perspective that women are simply victims of brutality, circumstances are often much more complicated. In fact, while women are often less involved than men in decisions to go to war, they are often no less belligerent than their male counterparts. Moreover, as many participants suggested, women do serve as combatants and also play other roles supporting and sustaining civil conflicts. Nevertheless, war does tend to affect men and women differently. An appreciation of its impact on women and their communities is vital to understanding how, why, and when women come together to create organizations and networks that address the arena of violent conflict.

A recent study by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) separated the effects of conflict on women into three main categories: social and psychological impact, economic impact, and political impact.⁷ The social and psychological factors included:

- *Physical insecurity.* Constant fear of violence often confines women to their homes; the continued culture of violence in the post-conflict period exposes many women to increased levels of domestic and criminal violence.
- *Psychosocial trauma.* Women (and men) are often traumatized and emotionally scarred by extended exposure to violence and a general climate of insecurity.
- *Sexual abuse and exploitation.* In many conflict zones, women become targets of systematic campaigns of rape and sexual torture designed to terrorize and demoralize the civilian population of the opposing party. Such systematic campaigns became international news during the conflict in the Balkans and have since been recognized and prosecuted as a crime against humanity.
- *Family roles and responsibilities.* The absence, disappearance, or death of many men leaves an increasing number of women in charge of households, forcing them to assume many traditionally male responsibilities in addition to their own, and altering the sexual division of labor.
- *Domestic violence.* In conflict-torn societies, the pervasiveness of violence leads to an acceptance of violence as a normal aspect of everyday life; this view often generates increased domestic abuse (men against women, as well as women against children).

According to the USAID study, the social and psychological effects of conflict are often exacerbated and compounded by economic circumstances such as:

- *Women-headed households.* Civil conflict contributes to population displacement, the breakdown of traditional family structures, and an increase in women-headed households. The plight of women who have had to assume sole responsibility for the family in many conflict situations is made more difficult by their lack of property rights.
- *Poverty.* Increased poverty is a common consequence of intrastate conflict, with the effects on women disproportionately more severe than on men.
- *Labor force participation.* The shortage of labor during conflicts creates opportunities for women to enter the labor force in increased numbers. However, in the post-conflict period, women are often the first to lose their jobs as combatants return during transition.

These USAID findings were illustrated in many of the workshop panel presentations. In addition, the USAID study, like several WIIS workshop expert contributors, underscored the odd mix of political effects that conflicts can have on women. They showed that war can sometimes be beneficial to women's status in

communities and nations as more and more women take up arms or find other ways of expressing their political commitments.

With men absent at the local level or preoccupied by military duties in communities or at the front, women often gain greater access to political space and economic resources. Some women take up responsibility for delivering services to the most vulnerable segments of the population; others become leaders and organizers of war and anti-war rallies and fundraising efforts. In the post-conflict period, however, these women often leave the public arena. When men return home and reassert their pre-war political and social roles, women are often displaced. In the words of workshop panelist 'Funmi Olonisakin, however, women nevertheless retain, "a new awareness of [their] capability, a new confidence and search for greater fulfillment." Olonisakin added, "These gains have promoted opposition to traditional gender divisions of labour and the desire to consolidate advances made during war time."⁸

There was a strong consensus among workshop participants that new ways must be found to support women in wartime and afterward as they seek to improve their social, psychological, and economic well-being in addition to their status and leadership options in the private, public, and political spheres. Remarkably, it is the political opportunities that become available to women during and after violent conflict that are providing the most surprising occasions for women's empowerment. When societies are at war, the traditional division of labor tends to be altered, bringing women, at least temporarily, into decisionmaking roles. Yet, with the end of hostilities, the desire to return to "normalcy" often overshadows these fundamental societal experiences—not to mention the attendant social and political gains for women—making women's empowerment difficult to sustain.

Women's NGOs in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations: National and Regional Perspectives

Despite pervasive popular imagery of women as victims of war and its aftermath, women in all the regions addressed at the workshop took an active role in shaping their communities' responses and even their nations' responses to conflict. Women everywhere were shown to be establishing organizations to meet the needs of societies

torn apart by violence. Many organizations focused attention specifically on women's issues or women's welfare, but not all limited their focus strictly to women. Many women-led or women-run organizations developed a broader mission, reaching out to the community or the nation as a whole and providing services for both men and women. An example of this type of work is the Foundation to Support Civil Initiatives in Tajikistan (FSCI), headed by Muazama Burkhanova. FSCI provides practical conflict resolution training for men and women. In addition, FSCI assists many women-led organizations in the Caucasus region, helping them to promote basic reconstruction of the social and physical infrastructure of communities that have been devastated by years of violent conflict.

In workshop discussions, women's NGOs, including women's NGOs taking a women's-issue focus, were found to most commonly originate during a conflict or immediately following the cessation of hostilities; they rarely began in the pre-conflict period. In countries as different as the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, pre-conflict work by women-led NGOs and women's-issue NGOs was remarkably limited. Despite long histories of activism by women's religious, social, and associative organizations, women-led NGOs and women's-issue NGOs were rare in pre-conflict periods, even in conflict prevention and conflict resolution efforts. Perhaps this reflects a dynamic of women, war, and society. When conflict disrupts traditional societal rules and roles, space for women-led and women's-issue NGOs may naturally open up. Such space may not exist or may be difficult to obtain prior to the outbreak of a crisis, when the status quo is more firmly entrenched. Still, if armed conflicts do provide new opportunities for women and create the possibility for restructuring the societal division of labor, the absence of women-led NGOs and women's-issue NGOs in pre-conflict periods is striking.

Other factors that may influence the appearance of women-led NGOs and women's-issue NGOs are the degrees of concern and levels of funding made available by international actors once a country has plunged into crisis or experienced a war. As Gareth Evans, President of the International Crisis Group, reminds us, "it is an iron law of both politics and the bureaucracy that the urgent always drives out the important."⁹ Thus, the rise in the number and variety of women's NGOs, particularly at the grassroots

level, may represent a positive response to conflict, both by the international community and by the local population itself.

South Africa

The case of South Africa provides an excellent example of the power of international linkages to effect internal political change as well as a change in the status of women. The internal struggle against apartheid, combined with the moral force of international sanctions, proved too strong for South Africa's minority white government. Though the struggle was not without violence, the elections and transition to democratic rule proceeded rather smoothly. The institution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, intended to help heal the wounds inflicted during decades of institutionalized racial hatred and violence from both sides, was strongly supported by the women of South Africa. As workshop participant Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (Deputy Minister of Defense for South Africa) recalled, women in the South African military and women peace activists in civil society worked together to form the African Women's Peace Table. This organization was established "as part of the transformation process...to address the gender gap in peace initiatives," and is "aimed at building new bridges to peace and expanding the possibility for women to redefine the meaning of peace and their role in it."¹⁰

The new government of South Africa has taken a much more proactive stance toward the inclusion of women in positions of power and influence, largely due to pressures exerted by women who had also struggled for freedom under apartheid. Indeed, according to workshop member 'Funmi Olonisakin, women now comprise 29.5% of the government. Madlala-Routledge agreed that South Africa has made great strides toward including women in the formal government structure. She regretted, though, that the strong presence of women in government seems to have coincided with a reduction in the number of women leaders in the nongovernmental sector. She added that much more work must be done before women are fully integrated into the South African power structures, and asserted that women must bring to the political table the perspective that it is not enough to be in a state of "not war." Indeed, women and men both must be involved in the reconstruction of their societies. Without this comprehensive

reintegration, conflict will not be resolved, and it may well reemerge in the form of domestic violence and crime.

Rwanda

Long-term political rivalries between Rwanda's two main ethnic groups, the Hutu and Tutsi, escalated in 1994 into full-blown genocide. The violence brought about the deaths of an estimated 800 thousand to one million people as well as the dislocation of some three million refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). The impact of the civil war and genocide on the societal infrastructure was devastating; the cost in human terms is unfathomable. Postgenocide Rwanda is shackled with an enduring legacy of distrust, fear, and hatred. The continuing conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa, as well as the looming threat of the AIDS pandemic, only exacerbates the climate of insecurity in Rwanda (as well as in other neighboring countries).

While some Rwandan women's nongovernmental organizations formed during the time of the conflict, most emerged later, undertaking initiatives aimed at reconstructing social, political, and economic life. As in conflicts in other regions, the continuing influence of patriarchal attitudes and practices in Rwanda, coupled with women's general exclusion from the formal political sphere generally has restricted women's organized response to nongovernmental activity.¹¹ The projects undertaken by Rwandan women's groups focus primarily on providing humanitarian assistance, particularly at the local level, and are similar to those that have been initiated in the former Soviet Union (see discussion below). As noted by Rwanda NGO leader and workshop panelist Annie Kairaba, most Rwandan women's groups are addressing family or economic issues—caring for orphaned children, providing shelter to vulnerable populations, educating children, and developing and implementing microcredit and income-generating programs.

A unique activity in the Rwandan case is the formation of women's councils, formal government-mandated women's associations that enable women to elect representatives at the local and parliamentary levels. Though the putative goal of the councils is to give women decision-making capabilities and a forum to voice their views and perspectives on various issues, Annie Kairaba warned that such a council system may

actually serve to further marginalize women. In practice, the system separates women from the main governmental structure, taking them out of the central decision-making process. Kairaba further stated that while such councils are an important mechanism for promoting partnerships and networking, real empowerment and progress will only be achieved when women and men are engaged as equal partners in the formal political system.

Rwanda's government-mandated and government-influenced women's councils are complemented by women's nongovernmental organizations supported by international financing, of which Kairaba's Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development is an example. The presence of international funding fosters the development of independent local and national women's organizations; international networks such as WIIS help to establish and improve the resources available to emerging women leaders.

The Balkans

Workshop member Sonia Licht of the Open Society Institute reported that even though there had been a longstanding tradition of women's activism in the Balkans, there were ups and downs during the period of communist rule. Under the communist state, little opportunity existed for NGOs to emerge, but women's groups did start to form during the late 1980s and early 1990s in the shadow of growing nationalism, as women realized that a return to traditional values would hinder women's empowerment.

Following the collapse of communism and the onset of open hostilities, Balkan governments were unable to handle the overwhelming humanitarian needs provoked by war; they could no longer provide crucial services to their populations. Within this context, women's groups in the Balkans emerged to take on some of the state's former responsibilities, providing basic necessities to those in need as well as offering treatment to victims of rape.¹² Licht noted that a number of women's NGOs in the Balkans were formed as a part of explicit anti-war movements. Women's NGOs in the successor countries to the former Yugoslavia undertook a number of initiatives including victim crisis centers, research and academic activities, human rights and peace activism, and humanitarian aid to refugees and IDPs. Many women in the Balkans turned to NGO work

as a means of coping with the stresses of war and maintaining a broader sense of identity in the face of strident nationalism and a dehumanizing focus on ethnicity.¹³

In the Balkans, as in other regions, women's lives were dramatically changed by the collapse of the communist state. Under communism, women at least held equal legal status and enjoyed many opportunities for participation in official political activities. The advent of nationalism and the outbreak of war curtailed women's activism and led many to turn to NGO work as an outlet for political expression. Workshop member Sonia Biserko, a former Yugoslavian diplomat, stated, "many women turned to the NGO engagements since politics is perceived as a man's world, especially in the time of war."¹⁴ Women-led NGOs were encouraged and supported by foreign governments and others in the international aid community; indeed many, if not all of these organizations, remain heavily dependent on outside funding.

Former Soviet Union

The successor countries of the former Soviet Union have suffered from some of the same problems that beset the post-communist Balkans. As workshop panelist Lara Olson noted, the breakup of the Soviet Union incited challenges to the central government's authority and gave rise to a number of separatist movements.¹⁵ The resulting violence, particularly in the Caucasus and the Central Asian region, left tens of thousands dead and more than a million refugees and IDPs. Conflict has undermined economic stability, created high levels of unemployment, and damaged the social infrastructure and even the foundations of civil society.

While the underlying causes of the conflicts here, as elsewhere, have not been resolved, the cessation of open hostilities opened the door to a flood of international relief and development efforts. As Olson showed, the presence of international funding has led to a surge in the number of nongovernmental organizations formed to address the consequences of conflict. Fiona Hill, another workshop expert, noted that such NGO work has provided an important source of income for many women in war-torn societies; most NGOs formed in the post-conflict period in the former Soviet Union are run by women. Suggesting that women have been decidedly more active in NGO work than in the formal political system, Olson indicated this may be explained, at least to some

extent, by the international aid community's active encouragement of women's mobilization and women-led NGOs. In fact, some groups in the former Soviet Union were even donor-created organizations, established to aid international parent organizations in implementing projects on the ground.

Olson recalled that nongovernmental organizations were practically nonexistent prior to the dissolution of the Soviet system, as "all economic and social life was regulated by the central government structures."¹⁶ Nevertheless, Soviet women were active participants in state-sponsored or state-supported organizations and thus had some leadership experience, which they could bring to bear founding NGOs in the post-communist period.

The majority of the women-led organizations formed in the immediate post-conflict period focused their energies not on "women's needs" *per se*, but on meeting the most pressing humanitarian and economic needs of the community, such as health care, education, psychosocial rehabilitation, support for refugees and IDPs, and employment and income generation activities. These organizations concentrated on the basic reconstruction of the social and physical infrastructure of communities destroyed by years of violence. Many of the reasons women choose to undertake humanitarian NGO work, however, were related to their direct needs. As Olson noted, the majority of women-led NGOs in Georgia pursued humanitarian activities specific to the needs of children and families, fulfilling duties that formerly had been the responsibility of the state or of men—men who often had since become demoralized and apathetic.

Other factors, too, influenced the direction of women's NGOs and women's leadership in the former Soviet Union. Small-scale projects, such as microcredit efforts, were favored by a number of aid agencies. These local projects were perceived by men to be uninteresting, but fit well with women leaders' humanitarian and economic priorities and grassroots experience. Women also used their experience as employees of international aid agencies to open their own NGOs, with a modest network of contacts already in place.

There are some examples of women-led organizations that have had an explicitly political focus, such as the aforementioned Foundation to Support Civil Initiatives in Tajikistan, which provides conflict resolution training and civic education classes to

increase the political understanding of the general population. For the most part, however, women of the Caucasus region have maintained a strict focus on humanitarian work.

Women's decision to avoid outright political activity or efforts focused more directly on peacebuilding and/or reconciliation has been a double-edged sword. On the one hand, because women leaders have maintained an apolitical stance, they are often perceived as non-threatening to government officials and others and have therefore been better able to work with those in power to overcome resistance to their projects. On the other hand, by essentially divorcing their humanitarian work from the directly political realm, they have encouraged women's exclusion from the larger conflict resolution and peacebuilding process. As a consequence, Olson suggested, there are really two processes in play in the region at this point: the *women's* peace process, focused on concrete reconstruction issues, and the *formal* peace process, political negotiation separate from women's work and from which women are generally excluded.

Although women's NGOs form an important component in the struggle for peace and reconstruction in the former Soviet Union, Fiona Hill argued that they continue to have little political or economic influence. There are many gaps in their organizational capabilities and communications structures, and many NGOs there, as in other regions of the world, are strongly dependent on external or foreign funding—a condition that places their long-term success and internal viability in doubt.

Three: The Work of Women's NGOs

When women's presence or leadership in the formal political sphere is limited by rules or traditional roles, action is often pursued instead in the nongovernmental sector. Women thus assume critical positions in developing new and often very effective responses to problems created by prolonged and violent conflict. Since most women-led and women's-issue NGOs tend to be started after violence has been initiated—or, more often, after it has subsided—these groups tend to take up humanitarian assistance or societal reconstruction work rather than more explicitly political efforts. Curiously, as workshop members routinely noted, women often formed organizations that were specifically designed to address the consequences of the wars raging around them and for

the most part did not perceive themselves as undertaking “political” work. Instead, they viewed their contributions as securing survival and improving the quality of life in their communities by, for example, dispensing basic health care, educating and caring for children, and providing food, clothing, and shelter to vulnerable groups such as refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and the elderly.

In some instances, such as in the Caucasus region, women cultivated this apolitical, humanitarian approach because it was perceived by the political elites as less threatening to the prevailing power structure. In many of the countries under discussion, a history of patriarchy and women’s exclusion from formal political life led women to seek alternative methods of accomplishing their goals.¹⁷ As workshop participant Muazama Burkhanova explained, although in Tajikistan women were under-represented in government circles, they often did find a voice in their country’s political life through their work in nongovernmental organizations.¹⁸

Workshop members considered it a common fear that being explicitly political would place women in opposition to the male-dominated political hierarchy, effectively closing many doors and making it more difficult to navigate the already complex political and social obstacles they face both inside and outside their communities. However, such accommodation does not always advance their cause or create a more inclusive, and thus more democratic, political structure; nor does it promote meeting conflict with compromise and a spirit of cooperation rather than with brute force and violence. As Muazama Burkhanova noted in her paper, “[i]nvesting in the capabilities of women is a way to contribute to economic growth, development, [the] establish[ment] of [a] real practicable peace. . .”¹⁹ Each woman and each NGO, however, must weigh these options when determining which course to follow.

Workshop members were in broad agreement that women’s nongovernmental organizations could be functionally differentiated into two overall types: those focusing primary attention on utilitarian/humanitarian efforts, and those focusing primary attention on political efforts. While these two categories were not necessarily mutually exclusive for all of the NGO cases discussed, they do provide a helpful distinction for considering the various functions and roles undertaken by women-led and women’s-issue NGOs across conflict areas. Utilitarian/humanitarian NGOs are those concentrating on the

promotion of health and psychosocial support, education, microcredit and income generation, and refugee and IDP assistance. Political NGOs, in contrast, are those that tackle the more expressly political projects in conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding, including formal and informal conflict resolution training and civic education. The following discussion considers women's NGO activities in these areas.

Utilitarian/Humanitarian NGOs

Health Care and Psychosocial Support

The circumstances of protracted violent conflict have a profound physical and psychological impact on civilian populations. Destruction of societal infrastructure, including basic health services providing vaccinations and routine medical care, leaves civilians vulnerable to a myriad of preventable diseases and other health problems. Psychological trauma is inflicted by the stress of the daily struggle to survive in a war zone and by the constant exposure to physical and psychic violence.

Women-led and women's-issue organizations have played a prominent role in addressing the health-related consequences of violent conflict. They have opened health clinics that provide basic health care, such as reproductive health services and children's immunizations. Some organizations have also undertaken programs in trauma counseling, addressing the mental health aspects of a life lived in constant insecurity. In the Caucasus region, women's organizations have specifically focused on the psychosocial rehabilitation of children who have been traumatized by war. In the Balkans and in Africa, where systematic campaigns of rape and sexual violence were employed as tools of war, a number of women-led and women's-issue organizations have devoted a great deal of energy to assisting the victims of wartime rape and sexual torture.

Refugee and IDP Assistance

Post-Cold War conflicts have severely destabilized societies, through, for example, terror campaigns targeted at civilian populations. As the level of insecurity becomes intolerable, massive population displacement is often a tragic result. As people flee areas besieged by intense fighting, searching for any place that is even marginally more secure, few stop to collect their belongings or pack provisions for the journey to

“safety.” For some, their destination may be the nearest large city; for others, it may be across the border, in another country.

The plight of refugees and IDPs is a desperate situation. In the chaos of flight, families are often separated and parents can lose track of their children. Frequently, refugees and IDPs lack immediate access to the basic necessities of survival. Fortunately, however, women-led and women’s-issue organizations are routinely involved in providing assistance to refugees and IDPs. In every region discussed during the workshop there were many examples of women’s organizations addressing some aspect of refugee assistance—from reuniting lost or orphaned children with surviving relatives to providing food, clothing, and shelter to managing refugee repatriation and IDP reintegration into ethnically divided communities.

Microcredit and Income Generation Efforts

A significant number of the women-led and women’s-issue NGOs considered in the workshop drew financial support from international actors such as the United Nations, international nongovernmental organizations, and foreign governments. Many also took part in microcredit or other income generation initiatives that were a high priority in the international aid community. These initiatives provided small short-term loans at relatively low interest rates, and allowed women borrowers to begin or sustain their own business efforts (primarily home-based work); the initiatives also advanced larger efforts including training and technical assistance projects for women.

While the announced purpose of such microcredit programs is to allow more women to directly and successfully participate in commercial and economic life, a number of workshop participants suggested that they might be falling far short of these goals, and more importantly, that these programs may be creating new and dangerous circumstances in women’s already difficult economic and family lives. Workshop members noted that around the world, from Europe to the former Soviet Union to Africa and Latin America, microcredit programs are providing women with small and short-term loans rather than grants or more generous, long-term assistance. This situation places women at a disadvantage both in the marketplace and at home. Workshop discussions affirmed that women are often unable to routinely lead or significantly contribute to

industrial or commercial ventures. In part this may be because women have little control over the funds they do receive, since men continue to be the primary financial decision-makers within the family, but bear no fiduciary responsibility for loan repayment.

Political NGOs

Conflict Resolution and Civic Education

Not all women's organizations confine themselves to picking up the pieces of lives and communities shattered by the experience of violent conflict. Many are dedicated to addressing the root causes of conflict and to undertaking efforts to prevent the future outbreak of such violence. These groups actively contribute to the regeneration of civil society in their countries, through efforts aimed at alleviating poverty—a common source of conflict—and increasing dialogue among former adversaries. They also contribute to confidence-building measures that counteract the legacy of distrust and hatred that lingers long after weapons have been laid down.

Funmi Olonisakin, for example, outlined several activities that women can and do undertake, particularly in the West African context, which contribute politically to the process of peacebuilding and conflict resolution. These include: assisting with the reintegration of combatants and IDPs; contributing to early warning efforts; influencing local actors and opinion leaders to move toward peace; forming and managing effective political pressure groups; and building effective community channels for the airing of differences.

In the Central African context, the land and land rights reform work done in Rwanda by RSID was highlighted as an effective rebuilding activity since it helped to ease tensions that contributed to inter-communal hostilities. In the Caucasus region, Lara Olson described the contributions of women's organizations to community-level peacebuilding initiatives. These include conflict resolution training for young people; joint Georgian-Ossetian summer camps for children; the development of small-scale agriculture in mixed Georgian-Ossetian villages; the establishment of a dialogue process between Ingush and North Ossetian community leaders concerned with easing refugee returns to disputed areas; and assistance in managing refugee returns and mobilizing villages to accept returnees from “the other side.” Sonja Licht related that in the former

Yugoslavia, a number of women's NGOs, such as Women in Black, were formed expressly as anti-war movements and undertook activities to support human rights and peace. Muazama Burkhanova indicated that in Tajikistan a union of networked NGOs, linked by Burkhanova's own organization, has been created to provide educational training programs and conflict resolution seminars for local people—especially in ethnically diverse areas—as well as training on aspects of civil society that seek to increase the political understanding and sophistication of citizens.

Women-led and women's-issue organizations have also undertaken more academic approaches to conflict resolution and prevention. For example, Burkhanova noted that in Tajikistan such NGOs have engaged in research on the causes of conflict and the strategies that would prevent and resolve future disputes before they become violent. Sonia Licht added that in the Balkans, several women's academic nongovernmental institutions have focused on studying issues such as human rights, minority rights, peace studies, international law, and transitional justice.

Levels of Organization: Grassroots, National, and International

While most women in the countries examined at the workshop are involved in peacebuilding at the grassroots level, there are several notable examples of women taking the lead at the national and international levels as well. A number of women in particular have secured positions in the new or reconstituted national governments of post-conflict countries, often due to rules or laws mandating their participation. In South Africa, for example, as mentioned earlier, women now constitute 29.5% of the government. As Madlala-Routledge's experiences and those of her women colleagues demonstrate, women can and do make significant positive contributions to conflict resolution and post-conflict restructuring at the national and international level. Women like Madlala-Routledge and their supportive male and female counterparts pave the way for embracing broader definitions of security, ones that include military concerns as well as "issues of economic, social, ecological, political and gender justice."²⁰

In Tajikistan, 80% of Burkhanova's FSCI affiliates were conflict resolution organizations run by women. Together, these organizations persuaded the Tajik president to issue an executive order requiring 12% of all seats in all Tajikistan's elected bodies to

be reserved for women (a small step, but certainly a good start toward a more inclusive form of power-sharing). With increased international support and visibility, FSCI can continue its efforts and may be able to prevent future outbreaks of violence. Through dialogue, communication, and networking—in venues like the “New Bridges to Peace” workshop—this consortium is able to reach beyond its local connections and extend its knowledge to populations and women around the world.

Despite this progress, however, there are still far too many cases of women being excluded from formal governmental and political processes. For example, as Madlala-Routledge pointed out, no women leaders signed the Lusaka Peace Accords: “[when] the leaders from the region—from the countries that were party to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo—were there to sign... We saw this on TV; there were no women around the table.”²¹ Women were active in the background, bringing issues to the attention of the negotiators, but when it came time for official action, men were the ones who were most visible and most clearly in charge. To illustrate the familiarity of this situation, Madlala-Routledge noted that, “From Dayton to Rambouillet, Arusha to Burundi to Colombia it is predominantly male leaders who are [formally] negotiating an end to war.”²²

Although women are making headway in some arenas, including in certain cases at the national level, they often play only supporting roles at the international level where men tend to shape and dominate the agenda. It is in this context that the importance of networking among women, as well as networking between women and men, becomes most crucial. Many workshop participants stressed that organizations with members and affiliates at all levels of societies, such as Women In International Security, can and do play a vital role in encouraging women and women’s groups and connecting them to other activists, academics, and policymakers. Indeed, one of the results of the “New Bridges to Peace” workshop has been to initiate conversations about establishing a WIIS affiliate organization in Africa. Preliminary planning meetings have since taken place, and more discussions are anticipated.

Through widespread networks, like those provided by WIIS, local and national women’s organizations can and do receive as well as extend support and encouragement to one another as they promote international peace. Women’s networks strengthen

women leaders' confidence and effectiveness through shared experiences of hardship and shared strategies for success. As Madlala-Routledge emphasized, however, it is important "to insure that in supporting women's organizations and movements we actually bring, where we can, the attention to the instruments that are there." More importantly, "we must work with them, and not on their behalf." The power of networking lies in the ability to extend resources, influence, and ideas without compromising any individual units' capacity for self-reliance.

Networking to Increase the Impact of Women's NGOs

As noted again and again by workshop participants, women's NGOs face many obstacles: cultural and social hurdles (such as women's low status in many societies); language barriers and other communication problems (created, in part, by hindrances to women's education); the chaotic nature of post-conflict societies (and the insecurity that flows from it); the reservations of international donors about long-term funding commitments; management and membership difficulties inherent in sustaining NGOs; and problems of coordination among the many women's organizations within and across countries and regions.²³

Workshop members stressed that networking is essential if women's organizations are to be both effective and sustainable. Sonia Licht suggested that women-led and women's-issue organizations can only be effective if they build coalitions with one other and with women involved in the formal political process at all levels. Such relationships and coalitions must be built across many sectors and groups. Jendayi Frazer added that networking lends women an increased ability to maneuver within a society at any level, and she urged women working for peace to pursue networking opportunities not only with other women, but with men as well. Olonisakin emphasized the need for a more consistent and sustained dialogue among women's groups in Africa and between groups in the North and the South. Among other benefits, such networks would enhance communication, cooperation, and coordination among those working in the territory or on the same issue area. As it stands, although women's groups often can gain much from cooperation, they now tend to see many of their counterparts as competitors, vying with them for funding, resources, projects, and constituents.

The importance of international linkages and networking to the success of women's nongovernmental organizations was a constant refrain in workshop discussions. Fiona Hill in particular underscored that international organizations are a crucial factor in the development of NGOs and women's leadership. Muazama Burkhanova's organization, the Foundation to Support Civil Initiatives in Tajikistan, for instance, is providing practical training in conflict resolution for both men and women; without international funding, FSCI would not be able to carry out its work. For Annie Kairaba's group, the Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development (RISD), international networking and international funding sustains work on grassroots development and economic issues, national land policy (including lobbying for the inclusion of women's land rights), and the development of civil society and good governance. It is through these efforts to alleviate poverty and discrimination—thereby addressing the human dimensions of conflict—that RISD seeks to build the basis for a sustainable peace. Kairaba stressed that for such efforts to be successful, women must foster cooperation at all levels, from the grassroots through the national and regional levels to the international level. She stated that local capacity must be strengthened to enable enhanced collaboration; such capacity building should use a participatory approach that encourages women's involvement at all levels.

Lara Olson pointed out that in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans—where little nonstate organization was permitted under communist or other authoritarian regimes, and social, political, and economic activity was tightly regulated by the state—the very concept of nongovernmental organizations is new. Relative inexperience with voluntary organizing has resulted in groups that are weak and poorly developed, and that lack real political and economic influence.

Four: Sources and Effects of Funding

Among the factors influencing the effectiveness of women's organizations, the role of external (particularly foreign) funding was mentioned most often and discussed intently by workshop participants. This section provides a more detailed discussion of funding sources for women's organizations and their impact on the level and type of activity in which NGOs engage.

In every country discussed by participants, women's NGOs received the majority, if not all, of their funding from external, and usually foreign, sources. While the bulk of the workshop discussion focused on the detrimental aspects of this funding stream, it is helpful to consider first the positive contributions of international assistance before turning to a discussion of its drawbacks. Krishna Kumar details four main contributions of international assistance to women's organizations, particularly in the context of post-conflict situations. International assistance: 1) contributes to the emergence or continued survival of a majority of women's NGOs; 2) allows women's organizations to undertake projects for which funds could not be raised locally; 3) lends women's groups legitimacy and offers a measure of protection from government interference; and 4) increases groups' technical and managerial skills through interaction with international agencies.²⁴

In nearly every instance examined, the presence of international aid has proved to be a crucial factor in developing women's nongovernmental organizations and encouraging women to assume leadership positions. NGOs often become a main source of employment for women in post-conflict societies, especially as men returning from the front lines reassume positions of prominence in the labor force. Women, therefore, often come to depend quite heavily on international assistance and the opportunities for employment and leadership that it provides.

However, not all the effects of these contributions are positive. Workshop participants highlighted a number of drawbacks directly related to the overwhelming presence of international aid agencies in countries in the midst of or emerging from an extended period of violent conflict. Their main source of concern revolved around the consequences of dependence and women's NGOs' struggle to maintain autonomy while accepting international aid money that nearly always comes with strings attached. Because many groups depend solely on international assistance for their funding, their agendas are often determined by donors' priorities—not by the organizations' own evaluations of what their communities require. In the Caucasus region, for example, Lara Olson explained that the focus of the donor community is shifting toward development activities. There is now less emphasis on basic humanitarian needs, which have been the motivating force for women's mobilization and which still require attention. What is needed, then, is a more consultative process that includes local women who understand

the realities of their communities. There must be less interference by donor agencies, which, as Fiona Hill stated, distort local attempts to respond to problems by imposing a top-down view that is out-of-step with what is happening on the ground.

A related problem is that donor priorities are constantly shifting. Because funding is often limited to particular types of activities, organizations chasing money are tempted to submit applications for projects that they lack the experience and capacity to complete. This can lead to ineffectual projects and inefficient allocation of resources, as well as to the neglect of projects that may relate more directly to the needs of the affected population.

A third problem posed by international assistance concerns the length of donor commitment. Because donors rarely make long-term commitments and competition for resources is intense, funding for any given program is never guaranteed. This scenario makes it difficult for women's groups to take on comprehensive projects. Lack of long-term perspective focuses too much attention on quick-fixes or "band-aids" that do little to address the fundamental issues at the root of conflicts. Organizations wind up treating the symptoms instead of the disease.

Further complications concern the fragile sustainability of organizations dependent upon a single, external source of funding. When the next new crisis draws the attention and dollars of the international aid community to another conflict arena, there are no local sources of support to take their place; many (especially smaller) organizations will fold. Annie Kairaba added that inadequate and unpredictable funding leads to high staff turnover and a subsequent lack of continuity, exacerbating morale problems in women's organizations. Finally, the necessity of submitting frequent funding applications and progress reports to donors adds an extra burden on already overstretched and struggling organizations.²⁵

Five: Conclusions and Next Steps

The contributions of women and women's organizations to the process of conflict resolution and peacebuilding are often neglected in discussions of war and peace. The preceding discussion, however, highlights the important (even indispensable) roles that women-led and women's-issue organizations play in the transition from violence to

peace, emphasizing the role of women as agents of change. The international community is only beginning to recognize how crucial it is to include the perspectives of women in matters of war, peace, and security, and to acknowledge what Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge termed the “institutionalized right of women to participate in all aspects of decision-making.” This process of recognition and acknowledgement must be encouraged and nurtured by women at every level—grassroots, national, regional, and international. The WIIS “New Bridges to Peace” workshop was a step in that direction, publicizing women’s active participation in peace work, exploring the possibility of dialogue among women working for peace at all levels, and establishing a network of activists and academics that will keep women and women’s organizations in the forefront of the struggle for a world without violence.

The importance of networking in this regard cannot be overstated. As Sonia Licht emphasized, the ultimate success or failure of women’s peace initiatives hinges on the ability to create coalitions or networks of individuals and groups pursuing similar goals. (Indeed, as a result of Licht’s participation in the WIIS conference, she was invited to speak at NATO.) Licht also stressed that to be most effective and to make the greatest impact, women’s nongovernmental organizations must cultivate relationships with women *and men* involved in the formal political process. Toward that end, Jendayi Frazer underscored the importance of developing not just networks (horizontal relationships), but also mentorships (vertical relationships). The idea of mentoring met wide consensus among workshop participants, who emphasized its international dimension. Established international women’s organizations and networks such as WIIS are uniquely positioned to guide newly emerging women leaders and women’s grassroots organizations by sharing ideas and success stories, and by bringing to the attention of women’s groups the array of instruments and resources available to them.

However, we must not lose sight of Madlala-Routledge’s advice to “work with them, and not on their behalf.” As stated in the discussion of donor priorities, there was consensus across panels calling for increased consultation with local women and grassroots women’s nongovernmental organizations before donor priorities and commitments are determined. There is a tendency for some international aid agencies to work “on behalf” of communities in need, assuming that they know best what is required

locally. This lack of communication between international donors and local groups results in the imposition of top-down solutions that are out of step with the reality on the ground. An example of this can be seen in the desire of many aid agencies to quickly shift from a focus on humanitarian relief issues in the immediate post-conflict period to sustainable development projects, sometimes before the community is stable enough for such a shift to take place. Establishing strong women's networks at the international and grassroots levels may help to address these concerns, in part by making international aid agencies more aware of the situation on the ground and of the real needs of the communities they are trying to help.

¹For the debate in the UN Security Council see S/PV 4208, October 24-25, 2000. The Council also adopted a resolution that called on all those involved in negotiating and implementing peace agreements to adopt a gender perspective. See UNSC Res. 1325 of October 31, 2000.

²Dalal Salameh, MP (Palestine), "Women Building Peace," in *Women, Violent Conflict and Peacebuilding: Global Perspectives* (London: International Alert, Report of an International Conference, London, May 5-7, 1999), p. 11.

³Noeleen Heyzer, "Preface: Women Making Peace," in Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women at the Peace Table* (New York: UNIFEM, 2000), p. 1.

⁴The bulk of research on NGOs and internal conflict relates to humanitarian assistance NGOs. See, for example, Thomas G. Weiss, "Nongovernmental Organizations and Internal Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 435-460.

⁵See Noeleen Heyzer's presentation to the UN Security Council on October 24, 2000, S/PV 4208, p. 7. The literature in this domain is either very impressionistic or highly theoretical. Even in the development field, the role of women and women's organizations is poorly documented. For a recent survey on the role of women's organizations see Krishna Kumar, Robin Silver, Tom Buck and Stephanie McNulty, *Forging New Roles: Women's Organizations in Post-conflict Societies* (a project by the Center for Development Information and Evaluation, of the US Agency for International Development, 2000).

⁶For a further treatment of the societal impact of protracted civil conflict, see Monty G. Marshall, *Third World War: System, Process, and Conflict Dynamics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). For more on women's activities to mitigate the effects of violence during and after conflict, see Donna Ramsey Marshall, *Women in War and Peace: Grassroots Peacebuilding* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2000).

⁷Krishna Kumar, *Women and Women's Organizations in Post-conflict Societies: The Role of International Assistance* (Washington, DC: Center for Development Information and Evaluation, US Agency for International Development, 2000).

⁸Funmi Olonisakin, *Conflict, Cooperation and the Role of Women and Women's NGOs in Africa*, occasional paper from the WIIS workshop "New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women," held in Washington, DC, April 27-28, 2001 (Washington, DC: Women In International Security, 2001), p. 3.

⁹Gareth Evans, *Preventing Deadly Conflict: The Role and Responsibility of Governments and NGOs*, public lecture at the Centre for the Study of Human Rights, London School of Economics, February 2, 2001. Accessed at <http://www.garethevans.dynamite.com.au/speechtexts/LSElecture2Feb01.htm>.

¹⁰Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, *New Bridges to Peace*, occasional paper from the WIIS workshop “New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women,” held in Washington, DC, April 27-28, 2001 (Washington, DC: Women In International Security, 2001), p. 5.

¹¹While women in Rwanda, as elsewhere, are beginning to gain more access to the political sphere, their representation in formal government posts is still minuscule in proportion to their percentage of the population. See Annie Kairaba, *Personal Experience: Women’s NGOs’ Peace Initiatives in Post Conflict Africa: The Case of Rwanda*, paper presented at the WIIS workshop “New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women,” held in Washington, DC, April 27-28, 2001.

¹²Martha Walsh, *Aftermath: The Role of Women’s Organizations in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Washington, DC: Center for Development Information and Evaluation, US Agency for International Development, 2000).

¹³Sonia Licht, *Women Searching for a New Paradigm in South Eastern Europe*, occasional paper from the WIIS workshop “New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women,” held in Washington, DC, April 27-28, 2001 (Washington, DC: Women In International Security, 2001).

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¹⁶Olson, *op. cit.*

¹⁷In the case of formerly communist countries, with their long histories of authoritarianism, the situation is somewhat different in that women had more official equality under the old system. After the collapse of communism, and despite women’s prominent role in the pro-democracy movements, women were among the first to lose their jobs, their access to the political arena, and their status as their situation drastically declined with the reimposition of a more patriarchal system.

¹⁸Muazama Burkhanova, *Tajik NGOs and Women in National Security*, paper presented at the WIIS workshop “New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women,” held in Washington, DC, April 27-28, 2001.

¹⁹Burkhanova, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²⁰Madlala-Routledge, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²¹Taken from the recorded transcripts of the WIIS workshop on “New Bridges to Peace: Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women,” in Washington, DC, April 27-28, 2001.

²²Madlala-Routledge, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²³Kumar, *op. cit.*

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Appendix 2

Women's NGOs Working on Peace and Security

INTERNATIONAL NGOS*

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

(national offices listed under individual country)

CP 28, 1 rue de Varembe

1211 Genève 20

Switzerland

tel +41-22-919 7080

fax +41-22-919 7081

wilpf@iprolink.ch

www.wilfp.int.ch

Women in International Security (WIIS)

Center for Peace and Security

Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign

Service, Georgetown University

Box 571145

Washington, DC 20057-1145

tel +1-202-687-3366

fax +1-202-687-3233

info@wiis.org

www.wiis.org

REGIONAL NGOS

ASIA/PACIFIC

ASCENT, Asian Centre for Women's Human Rights

PO Box AC 662 Cubao

1135 Quezon City

Philippines

tel +632-533 0452

fax +632-928 4973

Asian Women's Human Rights Council

Manila, Philippines

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Women for Peace Network

EUROPE

Karat Coalition

Hungary

SUBSAHARAN AFRICA

African Women Committee on Peace and Development (AWCPD)

c/o Organization of African Unity

P.O. Box 3243

Addis Ababa

Ethiopia

tel +251-1-517200

fax +251-1-514416/512785

Fédération des Réseaux de Femmes Africaines pour la Paix/Federation of African Women Peace Networks (FERFAP)

BP 1787

Kigali

Rwanda

tel +250-77482

NATIONAL NGOS

(arranged regionally)

ASIA/PACIFIC

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Women's Network (AWN)

see under Pakistan

Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan

AUSTRALIA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Australia

GPO Box 2094

Adelaide, SA 5001

Australia

tel +61-8-8232 6334

fax +61-8-8232 6335

AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan Women and Development Centre

3/6 S Rustanov St

Baku 370000

Azerbaijan

tel +994-12-973233

fax +994-12-942471

elmira@awdc.baku.az

Dilyara Alieva Association for the Protection of Women's Rights

1 Aziz Aliyev St

Baku 370004

Azerbaijan

tel +994-12-927828

fax +994-12-927456

Appendix 2 – NGO List

n_jafarova@azeri.com
andf@ulvi.baku.az

CAMBODIA

Khemara/Cambodian Women

National Council for Women (proposed)

FRENCH POLYNESIA

**Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix
et la Liberté – Section Polynésienne (LIFPL)**

BP 4427

Papeete

Tahiti

tel +689-582474

INDIA

Ahmedabad Women's Action Group (AWAG)

48, Somnath Nagar, Vijaynagar Rd

Naranpura, Ahmedabad 380 013

India

tel +91-79-470036

fax +91-79-489921

Asian Women Human Rights Council

Women in Black

c/o Teesta Setalvad

PO Box 28253

Juhu Post Office

Mumbai 400049

India

tel +91-22-648 2288

sabrang@bom2.vsnl.net.in

**Women in Security, Conflict Management
and Peace (WISCOMP)**

Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His
Holiness the Dalai Lama

Core 4 A, UGF

India Habitat Center

Lodi Road, New Delhi 110003

India

tel +91-11-464 8450

fax +91-11-464 8451

wiscomp@vsnl.com

www.furhhd.org

INDONESIA

Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice

and Democracy

JAPAN

Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence

Kumoji Mansion 402

3-29-41 Kumoji

Naha City

Okinawa 900-0015

Japan

tel +81-98-864 1539

suzuyo@mxi.meshnet.ne.jp

**Women's International League for Peace
and Freedom (WILPF)**

c/o Japan Women's University

2-8-1 Mejirodai, Bunkyo-ku

Tokyo 112

Japan

tel +81-3-3944 6730

KOREA, REPUBLIC OF

Women Making Peace

4th Flr, Women's House for Peace

38-84 Chanchungdon 1-Ga

Chung-Gu

Seoul

Korea

wmp@chollian.net

NEPAL

WILPF

PO Box 13613

Chabahil, Kathmandu

Nepal

tel +977-1-487905

fax +977-1-487906

NEW ZEALAND/AOTEAROA

Women Educating Against Violence (WEAVE)

PO Box 1732

Christchurch

New Zealand

tel +64-3-348 1350

anna@chch.planet.org.nz

Women's Peace Network

c/o Peace Movement Aotearoa

PO Box 9314

Wellington

Appendix 2 – NGO List

New Zealand
tel +64-4-382 8129
fax +64-4-382 8173
pma@xtra.co.nz

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

P.O. Box 2054
Wellington
New Zealand
tel +64-4-384 6249

PAKISTAN

Afghan Women's Network (AWN)

PO Box 426
Islamabad
Pakistan
tel +92-51-859489
fax +92-51-211450
habibakbar@hotmail.com

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency

PHILIPPINES

Association of the New Filipina (Kabapa) (of the Coalition for Peace)

Women's Action Network for Development (WAND)

10 Maka-Diyos Street
Sikatuna Village
Quezon City
Philippines
tel +632-925 1410
fax +632-433 1160

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

PO Box 1035
Citimall, Diliman
1101 Quezon City
Philippines

SRI LANKA

Muslim Women's Research and Action Forum

21/25 Polhengoda Garden
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
mwraf@pan.uk

Sri Lanka Women's NGO Forum

Sri Lankan Voice of Women for Peace

Women and Media Collective

Women's Education and Resource Centre

58 Dharmarama Rd
Colombo 6
Sri Lanka
womendre@sri.lanka.net

WILPF – Sri Lanka

225-1/1 Cotta Rd
Colombo 8
Sri Lanka
fax +94-1-687665

PAKISTAN

Foundation to Support Civil Initiatives in Tajikistan (FSCI)

Shotemura str. 73a-19
734002 Dusnanbe
Tajikistan
tel/fax +7-10992372(21-5857) CHECK THIS

EUROPE

ALBANIA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom–Albania

Rruga Nai, Fresheri
P84 – Sh2 – Ap31
Tirane
Albania
tel +355-42-29738

BELGIUM

Femmes pour la Paix

c/o Amazone
Bur 304
Rue du Méridien 10
1210 Bruxelles
Belgium
tel +32-2-229 3847
fax +32-2-229 3801

Moeders voor Vrede/Mères pour la Paix Cultureel Centrum

Appendix 2 – NGO List

Sint-Niklaasstr 4
8900 Ieper
Belgium
tel +32-57-215885
mothers_for_peace@bigfoot.com

Women in Black Belgium – Flemish

c/o Lieve Snellings
H Corbeelplein 4
3012 Wilsele
Belgium
tel +32-16-201325
lieve.snellings@village.uunet.be

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Women To Women Sarajevo

Hamdije Cemerlica 25, 8th Floor, 71000
Sarajevo
Bosnia-Herzegovina

Women's Association Medica Zenica

Moskusnice 10, 72000 Zenica
Bosnia-Herzegovina
medicaze@miz.ba

BULGARIA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Bulgaria

C/o Iva Kilarova
Christo Karpachev St – 9-B – Apt 56
Sofia
Bulgaria
tel +359-2-717811

CROATIA

Budi aktivna Budi emancipirana/Be active Be emancipated (BaBe)

Prilaz Gjura Dezelica 26/2
10000 Zagreb
Croatia
tel +385-1-484 6176
babe@zimir.net
www.babe.hr

Centar za Zene Zrtve Rata/Centre for Women War Victims

Radnicki dol 20
10000 Zagreb
Croatia
tel +385-1-482 3258

cenzena@zimir.net

Centar za Edukaciju I Savjetovanje Zena/Centre for Education and Counseling of Women

Raciceva
10000 Zagreb
Croatia
tel +385-1-233 2416
cesi@zimir.net

Zenska Akcija Rijeka/Women's Action Rijeka (ZAR)

B Polica 2/II
51000 Rijeka
Croatia
tel +385-51-337390
zenska-akcija@ri.tel.hr

Zenska Infoteka/Women's Information Centre

Varsavska 16/I
10000 Zagreb
Croatia
tel +385-1-435553
fax +385-1-429904

CYPRUS

Centre for Women and Peace Studies

4A Kissamou St
Pallioraotissa-Nicosia 1040
Cyprus

Women's Movement for Peace

Women's Research Centre (WRC)

19 Necmi Avkiran St
Lefkosha-Nicosia
Cyprus
tel +90392-22-75407
fax +90392-22-83823

DENMARK

Kvinder for Fred

Postbox 314
5700 Svendborg
Denmark
tel +45-6621 9099
fax +45-9835 1054
www.fred.dk/kff

Kvindernes Internationale Liga for Fred og Frihed (KILFF)

Appendix 2 – NGO List

Vesterbrogade 10 – mezz
1620 Kobenhavn V
Denmark
tel +45-3323 1097
wilpf-dk@internet.dk
www.fred.dk/liga/

FINLAND

Naiset Rauhan Puolesta/Women for Peace
c/o Unioni
Bulevardi 11 A 1
00120 Helsinki
Finland

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Finnish Section (WILPF)
PL 1174
00101 Helsinki
Finland
fax +358-9-694 2167

FRANCE

Ligue International de Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté – Section française (LIFPL)
114 rue de Vaugirard
75006 Paris
France
tel +33-14878 3985
fax +33-14082 9955

GEORGIA

Gender Development Association of Georgia

GERMANY

Frauen für Frieden/Women for Peace
c/o Quistorp
Waitzstr 24
10629 Berlin
Germany
tel +49-30-323 9543
equistorp@aol.com

Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit (IFFF)
Eisenacher Str 75
10823 Berlin
Germany
tel +49-30-784 6199
eurobrun@berlin.snafu.de

GREECE

Mediterranean Women's Study Center, or KEGME
115 Char. Trikoupi Str
11473 Athens
Greece
tel +30-1-381 3968
fax +30-1-381 5660

IRELAND, NORTHERN

Northern Ireland Women's Coalition
50 University Street
Belfast BT7 1HB
Northern Ireland

Women Together for Peace
62 Lisburn Rd
Belfast BT9
Northern Ireland
tel +44-28-9031 5100
fax +44-28-9031 4864

IRELAND, REPUBLIC OF

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Ireland
c/o G Frankel
Ballinacloona Cottage
Ballyneal, Carrick-on-Suir
Co Tipperary
tel +353-51-647061
gloriafrankel@tinet.ie

ITALY

Donne per la Pace e il Disarmo
CP 713
36100 Vicenza
Italy
tel +39-0444-500457
fax +39-0444-327527
achem@ux1.unipd.it

Lega Internazionale delle Donne per la Pace e la Libertà
CP 46
73100 Lecce
Italy
tel +39-0832-648552
adonno@mail.clio.it

Appendix 2 – NGO List

NETHERLANDS

Vrouwen voor Vrede/Women for Peace

Oberschiestr 36
1062 XE Amsterdam
Netherlands
tel +31-20-617 2800

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Netherlands (WILPF-IVVV)

FC Dondersstr 23
3572 JB Utrecht
Netherlands
tel +31-30-271 2121

NORWAY

Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred og Frihet (IKFF)

Postboks 8810
Youngstorget
0028 Oslo 1
Norway
tel +47-2301 0340
fax +47-2301 0301
ikff@online.no

Kvinner for Fred

Rimoslia 12c
7029 Trondheim
Norway
tel +47-3347 3875

Nordiske Kvinners Fredsnettverk/Nordic Women's Peace Network

Bentserodveien 95
3234 Sandefjord
Norway
tel +47-3347 3875

PORTUGAL

Associação de Mulheres Contra a Violência

AL.D. Afonso Henriques, No.78-10 ESQ
Lisboa 1000
Portugal
tel +351-1-8511250
fax +351-1-8516223

RUSSIA

Komitet Soldatskich Materey Rossii/Committee of Russian Soldiers' Mothers (KSMR)

Luchnikov Per 4 – p3 k6

101000 Moskva
Russia
tel +7-095-928 2506
fax +7-095-206 8958

Konversiya i Zhenshiny/Conversion and Women (C & W)

Ul Viktorenko 7
125319 Moskva
Russia
tel +7-095-157 9311
swallow@cityline.ru

Soldiers' Mothers of St Petersburg

Ismailovsky Prospekt 8 – Kv 15
198005 Sankt-Peterburg
Russia
tel +7-812-259 4968
www.openweb.ru/windows/smo/

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Russian Section

c/o Natalia Berezhnaya
Ul Lesnaya 45 kv 29
103055 Moskva
Russia
tel +7-095-972 3308
fax +7-095-289 4050
fdpr@aha.ru

SWEDEN

Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet (IKFF)

Tjärhovsg 9
11621 Stockholm
Sweden
tel +46-8-702 9810
fax +46-8-7021973
wilpfsweden@ikff.se

Kvinnor för Fred/Women for Peace (KFF)

Hogsbergsgt 30 – A – 1tr
11620 Stockholm
Sweden
tel +46-8-202654

SWITZERLAND

CFD – Frauenstelle für Friedensarbeit

Pf 9621
8036 Zürich

Appendix 2 – NGO List

Switzerland
tel +41-1-242 9307
fax +41-1-241 2926
frieda@swix.ch

Femmes Africa Solidarité (Africa Women Solidarity)

P.O. Box 2100
1211 Geneva 2
Switzerland
tel +41-22-798 0075
fax +41-22-798 0076
faspeace@iprolink.ch
http://www.fasngo.org

Femmes pour la Paix/Frauen für den Frieden/Donne per la Pace

CP 126
1000 Lausanne 6
Switzerland

**Frauen für den Frieden/Donne per la Pace/
Femmes pour la Paix**

Drahtzugstr 28
4057 Basel
Switzerland
tel +41-61-382 5252
fax +41-61-681 3312
a.hohl.106ha@jz.zh.ch

UNITED KINGDOM

Aldermaston Women's Peace Campaign

c/o 157 Lyndhurst Rd
Worthing, Sussex
UK
tel +44-1639-700680
aldermastonwpc@gn.apc.org

Mothers for Peace

70 Station Rd
Burley-in-Wharfedale
Ilkley LS29 7NG
Yorkshire
UK

tel +44-1943-864577

Sellafield Women's Peace Camp

Box Z, 16 Sholebroke Av
Leeds LS7 3HB
West Yorkshire
UK
tel +44-113-262 9365
cornerstone@gn.apc.org

Women in Black

c/o The Maypole Fund
Box 14072
London N16 5WB
UK
tel +44-20-7482 5670

Women for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific (WNFIP)

c/o 89 Great Russell St
London WC1B 3PS
UK
tel +44-20-7637 2249

Women for World Disarmament (WWD)

c/o 44 Upland Rd
London SE22 9EF
UK
tel +44-20-8299 0352

Women's Aid to Former Yugoslavia (WATFY)

c/o 5 Caledonian Rd
London N1 9DY
UK
waty@gn.apc.org

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

37 Hillingworth Rd
Petts Wood
Orpington BR5
Kent
UK
tel +44-20-8467 5367
rosalie.huzzard@btinternet.com

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Balcombe House
Teapot Lane
GB-Baltonborough
Somerset BA6 8QE
UK
106367.1022@compuserve.com

YUGOSLAVIA

League of Albanian Women of Kosovo

Mothers for Peace

**Zene U Crnom Protiv Rata/Women in Black
Against War**
Jug Bogdanova 18/5

Appendix 2 – NGO List

11000 Beograd
Srbija
Yugoslavia
tel +381-11-623225
stasazen@eunet.yu

LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA

Liga Internacional de Mujeres pro Paz y Libertad (LIMPAL)
Defensa 1467 – Apt. 5
Buenos Aires CF
Argentina
tel +54-11-4300 8629
fax +54-11-4300 1015
mariapagano@usa.net

BOLIVIA

Liga Internacional de Mujeres pro Paz y Libertad (LIMPAL)
Casilla 4886
Santa Cruz
Bolivia
tel/fax +591-3-524089

CHILE

Liga Internacional de Mujeres pro Paz y Libertad (LIMPAL)
Mondea 2251 – Block 112
Depto 43
Santiago Centre
Chile
fax +56-2-690 4821

COLOMBIA

Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres

COSTA RICA

Liga Internacional de Mujeres pro Paz y Libertad (LIMPAL)
Apdo 8295
1000 San José
Costa Rica
tel +506-256 2406

EL SALVADOR

LIMPAL
c/o A Rooney
Av Ateos 18
Jardines de la Libertad
Cuidad Merliot
El Salvador
tel +503-278 3069

GUATEMALA

Kaqla/Guatemalan Indigenous Women's Organization

National Co-ordination of Guatemalan Widows (CONAVIGUA)

National Union of Guatemala Women

PANAMA

LIMPAL
Apdo 192 – 9A
Cuidad
Panama
tel +507-21-4471

PARAGUAY

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)
contact: Ofelia Insauralde
Casilla 1166
Asunción
Paraguay
PERU

Liga Internacional de Mujeres pro Paz y Libertad (LIMPAL)
Jr Pablo Bermúdez 214, Of 605
Jesús Maria 11
Lima 11
Peru
tel +51-1-330 2823
lematucker@viaexpresa.com.pe

URUGUAY

LIMPAL
c/o Guiselle Petrides
Canelones 929
11000 Montevideo
Uruguay
tel +598-2-904139

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fax +598-2-900067

VENEZUELA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Asociacion Civil Congreso Anfictionio, Apartado
Postal 48.250
Zona Postal 1041 – A Los Chaguaramos
Caracas
Venezuela

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA

ISRAEL/PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

Bat Shalom

POB 8083
West Jerusalem 91080
Israel
tel +972-2-563 1477
fax +972-2-561 7983
batshalo@netvision.net.il
www.batshalom.org

Coalition of Women for a Just Peace

The Israeli Women's Peace Net (Reshet)

Jerusalem Center for Women

Al-Hirbawi Building, 4th Floor
P.O.B. 51630
Jerusalem
Israel
tel +972-2-234 7068
fax +972-2-234 7069
jcw@palnet.com

Jerusalem Link

(Bat Shalom and Jerusalem Center for Women)

Shani – Israeli Women Against the Occupation

Women in Black

c/o Lili Traubmann
Kibbutz Megiddo 19230
Israel

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Israel

PO Box 3069
Bat Yam 59130
Israel

tel +972-3-658 9983

fax +972-3-508 2848

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

c/o Hanan Awwad
Wadi-Al-Juz
4 Al-Khaldi St
Jerusalem
Israel
tel +972-2-628 4608
fax +972-2-626 4620

Women and Peace Coalition

LEBANON

WILPF (Lebanese Committee for Peace and Freedom)

P.O.B. 14-5496
Beirut
Lebanon
fax +961-863636

NORTH AMERICA

CANADA

Voice of Women for Peace/La Voix des Femmes pour la Paix

761 Queen St W – 203
Toronto
Ontario M6J 1G1
Canada
tel +1-416-603 7915
fax +1-416-603 7916
vow@interlog.com
www.interlog.com/~vow

Women for Women in Afghanistan

Box 204
Dunville
Ontario N1A 2X5
Canada
tel +1-905-774 8091
fax +1-403-229 3037
eisenhauer@praxis.ca
www.women-connect-asia.com/w4wafghan

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – Ottawa

PO Box 4781

Appendix 2 – NGO List

Station E
Ottawa
Ontario K1S 5H9
Canada
fax +1-613-567 2384

USA

Centre for the Strategic Initiatives of Women (CSIW)
csiw@csiw.org

Federation of American Scientists

Grandmothers for Peace International
9444 Medstead Way
Elk Grove, CA 95758
USA
tel +1-916-684 8744
fax +1-916-684 0394
wiednerb@aol.com
www.GrandmothersForPeace.org

Women in Black

c/o Indira Kajosevic
PO Box 20054
New York, NY 10021
USA
tel +1-212-560 0905
indirak@igc.org

Women Strike for Peace

110 Maryland Avenue NW – Suite 102
Washington, DC 20002
USA
tel +1-202-543 2660
fax +1-202-544 9613

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

1213 Race Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107
USA
tel +1-215-560 7110
fax +1-215-560 5527
wilpfnatl@igc.org

Women Waging Peace (WWP)

Women and Public Policy Program
Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

tel +1-617-496 6973
fax +1-617-496 6154

SUBSAHARAN AFRICA

BURUNDI

Association des Femmes Burundaises pour la Paix
c/o CAFOB
BP 561
Bujumbura
Burundi
tel +257-241382
fax +257-218409
tharcie@cni.cbinfo.com

Collectif des ONG et Associations Feminines du Burundi – CAFOB

BP 561
Bujumbura
Burundi
tel +257-217758
fax +257-218409

National Committee of Women in Peace

Twishakiva Amahoro

Women's Peace Center
BP 6180
27 Avenue de l'Armitie
Bujumbura
Burundi
tel +257-21 96 99
spes@cbinfo.com

CHAD

Union des Femmes pour la Paix (UFEP)
BP 1298
N'Djamena
Chad
tel +235-514925

CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF

Congolese Women for Peace

ERITREA

National Union of Eritrean Women (NUEW)

Appendix 2 – NGO List

KENYA

North-South Sudanese Women's Delegation/ Advocacy Group

Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace

c/o Life and Peace Institute
PO Box 21186
Nairobi
Kenya
tel +254-2-561158
fax +254-2-570614
lpihap@AfricaOnline.co.ke

LIBERIA

Liberian Women's Initiative

11 Broad St
PO Box 1063
Monrovia
Liberia
tel +231-227095
fax +231-227330

MALI

Mouvement National des Femmes pour la Sauvegarde de la Paix et de l'Unité Nationale

CP 1576
Bamako
Mali
tel +223-207700
fax +223-224244
lob@datatech.toolnet.org

NIGERIA

International Women Communication Centre

P.O. Box 1750
Nicon House, Ilorin
Kwara State
Nigeria
tel +234-31-225 688
fax +234-31-225 805

Women's Centre for Peace and Development (WOPED)

PO Box 4410
Oshodi
Lagos
Nigeria
tel +234-1-492 4501

woped@infoweb.abs.net

RWANDA

Collectif des Organisations Rwandaises de Promotion de la Femme, de la Paix et du Développement

28, rue Depute Kayuku
BP 2758
Kigali
Rwanda
tel/fax +250-72 750

Profemmes Twese Hamwe

SIERRA LEONE

Women in Action for Peace and Justice

24 Ecowas Street
Freetown
Sierra Leone
tel +232-22-227116
fax +232-22-228319

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Forut – SL P.M. Bag 17
Freetown
Sierra Leone
fax +232-2-2222 9733

SOUTH AFRICA

Black Sash

4th Floor, 12 Plein St
Cape Town 8001
South Africa
tel +27-21-461 7804
fax +27-21-461 8004
sashct@iafrica.com

National Women's Coalition

SUDAN

Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women Studies (BBSAWS)

contact: Ms. Somya El Bashir El Tayeb
Executive Director
Ahfad University
P.O. Box 167 Omdurman
Sudan
tel +249-11-564401

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fax +249-11-553363

Sudanese Women Civil Society Network for Peace (SWCSN)

c/o Dr. Amina A. Rahana
Ahfad University for Women
P.O. Box 167
Khartoum
Sudan
tel/fax +249-11-467957

Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace

see under Kenya

Women's Action Group

Katerina Street, House #14
Block #4
P.O. Box 814 Khartoum
Sudan
tel +249- 460246

* Information on organizations appearing on this list was gathered from various sources, including *Housmans Peace Diary & World Peace Directory* (London: Housmans, 2000), participant lists of various international conferences dealing with the issue of women and war, and Internet searches.

Appendix 3 – Conference Agenda

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, WASHINGTON, DC

- 2.00-2.15 Welcome and Introduction
Gale A. Mattox, President, WIIS
Peggy Knudson, Executive Director, WIIS
Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, Carnegie Endowment and WIIS (Workshop Co-Chair)
Lori Helene Gronich, Georgetown University and WIIS (Workshop Co-Chair)
- 2.15-3.45 Session I: Conflict, Cooperation, and The Role of Women and Women’s NGOs in the former Soviet Union
Chair: *Martha Brill Olcott*, Colgate University
Papers: *Lara Olson**, Collaborative for Development Action
Muazama Burkhanova, Foundation to Support Civil Initiatives presented by *Jennifer Long*, Georgetown University
Discussant: *Fiona Hill*, The Brookings Institution
- 3.45-4.00 Break
- 4.00-5.30 Session II: Conflict, Cooperation, and the Role of Women and Women’s NGOs in Europe
Chair: *Burcu San*, NATO
Papers: *Sonja Licht**, Fund for an Open Society
Sonja Biserko, US Institute of Peace
Discussant: *Kathleen Newland*, Carnegie Endowment
- 6.30-9.30 Reception and Dinner. Keynote Address:
“Women Striving for Peace: The Role of Development Cooperation”
Heidemarie Wiecezorek-Zeul, Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, WASHINGTON, DC

- 9.00-10.30 Session III: Conflict, Cooperation, and the Role of Women and Women’s NGOs in Africa
Chair: *Susan Collin Marks*, Search for Common Ground and WIIS
Remarks: *Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge**, South African Ministry of Defense
Papers: *Funmi Olonisakin**, United Nations
Annie Kairaba, Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development
Discussant: *Jendayi Frazer*, US National Security Council and WIIS
- 10.30-10.45 Break
- 10.45-12.00 Roundtable: Conflict, Cooperation, and Comparison: the Role of Women and Women’s Organizations Across Regions
Moderators: *Lori Helene Gronich*, Georgetown University and WIIS
Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, Carnegie Endowment and WIIS
Panelists: *Lt. Gen. Carol A. Mutter*, US Marine Corps (ret.)
Robin Sanders, US Department of State and WIIS
Jennifer Klot, UN Development Fund for Women

*Occasional papers summarizing these experts’ remarks can be obtained from the WIIS office and on the WIIS website, www.wiis.org.

Appendix 4 – Participant List

Pamela R. Aall	<i>US Institute of Peace</i>
Ancil Adrian-Paul	<i>International Alert, London</i>
Rina Amiri	<i>Women Waging Peace, Harvard University</i>
Deborah Avant	<i>The George Washington University</i>
Sonja Biserko	<i>US Institute of Peace</i>
Katherine M. Blakeslee	<i>US Agency for International Development</i>
Muazama A. Burkhanova	<i>Foundation to Support Civil Initiatives, Tajikistan</i>
Donna G. Boltz	<i>US Institute of Peace and US Department of Defense</i>
Dawn T. Calabria	<i>United Nations Information Center</i>
Margaret Duden	<i>Women In International Security</i>
Jendayi Frazer	<i>US National Security Council</i>
Constance J. Freeman	<i>Africa Center for Strategic Studies</i>
Seema Gahlaut	<i>University of Georgia</i>
Lidija Georgieva	<i>University of Maryland at College Park</i>
Lori Helene Gronich	<i>Georgetown University</i>
Guenet Guebre-Christos	<i>Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees</i>
Harriet Hentges	<i>US Institute of Peace</i>
Fiona Hill	<i>The Brookings Institution</i>
Chantal de Jonge Oudraat	<i>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>
Annie Kairaba	<i>Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development</i>
Jennifer F. Klot	<i>United Nations Development Fund for Women</i>
Peggy Knudson	<i>Women In International Security</i>
Sonja Licht	<i>Fund for an Open Society, Yugoslavia</i>
Jennifer Long	<i>Georgetown University</i>
Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge	<i>Deputy Minister of Defense, Republic of South Africa</i>
Susan Collin Marks	<i>Search for Common Ground</i>
Donna Ramsey Marshall	<i>US Institute of Peace</i>
Gale A. Mattox	<i>US Naval Academy</i>
Johanna Mendelson Forman	<i>US Agency for International Development</i>
Sarah E. Moten	<i>US Agency for International Development</i>
Carol A. Mutter	<i>US Marine Corps (Retired)</i>
Kathleen Newland	<i>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>
Martha B. Olcott	<i>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>
'Funmi Olonisakin	<i>Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict, United Nations</i>
Lara Olson	<i>The Collaborative for Development Action, Inc.</i>
Pamela Day Pelletreau	<i>American University</i>
Violeta Petroska-Beska	<i>US Institute of Peace</i>
Carmen Rosa de Leon-Escribano	<i>Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible</i>
Burcu San	<i>NATO</i>
Robin Sanders	<i>US Department of State</i>
Jolynn Shoemaker	<i>US Department of State</i>
Shannon Smith	<i>International Development Research Centre</i>
Joanna Spear	<i>King's College London</i>
Nancy Walker	<i>US Department of Defense</i>
Carola Weil	<i>University of Maryland at College Park</i>
Linda Yarr	<i>The George Washington University</i>



Women In International Security

Founded in 1987, Women In International Security (WIIS, pronounced “wise”) is an international, nonprofit, nonpartisan networking and educational program based at the Center for Peace and Security Studies in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. Our mission is to increase the influence of women in foreign and defense affairs and to enhance the dialogue on international security issues, broadly defined. More than 1,200 men and women involved at all levels—from student to senior expert—in international peace and security professions are members of WIIS. WIIS offers a comprehensive set of programs and services, including professional development workshops, policy forums that address traditional and cutting-edge security issues, mentoring programs, the *Jobs Hotline* and *Jobs Hotline Online* jobs notification systems, a quarterly newsletter, and an annual Summer Symposium for Graduate Students in International Affairs. The breadth and diversity of our membership, as well as the quality of our programming, make us the premier networking organization fostering and promoting women leaders in international security.

WIIS President: Gale A. Mattox, Professor, US Naval Academy

WIIS Executive Director: Peggy Knudson

About the Author

Donna Ramsey Marshall is a Program Assistant in the Research and Studies Program of the United States Institute of Peace, with research interests in international humanitarian law, nonviolent social movements, and gender and conflict. She is the author of the USIP publication *Women in War and Peace: Grassroots Peacebuilding*. Prior to joining the Institute, Ramsey Marshall worked at the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland, College Park, where she was a Research Assistant for the Minorities at Risk Project and Project Coordinator for the Armed Conflict and Intervention Project of the State Failure Task Force. She is a 1997–98 Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar and holds a Master’s degree in International Conflict Analysis from the University of Kent at Canterbury (UK).