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Introduction: A Decade for Difference

The full and effective promotion of women's rights can best occur in conditions of international peace and security.

— The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the
Advancement of Women, para. 13

Why Women and Peace?

For centuries the human family in all its forms and all its habitats has struggled to achieve security and live in peace. For most of human history, this struggle has been carried out by and on behalf of separate branches of the family, most of them unaware of the full variety and multiple lifestyles of the whole of humanity. The largest single component of the family to achieve peace and security for its own people has been the nation-state, a human grouping only a few centuries old. Even maintaining peace and security for all, within nations, has always been problematic, and, in our own time, an especially elusive goal, but maintaining peace among nations has been so problematic that it is a major public concern of our time. In 1945, at the close of the widest, most destructive war in human history, people of the independent nations of the world, in founding the United Nations, agreed that they must struggle together to “avoid the scourge of war” and create a just and lasting peace. As we move toward the close of the twentieth century, the fulfillment of that agreement is the most urgent task faced by the peoples of the Earth. The scourge still plagues the planet. Armed struggle within and between nations continues. Tension, hostility, and threat frequently characterize international relations and have incited nations to develop and produce ever more destructive and more numerous weapons. The human family seems to have gained the capacity to destroy itself but not to have learned how to live in peace, a peace that must now include the entire family in all its variety throughout the world.

During the closing decades of the twentieth century, we have experienced, perhaps for the first time, the full realization of the meaning of war and the possibilities for peace. We have seen both the decline of the cold war and the rise of the threat of regional, civil, and "low intensity" conflicts. We have witnessed a reaffirmation of the role of the United Nations in the pursuit and maintenance of peace, and recognized that the possibilities for peace relate inextricably to the future of the environment and the quality and speed of world development. We are, too, beginning to recognize that the struggle for fundamental human rights and freedom is more than the work of laying the foundation of peace. It is the articulation and realization of the very essence of peace. Above all, with the help of the field of peace research and many of the studies sponsored by the United Nations, we have come to recognize that the central problem of peace is violence, in all its forms, at all levels of society. We are, as well, coming to appreciate the complex and comprehensive nature of peace, that it is the sum of the interrelationships of a multiplicity of global problems. Most hopeful of our contemporary learnings is the dim but steadily brightening light of realization that all people are but one species, male and female are all one humanity.

The public awareness of these meanings, possibilities, and interrelationships has been in no small measure due to the second wave of the women's movement, which took on great momentum in the middle of this century and found its voice and visions most clearly and universally in the United Nations International Women's Decade 1975-85. The agenda set during that decade became the outline of a comprehensive "positive" peace and demonstrated that, in spite of great obstacles and limitations, the United Nations was the essential channel and institutional mechanism for the realization of the social aspirations of the human family.

It was women who formulated and propelled this agenda. It is women who continue to envision humane alternatives for world society. It is women whose resistance to war and struggle for social justice and human rights have in fact provided many of our concepts of positive peace, of the conditions of human society that permit all to live authentically human lives. From the ancient days of Lysistrata to those of Women for Mutual Security, women have believed in, demonstrated about, and struggled for "another way," for an attainable and viable alternative to war. Women's visions, their strivings, sufferings, and frustrations, are the very substance of the struggle for peace, a universal aspiration of multiple and varied character. Women's struggle has been against making differences among people a rationale for exclusion and oppression. As they have striven to be equal with men socially,

economically, and politically, they have also called attention to the need to acknowledge the authentic, complementary differences between men and women. Indeed, they insist on honoring human differences of all kinds in the name of authentic human equality.

The United Nations International Women's Decade (UNDW), 1975–85), irrevocably changed the world's general acceptance of women's subservient status. Its positive focus on difference has had a profound impact on our present and for our future. Not only did the International Women's Decade create a climate for renewed criticism and change regarding the injustices suffered by women, it also firmly established the need for their full and equal participation in all human affairs, for the sake of justice for women and to guarantee the human family's survival. Also, the decade vigorously demonstrated the inseparable interrelationships among the goals embraced by the themes of the decade—equality, development, and peace—as well as the connections among the myriad global issues and problems that pose obstacles to the realization of these goals. Most significant of all, it brought to public attention a new way of looking at the world, an alternative view of public concerns and global issues. Women's views, heretofore given little or no attention in policy making, now are the subject of pollsters' surveys, and data classified by gender is more common. The views from the other half of humanity emerged as fresh, dynamic, integrated, and constructive perspectives on the world and the human condition. These views and women's problem-solving actions, many believe, offer the best hope for reducing armed conflict, preventing poverty, and preserving the Earth. In her film *Decade of Our Destiny*,¹ feminist researcher and filmmaker Bettina Corke depicts women from all areas of the world and in many fields of endeavor articulating their visions of women's roles in structuring the peaceful human community envisioned by the founders of the United Nations. Such argument has also been made by leading men² as well as women analysts of global issues, one of them a well-known African scholar.

The fate of humanity may indeed depend upon relative communication and androgynization of the command structures. Those social movements which embrace contact and communications and those which seek to expand the role of women may turn out to be the most critical of all. (Mazrui 1986)

The International Women's Decade, by introducing women's issues as global issues, has also affected concepts of peace that have

become broader and more complex, far beyond merely an absence of or period between wars. The possibilities for peace rest in large measure on the possibilities for women, for their full emancipation and for the realization of their visions of peace and security.

Defining and Assessing Peace:
A Set of Humane Global Conditions

There is no single, universal definition of peace. The concepts and experience of peacefulness are as varied as human cultures and perspectives. While there is a growing realization that peace is not simply the antithesis of war, peace activists agree that the reduction and elimination of war is a goal never to be abandoned until achieved. The abolition of the most devastating instruments of war, nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, must be achieved as soon as possible if we are to continue the struggle toward the achievement of a just, viable, and lasting peace. Most would also agree that peace will be lasting only to the degree that it is just, fair to all the Earth's peoples, and viable, acceptable to all nations and people. Such an ambitious goal might influence some to reject the possibility of peace as an unattainable ideal, were it not for the continuous, vigorous efforts of many to define and strive toward components of that goal. Peace is envisioned as a complex of specific political, economic, and social changes that make the world in some part more just and increase the areas of agreement among nations and peoples. It is a continuous process contributing to the viability of, and extending those elements of, peace we have attained. The daily work of peace is carried on by the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations, peoples' movements, and individual citizens. Millions throughout the world are engaged in the struggle for peace, and women are in the forefront of all these arenas. But still the question remains: What is peace?

A goal sought by so many, in such a disparate, far-flung, unstructured endeavor, as is the current struggle for peace, must of necessity be broad and comprehensive. While peace clearly means preventing such violence as armed conflict, military occupation, intervention by one country in the affairs of others, and, in general, reducing the role and threat of force in human affairs, it also means the "enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality, and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms" (*The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*³ 1985, paragraph 13; hereafter cited as "FLS"). Peace means as well a set of

relationships among peoples and nations based on trust, cooperation, and recognition of the interdependence and importance of the common good and mutual interests of all peoples. In short, it is based upon the recognition that the Earth is a single, interdependent system, with one common future, and that all people belong to one species, have the same fundamental human needs, are endowed with full human dignity, are entitled to the full realization of all human rights, and share a common interest in the future of the Earth. Such a recognition calls upon those who would struggle for peace to work for a set of humane and equitable global social conditions that fulfill human needs, contain violence, and preserve the Earth. Much of the violence that afflicts human society results from a lack of equity. The poverty that prevents the meeting of basic human needs, the injustices and inequalities that constitute gross violation of human rights, are often at the root of international tension and distrust, the threat of force, and armed conflict. And armed conflict today, actual and potential, still threatens the very future of the planet.

To struggle for peace, then, is to endeavor to achieve such a set of humane and equitable global social conditions. It requires the conceptualization of, policy making for, and implementation of objectives and strategies for social development that are based upon the fulfillment of human needs and the health of the planet. The formulation and implementation of such objectives and policies require the full and equitable participation of those whose lives are to be affected by the policies. Rural development calls for the direct involvement of the rural peoples whose needs are to be fulfilled. Technical and industrial development calls for the involvement of both technical and industrial workers and potential consumers of the resulting products. These and most other forms of development call for the equal participation of women, who in many cases, as in the electronics production and agricultural sectors of the developing world, make up a significant portion of the work force.

To struggle for peace also is to insist upon the full and fair, universal enjoyment of human rights as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all of the covenants and conventions intended to protect and implement those rights. It is to endeavor to assure the application of these standards to all relevant situations, to hold governments responsible for the observation and application of the standards, and to hold individuals and governments accountable for their violation. To struggle for peace is also to recognize and strive not only for individual rights, but also for the collective rights of peoples, especially for the rights to a healthful environment and to "a

social and international order in which . . . rights and freedoms . . . can be fully realized" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art. 28). Indeed, it might be argued that peace is a social environment that favors the full development of the human person. Such an environment is characterized, from local to global levels, by tolerance, mutual respect, and serious endeavors to understand differences, and to build community and confidence so that conflicts can be resolved without recourse to violence. These characteristics in turn depend upon equity and equality among nations, and ethnic groups and between women and men, as recognized by the United Nations Charter: "reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small" (Preamble, Charter of the United Nations, 1945).

The connections and interdependence among issues of equity and justice and war are reiterated in *The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies*. "The three objectives of the Decade . . . are broad, interrelated and mutually reinforcing, so that the achievement of one contributes to the achievement of another" (FLS, para. 9). In terms of UNDW and FLS, equality refers not only to legal equality, the elimination of discrimination by law, but also to equality of responsibility, and participation, and full recognition in social, economic, and cultural life. While the International Women's Decade's documents emphasize equality between women and men, the basic concept of equality on which this emphasis is based is equality of all persons and groups. The comprehensive notion of peace for which equality is essential also requires the transcendence of the full range of social and economic discrimination that impedes human development. Class and ethnic discrimination, age and/or religious discrimination, racism and apartheid, discriminatory international and national economic structures that impede the development of the poor nations—all of these inequalities must be transcended to achieve a just and viable peace.

Development, the international code word for overcoming poverty and attaining economic viability, is inextricably related to peace; it should be a process that seeks to overcome such inequality and discrimination, particularly in the economic and social realms. In particular, development for peace focuses on meeting human needs, including basic physical needs and needs for the social, intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual development of the human person. And such development would, as well, attend to the health of the natural environment in which needs fulfillment is pursued. "Development also requires a moral

dimension to ensure that it is just and responsive to the needs and rights of the individual and that science and technology are applied within a social and economic framework that ensures environmental safety for all life forms on our planet” (FLS, para. 2).

Equality cannot be achieved without just development, and a viable peace is also impossible without these other two; “the full and effective promotion of women’s rights can best occur in conditions of international peace and security” (FLS, para. 13). As women’s equality can best be assured by international peace and security, so, too, development can be most effective under conditions of equality; and there can be little development without peace.

Women’s movements for peace seek to demonstrate the connections among these issues and problems. Striving to understand these interrelationships is a major part of the struggles to achieve the humane conditions of a world guided by the standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Forward Looking Strategies, and other standards set forth by the United Nations in its mission to achieve and maintain world peace.

The United Nations Framework for Linking Women’s Concerns with Peace

In the five decades of its history, the United Nations has been a major agent in addressing the day-to-day problems that lead to war and violence. Although decades of refusal and/or reluctance of member states to fulfill the peacekeeping function led many to believe the UN incapable of keeping the peace, its activities in making peace, programs and actions to reduce the violence of poverty and oppression, to advance development and human rights, have made the world organization essential to the world community. Most of this work, including that which has addressed women’s issues, has been carried out by the specialized agencies, staffed by an international civil service committed to the welfare of the world community, not to the interests of one state or block of member states. The General Assembly (the representative chamber) and the Security Council (the seventeen-member body that addresses serious threats to peace) are the scenes of political differences and contending interests so often played up by the media. Both bodies, however, put forth recommendations that lead to constructive action by the agencies established under the Economic and Social Council.

The General Assembly has also adopted the declarations and conventions that have provided the standards of human rights, the

main indicators of a peaceful and just world society, and the inspiration of movements to transcend all forms of violence. The Charter of the United Nations presupposed that “the scourge of war” could be avoided only if the dignity and worth of the human person, including equal rights of men and women, could be affirmed, international law maintained, and social progress and better living standards promoted. The authors of the charter believed that war arose from the absence of these conditions.⁴

The values of world peace and human dignity underlie all the work of the United Nations. Thus, the pursuit of peace has been an integral part of the global effort for the advancement of women, and the advancement of women has been pursued as integral and essential to peace. Each of the three United Nations world conferences held during the International Women's Decade (Mexico City, Mexico, 1975; Copenhagen, Denmark, 1980; and Nairobi, Kenya, 1985) dealt with the issue of peace in relation to the advancement of women.

The Mexico City conference in 1975 adopted the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year. (The original effort was to be one year, but the dimensions of the task called for a decade.) The plan called “for the full participation of women in all efforts to promote and maintain peace.”

The 1980 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace, in Copenhagen, concluded that progress toward any of the three main objectives has a beneficial effect on the others, and consequently that it is only under conditions of peace that it is possible to move forward to the full implementation of the other two objectives of the decade.

The 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace was convened at Nairobi. It adopted by consensus *The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*, a significant set of standards for women's emancipation as fundamental to a peaceful society.

To integrate the views and concerns of ordinary citizens into these conferences, nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) held a forum at each of them, and at each of these forums, peace was a theme. The highlight of all these efforts came in Nairobi. The International Women's Forum the NGO's organized there included as one of its most energetic and colorful components a “Peace Tent,” where women from all over the world exchanged ideas on peace issues and set in motion ways of collaborating and striving for peace that still have profound influences on women's peace movements.

Organizers and participants alike described the Peace Tent as one of the best used and most helpful aspects of the Forum. About half the day official programmes and dialogues were scheduled for the space and the other half was intentionally left available for women to discuss disputes which resulted from other programmes, either NGO or U.N. Organized by Feminists International for Peace and Food, this space allowed an alternative to the regular offerings and the traditional structure of problem-solving. Some governments saw this women's initiative as a threat to their own proceedings as all different nationalities were conversing in private about what they were not supposed to address in public, officially . . .

The spirit of the Peace Tent extended beyond the bounds of the physical space, as many participants voiced the need to start making connections between the issues they had identified throughout the Decade (Weigel 1990).

Apart from the Forward Looking Strategies, three other international legal instruments relating to women and peace have emerged from the United Nations system: an international convention to eliminate discrimination against women, a declaration on women's participation in the promotion of peace, and a declaration on the protection of women and children in war.

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women⁵ was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and is the most comprehensive legal document on the advancement of women. The Preamble points out that many factors will contribute to the full attainment of the objectives of the International Women's Decade, and that both peace and development require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields of life. A major instrument in the field of human rights protection, the convention clearly calls for the full and equal participation of women in civil and political affairs.

By April 1991, 104 states had ratified or acceded to the convention, among them four permanent members of the Security Council.⁶ They agreed

to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) to

participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government; and (c) to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country. (United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, art. 7)

The United Nations Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation makes it evident that the UN considers women's civil and political participation essential to peace. A specific statement on peace is found in this declaration, proclaimed by the General Assembly in 1982. Like all declarations, it is a standard-setting instrument with moral force, but not legally binding on member states. Nevertheless, it identifies the following crucial issues:

- Qualitative and quantitative increase in women's participation in the sphere of international relations
- Rendering solidarity and support to women victims of violations of human rights, particularly those identified as violations of group or "solidarity" rights, e.g., apartheid, racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign occupation
- Encouragement of women's participation in nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations aimed at the strengthening of international peace and security
- Provision of practical opportunities for the effective participation of women and, to that end, equitable representation of women in governmental and nongovernmental functions, including in the secretariats of the United Nations system, in diplomatic service, and on delegations to national, regional or international meetings.

Clearly, these are goals still a long way from satisfactory achievement. Nonetheless, the international community has declared them to be necessary to the achievement of peace and security in the world. Women's political action groups have also adopted them as fundamental objectives for mobilizing other women across the globe.

The United Nations Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in 1974 because of the effects of armed conflict on women and children. It called for strict observance by all member

states. It, too, is not enforceable, but it sets a standard to be pursued in the struggle to overcome the sufferings of women and children and of all civilian populations affected by periods of emergency and war.

At a global level, responsibility for the implementation of the strategies, the convention, and the declarations rests with organizations of the United Nations system and their secretariats. The most directly relevant programs for women and peace are those of the United Nations Secretariat, especially the Division for the Advancement of Women in Vienna.

The Division for the Advancement of Women prepares in-depth reports on various aspects of women and peace issues for review by the Commission on the Status of Women. It also serves as the secretariat of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was set up to consider the progress made in implementation of the convention.

Many of the specialized agencies of the United Nations system also pursue activities relevant to women and peace. UNESCO has conducted a number of such activities, including an expert group meeting on the role of women in educating young people for peace, mutual understanding, and respect for human rights (1981) and an international seminar in 1986 on the development of a framework for women to participate in, and influence decisions related to, peace and justice and to promote international understanding for peace and development. Other UNESCO activities focus on the eradication of violence against women within the family and society, including studies on the sociocultural causes of prostitution, a practice based upon the sexual exploitation of both women and children.

The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women designated priority themes on women and peace for 1988–92. This commission is the intergovernmental body responsible for the implementation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies. Consisting of forty-five member states, it meets annually to debate the priority themes for each of the goals of the strategies. It also has a mandate to include regular monitoring and review and appraisal of their implementation, and has devised a system to carry out this function at international and national levels. For the period 1988–92, in the area of peace, its themes were these:

- Access to information, education for peace, and efforts to eradicate violence against women within the family and society
- Full participation of women in the construction of their countries and in the creation of just social and political systems

- Women in areas affected by armed conflicts, foreign intervention, alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, and threats to peace
- Refugee and displaced women and children
- Equal participation in all efforts to promote international cooperation, peace, and disarmament

The commission provides policy guidance to member states and to the United Nations system in order to achieve the full implementation of the Forward Looking Strategies regarding women and peace by the year 2000. To support this work, the United Nations is working on research and policy analysis.

Current research on the participation of women in decision-making processes related to peace and disarmament at national, regional, and world levels has several objectives: to present the situation of women in concrete, measurable terms on the basis of reliable data, to conduct thorough analyses leading to identification of obstacles, and to make recommendations for overcoming them. Much of this research is conducted in the form of case studies, such as a case study on decision making related to peace and disarmament in Sweden and, at the regional level, two case studies, namely, "Participation of Women in the Talks on Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe" and the "Vienna Meeting in 1986 of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation."⁷

The role of women in education for peace is another key area toward which the UN Branch for the Advancement of Women has directed its attention. One study interprets education for peace as a lifelong process that should take place worldwide in every situation, in every structure and process through which people and societies learn and conduct their private and public affairs. It is based on the assumption that women should participate fully in this process. They should do so as both contributors and beneficiaries, with equal access to information, education, and political participation. Such participation, the study asserts, would also benefit educational, political, and social processes and, consequently, society generally.

Thus, the objective of such research is to identify the obstacles to women's participation in education for peace, to encourage and promote coordination and research among various agencies, and to suggest concrete recommendations to governmental, nongovernmental, and intergovernmental organizations, including the United Nations system. An area in which study is still very much needed is that of

women's unique and extensive contributions to peace education, its development and implementation.

A third priority area of the commission is the effect of conflict in society on women, particularly as expressed in various forms of violence against women. The interconnections between violence in the family, in society, and at the international level are only beginning to be explored. Indeed, violence in the family was finally diagnosed as a major social problem during the United Nations Decade for Women, mainly as a result of the efforts of the nongovernmental community, and the women's organizations that were among its main energizing forces.

A UN expert group meeting on the subject held in December 1986 explored many dimensions of the problem of violence in the family. Of particular concern is the *interrelation* between violence and inequality in society and within the family, including such difficult subjects as rape, involuntary prostitution, and sexual harassment, which are reflections of societal violence particularly directed toward women.⁸ These links between domestic and social violence are one of the main reasons for women's special stake in peace.

Women's Stake in World Peace: A Feminist Perspective

The selection of peace as one of the three main themes of the United Nations Decade for Women resulted from the long tradition of women's concerns about the human suffering and devastating waste of resources exacted by war. It also reflected women's growing consciousness of their roles as supporters of the war system, as particular victims of war and all forms of peacelessness, and of the potential contribution they can make to world peace. Most of all, it manifests a significant increase in women's actions to affect policy making on issues of peace and security.

Women in their roles as homemakers, mothers, and caregivers have endured great hardships in wartime. Many must see their children, the aged, and the weak suffer deprivation when food supplies and other necessities are destroyed or sent to the war zones. Many have lost their homes. They have themselves, as have those they care for, fallen victim to armed attack. Through centuries of warfare, women have been left to tend to crops and children with none to defend them should their lands be invaded. In societies where women's status and welfare depends almost entirely on their relationship to men, widows are often left without means to provide for themselves and their children. Thus, to the immediate pain of the loss

of husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers is added the longer—term suffering of further deprivation.

Women, too, as has been well documented in recent research on development and arms spending, bear the greatest burden of the world's poverty and suffer the lack of very fundamental needs and amenities, which might be more adequately provided were not so large a portion of the world's resources spent on war and the preparation for war.⁹

While these circumstances fall especially hard on women and children, men too suffer the same “disasters of war” both in and outside the military. We need only think of the aged male faces seen among the photographs of bomb victims and refugee camps. Both men and women are victims of warfare and peacelessness, and both contribute to the lack of peace. Granted, relatively few women actively fight in wars, and even fewer participate in the decisions to wage war or in making the policies that place military strength above human needs; however, without the contributions of women to the building and maintaining of warmaking capacities, war could not be waged. Women have supported their nations' military efforts in times of war. In World War II, for example, some women served in noncombat roles in the armed forces, and thousands served in other support capacities—for instance, as workers in the factories that supplied the instruments of war. Today, many work in plants that produce parts for the most destructive weapons ever devised. In time of war, women maintain “the homefront,” care for the wounded, keep the economy running, and give their sons and husbands to the fighting forces. Indeed, many are proud to be the “gold star mothers” or war widows of fallen soldiers. Most women raise their sons to be ready to serve their nations in time of armed conflict and, while not without pain and reluctance, “wave them off to war.” And now some raise their daughters for such service, too.

what about the women who choose to be part of their country's political and military conflicts? What about the growing numbers of women, including mothers, serving in the United States military since 1973, for example? The National Organization for Women (NOW) has ended by supporting the move for women to be eligible for combat on the perfectly rational ground of professional opportunity equity: Congresswoman Pat Schroeder has written a bill to adopt a Pentagon group's suggestions that the Army test women in combat roles; and syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman has come down on the side of women in combat, arguing that “any war that isn't worth a woman's life isn't worth

a man's life." As I write, the television news is filled with the voices of eager young American women serving in Saudi Arabia pleading for the privilege of combat duty. (Forcey 1990, p3)

"Desert Storm" did offer them that privilege. Although women served in field support service and not technically in combat, five American military women were killed in action in the Gulf War, and one was taken prisoner. Perhaps because the public accepted this, the Schroeder bill was adopted in May 1991, lifting previous restrictions, and this just days before we saw the Mother's Day return of many young women embracing toddlers and infants after months in the Middle East.

So, too, women are participants in the structures of discrimination and deprivation often cited as a major obstacle to a just and viable peace in the world. In the capitalist industrial countries, women as well as man are the beneficiaries of a world economic system that discriminates against the poor nations of the world. In many countries, some women have far easier lives and more personal freedoms because other women are forced by economic circumstances to do household work and child care outside their own homes. Such workers are frequently women of color working in Caucasian homes, a reflection of further inequities imposed on the basis of color. Thus in the United States and various other countries, some women bear the triple burdens of economic, sexual, and racial discrimination.

Women are in no way divorced from the structures of inequity, poverty, and oppression, nor are they totally without responsibility for the continuation of the institution of war. While some argue that the mothering experience predisposes women to favor peace (Ruddick 1989), they are not predisposed by their hormonal balance to pacifism, any more than men are predisposed to warmongering. It is rather the social roles women have played through history that have led many to feel the burden of war, and value the opportunities of peace, more openly and avidly than most men.

Human beings tend to place a high value on that in which they invest their care and effort, they manifest concern for what they are responsible for. I tend to believe that it could well be this factor that induces male policy makers to give priority to industrial and military production. Whereas testosterone probably does account for greater aggressivity in males than in females, there is no law of nature that determines that such aggressivity need be violent or destructive. As I have argued elsewhere (Reardon 1985), the differences in attitude and perspectives between women and men are learned and derive not from biology but from society.

Society has assigned to men responsibility for the production, maintenance, and defense of its infrastructure. Women produce and nurture human life, well-being, and relationships. All of us tend to defend as vigorously as we can that which we consider to be our life's work. "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," the title of a women's peace movement song of World War I, is doubly misleading—not only because, as we have noted, most women do raise their sons to serve their societies, including military service; but also because it is not the soldiering, but its consequences, they abhor. Women do not raise children to be killed or to kill the children of others; to serve, yes, to destroy and be destroyed, no.

So it is as vigorous contributors to its promotion and maintenance that women's stake in world peace has become so widely recognized. Women in all nations, from all sectors of society, are vocal and active advocates of international understanding and peace, of the pursuit of disarmament and economic conversion, of trust building among nations, of negotiation of international differences and conflicts. Many tend to recognize their common and universal roles as caregivers, mothers, and nurturers. As *The War with Two Voices* (Deonna 1989) so poignantly illustrates, they find it harder to look upon each other as enemies, no matter what national differences divide them. Women's bearing and breastfeeding of infants, the biological function upon which the continuation of the human species depends, is seriously endangered by all warfare and certainly is being impaired by preparation for, and the consequences of, wars. It may be forever impaired by nuclear warfare. War-induced famines have desiccated the breasts of African women. Nuclear testing has deformed and aborted the babies of Pacific women. Many women throughout the world have come to see in this function of giving life and maintaining the species a special responsibility to struggle against that which, in damaging their own health and reproductive capacity, threatens the continuation of life and reduces its quality—weapons of mass destruction, warfare, poverty, and ecological devastation. But motherhood alone could hardly explain woman's fierce defense of peace, which involves many women who never have been, nor intend to be, mothers. More significant, I would argue, is the meaning and value of the work that fills their days. It is the work of building, growing, serving, nursing, teaching, weaving, cooking, cleaning, filing, typing, managing, administering; in short, the functions of developing and maintaining the living elements of human society. For women, security lies in making these functions possible.

More and more women acknowledge the linkage between peace, equality, and development as they become politically aware and

active. While society has not placed adequate value on women's work, women know that without it society would not survive. The destruction of societies by warfare is in large part the destruction of women's daily labors. Women's activities in defense of peace are at base a defense of the fruits of their lives and labors as well as of the future of the human family. In small groups, in local communities, in large national organizations, and in international movements, women in larger and larger numbers have been, and are becoming vigorous, effective, and untiring promoters of world peace and defenders of society and the civil order that maintains them.

The connections among peace, equality, and development are acknowledged by more and more women, who in ever larger numbers are becoming politically aware and active, effective and untiring promoters of world peace. They link their demands for peace with very concrete social demands, with demands for development and for the solution of global problems. These demands derive from women's perspectives on the world, perspectives emerging from the most recent global circumstances to the most ancient local traditions.

While it is clear that women's traditional roles and social experience lead them to a special appreciation of peace, this alone does not account for their stake in it. More recent scholarship on women and peace, in exploring the links between sexism and militarism, has placed the question squarely in the domain of power and the political structures from which women are excluded (French 1985; Elshtain 1984; Stiehm 1983). When we move the discussion from women's experiences to feminist perspectives, we need to address the issues of power and inequitable political structures, and from this we take our definition of the term feminist. A feminist perspective or approach confronts the social, economic, and psychological reasons for this inequity, in order to rectify it. A feminist perspective seeks fundamental political change. A feminist perspective looks toward political possibilities for women beyond their traditional roles. This book is as much about how women are pursuing those possibilities as why they should pursue them. While it does not deal at length with the literature of the field, it is meant to be associated with the growing feminist scholarship on women and peace described below. (Much of this literature is listed in appendix 5.) It embraces Leslie Cagan's definition quoted by Colleen Roach.

Defining feminism is no easy task. Leslie Cagan, an American feminist and social activist, offers a definition that is to my liking: "Feminism is a political perspective that demands an end

to the oppression of people because of their gender, and an end to the institutional and individual structures that define men as more valuable than women. Feminism rests on a belief that we can live in a world without hierarchies of control and domination, that people can exercise control over their own lives and live in harmony with others, and that women can share equality of opportunity and freedom" (Cagan, 1983, p. 94).

There are two sorts of feminist literature that are of relevance to war, peace and culture. First of all, there is a very interesting body of work by feminist peace researchers whose writings are directly linked to the study of war and peace. Some of the names that come to mind are Elise Boulding (Boulding, 1987, 1988a, 1988b), Betty Reardon (Reardon, 1985), Riane Eisler (Eisler, 1987), and Birgit Brock-Utne (Brock-Utne, 1985); there are many others who have written on women and peace, such as Leslie Cagan and Barbara Ehrenreich . . .

Many feminist peace researchers have incorporated both 'hard' and 'soft' issues into their work: there is a real concern, for example, in the writings of Elise Boulding and Betty Reardon with the political economy of oppression and the effects of militarism in the Third World. Yet they are not afraid also to talk about the need for 'imaging' and 'imagining' new strategies for peace, and relying more on the intuitive and nurturing sides of human nature to build a new peace process.

Secondly, there is a body of feminist literature not directly related to peace but which has been used by women peace researchers because of its relevance to their work. Here, I am referring, for example, to the work of Carol Gilligan, the Harvard educator, whose book *In A Different Voice* (Gilligan, 1982) became a touchstone for many peace researchers who have argued that the different moral development of women make them more prone to peace than men. (Roach 1991, p.3)

Women's Perspectives on Peace: Feminist Possibilities for Human Security

Women's perspectives on peace are as rich and varied as are their experiences, as professionals, farmers, soldiers, scientists, factory workers, clerks, artists, astronauts, technicians, truck drivers, cigarette makers, artisans, and in every other human occupation, includ-

ing homemakers. While women throughout the world share common responsibilities for families and households, the ways in which they fulfill these responsibilities are, in their diversity, a wonderful panoply of human possibilities. Yet there are, in their varied ways of meeting human needs and their multiple views of peace, universal strands that unite, as do their traditional roles in family and household, roles in which they seek to provide for the security of their families and communities. Worldwide, women have come to see their own liberation and full equality as essential to human security. Women's views of peace in the context of human security are articulated in *The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies*; in articulating peace as that comprehensive set of global conditions previously described, the document speaks to the global aspirations of women everywhere when it states:

The full and effective promotion of women's rights can best occur in conditions of international peace and security where relations among States are based on the respect for the legitimate rights of all nations, great and small, and peoples to self-determination, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to live in peace . . .

Peace includes not only the absence of war, violence, and hostilities at the national and international levels but also the enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality, and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society.

It also embraces the whole range of actions reflected in concerns for security and implicit assumptions of trust between nations, social groups, and individuals. It represents goodwill toward others and promotes respect for life while protecting freedom, human rights, and the dignity of peoples and of individuals. Peace cannot be realized under conditions of economic and sexual inequality, denial of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, deliberate exploitation of large sectors of the population, unequal development of countries, and exploitative economic relations. Without peace and stability there can be no development. Peace and development are interrelated and mutually reinforcing . . .

Peace is promoted by equality of the sexes, economic equality, and the universal enjoyment of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Its enjoyment by all requires that women be

enabled to exercise their right to participate on an equal footing with men in all spheres of the political, economic, and social life of their respective countries, particularly in the decision-making process, while exercising their right to freedom of opinion, expression, information and association in the promotion of international peace and cooperation. (FLS, para. 13)

These few paragraphs encapsulate many women's views of peace and elucidate women's definitions of authentic, comprehensive global security, the concept of global security that informs and provides the framework for this book. That framework is referred to as "feminist" because it derives from feminist analysis of women's approaches to peace and from the work of feminist peace researchers who are attempting to define security in more constructive and comprehensive terms. Maria Stern, one such feminist researcher, offers these defining observations.

If one can gain inspiration and an alternative perspective from the distinction between negative and positive peace, one can also begin to view the concept of security in a novel way. By assigning negative and positive values to the concept of security, one develops a useful tool for analyzing different interpretations of what it means to be secure. In the same sense, one gains insight about the different subjective natures of peace. Negative peace and negative security rely on a desire to inhibit the existence of a destructive entity, while positive peace and positive security rest on a desire to create a constructive entity . . .

The concept of negative security stems from the conventional "power politics" paradigm and rests on the premise of deterrence. This means that security results from the cancellation of one threat by another or the protection from one threat by another; security becomes the sum of two negative threats, and can therefore be referred to as "negative" security. A simple and everyday example of the logic behind negative security can be found in the purchase of a household gun for self-protection from crime. By having the means of threatening someone else, one feels more safe, more secure.

Negative security implies a meeting or a countering of the actual threat with an equally threatening device or perhaps an even more threatening one. Thus, its objective involves the cancelling out of one threat with another equally or more potent threat.