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# War College Curricula: The fifty percent that is missing\*

## Los planes de estudio de las escuelas de guerra de Estados Unidos frente al tratamiento de las mujeres en la guerra

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#### ABSTRACT

This article colonel in the Air Force of the United States, Cornelia Weiss lieutenant, as a student of military schools in the country, reflects on the promise that Secretary of State Hilary Clinton made at the time the women of Afghanistan, not to abandon them and always support them and ensure that their rights and opportunities "are not trampled in the process of reconciliation"; questioned about how these schools can improve curricula for its graduates have a clear view of gender differences and prepare to help fulfill that promise to the women of today and tomorrow; and finally formulated as start, a number of recommendations concerning the plan of study with the conviction that ensure the rights and safety of women will lead to a more prosperous and peaceful world.

KEYWORDS: United States, curricula, schools of war, gender difference, women's rights, women's safety.

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#### RESUMEN

En este artículo la teniente coronel de la Fuerza Aérea de los Estados Unidos, Cornelia Weiss, como estudiante de una de las escuelas militares de su país, reflexiona sobre la promesa que la secretaria de Estado Hilary Clinton hiciera en su momento a las mujeres de Afganistán, de no abandonarlas y apoyarlas siempre, así como de velar porque sus derechos y oportunidades "no sean pisoteados en el proceso de reconciliación"; se cuestiona sobre cómo dichas escuelas pueden mejorar los planes de estudio para que sus egresados tengan una visión clara de las diferencias de género y así prepararlos para ayudar a cumplir dicha promesa a las mujeres de hoy y del futuro; y finalmente formula, como comienzo, una serie de recomendaciones respecto al plan de estudio con la convicción de que garantizar los derechos y la seguridad de las mujeres redundará en un mundo más próspero y pacífico.

Palabras clave: Estados Unidos, planes de estudio, escuelas de guerra, diferencia de género, derechos de las mujeres, seguridad de las mujeres.

<sup>\*</sup> Expressed in this article represents the personal views of the author and do not reflect the viewpoint of the Inter-American University of Law, the Organization of American States or the Government of the United States.

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The subjugation of women is a direct threat to the security of the United States. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, speech to the United Nations, March 12, 2010

The suffering and denial of the rights of women and the instability of nations are linked.<sup>2</sup> U.S. Representative William Delahunt, D, MA

#### Introduction

Secretary of State Clinton pledged to the women of Afghanistan, "We will not abandon you; we will stand with you always," while asserting, "It is essential that women's rights and women's opportunities are not sacrificed or trampled on in the reconciliation process." How will we ensure this U.S. promise is fulfilled? What military strategies, within our whole-of-government approach, are we developing to fulfill our promise to the women of Afghanistan? Furthermore, how are we preparing our future military leaders to develop the thinking required to fulfill the inherent

promise to and of women in today's and tomorrow's conflicts? How are we preparing our future military leaders to develop the thinking required to fulfill the inherent promise to and of women in preventing conflict and creating post-conflict conditions which do not lead to future conflict?

I recommend our war colleges enhance curricula to include gender.<sup>5</sup> I speak as a current student at one of the war colleges. Our current war college professional military education is not enabling us to fulfill our promise to the women of Afghanistan. To date, I have received no more than intellectual shrugs from professors, lecturers, and war college students when I inquire as to potential strategies to fulfill the U.S. promise to the women of Afghanistan. Our current war college professional military education is not preparing our future military leaders to develop the thinking needed to fulfill the inherent promise to and of today's and tomorrow's women. Gender is not part of the curricula. The only instance the author has found of war college curricula focused on gender in the U.S. is 1.25 hours at the

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Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, "Remarks at the UN Commission on the Status of Women," U.S. Department of State, March 12, 2010, http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/03/138320.htm, accessed May 2011.

<sup>2.</sup> Stephanie Vallejo, "Delahunt: International Violence Against Women Act 'must pass' this session," Boston.com, March 23, 2010, http://www.boston.com/news/politics/politicalintelligence/2010/03/delahunt\_intern.html (accessed April 2011).

<sup>3. &</sup>quot;Clinton: We won't 'abandon' Afghan women," The Washington Times, May 13, 2010, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/may/13/karzai-visits-graves-us-fallen-afghan-war/accessed May 2011.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid

<sup>5.</sup> Gender" "refers to the social characteristics or attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female." Gender defines "power relations in society and determines what is expected, allowed, and valued in a woman or a man in a given context." "Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: an Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice, UNIFEM, UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict," UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/Analytical\_Inventory\_of\_Peacekeeping\_Practice\_online.pdf, p.5, accessed May 2011.

Inter-American Defense College. Informational interviews of professors and students, past and present, of the U.S. Army War College, the Marine War College, the Navy War College, the National War College, and the Industrial War College indicate gender is not explicitly covered in the war college curricula of any of those institutions. Outside of the U.S., the author is aware the Norwegian Defense University College is working on implementing gender into their curricula.<sup>6</sup>

Today's militaries and civilian leaders are asked to prevent conflict; and failing that, to engage in conflict and then confront post-conflict issues. To prepare for such undertakings, militaries seek to send their best and brightest to war colleges and other institutions for professional military education. War colleges in the U.S. include the National War College, the Army War College, the Naval War College, the Air War College, the Marine Corps War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and the Inter-American Defense College. The mission of a war college, according to the U.S. Army, is to "prepare selected ... leaders for the responsibilities of stra-

tegic leadership...."<sup>8</sup> Frequently it is graduates of war colleges who serve at the highest ranks of our military leadership.

To serve effectively in today's and tomorrow's world, which includes having the ability to fulfill our promise to the women of Afghanistan, war college graduates must have gender comprehension. Such can be accomplished through standalone as well as integrated gender curricula. Incorporating gender in war college curricula can begin with implementing the recommendations of this paper. Implementing gender into curricula is an easy, no cost, win-win undertaking. The following recommendations are not an all-inclusive list.

#### Curricula recommendations

☐ I recommend, when we study our U.S. National Security Strategy,<sup>9</sup> we explore its assertions of "countries are more peaceful and prosperous when women are accorded full and equal rights and opportunity. When those rights and opportunities are denied, countries lag behind."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6.</sup> Personal correspondence with Ole Magnus Totland, Gender Advisor, Norwegian Defense University College, June 2011.

<sup>7.</sup> Also know in the U.S. as SDE "Senior Development Education" and in other countries by other names such as defense academies. I will use the term "war college" to describe such institutions.

<sup>8.</sup> U.S. Army regulation 10-44.

<sup>9.</sup> National Security Strategy, May 2010, 38, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\_viewer/national\_security\_strategy.pdf (accessed May 2011).

<sup>10.</sup> Per Dr. Kathleen Kuehnast of the U.S. Institute for Peace, "(t)he most recent Global Gender Gap Report put out by the World Economic Forum shows that greater gender equality correlates with higher levels of gross domestic product (GDP). Likewise, Goldman Sachs Global Economics recent report also supports that closing the gap between male and female employment can have major economic implications for the global economy. For example, it could boost U.S. GDP by as much as 9 percent, Eu-

We must develop quantitative and qualitative understandings of the impact of women having full and equal rights and opportunities vice having lesser rights and opportunities. Such analysis could include understanding a country, a military, a corporation needs the brainpower and abilities of both men and women. For example, corporations with the greatest share of women on executive committees have a 41 percent higher rate of return on equity than those with all-male groups. 11 According to the Gender, Institutions and Development Database, which measures the economic and political power of women in many countries, 12 in general, "the greater the power of women, the greater the country's economic success."13 Based on such data, one wonders why, if a company, a military, a country is serious about economic growth, it would deny itself the intellectual capital and abilities of women.

Economic success and development have consequences for national security and the military.

According to U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, "Development contributes to stability. It contributes to better governance. And if you are able to do those things and you're able to do them in a focused and sustainable way, then it may be unnecessary for us to send soldiers." Are the lives of soldiers worth incorporating the intellectual capital and abilities of women?

□ I recommend we study the U.S. Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) which asserts "the status of the world's women is not simply an issue of morality—it is a matter of national security." <sup>14</sup> In analyzing the QDDR's assertion, I recommend exploring numerous questions. Is an exploration of gender critical to understanding the complexity of current conflicts and in addressing violent conflict?" <sup>15</sup> Is the level of violence against women a far better predictor of state peacefulness, state compliance with international norms, and state relations with neighbors than level of democracy, level of

rozone GDP by 13 percent, and Japanese GDP by 16 percent. A reduction in this employment gap has also been an important driver of European growth. When we look at conflict countries by contrast, researchers have developed a dataset of conflicts from 1960 to 2001, and have found that states characterized by gender inequality are more likely to experience intrastate conflict due to an uneasy vicious circle of discrimination, inequality, and violence. Whereas states that have higher levels of gender equality, reflect less aggressive tendencies toward settling interstate disputes." President Obama's Speech and Gender, U.S. Institute for Peace, May 20, 2011, http://www.usip.org/publications/president-obamas-speech-and-gender, accessed May 2011.

<sup>11.</sup> Stephanie Baker, "This CEO's goal: More women in the boardroom," The Washington Post, June 5, 2011, C3 citing a McKinsey & Co 2007-2009 study.

<sup>12.</sup> Gender, Institutions and Development Database, http://www.oecd.org/document/16/0,3746, en\_2649\_33935\_39323280\_1\_1\_1\_1\_1,00.html (accessed May 2011).

<sup>13.</sup> Hanna Rosin, "The End of Men," The Atlantic Mobile, Jul 8, 2010, p.4.

<sup>14.</sup> The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review: Leading Through Civilian Power, 2010, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/153108.pdf, p. 23, accessed May 2011.

<sup>15.</sup> IFOR/WPP Call for Trainers for 2011 Middle East Training of Trainers, p. 2, copy in author's archives.

wealth, or the society's religious orientation?<sup>16</sup> Is the size of the gender gap within a particular nation a predictor of the greater likelihood a nation will be involved in inter- and intra-state conflict, to be the aggressor, to use violence first in a conflict, and to engage in higher levels of violence in interstate conflict?<sup>17</sup> Is there a correlation or is this cause-and-effect?<sup>18</sup> If the status of women is a matter of national security, why is it not integral to our U.S. National Military Strategy? Should it be? If not, why not?

☐ I recommend exploring gender during traditional strategic thinking. Laura Sjoberg and Jessica Peet of the University of Florida contend women are the Clausewitzian center of gravity in war. <sup>19</sup> They argue states attacking civilians are actually attacking women as the "symbolic essence of their opponent." <sup>20</sup> They contend States that attack civilians in war do not attack civilians

generally but women specifically.<sup>21</sup> Sjoberg and Peet maintain attacks on women; however, "are not just blatant and violent human rights abuses of women as women but attacks on women as opponents' casus belli and symbolic centers of nation/state."<sup>22</sup> They argue the "civilian victimization' debate omits a key factor in explaining when, how, and why civilians are intentionally targeted in war: the role of gender."<sup>23</sup>

Is it true certain militaries have war-time gender strategies? Doubters must analyze the cases of Rwanda as well as Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are examples of planned strategic rape.

The Rwandan Minister of Women devised the rape plan as part of the strategic genocide plan.<sup>24</sup> In Rwanda, over the course of approximately 100 days in 1994, at least 800,000 Rwandans

- 20. Ibid.
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. Ibid.

<sup>16.</sup> Valerie Hudson, BYU professor, powerpoint presentation, copy in author's archives.

<sup>17.</sup> Hudson citing Caprioli, Caprioli and Boyer; Marshall and Ramsey; Melander; Caprioli and Trumbore; Regan and Paskeviciute.

<sup>18.</sup> My thanks to Dr. Audrey Cronin of the National War College for raising the possibility of there being as much a chance of "a correlation between women's role and violence, as there is a cause-and-effect relationship. That is, as countries become more advanced, they may also become both more stable and more likely to give women equality." Email from Dr. Cronin May 25, 2011.

<sup>19.</sup> Sjoberg and Peet "A(nother) Dark Side of the Protection Racket: Targeting Women in Wars, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 13:2 June 2011, 162-181, copy in author's archives.

<sup>24.</sup> Per Major (ret) Brent Beardsley of the Canadian Armed Forces who was in Rwanda with the UN Peacekeeping Force. Information obtained via author's conversations with Mr. Beardsley in April 2011 while he lectured at the Inter-American Defense College.

were killed; the majority women. <sup>25</sup> Over 500,000 women were raped; over 5,000 rapes per day. Of the women who survived the genocide, 80% were raped. Eighty percent of those raped became HIV positive. Thus, if a woman survived rape and was not killed, the long-term goal of exterminating the opponent was still achieved. Often the damage of the rapes and the gang rapes results in the inability to have children and thereby ends the family line.

Serb army officers developed the plan to rape women and children "as an efficient and integral tool in undertaking the ethnic cleansing of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina." <sup>26</sup> An estimated 60,000 women were raped in the war. <sup>27</sup> According to the Psychological Operations Department of the Yugoslav National Army, the "morale, desire for battle, and will <code>[of Muslims]</code> could be crushed more easily by raping women, especially minors, and even children." <sup>28</sup>

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1820 acknowledges "women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instil fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or



According to the data base Equality
Gender, Institutions and Development,
the OECD, which identifies and analyzes
the obstacles to economic and political
development of women in many
countries generally the greater the
power of women, the economic success
of the country's largest.

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ethnic group." What strategic thinking must we develop in our professional military education to counter such tactic? Are our tactical level officers intellectually being prepared to counter such gender-based targeting? Are our strategic level officers intellectually being prepared to counter such gender-based targeting?

<sup>25.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26.</sup> Inger Skjelsbaek, "Sexual Violence in the Post-Yugoslav Wars" in Kathleen Kuehnast, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, and Helga Hernes, ed., Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century, U.S. Institute of Peace Press, Washington D.C.: 2011, Referencing Todd Salzman (1998, 356) P. 68.

<sup>27. &</sup>quot;UNDP in Action: Women and Girls in Crisis", http://www.undp.org/cpr/documents/fast\_facts\_gender.pdf, accessed October 27, 2010.

<sup>28.</sup> Skjelsbaek citing Salzman 1998, 356.

War college students must also question whether gender-strategies are limited to rape.

What about the Taliban edicts that effectively eliminated 50% of a population? By commanding women to stay home and forbidding women to work, the Taliban not only caused the disappearance of 50% of the population, but eliminated nearly 40% of civil servants in places like Kabul.<sup>29</sup> Did the Taliban's gender-strategy create the vacuum they needed to rule or could they have ruled absent such a gender-strategy?

☐ I recommend analyzing UNSCR1889 which urges post-conflict member states to engage with women and design "concrete strategies" to enhance the capacity of women "to engage in public decision-making at all levels." UNSCR 1889 asserts "the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security, and reconciliation." Of the 24 peace processes since 1994, 98 of the signatories to peace treaties have been men, three percent of the mediators to peace accords have been women, 95 percent of the witnesses to peace agreements have been men, and eight percent of the mediators have been women. Most of these peace agreements have not survived past the five year

mark.<sup>32</sup> Would having peace processes which had a more equal representation of women and men improve the chances for the resulting peace agreements to succeed? Would having peace agreements which incorporated the needs of women as well as equal rights and opportunities result in lasting peace agreements which result in a country becoming an economic success?

☐ I recommend examining what the presence of even one woman can make – perhaps in a case study. After World War Two, a new constitution was drafted in Japan. Beate Sirota, a 22 year-old, prepared the draft provision guaranteeing women's rights. The Japanese objected. With Ms. Sirota translating, a U.S. military colonel told the Japanese, "This article was written by Miss Sirota. She was brought up in Japan, knows the country well, and appreciates the point and feelings of Japanese women. There is no way in which the article can be faulted. She has her heart set on this issue. Why don't we just pass it?"<sup>33</sup> And they did.

☐ I recommend having, as lecturers, individuals who have engaged in peace agreements. Ambassador Steinberg uses his experience in Angola to highlight the importance of having gender

<sup>29.</sup> Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, The Dressmaker of Khair Khana: Five Sisters, One Remarkable Family, and the Woman Who Risked Everything to Keep Them Safe, Harper Collins Publishers: New York, 2011, 26-27.

<sup>30.</sup> UNSCR 1889, http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/scr-1889-the-text accessed May 2011.

<sup>31.</sup> Per statistics provided at the Women and War Conference at the U.S. Institute for Peace, May 2011.

<sup>32.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33.</sup> Beate Sirota Gordon, The Only Woman in the Room, Kodansha International, New York: 1997, 123.

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inclusive peace agreements.34 He was proud initially that the 1994 Angola Peace Agreement was "gender neutral." The peace process did not include gender. He came to understand "gender neutral" meant gender discriminatory; that is, a peace agreement without the inclusion of gender issues and the people who understand them is a peace agreement which will fail. For example, the Angola Peace Agreement provided for the clearing of landmines on the roads but failed to provide for the clearing of mines around the wells. In Angola, it is the women who haul the water from the wells. Failing to include women's input resulted in women being maimed and killed by landmines. In Angola, the failure to include women "silenced women's voices and meant that such issues such as sexual violence, human trafficking, abuses by government and rebel security forces, reproductive health care, and girls' education were given short shrift, if addressed at all."35 According to Ambassador Steinberg, because the peace agreement failed to incorporate the needs of both sexes, it fell apart within a few years.<sup>36</sup>

I recommend we analyze whether all voices women, men, girls, and boys- must be included in the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process (DDR) for the process to be successful. Must all those impacted make the "tough decisions about how to balance restoration of community life and retribution for crimes committed during the war"? 37 For example, "How is justice to be defined for families in which rebel groups forced sons to rape mothers, fathers their daughters, before those fathers and sons were abducted and forcibly conscripted"38 given the "purpose of this brutal tactic was to prevent conscripts from rejoining the community at a future date, where they knew they would not be welcome."39 The decisions made might "include amnesty, more judges at a local level, persuading leaders to set aside land for mothers raising children born of wartime sexual violence, or, as occurred in Uganda, a ritual cleansing of excombatant boys to help them shed their roles as perpetrators of atrocities and pave the way for their return to community life."40 Regardless of

<sup>34.</sup> Don Steinberg, Deputy Director, USAID, speaking at the Women and War Conference at the US Institute for Peace Women and War Conference May 2011.

<sup>35.</sup> Don Steinberg, "An Agenda for Action" in Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century, 120.

<sup>36.</sup> Response by Ambassador Don Steinberg to question by author on May 17, 2011 at the "U.S. Agency for International Development and Conflict: Hard Lessons from the Field" presentation at the Center for American Progress.

<sup>37.</sup> Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 264, January 2011, 5.

<sup>38.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40.</sup> Ibid.



The Rwandan Minister of Women devised the rape plan as part of the strategic genocide plan. In Rwanda, over the course of approximately 100 days in 1994, at least 800,000 Rwandans were killed; the majority women.

the decisions made, must the decisions be made by both the females and males who will have to live with the decisions made, for DDR to succeed? What are the consequences if only the men make the decisions?

☐ I recommend examining the impact of greater rights being accorded to men and lesser or no rights accorded to women. Does it matter? War college graduates must be cognizant of the im-

pact of removing gender-based legal constraints such as restrictions on female ownership of land. For example, in India, according to Tim Hanstad, President and CEO of the Rural Development Institute (RDI), "Women's right to land ... is absolutely crucial because only about 10 percent of holdings are female-owned, even though women conduct most of the farming activities. When women get equal rights to land, productivity improves, domestic violence is reduced, and more of the family income is directed to children's education and well-being."41 According to the World Economic Forum, "A substantial body of literature has shown investing in girls' education to be one of the highest-return investments that a developing economy can make."42 If the result is improved productivity, reduced violence, and enhanced children's education and well-being, is it in the best interest of the state to remove genderbased legal restrictions? What is the impact of conflict in a society composed of gender-based legal restrictions? Do gender-based restrictions promote conflict as a means of obtaining land?

What about amnesty? According to Ambassador Donald Steinberg, "Warring parties still frequently begin peace processes by granting amnesties to each other for heinous crimes committed in the fighting – tantamount to men with guns forgiving other men with guns for atrocities carried out against women." Does such impun-

<sup>41.</sup> Nicole Anand, "To fight poverty, give secure and long-term land rights to the poor," OneWorld South Asia, 13 November 2010, Interview of Tim Hanstad, President and CEO of the Rural Development Institute (RDI), http://southasia.oneworld.net/weekend/to-fight-poverty-give-secure-and-long-term-land-rights-to-the-poor, accessed May 2011.

<sup>42.</sup> Global Gender Gap Report 2010, https://members.weforum.org/pdf/gendergap/report2010.pdf, 30, accessed May 2011.

<sup>43.</sup> Steinberg, 117.

ity for acts carried out against women matter? Is impunity a source of violence?<sup>44</sup> According to one investigator in the Congo, "Literally here people get away with rape, they get away with murder. The chances of being arrested are nil."<sup>45</sup> Does impunity provide peace? Should peace provide for impunity? Or should war colleges engage in strategic thinking and planning to combat and eliminate impunity?

Unlike the Nuremberg trials, the International Criminal Court, 46 the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) all recognize rape is a war crime. As such, they are prosecuting rape cases. Unlike the Nuremberg Trials, today's superiors can be held liable for rapes that happen on their watch. Therefore, should war colleges provide students with the knowledge and tools to prepare strategies to prevent rape? Will failing to provide such education prevent today's war college students, in their future roles as leaders, from being prosecuted for failing to implement mechanisms, training, and oversight to prevent rape?

What about in camps? Rape is used as a means to conquer territory; that is, rape, or the danger of being raped, results in the abdication of land. The result: Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or refugees. Eighty percent of the world's 27 million refugees are women.<sup>47</sup> Fleeing violence does not mean the end of violence. The "safe havens" of IDP or refugee camps are not safe. Simply using the latrine and collecting firewood at such a camp carries with it the risk of being raped. Twenty-four of the 26 IDP camps have no separate latrines despite UN guidance recommending separate latrines to avoid sexual violence.<sup>48</sup> Will those in charge of the camps or those who have such camps within their area of focus (AOF/AOR) be subject to prosecution or excused via impunity? Is preventing rapes at camps impossible? All it took was one person, Madeleine Albright, to reduce rapes at a camp she visited. How did she do that? She recommended the pathways be lit. The result: a 70% reduction in rapes in the camp. 49 Imagine what the impact could be if war colleges developed the capacity of military leaders to think strategically about violence in camps, be they as a result of conflict

<sup>44.</sup> Belgian Senate Session of 1997-1998, December 6, 1997, Parliamentary commission of inquiry regarding the events in Rwanda, http://www.sente.be/english/rwanda.html, accessed May 2011.

<sup>45.</sup> Sixty Minutes, Aug. 17, 2008, "War Against Women: The Use Of Rape As A Weapon In Congo's Civil War," http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2008/01/11/60minutes/main3701249\_page3.shtml?tag=contentMain;contentBody (accessed May 2011).

<sup>46.</sup> Skjelsbaek, 75-76.

<sup>47.</sup> International Women's Day 2010, http://www.internationalwomensday.com/facts.asp, accessed October 27, 2010.

<sup>48.</sup> Don Steinberg, Deputy Director, USAID, speaking at the Women and War Conference at the US Institute for Peace Women and War Conference May 2011.

<sup>49.</sup> According to Helga Hernes, senior advisor on women, peace, and security issues at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) at the U.S. Institute for Peace Women and War Conference in May 2011.

or natural disasters or other events.<sup>50</sup> Do we need that capacity for our own security? Do we need to develop that capacity?

Do both women and men need to be represented in operations? UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1888 asserts "women and children affected by armed conflict may feel more secure working with and reporting abuse to women in peacekeeping missions...the presence of women peacekeepers may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces, thereby helping to build a security sector that is accessible and responsive to all, especially women." As such, UNSCR 1888 encourages member states to deploy more female military and police. Would having more of our military members deployed to Afghanistan be women result in Afghan women becoming an integral part of the Afghanistan national armed and security forces? Would the result be a more effective security sector?

I recommend analyzing countries whose strategic thinking incorporates gender. Rwanda does not want a repeat of the 1994 atrocities. Rwanda now is a country governed by a parliament with a female majority. Rwanda understands the danger of the 10,000 anti-Rwandan government troops in the Congo seeking to overthrow the Rwandan government. Does having a female majority parliament result in different decisions made than having a male majority parliament? If so, how? How does Rwanda incorporate gender strategic thinking? How does it gender educate its military? What can we learn from Rwanda?

☐ I recommend preparing for the future. One future is the U.S. National Action Plan, implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which is due to be unveiled in the fall of 2011. UNSCR 1325 requires the incorporation of women and gender perspectives in peace and security. At present, 24 countries have adopted a UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan. <sup>51</sup> Chile (3)

<sup>50.</sup> One example is Haiti. The question which must be addressed and answered is how a "200-strong UN police unit" which maintains "a permanent presence in six high-risk camps and patrols in 70 other priority camps...can adequately support and protect a combined camp population at least 675 times its size." Brooke Stedman, "Security After the Quake? Addressing Violence and Rape in Haiti," U.S. Institute for Peace, http://www.usip.org/files/resources/PB73-Security\_After\_the\_Quake.pdf (accessed May 2011). War colleges can look to examples such as KOFAVIV which "established volunteer security patrols and has begun escorting women at night to the showers. In Champ de Mars, KOFAVIV organized a security system with members inside the camp and noted a decrease in rape. Thousands of whistles have been distributed by KOFAVIV, which has trained women to respond to whistles when they were blown three times. Reports indicate that, in those camps trained in the whistle alert system, perpetrators were frightened away and therefore the incidence of sexual violence decreased." Ibid. Such solutions are easy. War colleges must educate leaders to be cognizant enough of gender to find them.

National Action Plans, Peace Women, www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/national-action-plans-naps, accessed May 2011.

August 2009)<sup>52</sup> and Canada (October 2010)<sup>53</sup> are the only Western Hemisphere countries to have adopted a UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan.<sup>54</sup> The U.S. military must be prepared to implement the U.S. National Action Plan; that is, we better know UNSCR 1325.

#### Conclusion

How will we not abandon the women of Afghanistan? How will we prepare for a future in which unequal sex ratios in places like China, India, and Pakistan may result in conflict? The questions are endless. This paper serves solely as a start, not a finish. I ask we enhance our war college curricula so, while we have the intellectual space and time at war college, we can confront the questions. We can prepare for the present. We can prepare for the future. If we know ensuring the rights and security of women results in a more prosperous, peaceful world, why would we not educate our military to achieve such success?

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