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PREVENTING AND RESPONDING TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT: NEXT STEPS IN A GLOBAL STRUGGLE

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. BRADLEY: Welcome, everyone. My name is Megan Bradley, and I'm a fellow here at the Brookings Institution. I work with the Brookings LSE Project on Internal Displacement. For those of you who don't know the project, we work with the U.N. special rapporteur on the human rights of IDPs, internally displaced persons, and our team strives to promote the human rights and well-being of internally displaced persons around the world.

As many of you well know, in countries from Syria to the Democratic Republic of Congo, we see that displaced persons, and in particular women and girls, are at particularly elevated risk of sexual and gender-based violence. We see that this risk comes not only from combatants but also from domestic violence, and in many contexts, sexual and gender-based violence is not only a risk that we see in the aftermath of displacement but is also a major driver of displacement with women, children, and their families fleeing from fear that they may be exposed to rape or other forms of sexual and gender-based violence.

We are therefore particularly glad to be hosting this event today in partnership with IMA World Health. For those of you who don't know IMA World Health, this is a faith-based organization that focuses on public health issues and works to advance health systems and support capacity building in the field of public health. IMA is currently partnering with Dr. Mukwege's Panzi Hospital on a USAID-funded project called Ashindi, which works to address sexual and gender-based violence in the Eastern DRC. IMA also serves as the secretariat for the We Will Speak Out coalition, which is an interfaith movement that's working to end the silence around sexual and gender-based violence. So I'd like to start by thanking

IMA for making this event possible today.

In recent years, we've seen a wide range of efforts from local to national and international levels to try to better prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence, particularly in conflict contexts. I'm sure that many of you have been following, for example, the development of the U.K.-led declaration of commitment to end sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, and it's a pleasure to have colleagues here from the British Embassy today.

The goal of our discussion this morning is to examine what steps need to be taken to strengthen efforts to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence, particularly in conflict contexts. We'll be looking at the role of the United States' government, of the United Nations, of NGOs, and also of individual leaders in this struggle, and I think that we certainly couldn't ask for a better panel of experts to be leading us in this discussion.

So we'll begin with Dr. Denis Mukwege, who will reflect on the catastrophic use of rape in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. We'll share with us news of his efforts to treat and support women who have been the victims of rape. As many of you know, Dr. Mukwege founded the Panzi Hospital in South Kivu in 1998. And since this time, Dr. Mukwege and his colleagues have performed more than 30,000 surgeries to address complications that are stemming from rape.

Dr. Mukwege is really a tireless advocate in support of the rights of women in the DRC. The fact that he returned to his country after an assassination attempt I think is testament to his courage and dedication to this work, and it's a real honor to have him here at Brookings.

Last week, Dr. Mukwege received the 2013 Civil Courage Prize from the Train Foundation in New York City, so we also congratulate you on that achievement.

Denis will be speaking in French, so if you haven't already picked up a headset and you need one, please be sure to get one from the desk at the back. Channel two is English, and Channel 10 is French.

After Denis, we'll hear from Ambassador Melanne Verveer, whose efforts in support of women's rights are also truly inspiring. Ambassador Verveer cofounded the Vital Voices Global Partnership, and in 2009, President Obama nominated her to be the first U.S. ambassador for Global Women's Issues. Ambassador Verveer is now heading up the Georgetown Institute on Women, Peace, and Security, and she'll share with us her analysis of some of the key obstacles to progress on combating sexual and gender-based violence in conflict contexts, and she'll share with us some of her thoughts on the targeted steps that should be taken to overcome these obstacles.

Third, we'll hear from Nancy Lindborg, who will address the role of the United States government in advancing the fight against sexual and gender-based violence in conflict contexts. Nancy is the USAID administrator for the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, and this is a position that she took up after serving for several years as the president of Mercy Corps. So it's always a pleasure to have you here at Brookings, Nancy.

Last, but certainly not least, we'll hear from Kathleen Kuehnast, who will help us position the issue of sexual and gender-based violence within the broader context of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Kathleen is the

director of the Center of Innovation for Gender and Peace Building at the United States Institute of Peace. She has written extensively on U.N. Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, and the critical role of women in peace-building processes.

So after we hear from our four panelists, we'll have some discussion between the speakers and then we'll open up the floor for questions. In order to make sure that we have enough time for Q&A, I'd ask each speaker to limit their comments to about eight minutes.

For those in the audience who are on social media, we'll be live tweeting from @brookingsIDP, and we'll be using the hashtag #sexualviolence.

So without any further adieu, I'd like to invite Denis to start with his comments.

MR. MUKWEGE: Thank you very much Megan to give me the floor. Madam Ambassador Verveer, Madam Kathleen Kuehnast, Madam Nancy Lindborg, this is truly a pleasure for me to be here this morning with this distinguished panel. I have a lot of respect for the panelists who are with me today. Madam Melanne Verveer went on the ground several times. She supported our action and I am extremely grateful for her action.

Dear guests, ladies and gentlemen, I wanted to thank you all to have come to this conference which is of great importance for our common humanity. The prevention and response to sexual violence in terms of conflict. The following steps in the global fight are extremely important questions. We cannot only complain; we have to act. Indeed, the deep roots of violence in terms of conflicts originate in the gender inequalities and on how women are viewed in

society.

The organization of relationships between men and women in patriarchal societies too often reflects disequilibrium and latent violence in times of peace, and that particular relationship is amplified during conflicts. As an example, in France and in the United States, 70 percent of women and young girls will be victims of sexual or physical violence at least once in their lives, either by their husband, by someone they know, or by some friends. Somebody, maybe, that they are around. In Africa, we do not have any numbers. We have no studies that were done, but I would assume that the number is much higher and in terms of violence, we all have to take this issue very seriously. We have to understand, and in some parts of the world, women are subject to violence every day. This violence, there are no cultural, social, or economic barriers. We cannot think that there are some cultures that are more violent than others or that there are some social stratas that are more subject to violence, whether there are higher or it's either the poor or the rich, we find the same issues. In many countries, the protection from the law prohibits and represses those behaviors which allow us to restore the balance and reduce discrimination between men and women. So the strength, the power of the law, allows us to reestablish a certain equilibrium besides the general scope conventions, such as the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, the international laws for the human rights that provide for specific instruments to category protection, such as the Convention on the Eradication of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. This framework that protects women is integrated in all of the countries of the international communities and their constitution and their national laws.

The prevention of sexual violence during times of conflict has to be done during a time of peace. It is a matter -- we have some instruments, and I think that those instruments have to be used during peacetime to prepare people, because we can never foresee when a conflict can occur. We have to actually be proactive by saying it could happen anywhere. And so what we have to do is that we have to be proactive in order to educate, and we have to strive to educate regarding any type of gender discrimination and to promote values of human dignity at every level of society in order to prevent atrocities before there is violence. Because violence can occur anywhere. In times of conflict, the government authority when there is a conflict, unfortunately there is no rule of law that could be there to balance things. The judiciary does not fill out its protection role, and the social fabric is destroyed, which means that all of the barriers, all of the things that could actually allow to secure women and protect it are lacking. So the violence that was already latent and that was already there but that was repressed because of the law is expressed without any reserves and at that point women and children are placed in an extremely difficult situation because of this particular state.

So the other reason why I'm here is to also ask the question what is the definition of sexual violence and what is rape during conflict? What I understand is that in all of the conferences, people are asking me questions and they're saying why is rape in conflict situations -- how can it be viewed as a weapon? Is rape really as serious as what you're saying? But I went to see where people had been raped and I understood.

And I know that we need to make an effort to understand what rape

is about. Rape with extreme violence absolutely cannot be linked with a primary sexual desire to be satisfied. We have to be very clear. Rape is not a sexual relationship without consent. It is an attack, an aggression of the most intimate part of a person. This is a dimension that should be understood very, very well because sometimes we just equate rape to a sexual relationship. No, that is not true. You have attacked the most intimate part of a person. The perpetrator forgets that the woman who has been raped will never forget, so we have to have a very, very clear concept. Very simply, this is a negation of another person. I think that when a person, when a man or a woman is raped, the person who is in front of that person basically negates who that person is. He negates the existence of a person. He negates the fact that you are an equal.

When the rape is committed on a larger scale on the individual of a community to eradicate them, at that point it becomes a true weapon of war, just like any other traditional weapons. Here, the consequences of the rape, we don't really have a lot of numbers, but I will tell you that there is repercussion on the next generation. There are examples of women who were actually raped and who contracted AIDS and who vertically perpetuate this. So this is a weapon that destroys not only today but tomorrow. And actually further than tomorrow.

In history, as you well know, the victorious conqueror troops have always considered women as their right. They could just use them and they could just abuse them, but I think that today with the resolution from the United Nations with the statute of Rome, there has been a change and this change allows us to consider that rape and sexual violence during the conflicts are a war crime, are a crime against humanity. And we can even go further and we could say that when it

is done with the intention to destroy the community, it can become a genocide -- act of genocide.

So I go back to the fact that education is very, very important in society. Society has to understand that it is not a sexual act. Far from it. It is an act that is reprehensible, that should be sanctioned. It is a crime, and it is something that the committee should know.

In my country, I see that there are very few efforts so people understand this. And in the DRC, we have probably some of the best laws in the world that was written in 2006 to protect women. But how many women know about this law? How many men know about this law? Actually, it's not only a question of them knowing it, but the application, the implementation of this law is poorly done, and nowadays we have some perpetrators, we have some criminals who are actually escaping prison because if you have a good law, you have to make sure that the entire system has to be open.

I'm not going to go too much into detail on that, but very quickly -- I think that I'm at the end of my time -- I wanted to tell you that actually when we want to answer, when we want to respond to sexual violence, we have to have a response that would be a holistic response; a response that should take into account the victim. But very, very often, we are taking care of the victim but we are forgetting all of the indirect victims of this. The indirect victims. When a woman is raped in front of her husband and we oblige her husband to commit atrocities on his wife or on his daughters, even if the man has not been touched physically, that man is a victim, is an indirect victim. The children who see their mother being raped in their presence will not be normal anymore. They are indirect victims. We

have to take care of these people. The children who actually are born from a rape, they haven't asked to be born. They're innocent, but they're subjected to the entire anger of the community because they come from a father who is a rapist, who is a criminal, and those children are stigmatized and they have to be taken care of. They are indirect victims.

In fact, there is also the community. When something is happening in the community and a lot of people are raped in the community, whatever you want to do, there is a loss of the social fabric. When a man is raped in front of his wife -- I have never seen a man like this -- however masculine he could be, when he's raped in front of his wife and in front of his children, he loses all control of himself. It is a total community destruction. It is a destruction of the social fabric, and we have to deal with these problems.

We have adopted a system that is a holistic system, that deals not only with the patient medically, but we also believe that the psychological aspect is very, very important. You can treat somebody physically, but if you let that person in the street, that person is very vulnerable and may be a victim of the same issue. We have to help these people psychologically to give them back some strength so that they can fight for their right.

And actually, we have a social and economic approach so that the women become leaders in their community, so she could be reinserted in the community. Women also bring community toward them because if they're strong in terms of the economy, the community will need them and the community will come to them to ask for assistance. So at that point she becomes the focal point of reinserting. And we cannot have peace. We cannot combat sexual violence if

women cannot go in front of the justice system and ask for their right. So we have to have -- we have a judicial aspect to our assistance where we teach women what their rights are in front of the justice so that justice could be rendered, not only to condemn and sanction the perpetrator, but also to bring that person to recognize what he has done and to repair what he's done. Thank you.

(Applause)

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Dr. Mukwege. It's not every day that we have the honor of welcoming someone of your stature here at Brookings. So thank you very much for starting us off with such a passionate presentation.

Melanne.

MS. VERVEER: Well, let me add my thanks to Brookings and the co-sponsors, and especially to welcome Dr. Mukwege. He, I think in the view of all of us, is a hero of our times. I remember when former Secretary Clinton was in Bukavu a few years ago and she said that this place here in Eastern Congo is the place of the greatest inhumanity that goes on each day, as well as the greatest humanity. This man exemplifies the greatest humanity.

And I think we're all fortunate that you were able to survive that terrible attack on your life late last year when we all worried, so, so much about how you would be and the fact that you needed to continue your work, which is the only thing that was on his mind, that he might be prevented from doing his work. So welcome.

And also to thank Nancy for what she does every day in terms of the extraordinary humanitarian work and democracy building and other activities at

USAID that she oversees.

And to Kathleen for your leadership on particularly the women's issues in this arena.

I've been asked to talk about some of the obstacles that hinder progress on this issue, and there is by no means a discreet number, but I will just highlight a few of those. And I think the first one continues to be the need to grow a commitment of political leadership in addressing this serious problem that still recognizes that sexual violence is linked to peace and security. Often we have these discussions divorced. We have a discussion on peace and security, and we don't have a discussion that touches on the issues that Dr. Mukwege just eloquently described and the toll that that takes. And so we really need to respond in more significant ways to create the kind of stability we want to see in places going through conflict and to ensure peaceful relations countries with each other. We cannot separate women's security from overall security.

I don't want to go into the toll that this issue takes. You heard a first-hand account of the extraordinary consequences. There are consequences to public health. There are extraordinary consequences to economic dislocation and the dependency on women for what happens every day to put food on the table and keep a society going. There are consequences to justice because these are not cultural matters. These are criminal matters that need to be dealt with. There are consequences in terms of instability and the kind of community destruction that the good doctor described.

I think while this discussion is not focused on the DRC, that it is worth mentioning -- and I'm sure Dr. Mukwege will have more to say about this --

that there are some propitious signs that we hope will begin to create some positive steps because this has been one of the deadliest conflicts that has gone on for years and years. But as many of you probably know, the secretary general of the U.N. has appointed Mary Robinson to be a special envoy. There's been a framework that's been adopted by a number of the countries. One hopes that as the discussions go forward this framework will begin to have the kind of sense of urgency and realization of the key issues that need to be addressed. President Obama has appointed former Senator Russ Feingold as an envoy to the Great Lakes, and he will bring some additional energy to this. And Mary Robinson, as the U.N. envoy, has specifically stated that within the framework women need to be a critical element of the solution going forward. So I think that and the fact that the World Bank has announced up to a billion dollars potentially to bring the kind of development resources that are going to be necessary on a parallel track and hopefully an incentive to do the right thing, are, I say very cautiously, positive signs because anybody who has dealt with this issue knows how complicated and difficult it has been.

And then more broadly, I think the work and the leadership of the U.K., and particularly the Foreign Minister Hague and the kind of energy he has brought to this, putting this issue on the G-8 agenda, bringing resources to these issues and enhancing the credibility, all fits with the kind of political leadership that I think has to be addressed going forward.

I think secondly we need to ensure that women have a seat at the table and they aren't just viewed as victims. And far too often it is the only way that we look at women in these situations. They have been tremendously victimized.

There is no doubt about it. You can't listen to what we just heard and understand what has happened. But even in the worst of circumstances, and I have seen this firsthand in the DRC, women will tell you despite the pain they have gone through, they are trying to move from pain to power under the most difficult circumstances. And, you know, too often in peace discussions what happens is the agenda is very limited and the agenda is all about both sides giving each other amnesty for what they did to the women. And we need to ensure greater participation of women at the table to bring the issues that have to be resolved to the table so that we're not having the aberration of these agreements just a few years after they've been signed because the real issues haven't been addressed.

Just this last week, a new Security Council resolution was adopted to remove the barriers to women's full participation and all efforts to prevent, resolve, and rebuild from conflict, Resolution 2122, bills on 1325, bills on 1888. I hope the point will come when we don't need more resolutions to make the point but where we are fully implementing what 1325, linking women to peace and security represents and where the United Nations and others do the kind of oversight that is really necessary to ensure that what happens going forward is representative of the good intentions.

One of the key areas that I think needs to be addressed more seriously is what happens when these accords are adopted, when ex-combatants are integrated into the national armies and police without being prosecuted, without those who have committed these egregious violations of human rights meeting the justice system.

I remember so vividly a woman in Bosnia not too long ago coming

up to me and she tried to have a conversation and she broke down. And what I finally pieced together in the midst of her emotional expression was that she had been horribly violated in ways that we've just heard occurs. And she said her violator is the policeman on her block who has never paid for the crime that he committed or for frankly what some of the others have committed in the process.

So this kind of addressing these real-life issues I think needs to be a part of the solutions going forward. We do need more women in U.N. peacekeeping operations and to ensure that women are included as well in the design and implementing of programs to deal with peace and reconciliation.

You know, shortly after assuming my position a few years ago I was hauled up before the Congress to testify on this very issue particularly with respect to the DRC. And I remember vividly one of the questions from the senators was, you know, when women are going to collect firewood or when they're going to get water, they are so vulnerable when they leave camps, for example. Why can't we even protect them in those most vulnerable of moments? So I think there are a lot of issues here with respect to the role that women need to play and what we need to take into consideration as we address this.

The third big obstacle, and it is enormous, is ending the impunity for the perpetrators and guaranteeing justice for the victims. Only when laws are implemented and the perpetrator is held accountable are we going to see the kind of deterrence for this violence, especially during and after acute conflicts. So there is much work that's done. It's ongoing work. These are nascent systems of justice, if one can call them even nascent in some circumstances. But I think the kind of work that the secretary general's special rep for sexual violence in conflict,

Representative Bangura has been doing, she herself comes out of conflict in Sierra Leone. The recognition that we do need experts to be deployed, to work with governments, to strengthen the rule of law, to enhance the technical capacity of police and prosecutors and judiciaries. Training for peacekeepers and national security personnel to enhance their skills so that they can better respond to victims of violence. Everything that is involved in ensuring that impunity is dealt with. This is a fundamental point that has to be addressed, and one that we certainly recognize is a complicated one. And it does require everything from security sector reform to special courts often to begin to do what needs to be done. So we know that we need prevention. We need better efforts at protection. We certainly need to be more aggressive on prosecution. And the fourth P is priority. We really need, once and for all, to make these issues a priority when it comes to trying to prevent and end impunity.

Fourthly, I think we need to do a better job at data collection and evidence, both for the incidences that occur and to deal with the kind of responses, the effectiveness of the responses that work best, and to document those. In the area, for example, that the U.K. has been working on along the Syria border, to train medical personnel, to treat survivors and preserve the evidence for prosecution. I know some of that has been happening in the DRC as well with greater success.

There is, with respect to Syria, and we know one of the most serious places where this issue is playing out today in horrific ways, is the Syria Justice and Accountability Center, which is a multilaterally supported effort to amass and evaluate evidence on violations of human rights abuses. This will be so important

in terms of accountability and the transitional justice process going forward. And what was absent at the beginning at setting up this center was a focus on this very issue we're discussing today. That has been remedied but it is hard to understand how you can have something like this that deals with accountability and evidence and not focus on the sexual violence that goes on.

And lastly, and this is by no means any complete list, I do feel that we need to put greater focus and reintegration efforts both on the social and economic. Dr. Mukwege addressed some of this. I think one of the things that is far too often absent is the whole issue of economic opportunity, of creating income for the women. They are, as he pointed out, essential to the community. The community understands that process of going from pain to power and becoming the active agents of change moving forward does require both for eventual stability, for the sense that there is a better future. Opportunity, economic opportunity, is essential, and I think we need to do a better job in terms of income generation, genuine sustainable economic activity, access to savings, to mobile technology that you talked about Dr. Mukwege in terms of violence prevention, but also critical for entrepreneurs, just that simple cell phone to get to a market on a given day. So there's much we can do, but I do think this whole area of the economic component has to be a part of addressing this issue.

MS. BRADLEY: Wonderful. Thank you so much, Melanne. I know that we've all really appreciated your leadership on these issues over the years, and I think this presentation is very much a testament to that. So thank you very much.

And Nancy, on to you.

MS. LINDBORG: Great. Thank you, Megan. And thanks for convening us here today. Thanks to Brookings and IMA. It's a pleasure to be here today. And a special thanks to my co-panelists. I think that all of you -- Dr. Mukwege, Melanne, and Kathleen -- have all been really relentless champions for helping us rethink the whole concept of peace and security and moving these issues fully into the center of that conversation. So I'm very pleased to have a chance to be with everyone here today.

You know, what I think we take away from the conversation is that based on the virulence of this issue and how long it has persisted, that it will take that fierce attention for us to move past it. Dr. Mukwege quite appropriately noted that sexual violence, gender-based violence happens here in the United States and throughout Europe, so that when you put it in an environment that has general conflict and collapse, it is highly, highly escalated. And we know that in any conflict environment it is the women, it is the girls, it is the children who suffer the most. There is a greater degree of violence. There is greater disease. Greater malnutrition. They bear the brunt of these kinds of conflicts. So it's critical that we keep this issue forefront as we address those issues.

In the humanitarian field, there has long been an effort to incorporate protection approaches into a response, and Melanne mentioned Syria. It is heartbreaking what's going on in these past two years with this outpouring of women into the neighboring countries, including those who are still trapped inside Syria. I've been a number of times to the region and talked to women who have left very precipitously, mainly because they wanted to get their daughters out of what was turning into a cycle of rape and abuse.

There are a lot of programs that we've put in with a high priority of our humanitarian assistance to provide counseling, medical treatment, training our partners, so that they are able to address sexual violence when they see it in the clinics. To work with camp providers, both the internally displaced and the refugee camps, to provide that kind of safe space that helps protect women when they're in these camps. This is a significant feature and one of the four mainstreams of effort for our humanitarian response in Syria, as it is in many places.

However, what we are increasingly seeing is that it happens after the initial response and it's often seen as secondary to some of the more critical provisions of shelter, food, and medical care. And so I was very pleased just a few weeks ago to launch with my good friend and colleague, Ann Richard, who is the assistant secretary at the State Department for Refugees, a new initiative called Safe from the Start, which is focused on bringing forward that protection, that prevention piece, very mindfully at the very beginning, at the very onset of an emergency response. And we have very specific goals which are number one -- and Melanne, you mentioned this -- to increase the evidence base for what do we know works. How effective are those programs to enable women to not have to go collect the firewood or to have the safe space in the camp, just to create a better evidence basis for that.

Secondly, it's to mainstream it through all of our humanitarian assistance so that it isn't something that gets laid on separately later.

And three is for advocating for increased prioritization of gender based violence assistance throughout international humanitarian architecture, and in particular, the U.N. It's not that people don't understand or agree with the

importance; it's that it too often gets put in later, and we would rather look at how to deal with it upfront instead of just doing the treatment for women who have already suffered horrible and egregious suffering.

There is also -- we're working at AID with a new program in partnership with UNICEF, to look at is there a way, even in these conflict environments, to begin to change some of the norms? This is something that happens a lot in longer term development programs, but even in an emergency context, what can we learn, what can we do differently to work on that normative aspect so violence is not okay, so that you can use what community cohesion is still there in an emergency context and push that forward and not wait until you have peak instability.

Melanne, you mentioned the November 13th U.K. Call to Action on the violence against women and girls in emergencies. This is really part of what is an important groundswell in taking a serious and coherent look at how we address these issues. In 2011, there was the U.S. National Action Plan for Women, Peace, and Security that, again, Melanne and Kathleen were both very much a part of, which put down a framework of action throughout the United States Government, which really calls on all parts of our government to take this onboard and come up with specific action, followed by the 2012 U.S. strategy to prevent and respond to gender-based violence globally. And these two frameworks have really changed how we in the U.S. government are looking at how we can pull in all of our resources, create the political will and the specific programs to move this forward.

So in addition to the humanitarian issues and looking at moving it so that women are safe from the start, we've also increased our ability to tackle

impunity and to increase justice and accountability. This is, again, no secret we're having a strong convergence here. Melanne has identified the obstacles, so I'm telling you what we're doing about it. She had a little hand in some of this. But we're tackling the justice and impunity because we are seeing that there is over and over again perpetrators of sexual violence just go uncharged. And part of it is creating the ability to collect the evidence from the earliest starts of these kinds of conflicts.

We've just started a new partnership with U.N. women to provide training so that there is a roster of experts who are deployable during a conflict to investigate sexual violence and to be able to do that kind of evidence gathering that will be admissible in different tribunals or courts of law. Something called the Justice Rapid Response Training. We're focusing right now on Arabic speakers and deployment particularly to the MENA region, looking at specifically what's going on in Syria. And there are a number of those kinds of initiatives where we are working at both the community and at the country level to create those systems of both collecting the evidence and looking at different ways that communities might hold perpetrators accountable, all the way up to more international systems.

There are -- Dr. Mukwege talked about this -- we are working through a number of our programs how to address the need to change norms, how to support women who can not only survive but become leaders in their communities, and how to change the kinds of behaviors throughout a community that can alleviate this kind of violence, and doing this as part of our long-term development program, so that it is connected up with economic development, that it is connected to the kind of political leadership that give women a different kind of

voice and move them forward. So through a variety of programs that are happening outside of a conflict environment but are in a lot of fragile states, whether it's Uganda or Kenya or Sierra Leone, countries where there is both the need and the opportunity to work on a longer-term basis on different norms and attitudes.

And finally, we're very focused on inclusive peace and transitional processes. And I note, first of all, I'm very happy to be here today because the government is back in business. And secondly, I'm sure we've all noted that it was the women of the Senate who came together across the aisle to really break loose some solutions. And this is exactly what we see needs to be a part of peace processes and transitional justice approaches and transitional processes around the world. We have something called the Global Women's Leadership Fund, which is specifically investing in women so that they can be a part of the solutions, that they can be a voice at the table. And looking at all the ways through that and other programs that we can support women in their own countries being a part of the way forward. There's a lot of evidence that shows that peace deals are just far less effective when they are not inclusive of all the voices, including women's voices.

So it's through this combination of programs and commitments, working with our colleagues at State and our DoD colleagues, that we are seeking to address this issue more forcefully. And I wanted to just end with quoting our wonderful new U.N. Ambassador, Samantha Power, who spoke at the Resolution last Friday, last week at the U.N. And she just notes, "As we continue to go forward, let us confront honestly the obstacles that remain before us. Then, let us

act, act, and act some more, so that women share fully in efforts to avoid and contain conflict." And I think it's that injunction to act, act, act that will be most important as we all go forward. Thank you.

(Applause)

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Nancy.

I know in organizing this panel we were certainly very glad that the United States Government came back into business in time for you and Kathleen to be here today. We would have missed you.

So last, and certainly not least, Kathleen.

MS. KUEHNAST: Thank you so much, Megan. And thank you to all of you for being here today -- The Brookings, IMA, and of course, Dr. Mukwege. I have sat here in Washington many times -- I have not been to your country -- but your efforts have inspired me every day and certainly have inspired a world to act. And thank you for bringing this to our attention in a way that your work and your passion and your humanity can keep us aware and honest. And of course, Melanne and Nancy, I follow in your footsteps and appreciate your work every day.

It's always hard to be the last person because I'm crossing out many things that I had intended to say but have been said so much better.

I've been asked to look at the struggle against sexual and gender-based violence and how it relates to the women, peace, and security agenda more broadly. We are in our 13th year in relation to the U.N. Security Resolution called 1325. And I know we appear -- this is insider baseball talk a lot. You'll hear 1325 and a resolution, but 1325 was passed 13 years ago this week, I believe. And it is a critical marking point in which security, the Security Council began to embrace

the fact that women have not been counted in our wars, literally and figuratively, both as victims, but also as key peacemakers, peacebuilders. It marked that security put on the map that women matter as a part of the solution moving forward.

So as we sit here today and we look at the nexus of a violent -- very violent, sexualized use of violence committed not only in Africa but throughout the world, not only in war but also in peacetimes, it is a part of the activism, the international leadership. There's over 40 countries with national action plans. The United States is one of the newer countries coming to this shift. And I will tell you it is a shift in governance. It brings an extra lens and we need all the clever, innovative ways to solve problems in our world today.

And certainly, this issue of sexual violence is one in which, yes, it's been around for humanity, but some of the questions we're bringing to the forefront now, are trying to understand when it didn't happen and why, and what can we learn from that? And also, to understand what we call the missing peace, P-E-A-C-E. That, in fact, when this type of violence occurs, it affects the individual, the family, the community, and really, all regions near that conflict. It is more like a disease than one can even imagine. And so we are trying to reconceptualize our knowledge and close some of the gaps in our research.

Most recently, we hosted an effort called The Missing Peace Symposium because one of the things we feel that's preventing us from moving this agenda along is that much of our research is siloed. And much of our efforts are siloed. And so part of what we attempted to do was to bring together researchers, practitioners, policymakers, and military personnel, because one of

the things that is missing is what is working? What isn't working? How do we define this? And what of our own misconceptions?

And I want to just mention very briefly three of the misconceptions that the symposium tried to tackle. One is that sexual violence in conflict is only an African problem. It is not. It is -- thanks to the work of Dr. Mukwege who has brought this to our forefront in recognizing this as a horrific problem that has confronted wars before. And in efforts to begin counting this, most recently we have identified that on a per conflict basis, Eastern European civil wars were more likely than sub-Saharan African conflicts to feature reports of massive levels of rape. So in many ways we have to break our own mythology to begin addressing it in our policies.

Secondly, we tend to think of it as some kind of rebel issue, and in fact, it is not just a rebel group's issue. Again, we see that state forces in many instances are more likely to be perpetrators of sexual violence than other types of armed groups. And something more for our policy issues moving forward to consider, as Dr. Mukwege said, in peace we need to think about these things, is that evidence suggests that states frequently use sexual violence as a tool of torture against detainees, as well as during operations against civilians. So we must reflect upon our own efforts and our own types of issues regarding the way we use sexual violence.

And third, one of the major misconceptions that the Missing Peace Symposium and other work that we've been funding in terms of research is to understand that men are not only perpetrators but also victims. And women are not only victims, but also perpetrators. And I think that was some of the most

startling research presented, and definitely there is a dearth of systematic research. But part of the Sierra Leone Human Rights Violation Survey identified some of these unusual and yet provocative issues that help us to see that we must have a holistic approach if we're going to stop a cycle of violence. If a child, boy or girl, is brought into any kind of armed group and sexual violence as a part of the hazing process, it normalizes the ideas and the actions of sexual violence as a power differential. And we must start to comprehend that this illness, this disease, this use of violence is a power differential committed against boys and girls, and recommitted as those children grow up. And so we must come to this as a holistic understanding and a holistic response.

I was happy to hear about these technological efforts because this is another area of maybe a blind spot, the way in which we understand refugee camps. We recently did a very brief overview of how many universities and colleges who sponsor architectural and engineering programs include anything about gendered views of refugee camps. Very few. I think we counted two. We have a gap in our research, in our education, if we're not educating architects and engineers to think broadly in terms of the concepts of protection and power.

And finally, so that we can open it up to all of you, I want to reemphasize the issues of gender here and that this is a holistic perspective. One of the findings that we had recently as we did a "lessons learned" on women's programming, what was the most effective women's programming for protection and empowerment? It was to engage men as allies. And as a part of that, next week we begin a dialogue called "Men, Peace, and Security" to begin addressing the culture of hypermasculinities and how do we unlearn violence as we move out

of war? As we deal with demobilization, how do we have new identities that help understand masculinity from other dimensions besides carrying a gun and using power and violence as a way to establish a hierarchy in societies. We have so long of a road ahead of us, but this group here and these leaders in front of you are really helping set the pace for the kind of action -- and I will add, reflection -- as we move forward. So thank you for this moment.

(Applause)

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Kathleen.

I'll open it up to questions from the audience in just a moment, but before I do, I'd like to take the opportunity to engage the other panelists on this issue with which Kathleen closed, the role of men in the struggle against sexual and gender-based violence. We so often hear that an essential element of a response to this issue must be more men speaking up, participating in this discussion.

So perhaps, Denis, we could start with you and your thoughts on that issue, and if anyone else would like to jump in, that would be most welcome.

MR. MUKWEGE: I think that as I was listening, perhaps men only represent about 10 percent of the people having this discussion, and I think that's a major problem. And the issue of sexual violence is one that is linked to all of mankind. It's an issue that should not cause division between men and women, and I was very pleased to hear what other panelists have said about this greater commitment to put this issue at the top of the international agenda. I think that today we need to call upon one and all, and we need to mainly call upon male and female leaders so that they understand that we need to work together to resolve

this crucial issue. And I think that in this room we see evidence that there are more women than men interested in this issue, and this is something that I've found throughout the world. It's sometimes hard to even get 10 percent of men to be interested in this very crucial issue because this type of violence destroys our greatest resource, and more men need to be involved.

MS. BRADLEY: The discussion is just the beginning of a longer term engagement with these issues here at Brookings, and perhaps for our next event on these themes we can set ourselves a goal of moving from 10 percent men in the room to 25 percent or 50 percent.

Melanne or Nancy, would you like to jump in?

MS. VERVEER: I think this is an issue that, as Dr. Mukwege said, needs heat at the top, needs more political leadership at the highest levels, which is predominantly male today, to recognize that this is a serious security issue. And at that level it needs to be addressed beyond just resolutions but actual good faith actions.

But it also needs a lot of work at the bottom. And I think to change norms you really need to move. To change a norm you've got to have a community understanding how that happens. And one of the great success stories today by no means completely solved is FGM, female genital cutting or mutilation. And what workers on that issue have discovered is that when the community grapples with the consequences of these actions, which if you understand is the norm, every woman, young woman, goes through this process, this practice. And if she doesn't, all of her potential abilities to have some success in life are against her because that is the norm. That is what is expected.

So how does this change? It changes because the male leaders, predominantly in the villages in these cases, the chiefs, the imams, have come together, said there-- for example, in terms of religious practice, there's no reason that any of the teachings mandate this practice, and begin to hear out the community, particularly listening to the women and what it represents in their lives -- the pain, the degradation, often death in childbirth, et cetera, et cetera. And what has been happening in community after community is after this kind of intensive effort, the community votes and they're essentially changing a norm. It's no longer this practice that's essential; it's we want to protect the health of the women in our community. And that becomes the norm.

It is a process. Different models of male behavior have to be conveyed. It is not what we're here to discuss today that is the norm, should be the norm. It needs to be punished, certainly, but also it has to be increasingly viewed by boys in the process of growing up that there is a different model of behavior. This is not acceptable.

So we do need more effort at the top. We need a lot of effort at the bottom, but it is a process.

MS. LINDBORG: Yeah, I would just add that, you know, building off of Kathleen's comment that it's like a disease, when you've got, you know, a lot of conflicts that we're grappling with today are 20 years in duration, and it's not just trying to change norms; it's dealing with people who on a multigenerational basis are deeply traumatized and have learned the kinds of behaviors, as Kathleen said, that are about these power differentials.

So one of the challenges that we are tackling is looking at the kinds

of programs that in a place like Northern Uganda, for example, is working with both boy and girl adolescents in these kinds of community-based programs that create a different set of relationship options for them to understand and to engage with, knowing that that level of conflict over that time period has left them with profound both reproductive health and sort of equitable relationship challenges. And so increasingly we're gathering the evidence basis for is it working? Does it work? If so, how? And looking at how to scale those up. But they have to be embraced by and driven by the community and it absolutely has to have both men and women.

MS. BRADLEY: Time is running a bit short, so I think it'll be good to move right into questions from the floor. There are some colleagues who will be coming around with microphones, so if you'd like to ask a question, please raise your hand, and we'd ask you to identify yourselves.

Up at the front.

MS. WADE: Hi. My name is Emma Wade. I'm the political counselor at the British Embassy based here in Washington. And thank you very much for convening this morning's panel, and thank you to the panelists for your insight.

I thought given that there have been quite a few references to the U.K.'s work in this area, it would be worth just highlighting some of what we're doing, not least because it's with a great sense of provide, but actually, I have my foreign minister here who is providing some of that political leadership. And he's a man, which is great, as we're hearing the importance of getting more than 10 percent of men involved in this.

So I will quickly skip through just a bit of commentary if you'll allow.

Just to mention the use of the G-8 presidency that the U.K. has held this year and the declaration by foreign ministers on the importance of tackling this issue, including the sort of link into to the Geneva Convention and making sexual violence and conflict a war crime. And it's worth mentioning that Secretary Kerry was a huge advocate of that conversation in the G-8 environment. I know that he and Vice President Biden, in particular, are very strong proponents of all of this work.

But going beyond the G-8, but also at the U.N., we did have in the margins of the U.N. General Assembly this year a set of events which concluded with the signing of a declaration, and more than 130 countries signed up to that declaration. So I think it's an important recognition of just how widespread support is for tackling these issues.

As part of that, we're creating a global network of international champions to push through action, so it's not just words in these hallowed environments; it's real action on the ground. We have U.K. teams of experts, multidisciplinary experts, who go out onto the ground to help tackle the questions of impunity, to help build evidence basis, not just in the borders of Syria but also in Bosnia, in Libya, in Mali, and some of the biggest hotspots in the world, including DRC.

We're working on an international protocol, as was mentioned, to help coordinate all the good practice that is going on around the world, and I think that coordination point is so important as we build recognition of the value of tackling these issues at source. It's not just governments talking at an international level, but it's about the local communities, and it's about coordinating all of these efforts.

Finally, just to mention, we do have a call to action, which will take place in mid-November, which is about tackling violence against women and girls in emergencies. So taking it beyond sort of the conflict in itself but looking at some of the consequences of natural disasters and the impact that that can also have on generating unstable environments where violence can perpetuate. And my foreign minister, William Hague, has announced the biggest conference of its kind for next year around June in the U.K. to bring together not just the 134 countries that have so far signed the declaration as part of the United Nations, but to really begin to kind of turn some of the talk into practical action at that global level. And so just an opportunity -- please forgive me for highlighting what I think is a really impressive amount of action from the United Kingdom. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Emma. I hope the next time we have a discussion on these issues here at Brookings we can also have you up at the front to hear even more.

Other questions? We'll collect a few and then we'll go back to the panelists.

Just behind.

MS. LEAO: Thank you, all panelists. My name is Isabela Leao, and I am a social development specialist in The World Bank. And it is a pleasure to listen to all of you, and I thank Dr. Mukwege here.

I was very interested in what Kathleen mentioned on the reconceptualization given the issues we've been discussing, and especially that it is not only sub-Saharan African issue but also a world issue, especially the role of masculinity. So I would like to hear a bit more if you have any studies or

suggestions of points of view on masculinity in Latin America and Eastern Europe.

MS. BRADLEY: I'm sorry, Kathleen, we'll collect a few more questions and then we'll run through the panel.

On the left hand side in the middle.

MS. BROWN: Thank you. I'm Bethany Brown from HelpAge. We work in 65 low and middle income countries for and with older people.

And as a partner of USAID, AFTA, I'd like to commend the inclusive approach to protection that we've seen. With their leadership in the humanitarian field, they are really showing what inclusive best practices can look like on the ground at the start of an emergency with an appreciation of the interaction that gender, age, and disability all play as we're looking at these important power dynamics.

What is lacking so far is the inclusion of this sort of approach in peacebuilding activities. So my question for the panel is really about the inclusion of a variety of stakeholders. The previous deputy administrator has said that he had never been in a peacebuilding roundtable with people over the age of 45, and I think that that's something that could really be addressed with better inclusion.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you. We'll take two more questions starting with the gentleman standing at the back next to the translation booth.

SPEAKER: Thank you, the panelists, for a good presentation, and specially Dr. Mukwege from Congo.

I came here today because I worked in the Congo for a number of years, and I worked with some of the victims you are talking about. And one of the issues I realized was lack of funding because I realized that funding in protection

issues was a big, big gap in the Congo, and you could see that some of the GDD programs were kind of competing for funding with other protection programs, and I thought all programs are very important for intervention, instead of just giving piecemeal funding that is not actually completely addressing the issues of sexual violence in the Congo. I've also worked in several refugee camps, and one of the issues one of the panelists mentioned about firewood, like Dadaab refugee camp, which is one of the largest camps I think in the world, why should women be allowed to go and fetch firewood? Why not provide the firewood, for example. The issue was we don't have funds -- enough funds to fund for firewood.

So I think funding here is very, very important, and when designing any program, let's ensure that the international community is able to have enough funds to support so that we can also reduce sexual violence.

My other comment, which has already been mentioned, is about men. You realize that in most gender-based violence programs, yes, the majority are women, it is true, and the victims are women, it is true, but the perpetrator is the man. So why don't we focus more on the man and see how that can change instead of remaining the conservative way we run the programs. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much.

And the final question for this round, the woman with the white watch on the right hand side.

SPEAKER: Dr. Mukwege, you spoke very eloquently I thought about some of the long-term effects of issues like HIV and unintended pregnancies resulting from rape in both women-wise, as well as in communities and families that can continue on for generations. And we know that there are medical

interventions that we can use in these scenarios such as post-exposure prophylaxis, emergency contraception, these sort of things that can help mitigate these consequences going forward, but there's often very, very steep barriers to women, both in conflict settings and in peacetime to accessing these services. So what really can we do to help increase support for these services and ensuring that they're available, and also increasing women's ability to access those services?

MS. BRADLEY: Great. Thank you very much. And I'll also ask Dr. Mukwege to respond to an issue that was raised in an informal discussion that we were having just before the start of the panel on issues around security and humanitarian access in the DRC. It would be wonderful to have your thoughts on how that issue in particular shapes this broader question of access to appropriate services.

So if we could start with Kathleen, and then we'll work our way down the panel.

MS. KUEHNAST: Thank you very much. And very briefly, the question was raised first by our colleague at The World Bank about other examples of parts of the world where this has been an issue, and I think there are examples everywhere. We do have an article out front that looks at -- a longevity study of the impact of sexual violence used by the Shining Path in Peru, and the 20-year impact in their justice system. I think we have to take that kind of reflective and reflexive view, if you will, to understand not only what is happening right now but if we look back, what have been the societal costs of this form of brutal violence on a society. It is not of just the day, but certainly the long-term impacts are dramatic. And this was done by a researcher out of U.K.

Secondly, in terms of talking about what I think of the other side of the coin or the other side of gender, because gender is about men and women, indeed, I think we are coming to realize unless we understand what is going on in terms of perpetrators, again, predominantly what we think are men but we have found evidence there are female perpetrators of violence against men and women, and if we start to understand it from a power differential, it becomes a different template of understanding what is going on psychologically, societally, and in terms of high conflict situations.

One of the efforts -- and to answer your question -- there are some excellent researchers trying to cope and look at the issue of hypermasculinities. One of them will be at our symposium next week, Chris Kilmartin. He's seconded now from UVA to the U.S. Air Force Academy to try to address sexual violence within the troops and also suicide, the post-traumatic stress predicament. And I think these are important thinking outside the box in terms of how to address the women, peace, and security agenda. You're right. We have to see the holistic perspective.

And finally, I would just want to say about the funding, there is funding that is needed, but we really need to be much more creative, much more innovative, and in that way cost effective in the ways we address these problems. That's why I think we have to tackle architectural schools and engineering schools. These are the people who are charged with designing camps, per se. We need to think outside the box a little bit more and engage other people who might not necessarily be in the medical fields or governments, but people who are outside but we contract with to help solve our problems.

MS. BRADLEY: Nancy.

MS. LINDBORG: So two quick comments. First of all, thank you to our HelpAge colleague. You know, we have wonderful, wonderful partners, probably many of you are in the room, who work with us on all kinds of innovative ways to tackle these problems, and we rely on you and really value what you bring to these problems.

One of the challenges in the relief environment is there are increasingly new entrants who are providing assistance in these major emergencies who are not coming at it with the same traditions. And so it's some of those partners that we are focused on reaching out to on creating an expanded shared sense of why these issues are important and how to do so. And we have, for example, an MOU with the OIC, the Organization for Islamic Cooperation, to work collectively on joint training of their partners and our partners. And so there is still a lot of ground to cover as that group expands.

On the funding issue, I agree absolutely that there's importance for collective, innovative, non-stove piped approaches, and then I would also just say that your voices matter. In a resource-constrained environment, your voices matter as we seek to ensure that we can continue to provide that kind of assistance around the world.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you.

Melanne.

MS. VERVEER: Let me just pick up on the last point that Nancy made, and that is this whole issue, whether we're discussing how to change models of male behavior and certainly the complication of the criminal aspects in

all of that, whether it's the extraordinary points that were made at the back of the room on the resource constraints when something seems so obvious and yet there don't seem to be resources to address the obvious, whether it's the issues of reproductive health, I think one of the key elements in all of this is we've got to find a better way to take what we know are the best practices and scale them. We say this over and over and we still don't do it. We get into our siloed boxes and we fund the latest proposal that comes through without really expanding in ways that are scalable to do a much better job. We need to work in a more collaborative way, and increasingly, I think we're doing that, where it's not just one aid agency but it's in collaboration with others. And Nancy pointed out today, you know, partnerships with UNICEF and U.N. Women, et cetera. We need more of that. I found during my time in government so many bilateral arrangements that we had. Many a government would say you're going to focus on the DRC, count us in in this aspect because together I think we'll bring more wollup and more effectiveness to the outcome. And I think that's true across the board.

So I would say best practice, scalability, greater collaboration. And maybe one of the things that the foreign secretary wants to do in his mega meeting is really focus on how we can do a better job in a time of dwindling resources that every, certainly, government is confronting -- is how to really get more "bang for the buck," so to speak, but to be much more effective in the way we apply our assistance programs.

MR. MUKWEGE: Thank you very much. Maybe what I will do is speak about how the coordination of assistance can be done. Sometimes on the ground we have the feeling that there is a fight to be more visible for a lot of

organizations rather than focus on the assistance needed. And I am very happy with the relationship that we have with USAID and IMA to go to Shabunda. This is a very remote area. It's inaccessible. And when we went there, when I did advocacy with USAID, there was no organization. It was the area, however, where we received women who had the most horrific wounded, and they had to walk 30kilometerses to reach us but there are no roads and you could not go by rivers, so once in a while we had a plane from Amisco who could actually be dropping off the patients. But that's a little bit what's happening on the ground. Nobody wants to go there because when the delegation of the United States came to people, people said it's a very high risk area, so nobody wants to go there. But there are people with grievances who want to go there. So I think that there should be coordination between what is done and where the real need is. And sometimes the visibility of the organization comes first before the victims. And we talked on this already so I want to go to something else.

And I would like to talk about the access to emergency aid by the victims and prevention of AIDS, prevention of pregnancy. We don't really talk about this very often, and you'll forgive me but I want to actually speak about this. The children who are born from a rape, which is a long-term problem for the Democratic Republic of Congo, there is an issue with the transmissible disease, sexual disease with their repercussion for young women on their reproductive health. We have mobile units who go as close as possible to conflict areas, and those mobile areas always go with kits which are called post-exposure prophylactics, which have three elements -- prevention of STDs, ARVs, and the prevention of pregnancies. But the reaction when women have been raped, when

parents do not feel responsibility, what they do is that they hide that person. So we have to actually act within 72 hours. If the woman comes after 72 hours, it's too late to act. And this is the reason why. These kits have to be available in all health clinics. They are not available. And when they're available, we have to face this culture where a woman has to protect her dignity first and then when there are consequences, that is only when there are consequences, that she goes there to get assistance.

And what I want to talk about also is to use the use of children in armies. There are children who are 12, 13, 14 years old, they are enrolled in the army and they absolutely do not know what they are doing. They are afraid of AIDS. They are afraid of STDs, but when adults use children who don't understand anything, who are just educated to do bad things, atrocities, those children do not think about what they are doing. The adult actually steps back in those type of situations, so we have to train. We have to draw a line in the sand that we cannot go over. I believe that children who are enrolled in armies, that is the line in the sand that should not be gone over. As long as this is not a line that is going to be drawn, we will have issues to use children to destroy communities, because the children have not really understood what they are doing. That is a line that we should not go over.

And I think in terms of prevention, we also need some actions, and I agree with what was said. When we say that we have to rethink a lot of things in order to have very efficient and global protection. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: We'll take more very, very, very brief questions. At the back.

MS. WALSH: Good morning. My name is Francisca Vigaud Walsh. I am the senior policy advisor for Women's Protection with the IRC, and also a co-chair of the Gender-based Violence Working Group. Thank you so much, Brookings, for putting this together, and to Dr. Mukwege, it's always a pleasure to see you here in Washington.

I'd like to just do a very quick deep dive into two technical issues. The first being that we really feel like we may be at a crossroads here with the Call to Action event and the U.S. Government's Safe from the Start Initiative. I cannot communicate just how pleased we are and thankful for this.

One thing that we see that might be helpful, and perhaps the U.S. Government could take a leadership role in discussing this with DFID, would be to perhaps put together a donor coordination group. As we understand right now, on the 13th there will be a pledging session in which NGO commitments, U.N. commitments will be reviewed and pledges made, but it's unclear on how these commitments will be analyzed to ensure that there is parity, equality, and that it's cost effective -- that enough initiative resources are going into capacity-building, vis-à-vis survivor services, prevention, et cetera.

The second issue is with regards to data collection, we, as an NGO community, remain -- and I feel confident I'm speaking on behalf of international humanitarian organizations and not just International Rescue Committee -- we're very concerned with the increased push for data collection without the right mechanisms or respect for international guidelines on safety and ethics. It's happening in a vacuum. A lot of pressure is being put on NGOs and survivors to provide data for these impunity measures, but without respecting the desire of a

survivor, the right of a survivor to relay this information. We've heard of the terrain of Shabunda in DRC. We know what the consequences are of sexual violence on the community. Imagine what it's like when a U.N. vehicle arrives at the home of a survivor in Shabunda in a small village there and attention is drawn to their case. Likewise, the police officer in Bosnia living on the same block. Guidelines are not being respected, and they need to be done in a survivor-centered way.

So with reference to, for example, the Justice Rapid Response Training and other initiatives being undertaken by DPKO with women protections advisors, if there could be a new, renewed emphasis on doing this with respect to safety and ethics guidelines. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you.

There are actually a couple questions rolled into that one so I think we'll just turn it back to the panel and then we'll wrap up.

Nancy, would you like to comment?

MS. LINDBORG: I just appreciate the points. Those are well made. I don't think we need to say more than that.

MS. BRADLEY: Great. Thank you.

MS. VERVEER: Ditto for me. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Kathleen or Dr. Mukwege, any closing thoughts?

MR. MUKWEGE: No, I think it's a reality.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, everyone, both to the audience for making the time to join us today. I hope that this will be part of a continued discussion here at Brookings. And thank you to our panelists for your continued work.

(Applause)

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