

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

ADVANCING ACCOUNTABILITY FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE  
IN CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT SITUATIONS

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## PROCEEDINGS

MS. BRADLEY: Welcome, everyone. My name is Megan Bradley, and I'm a fellow with the Brookings LSE project on Internal Displacement.

Our project works to support the mandate of the U.N. Special Repertoire on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons. As we all know, every day in conflict situations around the world, women and men, boys and girls, are subjected to rape and sexual and gender-based violence. Too often we see that in conflicts from Syria to the DRC and the Central African Republic, sexual violence is used as a weapon of war and for the most part it goes unpunished.

The question of accountability for sexual violence is of particular concern to our project because of the close link that so often emerges between sexual violence and displacement. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, there are an estimated 2.7 million people who are displaced within the country at the moment. At some points in the conflict, an estimated 48 women and girls have been raped every hour. In such context, we see that sexual and gender-based violence is both a driver of displacement and also one of its consequences, as displaced people who are separated from their families, from their homes and their communities, often face increased risk of violent attacks, including rape.

In his 2013 report to the United Nations Human Rights Council, which is available on our website, the Special Repertoire on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons focused attention on the rights and well-being of internally displaced women, and called in particular for a more concerted approach to preventing sexual violence against displaced populations.

As the Special Repertoire stressed in his report, nearly 50 percent of the survivors of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict are estimated to be under 18

year of age, so this is a crime that happens to a significant extent against children. And so it's essential that prevention and accountability efforts be sensitive to the particular needs of young populations and also to the problem of sexual violence within displaced households, which is often even more a problem than sexual violence taking place at the hands of armed actors.

The challenge of prevention and accountability for sexual violence in conflict is at the heart of an important initiative that's been launched in 2012 by British Foreign Secretary William Hague. Through the Prevention of Sexual Violence Initiative of PSVI, the British government has spearheaded the development of a declaration of commitment to end sexual violence in conflict, which has now been endorsed by 148 countries. The PSVI has also supported the development of a draft international protocol on the documentation and investigation of sexual violence in conflict. These are important developments which, as I'm sure many of you know, will be discussed at a Global Summit to End Sexual Violence that the British government is convening in London in June.

As a prelude to the discussions at the summit, it's a real pleasure for us to be hosting today's discussion in cooperation with the British Embassy here in Washington, and I'd like to thank our colleagues from the embassy who worked to make today's event possible.

For those who are using Twitter, you can follow the discussion using the hashtag sexual violence or by following at Brookings IDP.

You all have the speakers' bios in front of you, so I'm not going to give long introductions. We'll begin with Sir Peter Westmacott, who served as a British ambassador to the United States since January 2012. Before coming to Washington, Ambassador Westmacott served as British ambassador to France and also to Turkey.

He'll address some of the new developments in the prevention of sexual violence initiative and steps that can be taken on a policy level to advance accountability for sexual and gender-based violence.

Second, we'll turn to Peggy Quo, who is currently general counsel of the New York City Office of Administrative Trials and Hearings. Peggy previously served as a prosecutor with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague where she was involved in investigating and prosecuting the first case in history in which rape was found to be a crime against humanity. She'll share with us some of her reflections on legal approaches to advancing accountability for sexual and gender-based violence in conflict.

Third, we'll hear from Ambassador Melanne Verveer, who I think really needs no introduction in discussions on the rights and well-being of women. During the Clinton administration, Melanne served as assistant to the president and chief of staff to the first lady, and in 2009, President Obama appointed her as the first U.S. ambassador for global women's issues. She's currently executive director of the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace, and Security.

We had the good fortune to have Melanne here in October for a discussion with Dr. Denis Mukwege, the Congolese surgeon and human rights advocate who has played a pivotal role in assisting survivors of rape and speaking out against rape as a crime against humanity and a weapon of war. So it's a real pleasure to have you back, Melanne.

Melanne will share with us some of her reflections on the obstacles to progress in advancing accountability for sexual violence and conflict and how those obstacles may be addressed.

I've asked each speaker to limit their comments to 10 minutes, and once

we've heard from the panelists, we'll open it up to questions from the floor.

So thank you once again to our panelists for joining us and to our audience.

Ambassador Westmacott?

MR. WESTMACOTT: Thank you very much, Megan.

Is my machine on? Can you hear me or not?

MS. BRADLEY: Can everyone hear Ambassador Westmacott?

MR. WESTMACOTT: Yes, okay. Thank you very much for this opportunity. Thanks for giving us a chance here at Brookings to share some thoughts on this very important subject.

When I last looked, Megan had got at least three doctorates from British universities, so I'm a bit intimidated sitting here on the platform next to her, but I hope she'll bear with me as a nonexpert.

Great timing to have this discussion. A couple of reminders. We are more or less now the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rwandan genocide where the experts tell us that one-sixth of the female population was sexually assaulted, and today's situation in Syria, on which Melanne and I did a joint -- I'm sorry to say almost two years ago it's still appalling and not much has improved there. So there's a very great deal going on in the world which means that this is still a very important subject.

A United Nations report released just last month says that rape and sexual violence remain "a persistent feature" of the Syrian conflict, and it names 20 more countries in which sexual violence has been experienced over the last 12 months. So we're not, I'm afraid, going in the right direction. It is a global problem, a global scourge, and that is why my boss, Foreign Secretary William Hague, working together with Angelina Jolie, who is the U.N. special envoy for refugees, have launched just seven or

eight months ago an initiative called the Provincial of Sexual Violence Initiative, PSVI for short.

They started it two years ago. We took it to the United Nations General Assembly just seven months ago and it's something which grew out of the huge impact Angelina's film "In the Land of Blood and Honey" had on the British Foreign Secretary William Hague; a story which documents in dreadful detail the fact that some 50,000 women were raped in the Bosnian conflict two decades ago.

At the General Assembly in September of last year, therefore, the United Kingdom government launched what we call the Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict, which made it a war crime and established it as a serious breach of the Geneva Convention to use sexual violence as a weapon of war in conflict situations. And with the endorsement just last week from Nigeria, Bangladesh, and Pakistani governments, in the space of just seven months, we have got the number of countries which support this declaration up to 148, which is, we think, not a bad achievement. And there are 148 different governments with a shared determination to end use of rape as a weapon of war.

The current plight of more than 200 Nigerian girls abducted by Boko Haram in Nigeria is a reminder of what the effect of conflict has on the lives of women and girls in a whole bunch of ways. My own government has reached out to the Nigerian government and expressed a willingness to try to help if there is any way in which we can. I was pleased to hear on MPL this morning Jonathan say that he was certain that the Nigerian authorities would be able to find and free these girls. I hope he gets on with it. It is something that has, I think, has horrified the world as we have watched that continuing ordeal.

As part of our prevention of Sexual Violence Initiative, as part of what we

call this SPSVI, there is a UK government team of experts which has been established with competence in criminal investigation, law, forensic science, to help build cases against perpetrators of the use of sexual violence in war. Already, this team of experts has deployed to places like Bosnia, Libya, Mali, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. We have also got a team active on the Syrian border trying to deal with the victims of that conflict, so we've made a start.

Our own government Department for International Development (DFID) is playing a very important role in supporting the PSVI initiative. The call to action as we call it, launched by Justin Greening, our secretary of state for international development last year, aims to establish better means of protecting women and girls in emergencies, not just sexual violence in conflict but the broader needs of women and girls in such destabilizing and dangerous situations. I'm delighted the United States government has agreed to take on the leadership of this call to action in 2014 after we established it last year.

Perhaps a bigger headline is the one that Megan mentioned. In just a month's time, we're going to hold a summit in London, which William Hague calls a summit like no other, which will run from 10-13 June, which is designed to sustain the momentum of our PSVI initiative and to build lasting change. We want it to be the moment when the world wakes up and recognizes that rape and sexual violence are not an inevitable part of conflict.

Changing the culture of violence and of impunity we know is going to take a very long time, but the thought is that if we don't act now, the situation will simply get worse and it won't get better. As William Hague put it when he was here just a couple of months ago to accept with Melanne the Hillary Clinton Prize for Women, Peace, and Security at Georgetown University on the 25 February, "A society that believes in

human rights for all beings and opportunities for all its citizens cannot know about the way rape is used as a weapon of war and then simply ignore it." That's what underpins this initiative. That's the reason why we're organizing this summit.

Now, talk is very good, and the risk is, of course, that some has just become talking shops, but we also need to have clear, practical outcomes. I'll run through very briefly for you what we hope that the London Summit next month is going to achieve.

We want to launch an international protocol, the one that you mentioned, Megan, on the documentation and investigation of sexual violence in conflict. We want countries that come to this summit to enact domestic legislation where it doesn't already exist, to allow the prosecution of war crimes and to establish that they are crimes against humanity. And those war crimes do, indeed, embrace the use of sexual violence in conflict as a weapon of war. We want agreement to improve military doctrine and training, including amongst peacekeepers who have sometimes, I'm sorry to say, been amongst the worst offenders, with the aim of eradicating sexual violence in conflict situations. We want more support for the call to action, which Justine Greening launched last year and which I just mentioned. We want better global coordination. For example, my government has decided to put the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war on the agenda of the NATO Summit, which we will be hosting in South Wales in the beginning of September. So a whole bunch of things that we want in terms of practical outcomes to make a real difference.

In the margins of this summit, which is going to spread, as I said, over four days, we have a whole bunch of dynamic fringe activities which we're delighted to say other governments are engaging in as well as our own. These are going to cover conflict prevention, women's rights more generally, the role of young people, what



business can do to make a difference, spreading the rule of law, and awareness of what is and what isn't legal under international conventions. And we're delighted that partners and governments, like the United States government, are going to hold their own fringe events in the margins of this global summit.

At the same time, people like us, my embassy, British embassies around the world, my consulates across the United States, are going to be holding parallel events so that we've actually got a 24-hour awareness and action program throughout the world timed to function in harmony with and simultaneously with the summit taking place in London, and we hope there will be a very high level of U.S. attendance. We hope Secretary of State John Kerry will be there, and we look forward to working with our American partners to making it a success.

You will be hearing quite a lot more from the British Embassy, from commerce people between now and the 10<sup>th</sup> of June because we want to do all we can to raise awareness of the importance of this summit. Of course, not just here but around the world, and particularly in those parts of the world where conflicts mean that women and girls are having such a terrible time of it and where we'd like to think that we can do our bit building on PSVI, building on the work William Hague has done with Angelina Jolie and plenty of others, and having a really useful summit with practical outcomes in the middle of London next month.

Thank you very much.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Ambassador Westmacott. I'm sure that many people who are here for today's event will be very much looking forward to joining in the events convened here in D.C. to coincide with the summit.

Peggy, we'll turn the floor over to you.

MS. KUO: Thank you, Megan. And thank you to The Brookings

Institution and the British Embassy for including me in this important discussion. I'm honored to be here today with Ambassadors Westmacott and Verveer, who have both done so much to advance the fight against sexual violence in armed conflict.

Everyone has always known that rape occurs during war. Whether it's been whispered, spoken of in private, or left unsaid, it's found its way into our language. We use the phrase "rape and pillage" when describing invading armies without even thinking about it.

This doesn't mean that it has always been condoned. There have been efforts throughout history to ban it or to control it through military codes and treaties, but there has rarely been an enforcement mechanism that's been effective, and it's always been -- there's always -- turning a blind eye to it has always been seen as a small price to pay for peace and moving on at the end of the conflict.

Because rape is cheap, readily available, and extremely effective, it is being used as a weapon of war and a way to terrorize entire civilian populations, to drive them from territories and to ensure that they never come back. The U.N. special representative on sexual violence in conflict has said that we must change the equation to make rape in war very expensive for the perpetrators.

So what does that mean to make it very expensive? Prosecution is one way. As Ambassador Westmacott mentioned, there were reports of 50,000 rapes committed during the Bosnian War. Unfortunately, only 30 convictions were achieved at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for those rapes. So those are not very encouraging numbers. In fact, they're very discouraging.

So I just want to talk a little bit about prosecutions and why they're important despite these discouraging numbers for now, because I hope that those numbers of successful prosecutions will increase, and I want to talk about why they are --

they will play an important role going forward in achieving peace. And I mean this to apply not only to international tribunals, such as the ICTY and the ICC, but also the domestic courts, like the Bosnian War Crimes Chamber and the domestic legislation that Ambassador Westmacott referred to.

So I have just six points.

Number one, put a name to it. Let's not call it something abstract like "outrage upon personal dignity" or "dishonoring women." Let's call it what it is -- rape, torture, crime against humanity, war crime, enslavement, genocide. The ICTY has called sexual violence all of these things, and it has found that all of these legal terms apply to sexual violence. Once we've named it properly, we can talk about it and treat it for what it is -- crime.

Number two, put a face on it. Crimes are committed by people, not armies, not countries, not governments. They are committed by individuals, so we must identify the individuals, not just the physical perpetrators but also the leaders, the commanders, the political leaders who order rape and sexual violence on a mass scale or they know about it and do nothing.

Victims have a face, too, which leads me to number three -- give power back to the victims. The victims may have been victimized, but being a witness empowers them. I've seen witnesses move from fear, trauma, and distrust, to confidence and even defiance. There as one woman witness who I remember who had seen her house destroyed and her husband murdered, her son taken away, her daughter raped, and she, herself, was sexually assaulted. Originally, she wanted to take advantage of one of the protective measures that we had in place at the ICTY, which was to testify from a remote location so she didn't have to be in the same room with the perpetrator because she was afraid that she wouldn't be able to handle it. But at the last minute she

changed her mind. She said, "No, I want to be there." So she came into the courtroom and she turned and looked at the defendant who was sitting there with the armed guards, and you could see her physically grow before your eyes, and she stood up straight and her face became confident and, you know, it was kind of an amazing transformation for her to gain that power back through her role as a witness. So that is an important piece of the puzzle as well.

Number four, create a record. Let the evidence and the testimony be brought out in the open. It is a legal and a historical document. And let it be tested in the crucible of the courtroom. Let the defense attorneys question the evidence, cross-examine the witnesses, test it with their own evidence, and that is the only way through this process that the evidence will gain legitimacy and three dimensionality.

Number five, let dispassionate judges weigh the evidence and apply the rule of law in a reasoned and transparent way. Sometimes these judgments end up being thousands of pages and very few people will read them from cover to cover, but they are out there and they show that reason will prevail, and the rule of law has a place in dealing with conflict.

And finally, impose concrete punishments with real consequences, real prison time. Take years out of real lives and take the perpetrators out of society and out of positions of power in the post-conflict world.

So, six steps. But it's not simple or easy, and I'll just talk very briefly about a couple of barriers and problems that we faced.

Number one, fear. Fear on the part of the victims and the witnesses take many forms. The most obvious is fear of retaliation, but there's also fear of being ostracized, and also the fear of inflicting further pain on loved ones. And in order to be effective in these prosecutions, we must take -- we must acknowledge these real fears

and concerns on the part of the witnesses because they are the key to successful prosecutions. They are the ones who can come forward. They're the ones with the direct testimony and evidence.

Resources. There are simply not enough resources. There have been so many instances and not all every single incident can be prosecuted. This doesn't happen in domestic legal systems either, but the system of prosecutions in general will also create a deterrent effect, but the resources need to be there and hopefully as a result of these government initiatives, more governments will put forward the resources.

There are cultural and legal barriers. There are some legal systems in which when a rape victim comes and testifies, she, herself, is admitting -- is opening herself up to prosecution because even though the act was perpetrated on her, she is then seen as having committed a sexual act, and so that is a very large legal barrier if you want to get witnesses to testify, and again, that is one of the things that needs to be changed. A lot of these domestic systems need to look at their legal systems, the processes, and how they treat victims of sexual assault so that they can encourage victims to come forward.

And another cultural barrier is people downplaying the significance and importance of sexual violence. It is not murder, that is true, and people will say when we've got murders happening, we don't have time to prosecute sexual violence. But the sexual violence -- and this is why it's been used so much -- is something that it's like a time bomb. You have the immediate and very great impact at the moment it occurs and then it just permeates through the society. It breaks down a lot of the fabric of the society, a lot of the social ties. It creates distrust, shame, and so over time, through generations, it actually becomes a permanent part of that society and that's why it's been used very effectively. And so things need to be done to address that as well.

And just one last sobering thought, at the end of the prosecution that I was involved in involving the three perpetrators in Forcha, we received prison sentences ranging from 28 years, 12 years, and 20 years, and we thought that this was pretty good. It was pretty successful, and the prosecutors were happy with that. But when we reached out to the victims and told them, not a single one of them was happy because every one of them said, "That's not enough." They said, "I will not get my life back." So that's a real mismatch. And it's just a reality. But it doesn't mean that we shouldn't be doing it, but it's certainly a humbling thought to keep in the back of our minds.

So why go through all this? I think the goal of prosecutions is to reset the scale so that someone considering using it as a weapon of war will think twice about it being the easiest and cheapest weapon with the fewest consequences. Far from being secret and hidden, sexual violence during armed conflict is often done openly, and in fact, to send messages to individual victims and to entire communities. And in a way that openness is part of its power, but that power can become part of our strength in combatting it.

So I think it's time to stop letting women's bodies be used as message boards. It's time to end impunity for crimes of sexual violence against women and men, and it's time to plant the seeds for a more enduring future.

Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Peggy, for laying out such a clear roadmap for where we've gone wrong and how we can try to address this issue better in the future.

Melanne, we'll turn it over to you.

MS. VERVEER: Well, thank you, and it's always good to be back here at Brookings. And I want to thank you, Megan, and your colleagues, for keeping this on the

front agenda. And to Peter and your government, for the exceptional work that's been going on in this field. And Peggy, for your hard work on the international legal sphere because all of this makes such a difference in getting us to a different place than we are today, and there is, I think, growing recognition that we do need a new approach to attacking wartime rape, and that said, we are, I think, in a situation today where if we build on the unprecedented actions that are taking place, we might get ourselves to a different place.

And what are those things that are happening? Well, you heard from Ambassador Westmacott what has been led by his foreign secretary and his government, extraordinary work. And so much of this, I believe, goes back to political will to address it, to see it as a significant issue, not a marginal issue. And when you put this issue on the G8 agenda, and as he said, on the upcoming NATO Summit agenda, you begin to move this issue into a different place, a place where these issues are rarely discussed in ways that can bring about that kind of change, whether it requires resources or it requires an array of interventions that are critically necessary.

Secondly, what has happened in terms of international law that Peggy addressed, in recognizing this, certainly the kind of mass rapes that have occurred in conflict situations, what that represents is a crime against humanity as a war crime, takes this to a different level in the international sphere. And the work that has gone on over several years to make that strong legal case, like they have been, a really important step.

Now, we know that the U.N. Security Council has frequently revisited this issue.

Can you hear?

I don't have to start all over, do I? You all can hear, right? Can I just hold it?

So the U.N. Security Council has frequently visited this issue. I think -- I look out at this room and I know there are many folks who have been trying to make a difference here, and as we know, when the Security Council adopted Security Council Resolution 1325 linking women to peace and security, recognizing that these issues, if not addressed, are a threat to peace and security, they also laid out a roadmap in terms of those pillars that framed 1325, which will be -- it's 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary will be marked next year. And by any understanding, we have a long way to go to really fulfilling what that resolution represented.

Among its elements is the protection of women and girls in particular because they are the prominent victims in a situation where increasingly rape has been used as a tool of war. And I think this is a real difference that we're seeing, particularly in these civil wars, where it is concerted, it is strategic, it is a tool to have the kinds of outcomes that Peggy described in terms of the consequences. So it's a very willful, thoughtful way of proceeding in these armed combats.

And over these 15 years, the Security Council has come back time and time again to revisit the need to enhance these pillars, if you will, because the progress has not been what it needs to be. I remember going with Secretary Clinton to the Security Council shortly after her trip to the DRC where talking to anybody in that war zone over so many years now, one is struck by the extraordinary consequences of this warfare that has been going on in ways that there's been such a frustration in not addressing it. And at that time, she introduced a resolution, which was adopted anonymously, 1888, which created the special envoy to deal with matters of sexual violence in conflict -- Zayneb Bongor has been doing a terrific job today -- and also, raised the need for experts to be deployed in advance to do the kind of prevention, hopefully, that will keep the worst from happening.



So the point is that the Security Council itself has come back to look at these issues almost in frustration that very little consequence that needs to happen has been happening in a concerted way. And that's why I go back to this political will issue because I think if one can move the political will side of this agenda, we might see more progress.

Impunity makes this a cost-free proposition for the perpetrators. There are no consequences in terms of legal consequences. Peggy talked about the need to take this seriously to ensure that the perpetrators pay a price for what they've done. Well, today, for the most part, that's not the case. And so we've got to find those ways that we get at this problem that continues to look very large. We have to recognize that most post-conflict or ongoing conflict societies, nations, do not have legal systems that have the capacity to really do what needs to be done vis-à-vis the perpetrators, which is why the ICC has had to step in. We've been trying to years to get mixed chambers in the DRC that would both involve the DRC because you've got to have national engagement in this process, but would bring in outside support. That is still a work in progress. There have been efforts with mobile courts which have made a difference on the ground, and in the DRC in particular, but again, it's a very slow, inadequate process because the capacity, besides the political will, the capacity is certainly not there.

Now, in Guatemala, we've had a situation. The Civil War ended about 20 years ago, but over the last 20 years, you haven't seen that punctuation mark because the violence has continued in society. Femicide is one of the highest rates there in the world. And the current attorney general, Claudia Paz y Paz was put in her position by the last president, retained by the current president, but because of the efforts she's been making that have had consequences, to ensure accountability by those who perpetrated the civil war, as well as address in very significant ways through 24-hour

courts the violence that continues against women, she now faces the prospect of having her term curtailed. So one step forward, one step back. And this is part of what we're dealing with. So I think we've got to put the reality on the table as well.

Secondly, in situations where there are peace processes in place, a friend of mine once reminded me of one that he as the ambassador was an observer to, the first thing that happens, there are no women at the table for the most part. That is still a rarity, despite what 1325 mandates. And what happens? Both sides basically give each other amnesty for what they've done to the women. And so this whole blanket amnesty situation has to be really focused on, and what you often hear is, "Well, we can't get beyond where we are. We need to bring an end to this conflict, and that's the cost of getting there." Well, it continues to be a major problem because, obviously, there is no price paid for this horrific behavior.

And then there needs to be, as you've heard, a range of interventions that are resourced that can begin to make the kind of difference on the ground and more broadly codes of conduct for those who are involved in policing military actions, peacekeeping. That really is focused on protection of women, but again, as Peter said, not just in words, but in a way that's enforced so that there are positive actions that come out of this. And not just the codes, but it goes to the training as well. Really serious efforts at training that when there are infractions, including among peacekeepers, those get addressed and don't get buried within the immediate force that that peacekeeper is engaged in.

One of the things that Foreign Secretary Hague has realized and the UK government and others have put increasing resources to is the need to document these crimes -- what it takes to bring a prosecution. And that's everything from putting the records together, to better reporting, to the investigative tools, to the forensics, to the

kinds of things that frankly haven't been in place, and then it's very, very hard to bring the cases. And we have seen in the past how important this is, and I think because we've had the lack of this happening, we now have a center that has been funded by a number of nations located in France to focus on these and other war crimes coming out of the Syrian conflict, which can be extremely instrumental if we ever reach a point where the legal system can kick in for what is happening there.

We also need to focus on the rehabilitation of the victims. Yes, their ability to discuss what has happened to them in a way that protects them can be freeing, but they are going through tremendous psychological traumas. They've got medical needs. They've got social needs. They do need judicial assistance, and as Peggy said, when they can be brought to a place where they are ready to testify and can be protected, it makes all the difference. And I think part of this is not just to look at them as victims. They are far more than victims. They are, in fact, the agents of change if change is going to come to their societies. And if you talk to women in any of these conflict-ridden places, they will tell you they want to move from their pain to peace and to markets, meaning they want control over their lives again and they want to go back to normal and they want to be able to participate fully in their societies.

And we also need to ensure that within the U.N. system there is better coordination among the various offices, whether it's U.N. women, the peacekeeping office, what envoy -- Juan Juarez, Zayneb Bongor is doing, and so many other elements are all operating in silos for the most part and really need to have a better coordinating mechanism so that they can do a far-more effective job.

So there is much that remains to be done. This train is moving down the tracks in the right direction, but there's often something that gets it off. But I do think if we can capitalize on what's been happening, and certain what will be happening as a result

of particularly the things that Ambassador Westmacott has said going forward, we can get to a different place. We need to get to a different place. We need once and for all to see these issues in the context of peace and security, as the central critical issues they are, not something marginal, not something tangential, to the discussions that take place in high places.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Melanne, for these comments, and for all your long work on these issues.

We'll now open the floor up to questions. We have some colleagues who will bring microphones. If you could introduce yourself, we'll collect three or four questions and then we'll turn it back to the panel.

The gentleman in the front on the left-hand side.

QUESTIONER: My name is Muhammad Abadalon, director of CD Rusdis and Accountability Center. Thank you, Ambassador for mentioning our work. We moved to The Hague though.

Thank you for the resources the British government and the European and the U.S. are putting forward. Documentation indeed is the key product for this to come forward. The main challenge that remains are bringing the victims forward to talk about their experiences. It's not only the limitation of resources. We have resources. We have experts. We have everything. But still people are not coming forward to tell their stories of being raped, of being sexually abused, et cetera. And that's not only because of the cultural sensitivities and how they're going to be shamed or dishonored from their community, but more because they're not seeing really a result coming out of this. So I'm going to go sacrifice all of my community, my tribe, my family honor, and then I'm getting nothing or getting a dissatisfactory sentence as has been mentioned.

So one comment about this, how we can improve this, how we can

encourage those people to come forward. The COI, the Commission of Inquiry reported that men were raped in the Intelligence Detention Center in Syria, but not a single man came forward and said anything to complain about it.

And if I want a comment, feedback for all these governments doing this great work, not only work for refugees, adopt more refugees from those victims, no priority is being given to the women and children and girls being raped or sexually abused. They're in the camps in Jordan and Turkey and Lebanon. Not a great work.

My second question is to impunity because unfortunately, we not only might sacrifice sexual violence victims but the entire accountability thing because if you look at what's happened in Geneva, too, talks in Geneva, first no women in the end report. I appreciate all the efforts the Dutch government and the U.S. government did. Prior to the conflict, (inaudible) group of women met with (inaudible) of the U.N. envoy and tried to bring (inaudible) on the table, but the actual negotiation discussion, nothing was there. And we might come forward to say, you know what? We need to forget about the entire accountability thing about the killing, the chemical weapons, the torture, rape, everything, in exchange for this, or otherwise, the price of continuous violence would be much higher then.

Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much.

The woman on the left-hand side in the middle.

MS. BIRSS: Thanks. My name is Moira Birss with Peace Brigades International, and I have a question that relates to comments of both Ms. Kuo and Ambassador Verveer.

You mentioned that when some of the women heard -- that were victims of the cases you were working on heard that the sentences were 12 or 20 years, that

they felt that that wasn't enough, and I'm wondering if you could speak a little bit about if they had ideas or thoughts on what other things might be. And that's particularly in relation to the issue raised by Ambassador Verveer about peace processes, and I'm thinking in particular about Colombia where I do a lot of work. And as you mentioned, there's often a leaning towards total impunity, and of course, there always has to be in negotiations a bit of a balance between prosecution and forgiveness, but there can also be sort of alternative mechanisms. And so I'm wondering if there's some overlap there and ideas that could come out of that previous process. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much.

At the front.

MS. SALAZAR: Hi, my name is Katya Salazar from the Due Process of Law Foundation and Organization here next door.

My first reaction after listening to you is we need you in Latin America. I am a Peruvian national. I work for the Peruvian Truth Commission. In fact, I was a member of the special commission that the Truth Commission created in order to investigate landmark cases to be sent to the judiciary. And our work related to sexual violence. It wasn't planned at the beginning. I mean, it wasn't really part of the work of the truth commission. It appeared through our work when we started to interview women in the mountains, in the interior of the country, in the Amazon. We started the interviews asking women about what happened during the war. At the beginning they just talked about their husbands, their sons, their male relatives, and somewhere in the middle of the process, in the middle of our work, they started to talk about what happened to them, but it wasn't really so easy. I mean, we found out with some interviews and then we followed this clue. So it was amazing to see that it was a lot much behind their first testimonies on what happened with their male relatives. And this is why the Truth Commission has

started to work on that particular topic.

Of course, after many, many years, there are not too many cases of sexual violence in the judiciary, although there were many -- a lot of the (inaudible) were claims, but it was really difficult for most of the reasons that you have mentioned -- lack of political will, but also tactical problems. How do we get evidence? How do we get witnesses?

So my question is, particularly to you, Peggy, what would you recommend for countries that don't have a special tribunal, like Peru, like Guatemala, like El Salvador? We have to deal with these cases with our judiciaries -- full of problems, full of weaknesses. So what would you recommend to our countries in order to address this topic in a different way?

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much for a very important question.

On the left-hand side at the front.

MS. TAREEN: Hello. My name is Javeria Tareen and I'm from Pakistan. I'm a Hubert Humphrey fellow this year and I'm working with Amnesty International.

I'm a journalist from Pakistan, and I'm from Baluchistan, and I have seen many refugees who are living in Baluchistan in the camps, and I have interviewed many of the women. And working in the media, I want to ask you, Peggy, what do you recommend the media, how they can portray those stories? Because when we talk about sexual violence, I know how the media deals with that because they just ran, they take pictures, even if the victims are not feeling comfortable, they ask different questions, and the society which is very much culturally oriented and they have norms and values, it sometimes is very difficult for a victim to come and to speak up. And how we can deal with that?

And my second is that we have seen that there is lack of opportunity for

women in the policymaking. I have seen even in Baluchistan, all the politicians, even if they are women, they are working under men. They hardly do any policy. Even they can't comment on that. So what measures should we take on an urgent basis so that we could address those issues and we can give women empowerment? Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you. We'll hold there and go back to the panel to address these comments and certainly a series of very challenging questions.

So perhaps, Peggy, we'll start with you.

MS. KUO: Thank you for all those very difficult but important questions.

So I'll take the first one about how we get victims to come forward. Yes, that's one of our biggest challenges, and there are a couple of things that are absolutely necessary to be successful, and we were not always successful, but at least you need these things.

Number one, patience. You need, as this questioner said before, people will not come right out, and that's the first thing they talk about is the rape that was perpetrated on them. They will talk about other people because those -- that individual was victimized by those acts as well, and it takes a while for them to gain your trust and for them to think about it, to kind of gauge how you react to them, and it might not be until the second or third or even fourth interview before they come out and tell you.

We had a witness who on the evening before the trial came forward and said, "Actually, there's one more thing I want to tell you." You know, we had talked to her for over two years and met with her repeatedly but there was like one piece of it that she had held back and she finally felt comfortable telling that to us. So patience is very important.

You need to see things from their point of view. You can't come swooping in and say, "The tribunal is really important and we need your help," because



they'll look at you like, "I really don't want to help you. You need to be helping me." And so I think to say things like, "You're going to play an important part in history," those are nonstarters. You know, they're not thinking about that. They are very focused on survival. And also one of the things I learned is you never say, "I know what you're going through," because you don't. And so when you say something like that, you immediately are not trusted because then you've already downplayed what they've gone through. So there are just a lot of these very subtle clues, very subtle things that you need to do to gain the person's trust.

And so the other thing about getting the victims to come forward is the ones that we were successful in convincing to come forward were already in very safe environments. And I don't mean just physically safe, although that's important, but also emotionally safe. So their families had -- already knew what happened to them and had not rejected them. There were witnesses who would not come testify because they said, "I don't want my father to know. I've never told any member of my family." And so the victims who came forward also had very supportive mothers or they now were married and their husbands were understanding. So they already need to be in a place that's safe. So, you know, a lot of the refugee organizations need to help people get into those places.

And economic stability is important, too. A lot of these women had become refugees in countries that had taken them in, given them educational opportunities. Maybe they had jobs and so they were in a position where now they have a little more personal resource to come and help you. So those are all difficult things but you can't -- there's such a mismatch between where you as a prosecutor and investigator are and where the witness is. You've got to really acknowledge and bridge that.

The question about what would be enough for punishment, there are so

many things. And some of them are not things that the witnesses can articulate. Number one, they want acknowledgement. Several of the perpetrators to this day are sitting in prison saying, "I never did that," or "what I did was not wrong." And so a simple acknowledgment that what they did was wrong would go a long way. And that wasn't happening. A lot of the witnesses wanted information. They had lost their husbands or their brothers or their sons, and they just disappeared. And they're pretty sure something bad happened to them, but they have no information. And a lot of the perpetrators were in the military and would know or they were commanders or involved in detention centers and they would know. And so a lot of the witnesses would say, "I just want to know. Tell me what happened to my husband." And that is also one of the things that a Truth Commission can do, where you can get the information and there can be this kind of trading off at a micro level where maybe the way we do in American plea bargaining where you trade information for a lesser sentence and things like that. And as we become more sophisticated, those things -- those tradeoffs at the micro level might become important.

And real change would be another thing that would be helpful. If the countries where these conflicts occurred were somehow being built up and the people can return to those societies and communities that have been destroyed, that would also be a good outcome for many of these witnesses. And then some of the more vindictive ones would say I want to have happen to them what happened to me. So there is this kind of moral sense that there is no equivalency there.

And then I guess I'll end with what to do if you don't have special tribunals and how to deal with these cases in regular courts. Look, the domestic courts struggle with sexual violence cases all over the world, and even in the United States, it's only been in recent years that several district attorneys' offices, federal prosecutors'

offices have developed special units to deal with these issues because the victims do require a little bit of special attention and need to be treated differently from a robbery victim, for example.

So it's a real challenge. I think, number one, having women involved is crucial. You have to have women who can speak from experience and speak from their experience, not just as women but as professionals. And so that's very important. I think you need people who can get special training through a lot of these international resources that are available, and definitely, as we think about foreign aid, training, local prosecutors, not just international tribunal personnel is important and should be on the agenda.

So that's what I can think of off the top of my head, but certainly those are great challenges that are faced by all domestic court systems.

And I guess the last thing about the media, I think the media played a very important role in bringing the rapes that occurred in Bosnia to light. There were books. There were a lot of news reports. And I think the journalists have to heed the same things that I was saying about investigators -- that there is a real mismatch between where they are and what the people they're talking to are. And respect I think is important. Getting the word out is important. And look, if somebody doesn't want to talk, you really shouldn't force them to talk. And there are always other people that you can talk to. You can afford them anonymity. You can, you know, follow up with them. And also developing a source, like any other source takes a lot of patience and time.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Peggy. Just to echo the comments on the importance of addressing economic dimensions of these issues, over the past few years we here at Brookings have been doing a long-term research project looking at the intersections of displacement and transitional justice, and what we've seen

through that work is that in many countries around the world, for women who have survived rape and other forms of sexual violence, addressing the economic insecurities that are perpetuated by those crimes is important, both in order to enable them to participate in trials and other forms of accountability, but also as a form of redress in its own right because these crimes do often have very important implications for people's socioeconomic well-being. So that's an issue that I think certainly deserves more attention.

Melanne?

MS. VERVEER: I think to follow up on what Megan just said, this whole issue of reparations, however they're defined, and increasingly, because of the inability to work justice to its most important endpoint, I guess, is to see that the area of reparations more broadly define to go to the economic peace, how to make one whole again, training, land, the kinds of things that will enable a victim to be able to put her life back together and move forward. So I think that kind of ability to move from where one is to where one can be and one desires to be is a very important element in the whole part of the reparations discussion.

We had a conversation at Georgetown with Dr. McGaughey when he was last here, and he made a very strong point about women wanting to regain a sense of normalcy despite the unspeakable acts that were committed against them and that we've got to begin to factor that element into our whole discussion of reparations. And I think this intersection that Megan talked about goes to the heart of that.

I also think more broadly, it is critically important not to give short shrift to how important grassroots organizational efforts are, both in terms of the healing process, but in terms of the solidarity, ways in which women come together as a collective to be able either to free themselves to make the ultimate decision to speak out about what

happened to them, but also collectively to be able to move their communities in a new direction from where they had been. So I think we're not giving that kind of focus to the importance of this. And it's really interesting that Mary Robinson, who is the U.N. secretary general's envoy now to the Great Lakes region, trying to bring this agreement that has been forged to some sort of reality on the ground is really focused -- in many things she's focused on, but also for the first time focused on the need for women's opportunities to come together in an organizational way to begin to have that kind of impact that they have not had, that they frankly have been excluded from. And she's had major convenings both from the five countries that are involved as a collective, but also individually, and has brought some very serious organizers to bear in this arena. And I think that would buttress a lot of what needs to be done if we would put more focus on it.

I think in terms of Latin America, you know, what has been happening in Guatemala in my view has been a model in many ways because you not only have had a supported attorney general, you had women on the Constitutional Court, on the Supreme Court, and involved at the local level as well and a real effort to bring justice to Guatemala. Now, obviously, this is a long-term proposition, but the elements have been there in place perhaps today jeopardized to some extent because of the plight of the attorney general. But 24-hour courts where a woman can come and get a redress of her situation, whatever time of day or not.

I sat with many women who had been in desperate situations, and they told me for the first time they believed there could be justice in their country. So I think we know what to do, but again, if you don't have the cooperation of the leadership in countries where these problems are significant problems, it's very hard, despite the need to build capacity and to get that capacity supported by the outside friends, either from governments, multilaterals, or through foundations, it is impossible without that kind of

buy-in from the top. So I think that's among the efforts that need to continue.

And I want to thank you, sir, for what you said about the Syrian women in Geneva, because you're right. You know, this is, again, the lack of understanding of how critical their participation is, let alone going to the heart of what we've been discussing, but not seeing them and the issues that they confront on the agenda when those talk were going forward.

MS. BRADLEY: Ambassador Westmacott, would you like to weigh in?

MR. WESTMACOTT: Just a few further comments to add to what Peggy and Melanne were saying.

Why should victims come forward? Several different answers to that question. It's absolutely fundamental because we all know that that has been a difficulty. And let's not forget that this is a relevant issue in our own so-called modern developed sophisticated societies. Even in the United Kingdom, just in recent years we've begun to see people coming forward, boys and girls, with histories of abuse from people who were in trust, in schools, in the church, in the media and public relations. We've begun to see people coming through the courts, getting convictions. And guess what? As a result of some people seeing that people are being brought face-to-face with their responsibilities and paying the consequences, others are now saying, okay, perhaps we better now start telling the truth. So this is something of a global phenomenon.

Other things that are obvious, just to flag. Witness protection is obviously going to be important. People are not going to come forward if they think that the next day they're going to have a bullet in their head or something equally horrific which may or may not leave them still half alive. There's got to be proper sentencing. Somebody's made that point. Token slap on the wrist, what's the point? And the testimony you mentioned of how the ladies' concerns say that's not enough I think is

something we should keep in our minds all the time. That's something which is on the agenda for what we hope is going to be one of the outcomes of our summit.

We've got to change the laws and the stigma which somehow suggests that the victims are, themselves, responsible for the crimes which are perpetrated upon them. This is hugely difficult. Many women feel themselves that degree of shame, of somehow responsibility. Finally, your good works begin to get people to accept that that isn't the case, but it's very, very difficult, and I think part of the culture of getting people to come forward with their stories is to get them to get over that and for us to show through our own laws, through our own cultures, through our own training, that that is not their responsibility. They are the victims. They are not the people to blame for it.

And then I think probably something that one other questioner has raised also, the perception of rehabilitation has probably got to be addressed. Can we do more over giving priority to refugee claims from people who have been the victims of rape as a weapon of war? I don't know frankly. It may be something we can do, something to help with. I'm not going to make any rash promises, but I think it's a very valid comment and we should try to pick that up. So all those I think are good ideas.

Secondly, do peace processes help us deal with some of this? Well, of course, yes, they do. If we can get rid of the source of conflict, then, of course, we are going to remove the temptation on those people who perpetrate these terrible crimes to do that. On the whole, if society is peaceful, then we're going to have less of this kind of criminality. That's what we've all got to try to do. That's what we're at the United Nations for. And in our own modest way, the United Kingdom has tried to use some of the experience that we've learned the hard way over 30 years of trying to bring peace to Northern Ireland, to share that with our friends in Colombia who are dealing with the FARC, dealing with our friends in the Middle East who are dealing with Kurdish conflicts.

We've tried to share those experiences through people who have gone through that ourselves so that others can perhaps learn from that and make progress with their own attempts to bring forward truth commissions, peace processes, settlements of political disputes.

And then last, a very good question about what's the role of the media. I think the role of the media is very, very important. The more the media can do to highlight what is going on, then I think the more people will feel there is some point in coming forward.

And that brings me back in a sense to the first point that I was making. In our own societies, let us not ignore what has been going on in front of our very noses and which has been buried partly because people didn't write about it, partly because people were too ashamed or too frightened to bring forward the experience. Now that they see that the subject is out in the open, they are beginning to have the courage to come forward and talk about it.

I touched on some of the things in areas where there are traditionally people of trust who have been abusing their trust, but look also at the work we're doing now on honor killings, so called. A terrible term, but that's what we have to use. Female genital mutilation. We finally had a conviction in the United Kingdom for FGM, but it's taken a very long time to get there.

When I was ambassador in Turkey, we did a lot of work with women's groups there in Turkey trying to address the issue of honor killings, mainly in the Kurdish southeast. But not entirely there. I salute the work that the Turkish government has now done itself to try to take forward those issues. But it's the not-for-profit, the NGOs, the brave women who are trying to bring those issues to the level of public consciousness and try to change the laws and the culture of impunity which goes around that. It's lonely



in those countries. It's also in some of their adoptive countries of national where these horrible things are continuing to happen. So we, too, have a responsibility of governments to address those questions when those crimes are being perpetrated under our own noses.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Ambassador.

We'll open the floor up again for another round of questions. On the left-hand side.

MS. HERSH: Thank you. My name is Marcy Hersh, and I work at Refugees International, and I also co-chair the Interaction Gender-based Violence Working Group, which is made up of a number of NGOs that work on these issues.

Thank you very much for this discussion today. I wanted to direct some comments following on some comments that I very much appreciated from Ambassador Verveer and from Peggy on the need for survivors to be in a safe physical and emotional environment for the purpose of justice, and then also the challenges of the siloing between justice actors and also the gender-based violence actors in the NGO community primarily, who work on providing the medial, psychosocial, economic, and general safety support that we know that survivors of these kinds of crime need so urgently.

Something that Refugees International did quite a lot of work on last year was the work of women's protection advisors in South Sudan, which is a U.N. initiative that is focused specifically on collecting information and investigating crimes of sexual violence in conflict for the purpose of prosecutions. And what we found in that example in that country was that these women's protection advisors were demanding case information from NGOs and demanding information from survivors in ways that breached ethical and safety guidelines outlined by the WHO.

And so I just wonder if you could speak a little bit, all three of you, about

how we can work better as one community on this issue to ensure that the needs of the survivor first and foremost are considered, and that NGOs that are doing the important work of keeping survivors safe and keeping them alive have an active role and active voice in these justice initiatives.

Thank you very much.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Marcia.

At the back, the very, very back.

QUESTIONER: Thanks. The ambassador in his last answer addressed the issue of the honor killings vaguely, but I was wondering if you could take on directly the issue of culture and how that seems to factor into some of the situations. I mean, it's easy to identify with 50,000 rapes as rape as an issue of war, but as I understand the Boko Haram issue, it really touches on the cultural value of whether or not the girls should be going to school and then it branches into the idea of forced marriages and arranged marriages also. So if you could just simply address that issue of culture regarding honor killings and also girls going to school and how that wrapped into Boko Haram.

And then just simply briefly in the very beginning, you did mention the issue of rape of men as an issue of war, but in all of the answers it has gotten to it has focused on rape of girls and women. So how widespread is the issue of rape of men since it was referenced?

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much for those questions.

At the front, on the right hand side. Sorry, just here.

QUESTIONER: Hi, my name is Luna Otera, and I also work in the Process of Love Foundation. We mainly focus on Latin America transitional justice processes.

Throughout this region, as you know, probably in the last 20 years, there has been going on a lot of transitional justice processes. In most of the countries, sexual crimes and sexual violence gender-based was civilized. First, in the post-conflict agenda, maybe just in Peru and lately in Guatemala, the Truth Commissions included some issues about sexual crimes. And after that in accountability there has been not more than maybe five or seven cases throughout the region without successful prosecution. At least two of them in Argentina, one in Peru, and the recent one in Guatemala, even though the genocide case was later nullified by the Constitutional Court. But even though these are very discouraging results, there are some good experiences within the judiciary with some prosecutors and with local NGOs working on sexual crimes. And the domestic courts are step by step finding their own voice in these crimes, and the impact of international law, international tribunals, it's coming to the region. Slowly, but it's making an impact.

My question is how would you see to promote more dialogue between the judiciaries itself and the prosecutors and the local organizations within the region and also the Latin American experience in other regions? Because I think that trainings are important, but when they come from someone else, it doesn't have the same impact as when you see that some other judge has done the same and that justice is possible, or if you hear that the justice experience from another victim. So how do you see the importance of promoting dialogues between the regions and this region with other regions?

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much. We'll take one more question. On my right-hand side. Just here. Thank you.

MS. MUKASA: Thank you. Stella Mukasa from the International Center for Research on Women.

Two issues. Ambassador Verveer, the question that you put -- you raised around the blanket amnesties that happen when, you know, the conflicts are being resolved and negotiations are taking place, I would like to hear more about, you know, ideas and opportunities for how those kinds of arrangements, which may definitely have a lot of value in themselves, could take care of and address the issues around the lack of women's participation and the lack of recognition of the kinds of issues and violence that women experience. Could the international community begin to look at certain non-negotiables in situations like that, and therefore say that, you know, issues around sexual violence should not be part of the blanket amnesty?

Secondly, is the importance of research to inform the policy agenda around the campaign to end sexual violence. Therefore, raising the question around how the global summit intends to look at the question of allocating and committing resources to just beyond documentation of cases and issues as they occur, but to do further research in fully understanding, for example, the social and economic consequences of sexual violence as a cost to communities, and therefore, an input into driving the policy agenda. Thank you.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you for another round of difficult questions. We'll go with the same order. We'll start with Peggy, Melanne, and then the ambassador.

MS. KUO: I would like to address the issue of rape where men are the victims. I don't have specific numbers on it, but I do want to point out that the very first trial that was conducted at the ICTY involved sexual assault of a man. It was against a prison guard and the crime that was charged was that he and some other guards had forced one male detainee to bite the testicles off another one. So, you know, these things do happen and they've been brought to trial. Obviously, they have their own set of difficulties in bringing. In that one, they relied on the eyewitness testimony of bystanders,

not of the victims themselves, and so getting men to come forward I think has its own separate challenges, but certainly I think we can all agree that it occurs, sexual violence on men, and that that's an important part of addressing sexual violence generally.

The question of the impact of international law on domestic prosecutions and laws regarding sex crimes, I think it's heartening to hear, actually, that the domestic systems are looking at international laws for guidance and adopting some of those norms. I think that one way maybe to address the issue of culture is that as these discussions occur, when legal norms are adopted, they bring with them also cultural norms embedded in them. And so sometimes it's just a question of using the small tweaks in the law to create large cultural changes.

So, for example, there are some legal systems where specifically for rape crimes, for rape and sexual violence crimes, you need to have corroboration. You can't rely on one eyewitness. Well, if that particular piece were changed so that rape was treated like all other crimes where you can have just one witness, then suddenly it would change the dynamic and it would allow prosecutions of all sorts of crimes in those areas. So you may not necessarily address the cultural part head-on to say, you know, you're devaluing women and that's why you need corroboration, but you say, well, here's an international norm where we're using -- where rape is just treated like another crime and this is how we handle it. And suddenly when it comes in it changes a whole lot of things. So it's just one way to look at how law and culture have the potential to interact with each other.

I think the other ones I don't feel qualified to answer.

MS. VERVEER: Let me start backwards to the question about amnesty, which I think is a really important question, and particularly, your juxtaposition of women's participation to that point. Because what we have seen in most peace processes is

women have rarely played a role, but where they have, in places like Liberia or Rwanda, post-conflict Rwanda, Northern Ireland, what has been put on the table by the women participants are issues that ordinarily would not get there -- transitional justice, human rights, economic opportunity. So it is perhaps not surprising that in the absence of any women's participation, you're not going to have this critical issue that we're discussing even rise to the level of a point that needs to be addressed in the peace processes, which is I think while the tension in 1325 between the protection point and this and the participation point, because one often gets emphasized over the other, both are critically needed and we've got to keep our eyes on both of them. So I think you've made a very strong statement precisely why this participation point is most important. And it's interesting that in the last Security Council discussion, after a series of resolutions on the sexual violence in conflict aspects, there's been a coming back to the participation because the do go hand-in-hand in many ways.

On the issue of coordination from RI, such a challenge, and we need it everywhere. We've got all of these posts, if you will, but the foundation isn't seamless, and we need to find a better way to not silo these issues because it is affecting the outcomes. And if we were working in a more coordinated, integrated way -- we always talk about coordination, but it is perhaps the single most difficult thing to do, particularly when everybody is holding on to their own portfolios or their own areas of engagement, worried about, well, if I work with them, will the monies leave me? All of these kinds of considerations that enter.

But I think about some of the work at the State Department, for example, with the Bureau on Conflict and Stabilization, which has been trying in a very focused way in the areas in which they're engaged to make sure that all of these issues come together, whether it's the work of the refugee, office, or the women's office, or the

economics office, or the regional office, but working together in a coordinated way so that the outcomes would be other than what we're seeing for the most part. And I think we really have to strive at that much more significantly, whether it's in the multilateral organizations or whether it's in our own governments and the roles that they play, or certainly on the ground. I've often thought that the development agencies really should be coming together in a much more coordinated, integrated fashion, because so many times I knew in my last position what we could bring to the table as the United States. But if I were working with some of the other governments in a more coordinated way, together we could have a much more, bigger bang for our individual resources. This really needs a lot of focus in my view, and I hope it gets more focused as this issue gets more traction in the months to come.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, Melanne.

Ambassador Westmacott?

MR. WESTMACOTT: Thank you.

Needs of survivors. Yes, of course that needs to be a very important part of the overall approach that we are adopting. It's one of the topics which will be firmly front-and-center on the agenda of the summit that we're holding next month.

I'm not sufficiently expert to talk about how we can get NGOs working together with governments, but I would endorse what Melanne says about getting the development agencies in there. This is why our own department for International Development is a very important part of what my foreign secretary is trying to take forward. It is why we've got the call for action, and it is why all this work is put in the broader context of doing more to empower women and girls in difficult and conflict and other emergency situations. So yes, an important part of the agenda, but one of the reasons why we're so attached to having the NGOs there, the fringe activities, all the

other stuff, as well as governments at our conference at the Excel Center is to ensure that that subject is given the attention that it really does deserve.

The second question, how do we change the culture, not just the situation of conflict and use of rape as a weapon of war? What about forced marriages? Honor killings? I would say FGM. Girls going to schools. Hugely important. Important in our own countries as well where we've got communities which have imported cultures which we don't find acceptable which are indeed contrary to our laws. We are taking this forward. As I say, we've begun to get a few convictions in our own country in the UK. In other countries where the host governments realize this is a problem, we can do a certain amount to support civil society, as I was saying that we have done in the past in certain countries. It's one of the things that we are engaging with in Afghanistan. Afghanistan, I'm afraid, is one of those countries where there is too much evidence that males are also the victims of sexual violence. Just remember the culture of that movie "The Kite Runner." I know it's fiction, but nevertheless, we do know that nasty things of that sort do go on in Afghanistan.

That's one of the things that has to be part of the process of reconciliation if there is to be one with the Taliban. We've moved them a big, especially on this question of girls going to school and the mutilation of teachers and so on, but not far enough. So I think in our own societies, as well as in the other countries where we are engaged for one reason or another, we have to be aware of the importance of change in the culture, and we have to assume our responsibilities engaging with local civil society and also the host governments.

I think really those are the only two comments that I would add to what our real experts next to me have said.

MS. BRADLEY: Thank you very much, everyone.



Thank you to our panelists and to those of us in the audience. As the speakers have mentioned, so often sexual and gender-based violence, particularly in conflict context, is portrayed as something that's almost inevitable. I think that the conversation today has really shown that this is not inevitable, that there are concrete steps that can be taken, that we need to move beyond just talk in addressing this issue. And yet in listening to the panelists and to the excellent questions from the floor, I've had in the back of my mind an encounter that I had this summer in Jordan with a Syrian refugee woman who had been raped over months in captivity in Syria and was actually telling her story publicly to media outlets around the world. And for me that conversation I think really just underlines how important talking about these issues really is. The cost of talking about those issues, that, for all that, we do need to make sure that we're not just having a talk shop; that putting this issue on the agenda takes commitment and it takes bravery. And so I think that that's something certainly to applaud and to bear in mind as this discussion continues.

I wish our British colleagues all the very best for the summit, and to all of us for continued work on this issue.

Thank you very much, and have a great day.

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I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

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