GENDER **DEFICIT:** we all pay the price for inequality

NE



Margaret Anstee: breaking barriers



Margot Wallström: sexual violence



Harriet Harman: **UN Women**



PLUS Nicola Blackwood on women, peace and security page 9 Exclusive interview with Jeremy Greenstock page 16 UNA member Sally Spear at the UN page 24 UNYSA's Pallavi Kavdikar on Europe's biggest Model UN page 26

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NEW WORLD

From the Editor

To celebrate the 100th International Women's Day and the new UN Women agency, this issue of New World is dedicated to gender equality and women's empowerment. If you take any indicator of development, rights or security and disaggregate the data by gender, chances are the results will be shocking, whether it's the low percentage of women in decisionmaking roles or the high incidence of sexual violence.

Shorn of context, these statistics can be counterproductive. What does it mean, for instance, to say that 70% of women experience violence if violence is not defined and the equivalent figure for men is not included? Does it make sense to speak about the proportion of women in informal work without looking at the myriad factors that influence this position at the individual level?

These are valid points and ones that can reduce discussion of gender issues to a battleground of numbers and anecdotes. But such statistics are useful wake-up calls, demonstrating the deep challenges that women across the world continue to face. Nearly 70% of the world's illiterate are women. Women earn just 10% of the world's income. They own just 1% of the world's property. Over 40 years after the Equal Pay Act was introduced in the UK, women working full time are still paid about 15.5% less per hour than men. Rape is a tragic part of life for millions of women. In some areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo an estimated 40 women are raped every day. And while the risks that women face vary greatly according to location and background, professing feminism can attract ridicule and aggression in every part of the world.

Raising awareness of these issues in a way that offers hope is challenging but our contributors have done so admirably. In our feature story, Dame Margaret Anstee speaks about breaking down barriers during her four pioneering decades at the UN (page 12). Margot Wallström, UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, calls on us to break 'history's greatest silence' (page 7); Harriet Harman QC MP, UK Shadow Secretary for International Development, urges the UK to step up its efforts to support UN Women (page 8); and Nicola Blackwood MP, who chairs the British parliamentary group on women, peace and security, makes a compelling case for women's participation to be as high a priority as women's protection (page 9). New World online has a host of web exclusives on gender and HIV/AIDS, women's rights, domestic violence and more.

In the interests of gender balance, this issue also has one male contributor: our new Chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, gives a fascinating and candid interview about his time as British Ambassador to the UN and as UK Special Representative for Iraq (page 16).

This is the last issue of New World in its current format. The magazine is undergoing a transformation and we would be grateful for your feedback ahead of this change. Visit www.una.org.uk/new_world to complete our short questionnaire.

Natalie Samarasinghe, Editor

Contents

DIRECTORY	4
IN BRIEF	5
OPINION One raped woman is one too many	
Margot Wallström	7
The UK must champion women Harriet Harman	8
Women, peace and security Nicola Blackwood	9
TEN reasons why it's hard to be a woman	11
FEATURE One woman's experience at the UN	
Margaret Anstee	12
DO SOMETHING Support UN Women	15
INTERVIEW	
Jeremy Greenstock UNA-UK's new chairman	16
THE UN & THE UK	20
LETTERS	23
UNA-UK Sally Spear at the Commission on the Status of Women	24
Young Professionals guide to women's empowerment	25
Pallavi Kavdikar: Europe's biggest Model UN	26
Help organise UNA-UK's policy conference	27



p.11

Do something Support UN Women

p.15



IN & IIK and more

NEW WORLD ONLINE

Read our 'web exclusives' at www.una.org.uk/new_world

Gender-based violence in Mexico —Paloma Aguilar Gonzalez The UN field system -Leelananda De Silva Gender and the UN: successes —Madelyn Eads-Dorsey Women's rights in the UK -Charlotte Gage **Economic empowerment?** —lveta Ganeva Launching UN Women in the UK —Jan Grastv **Disability and development** —Diane Mulligan HIV/AIDS and gender —Madiha Raza 33% gender equality in India —Tyna Vayalilkollattu





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UNA-UK POLICY CONFERENCE 2011 18 June, Temple of Peace, Cardiff

PLUS: optional pre-conference events on 17 June

Help shape UNA-UK's policy priorities!

UNA-UK's policy objectives in the areas of peace and security, human rights, gender, development and environment are debated and agreed by its members at regular policy conferences.

This year's conference should be especially interesting as it is the first under the chairmanship of Sir Jeremy Greenstock (see page 16) and the first since Phil Mulligan took over as Executive Director. It also coincides with the UNA-UK Board's development of a new strategic plan for the organisation, a draft of which will be presented at the conference. Conference 2011 will therefore be a fantastic opportunity for members to shape UNA-UK policy.

Prior to the conference, on 17 June, members will be able to participate in workshops on fundraising and publicity, enjoy a buffet dinner and take part in the ever-popular UN quiz.

With booking fees starting at just £25 (£20 for students*), we hope that a record number of members will come and help us to formulate our policy objectives for 2011-2013.

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For more information and to secure your place, visit www.una.org.uk/conference2011

* UNA-UK members aged 22 or under can apply for bursaries to help with travel and accommodation costs from the Basil Hembry Fund – a fund established with donations given in memory of Basil Hembry, a long-serving member and officer for UNA Eastern Region. Details are available from www.una.org.uk/youth

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The deadline for submission of material for the next issue of New World is noon on 3 June 2011

The next issue will cover the period 1 July to 30 September 2011

All submissions should be typed and sent by email where possible to samarasinghe@una.org.uk. Photos should ideally be 300 dpi resolution Subscription: Copies of New World are included in the membership fee for UNA-UK

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Cover image: Demonstration in July 2010 calling for 33% of seats in Indian parliament and state legislatures to be reserved for women. © India Today Group/Getty Images



Gaddafi hangs on

As New World went to press, access to basic commodities and services - food, water and health care – had been cut off in several Libyan cities. Nearly one month after air strikes began, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon travelled to Egypt to meet with the Arab League, African Union, Organization of Islamic Conference and European Union. He warned that while swift and decisive global action had saved thousands of lives, the rapidly deteriorating humanitarian situation now required urgent attention. According to the UN's humanitarian chief, Baroness Amos, an estimated 600,000 people in Libya will require aid, in addition to the half a million who have fled the country. On 15 April, the UN's humanitarian appeal was just 41% funded. (See page 20)

Gbagbo surrenders

The UN has pledged assistance to Côte d'Ivoire, where weeks of intense fighting killed over 1,500 people and displaced more than a million. The West African nation was plunged into violence last November when Laurent Gbagbo refused to step down despite losing a UN-certified presidential election to Alassane Ouattara.

Following attacks on civilians and the UN's peacekeeping mission (UNOCI) by Gbagbo loyalists, UNOCI and French helicopters targeted his weaponry and surrounded his base in Abidjan. He surrendered on 11 April. Mr Ban said UN forces acted strictly in accordance with their mandate to protect and warned that "the crisis is not over" – civilians continue to face severe food, water and medical shortages and a security vacuum. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has said it may open investigations into reports of human rights abuses committed by both Gbagbo and Ouattara supporters.

Human Rights Council should act on Middle East

A coalition of NGOs including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the International Commission of Jurists, has called on the UN Human Rights Council to take quick and decisive action to end the repression of protesters in Syria, Bahrain and Yemen. The UN has called for an immediate end to civilian attacks in Syria and Yemen, where an estimated 200 and 125 people have been killed respectively, and expressed deep concern over the targeting of hospitals and medical personnel in Bahrain, where troops from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have been helping the government to impose martial law.

UN attacked in Afghanistan

On 1 April three international UN staff and four Nepalese Gurkha soldiers were killed during an attack on the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan in Mazar-e-Sharif. Alain Le Roy, head of UN peacekeeping operations, said the attack was part of a series of demonstrations held in the country in protest at the burning of a Quran by the radical pastor of a tiny church in the US. This is the third direct assault against UN personnel in Afghanistan.

Landmark DRC convictions

A UN investigative panel concluded in March that the impunity enjoyed by regular and paramilitary forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) had significantly increased sexual violence, and called for a culture change in which perpetrators rather than raped women and girls were blamed. Later that month, a military court in eastern DRC convicted 11 army officers for the rapes of 24 women in South Kivu in September 2009. Margot Wallström, UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, said the verdicts sent a strong signal that 'no military commander is beyond the law'. (See page 7)

Kenyans summoned by ICC

Six Kenyans – including the deputy prime minister, an ex-minister and expolice chief – suspected of engineering ethnic clashes after the disputed December 2007 elections have been summoned to appear at the ICC. They are accused of murder, deportations and persecutions. Hundreds of rapes and killings took place in the weeks following the elections. Over half a million people were displaced.

Regulating arms

From 28 February to 4 March, diplomats discussed the scope of a proposed international treaty to regulate the export of conventional arms, including what weapons should be covered and the criteria to be used in transactions. The meeting is the third of four preparatory committees to be held in the run-up to a four-week UN conference in 2012 aiming to establish a legally-binding instrument. (See page 22) >>



Major General Gnakoude Berena (second from left), UNOCI Force Commander and troops in Abidjan. © UN Photo/Basile Zoma

>> South Sudan independence

South Sudan is expected to officially declare independence on 9 July, following the 99% vote for independence earlier this year. Although the UN-administered elections were peaceful, incidents of violence – especially in the fertile and resource-rich Abyei region – have since raised questions about the long-term stability of Africa's newest state. Abyei's status was left undecided in the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement and tensions remain between northern Arab Misseriya nomads and southern Sudanese Dinka, Nuer and Nuba tribes.

Fukushima fears

On 12 April Japanese authorities raised their nuclear alert to its highest level to reflect the ongoing release of radiation at the damaged Fukushima Daiichi power plant. Fears of radiation leaks have grown in the weeks since an earthquake and tsunami left at least 13,000 dead, 14,000 missing and 150,000 homeless. Yukiya Amano, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, has said that the immediate priority is stabilising the reactors, but that a 'process of reflection and evaluation' should also begin, to address the 'worries of millions of people throughout the world about whether nuclear energy is safe'.

Climate change and food security

The UN Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO) has warned of the 'potentially catastrophic' effects that climate change could have on food production in developing countries. In a submission to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the FAO urged governments to focus not only on the short-term consequences of extreme weather events but also on 'slow-onset' impacts expected to bring deeper challenges. It outlined a series of measures for states to consider in forthcoming climate negotiations - including the development of food staples that are better adapted to future climatic conditions.

HIV 'revolution' required

Despite substantial gains in reducing infection rates and increasing access to antiretroviral treatment, some 7,000 people contract HIV every day, a seventh of whom are children. In the run-up to a high-level conference in June assessing "The events that are unfolding around the world are not ordinary by any stretch of the imagination ... In all my years in the Senate, I can't remember a time when there have been as many places where the United Nations is stepping up to play as critical a role as it is right now"

John Kerry, Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon met with US policy-makers in April to urge continued US support for the UN despite domestic budgetary pressures. He said that by working through the UN, no country need tackle big challenges alone or foot the bill themselves. Mr Ban plans to reduce the UN's regular budget by 3% to reflect the global economic situation.



The US is the biggest contributor to the UN's regular budget. In 2010, its assessed contribution was roughly \$550m, or 1.8% of its Overseas Development Aid, which in turn was just 0.2% of its Gross National Income.

Source: www.oecd.org

thirty years of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the UN has called for an 'HIV prevention revolution'. In a new report, it urges world leaders to act on its recommendations for moving towards 'zero new HIV infections, zero discrimination and zero AIDS-related deaths'.

EU misses aid target

EU countries missed their collective 2010 target of committing 0.56% of gross national income (GNI) in development aid, though they increased funding from €49bn in 2009 to €53.8bn. This represents approximately 0.43% of GNI and is the largest amount ever given by the EU – the biggest single aid donor. The UK met its 0.56% benchmark for 2010 and is on track to provide 0.7% by 2013. Initially adopted by UN Member States in 1970, the 0.7% aid pledge will be 45 years old at the target date for achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals.

Happy birthday Women's Day?

International Women's Day celebrated its centenary on 8 March (see page 8). The day is intended to commemorate the economic, social and political achievements of women whilst highlighting the entrenched inequalities that women are still subjected to all over the world. (See pages 7-9, 10-15, 24). ■



The UN building in New York joins landmarks such as Big Ben and the London Eye in turning off its lights for an hour on 26 March. Every year hundreds of millions of people and international landmarks participate in 'Earth Hour'. In 2011, some 130 countries were involved in this World Wildlife Fund initiative. © UN Photo Paulo Filgueiras

Opinion



One raped woman is one too many



Margot Wallström

On the 100th anniversary of

the first International Women's Day we have a lot to celebrate. Yet, despite the fact that we have made some progress towards equal opportunities, women and girls continue to be raped every day all over the world. The statistics are harrowing, particularly in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where an estimated 40 rapes a day are perpetrated in some areas. But even one rape is one too many.

I am deeply committed to changing this situation. As UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, my first priority is to hold perpetrators to account, and to end impunity and amnesty for this type of crime. In the DRC, a safe life for Congolese women will require immediate, effective action as well as a continuous and stubborn fight against the impunity that has reigned for far too long. This entails a stronger focus on prevention, addressing serious shortcomings in the country's legal system, providing human rights training for soldiers integrated into the national army, and regulating the extraction of socalled conflict minerals – a responsibility shared by the DRC government and the international community. Such changes are possible.

The United States, for instance, has already taken action on regulating minerals from the DRC, such as gold, tin, tungsten and coltan, which help finance armed groups known to use sexual violence as a tactic of war. It is high time that the UK and the rest of the European Union followed suit. Urgent action is needed by all parties to ensure that a global regime for conflict minerals is established. As major donors to the DRC, the UK and the EU must also contribute to structural reform of the police, the military and the judicial system. Even small steps in this regard can make a big difference.

In early January, 60 women were raped in Fizi in eastern DRC. Sadly, this is no longer news. The world is only too aware

'Instead of being a cheap, silent and effective weapon, sexual violence [must] become a liability regardless of whether it has been officially sanctioned'

of what has been, and still is, happening in South Kivu, where sexual violence is systematic in nature. What is new - and positive - is that 11 suspected perpetrators from the Congolese national army were quickly apprehended and sentenced. This does not only illustrate that perpetrators stem from the national army as well as from armed groups; it also shows that our increased efforts in going after the criminals are yielding concrete results. By paying more attention to this type of offence, and by ensuring that offenders are held accountable, we are sending an important signal to all perpetrators: sexual violence is a crime that the international community

takes extremely seriously. So, instead of being a cheap, silent and effective weapon, sexual violence becomes a liability – regardless of whether it has been ordered by troop commanders, officially sanctioned, condoned or not prevented.

I often get asked the question: "What can I do to help put an end to sexual violence in the DRC and other places in the world?" My answer is: help me to fight the indifference to what is going on. Talk about it. Ask your elected representatives what they are doing to address the situation. Put inconvenient questions to manufacturers and importers of electronic goods about the origin of their products' minerals. As a citizen and a consumer you can make a difference. Show solidarity with the world's women - regardless of whether you are a man or a woman. Break what has been called history's greatest silence.

At the Nuremberg trials, the sexual violence inflicted during the Second World War was termed 'unspeakable'. In other conflicts, such as Rwanda and Bosnia, the labels 'inevitable' and 'collateral damage' were used to describe mass rape. This is simply not true. We must stop using the language of cover-up and start treating sexual violence as we would all other crimes against human rights. Instead of 'unspeakable', let us make sexual violence unacceptable, whenever and wherever it occurs.

Margot Wallström is Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict.



The UK must be a global champion for women



Harriet Harman

At the second International

Conference of Working Women in 1910, Clara Zetkin, leader of the German Social Democratic Party's women's office, suggested that there should be a day each year on which women could press for their demands to be met. Her proposal was adopted by over 100 women from 17 countries and the following year saw the first International Women's Day.

Since then, real progress has been made in terms of women's equality, rights and conditions. But when you meet, as I recently did in India, women who still have to give birth to their babies on earth floors, it is clear that there is still a long way to go.

In a world where women do twothirds of the work yet receive just 10% of the income; where one in three women has been beaten, coerced into sex or abused; and where just 19% of the world's parliamentary seats are held by women, there must be a renewed push for global equality. And the UK's international development efforts must play an important role in that.

The British government has promised to spend 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) on aid by 2013 - a vital commitment. But we cannot take that commitment for granted at a time when the government is inflicting savage and unnecessary cuts on most other departments, and when aid has already been frozen as a percentage of GNI for two years. That decision will mean £2.2bn less in aid - money which could have been used to get more girls into school or to provide antiretroviral treatment to women suffering from HIV. The government must keep that '0.7% by 2013' promise. It represents a lifeline for women and girls across the world.

In the UK, it is women who will

likely be hit hardest by the government's cuts. We must ensure that this is not also the case in the developing world. An estimated 19m women around the world have already lost their jobs as a result of the financial crisis. There must now be a renewed effort to ensure that women do not become the victims of deficit reduction plans too.

With all the challenges that women still face, it is fitting that 100 years on from the first International Women's Day, we have seen a new step forward in the fight for women's empowerment – UN Women. Under the dynamic leadership of Michelle Bachelet, this new UN agency has the potential to make a substantial difference to the lives of women in both the developed and the developing world.

'It really is not good enough for Britain to dispatch male ministers to developing countries to talk about the empowerment of women and girls'

Under the last Labour government, the UK played a key role in establishing the new agency and we must continue to support it. Whilst the current administration has shown a welcome commitment to improving women's health and girls' education, its leadership on women's rights has been disappointing. With men-only ministerial teams at the Department for International Development (DFID) and Foreign Office, the Conservative-led government is setting the wrong example. We cannot have purely male leadership on issues of concern to men and women. The government must ensure that at least one DFID minister is female. It really is not good enough for Britain to dispatch male ministers to developing countries to talk about the empowerment of women and girls.

Globally, there has been great progress in increasing the number of women politicians. In most countries, and in every continent, there are women in parliaments and governments. Even in countries that have experienced the greatest upheavals, such as Rwanda, we have seen significant steps forward: 56%



of Rwandan MPs are women. Working to support elected female representatives must be an important focus for UN Women. It is these women who will fight the hardest for the rights of Bangladeshi girls to go to school and for adequate maternal healthcare in the villages of northern Nigeria.

But UN Women needs resources to deliver and the UK has yet to set out how much it will contribute. The British government originally promised to confirm its contribution after completing its two aid reviews. Those results were published at the beginning of March. The government now says UN Women must wait until June to find out how much the UK will contribute. That simply is not good enough. Spain has made a \$21m commitment despite its financial difficulties; the UK must do the same. It should be taking a lead and setting an example to other donors.

The British government has said it will put women and girls at the heart of its development policy. Now is the time for it to put its money where its mouth is and show the world that the UK is still a world leader for women.

Harriet Harman QC MP is Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, Shadow Secretary of State for International Development and Shadow Deputy Prime Minister. Women, peace and security: the time for warm words is over



Nicola Blackwood

In 2008 Major-General Cammaert,

former UN peacekeeping commander in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), said: "it is now more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier in modern conflict." His comment reflects the exponential growth in conflicts that target civilians, especially women and girls, as a means of intimidation and ethnic cleansing. As if the international community's failure to protect them is not bad enough, these women are routinely denied justice or any engagement in the peace and reconciliation negotiations that follow.

'Women, peace and security' policy largely stems from the landmark UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, adopted in 2000, when Council members agreed that sexual and genderbased violence in conflict and women's participation in peacebuilding are relevant to their agenda. Since then, there has been no shortage of supportive language. UNSCRs 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960 all reaffirm the Council's commitment to the cause.

This progress is, of course, welcome but beneath the rhetorical gloss, cracks in the masonry of international commitment are easy to find. The pattern of Council activity on women, peace and security since 1325 clearly demonstrates that not all UN member states believe it belongs on the Council's agenda. A recent review by think-tank Security Council Report found that 'there seems to be a continuing level of scepticism ... as to whether this issue is really relevant,' adding, 'the scepticism tends to be particularly pronounced with regards to the relevance of women's participation, such as their inclusion in peace processes' (as opposed to the importance of protection issues).

Although the UK has a good record in this area, there are some, here in the UK and in the international community, who do not agree that Resolution 1325 is a security issue at all. Others accept that sexual violence should be addressed as a security issue alongside other civilian protection matters, but believe that women's participation in peacebuilding is a development issue which can be left until after the peace has been made.

The impact of this division can be seen in the recent emphasis on sexual and gender-based violence. While UNSCRs 1820, 1888 and 1960 have all made welcome advances for action on that part of the women, peace and security agenda (in particular, mandating the appointment of Margot Wallström, UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict – see page 7), they also show that it is much easier to get action on protection than participation.

'If Bachelet and UN Women cannot achieve this, and quickly, there will be little hope of seriously challenging the gender inequalities so entrenched in conflict scenarios'

The impact on the ground is clear. The DRC has just seen the groundbreaking conviction and sentencing of senior commander Lt. Col. Kibibi Mutware for mass rape. This is a huge step towards



Women and girls in Darfur celebrate International Women's Day © UN Photo/Albert Gonzalez Farran

ending the impunity of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence. At the same time, there are 31 ongoing armed conflicts arising from failed peace processes and not a single one of those peace processes included women.

The fact that UN Women (see page 15) has named 'women, peace and security' as one of its six focus areas is highly significant. UNIFEM, one of the bodies it has subsumed, never had the status or the budget to effectively keep this issue on the UN security agenda. The role that Michelle Bachelet manages to carve out for UN Women will, therefore, make or break the future of women's participation in peacebuilding.

The challenges she faces are manifold. She has to: attract sufficient funding; navigate her way through impenetrable UN bureaucracy; negotiate the web of inter-agency allegiances and territorial claims; and, perhaps most importantly, prove herself, through sheer force of personality, as a leader to be reckoned with in the constellation of UN actors.

If Bachelet and UN Women cannot achieve this, and quickly, there will be little hope of seriously challenging the gender inequalities so entrenched in conflict scenarios. Women's participation in countries now hanging in the balance – Afghanistan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, to name a few – will fall off the security agenda, at the UN and elsewhere. And UN Women will have proved a useful panacea, a rhetorical device representing a form of action but without the power or the outcomes.

On the other hand, if UN Women does achieve this – and this will only happen with the moral and financial support of leaders like the UK – then its creation may prove a turning point and a crucial advance in the argument that peacebuilding and conflict prevention policies that do not involve women are fatally weakened and undermine progress on global security objectives.

To quote Joy Ogwu, Nigeria's UN Ambassador who is current President of the UN Women Executive Board, 'no one can run fast on one foot.' A security agenda that thinks it can do without women's participation is a limping beast. Let's hope UN Women will be part of the remedy.

Nicola Blackwood is a Conservative MP and Chair of the UK's Associate Parliamentary Group on Women, Peace and Security.

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I say



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TEN 10



TEN REASONS WHY IT'S HARD TO BE A WOMAN

- **1** Women perform 66% of the world's work and produce 50% of the food but earn only 10% of the income and own just 1% of the property.
- 2 Despite progress, men still outnumber women in paid work, and women are often relegated to vulnerable forms of employment, with inadequate earnings, benefits and working conditions. The share of women in paid non-agricultural employment is still languishing at 20% in South Asia, North Africa and Western Asia.

In the UK, more than 40 years after the Equal Pay Act, women working full time are still paid an average of 15.5% less per hour than men – the equivalent of men being paid all year round while women work for free after 2 November.

- 3 Though the proportion of female representatives in national parliaments worldwide continues to rise slowly, it still stands at just 19%. Women also account for just 16% of ministerial posts. At 20% and 17% respectively, the figures for the UK are not much better than the global averages. Only 18 countries currently have elected female heads of state or leaders.
- 4 Just a quarter of the world's senior officials or managers are women. Only 13 of the 500 largest corporations in the world have a female CEO and nearly half of all FTSE 250 companies do not have a single woman on their board.
- 5 Of the 759m adults across the world who cannot read or write, the vast majority close to 70% are women. This proportion has barely changed during the past 20 years. Girls also form the majority of the estimated 72m children who are not in school.
- 6 Every 90 seconds, a woman dies in pregnancy or due to childbirth-related complications. That is more than 350,000 deaths each year, 99% of which occur in developing countries: nearly all are preventable.
- 7 For women and girls aged between 16 and 44, violence is a major cause of death and disability. One woman in three is thought to have been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime, usually by someone known to her.

In some areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 40 women and girls are raped every day (see page 7). An estimated 200,000 rapes have taken place in the country over the past decade. The perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide committed between 250,000 and 500,000 rapes, while during the conflict in Sierra Leone there were 50,000 such attacks, with a similar number committed over the course of the war in Bosnia. Yet sexual violence remains the least-condemned war crime, in terms of cases brought before court and the low conviction rate.

- 8 Women's participation in peace negotiations remains patchy under 8% of negotiators, mediators and witnesses are female. Fewer than 3% of signatories to peace agreements are women and no women have been appointed chief or lead mediators in UN-sponsored peace talks.
- **9** An estimated 130m girls and women alive today have undergone female genital mutilation, often in unsafe and unsanitary conditions, and the UN Population Fund believes that each year some 5,000 women are victims of 'honour killings'.
- **10** While the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women has achieved almost universal ratification, states have lodged more 'opt out' clauses against it than to any other human rights treaty. (See *New World online* for Charlotte Gage's article on implementing CEDAW in the UK)

Sources: UN Millennium Development Goals 2010 report (www.un.org/millenniumgoals), UN Women (www.unwomen.org) and the Fawcett Society (www.fawcettsociety.org.uk)

Feature

One woman's experience at the UN

Dame Margaret Anstee DCMG



Equality for Women organised a panel discussion on the situation of women staff members and ways to improve career prospects. From left to right: Yolanda Samayoa, Vice-President of the Ad Hoc Group; Margaret Anstee, Chairman; UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar; Angela King, member of the Ad Hoc Group; Assistant Secretary-General Leila Doss; and Staff President Susanna Johnston. © UN Photo/Yutaka Nagata

I am perhaps better placed than

most to trace the course of women's position in the United Nations, having served the organisation from 1952 to 1993. Starting, through happenstance, as a local staff member in the Philippines I became, successively, the first female resident representative, assistant secretarygeneral, under-secretary-general and, finally, special representative of the secretary-general heading a military peacekeeping operation.

In those early days, it was a lonely, pioneering furrow to plough. Nowadays, the situation of women, while still not what it should be, is a million miles from where we started. A few prominent women had an important hand in the early evolution of the organisation, such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Mrs Pandit Nehru, but they were well-connected political figures. A very different situation prevailed in the Secretariat and the field development programmes.

The built-in prejudices and barriers to women were enormous. In 1956, the resident representative in Mexico rejected me as his deputy. Instead, I was sent temporarily to Colombia and taken to a regional conference in an unsuccessful attempt to 'sell' me to another resident representative, but none wanted me when they discovered I could not take shorthand or type. Women were supposed to be only secretaries!

So I stayed in Colombia, which proved a godsend because I was left in charge for nearly a year. Thus, when the Commission on the Status of Women demanded to know why there were no women resident representatives, I was the only international field officer available and was sent to Uruguay as the first woman head of mission. I was told I was 'a pilot project'. Still the only woman in such a role seven years later, I enquired whether I was 'the light that failed'. For many years, there were only two of us and, even today, there are only 45 women resident representatives out of a total of 138.

It was impossible for a woman in that position to have a normal family or private life and she was very vulnerable. My budding career was nearly sabotaged by sexual harassment but there was no redress for such incidents: one had to fend for oneself. Moreover, women had to outperform men in order to succeed and be ready to accept difficult and dangerous posts to demonstrate that their gender was not a drawback.

Risk-taking – and by that I mean not only physical perils but, even more importantly, the willingness to accept professional challenges that might end in failure – had, and has, to be an integral part of a woman's career strategy if she is to reach the top. Later, when I was managing large departments in headquarters, I found that risk aversion was the main obstacle constraining able women I wished to promote, rooted in an unwarranted lack of confidence in their own abilities, a handicap signally absent in less-competent male colleagues.

Sexual discrimination is much harder to eliminate than racial discrimination. Women have no sovereign national constituency that can exercise a vote at the UN. Women's voices have had some effect through such channels as the UN Commission on the Status of Women, the four UN World Conferences on Women, beginning in Mexico in 1975, and effective monitoring of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Even so, the initial tendency was simply to give high-ranking positions to women to deal with 'women's issues'. That was not my case, but I was prevented from

Sexual discrimination is much harder to eliminate than racial discrimination. Women have no sovereign national constituency that can exercise a vote at the UN

becoming High Commissioner for Refugees, and later Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping, on spurious gender grounds. Fortunately, that has now changed and a number of women head bodies in what were once exclusively male domains. It is to be hoped that the UN Women agency will open a new era of even more effective and united action.

The unlikely genesis of the groundbreaking Security Council Resolution 1325 during a routine meeting that I was chairing on gender and peacekeeping, in Windhoek, Namibia, in May 2000, is a telling demonstration of the far-reaching impact that women can have if they act in unison. During a cocktail party given by the Namibian minister for women's affairs, it occurred to me that our message on women, peace and security would have more impact enshrined in a Declaration of Windhoek and a Namibia Plan of Action.

In discussing this with our hostess, who had been a junior minister in her country's foreign ministry, I suddenly >>



Sources: UN Millennium Development Goals 2010 report (www.un.org/millenniumgoals) and UN Women (www.unwomen.org)

>> remembered that Namibia was a member of the Security Council. I reminded her that, when Namibia's turn came to preside over the Council, it could have a meeting on a subject of its choosing. I suggested it would be a great coup for Namibia if she could persuade her foreign minister to use this opportunity to spearhead a high-level debate about the issues we had been discussing.

She agreed and, by working through the next 24 hours, our little group of women prepared both the Declaration and the Plan of Action, something that, in the UN, normally takes several months. The minister was as good as her word and Resolution 1325 was passed on 31 October 2000 with our two documents annexed. Had it not been for that serendipitous cocktail party, and the coming together of a group of like-minded and determined women, that resolution would never have seen the light of day.

Sadly, a decade later, its implementation has proved deeply disappointing. Women are still largely excluded from peace negotiations, while progress on the key recommendation that the Secretary-General should appoint more women special representatives (SRSGs) to head peacekeeping operations remains woefully inadequate. Since my appointment in 1992 the total number of SRSGs has reached only eight, of which three are heading current peacekeeping missions out of a total of 14.

My message to the new generation of women is: **never forget that you are still pioneers!** Keep up the good work and, above all, work together to strengthen the role of future women. This troubled world, and the UN, need now, more than ever, to capture the energy, ideas and insights of our half of humanity, too long ignored.

Dame Margaret Anstee DCMG was the first female UN Under-Secretary-General, and the first woman to head a UN peacekeeping mission (UNAVEM II in Angola).



Dame Margaret's autobiography, Never learn to type: a woman at the United Nations is a fascinating account of her pioneering journey from Cambridge University to the British Foreign Office, followed by four decades of service in various roles at the UN. The book is published by John Wiley & Sons and is available from eu.wiley.com and several bookshops and online retailers.

At present, just 18 countries have elected female heads of state or leaders



• President Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner, Argentina • Prime Minister Mari Johanna Kiviniemi, Finland • President Borjana Krišto, Bosnia and Herzegovina • President Doris Leuthard, Switzerland • President Pratibha Patil, India • Prime Minister Julia Gillard, Australia • President Mary McAleese, Ireland • Chancellor Angela Merkel, Germany • President Laura Chinchilla, Costa Rica Prime Minister Iveta Radičová, Slovakia Minister Kamla Persad-Bissessar, Trinidad and Tobago • President Dalia Grybauskaitė, Lithuania • Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, Bangladesh • Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir, Iceland • Prime Minister Jadranka Kosor, Croatia • President Roza Otunbayeva, Kyrgyzstan • President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Liberia • President Dilma Rousseff, Brazil



Support UN Women

Even in this age of austerity, we must show that we care about the challenges facing so many women around the world.

It has been some 100 days since UN Women, the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, began its work. Created last year by the General Assembly, it has been hailed as an historic victory for UN reform, and for women and girls around the world.

ON ROUC

UN Women merges four previously distinct parts of the UN system: the Division for the Advancement of Women, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Whilst undertaking valuable work, these bodies lacked cash, clout and cohesion, and without a single recognised driver to direct its work, the UN has faced serious challenges in promoting gender equality.

UN Women was established to address these challenges, and its executive director, Michelle Bachelet, has already made real headway. The former president of Chile – who has an impressive record in human rights, health and security – has created a 100-day action plan, ordered a field capacity assessment, and set six clear focus areas: violence against women; women, peace and security; women's participation; economic empowerment; gender in national budgeting and planning; and gender as an integral part of the UN Millennium Development Goals. But in order for UN Women to succeed, it must have strong political and financial support. Pledged core funding for UN Women still falls far short of its \$500m operating budget, which in itself, though higher than the combined funds of the four bodies it is replacing, is still significantly lower than those of comparable UN agencies.

As many countries tighten their belts following the global economic downturn, it is important for civil society to demonstrate that the lives of those in the developing world remain of great concern, even in challenging financial times. The UK's decision to increase its overseas aid to 0.7% of GNI by 2013 and to promote women and girls' health is most welcome. But the UK has yet to reveal its funding for UN Women. In response to parliamentary questions asked by Baroness Coussins on behalf of UNA-UK, the government has said it will give \$1m in 'transitional funding' to help UN Women get off to a good start. But it also said that it needs clarity on 'the results [its] contribution will achieve'.

UNA-UK is calling on its supporters to take action to urge the UK to be a leading financial, as well as political, supporter of UN Women. The sums involved are small. Committing just 0.2% of the UK's aid budget would see the UK become the largest donor to UN Women. The results would have a positive impact on women and men alike.

Visit www.una.org.uk/dosomething to take action

Interview

Sir Jeremy Greenstock was appointed chairman of the UNA-UK Board of Directors in February 2011. A member of the British Diplomatic Service from 1969 to 2004, he served in stations including Washington DC, Paris, Dubai and Riyadh. He was British Ambassador to the UN from 1998 to 2003, attending over 150 meetings of the UN Security Council. From September 2003 to March 2004, he served as UK Special Representative for Iraq.

In this wide-ranging interview with *New World's* Editor, Sir Jeremy talks about his experiences, explaining his cautious stance on military interventions, why fragmentation is the biggest challenge facing the world and how enlightened self-interest, though it might sound like a 'weasel phrase,' can lead to positive collective action. He also sets UNA members some reading homework and talks about their vital role in supporting the UN at a time when its difficulties are multiplying but its importance has never been greater.

What role should the UK play in international affairs and has this role changed dramatically since you joined the Foreign Office in 1969?

The world has changed dramatically, and so too has the UK's role. For a start, we are a smaller and less powerful nation than we were in the decades after the Second World War. Since then, we have remained in the shadow of the US. But we have been at all the international tables that matter, globally and regionally - the UN, the EU, NATO, the Commonwealth and so on. We continue to have a global spread of diplomatic representation and the capacity to project our constantly diminishing military power. We remain adept at assessing what's going on in the world. All of this gives us something that's actually quite unusual in international affairs: a global understanding and reach, even with a small amount of actual power.

Only France can match that atavistic and continuing capacity. Germany – perhaps the most powerful EU economy – can't. Even the US can't, because it was never a colonial power. This gives it a moral advantage that I don't think it has been fully effective at using, but also means that the US lacks the feel for what happens inside other nations. And so the UK still has a great input into international affairs. But our relative power has changed and we need to be conscious of that. We cannot do anything on our own. We have to work in partnership, hopefully always under UN authority when security is involved, and if we have a UN Association that can make these points, then I think we're contributing something.

So what should UNA-UK's priorities be?

I think we have to be careful to choose the right ones. Given the number of issues that the UN is engaged in and our tiny staff team, we must ensure that we focus on things that a small organisation can pursue with results. The UN is necessarily about development, human rights and security, so if UNA-UK has a programme that combines these elements, then we are on the right track. But these are big, ambitious issues. We have to remain realistic about what we can achieve. I'm known as a hard-headed person and, with my diplomatic experience, I hope I can help the executive team to make these decisions.

Where do you feel UNA-UK can have the most impact?

Two areas in particular. One is government policy. Foreign ministries, in London and elsewhere, find it very difficult to get programmes implemented. There are so many emerging national centres of independent action that many more countries now have to be consulted before you can get a global programme going. The UK is still struggling with that and I think that UNA-UK's input into British foreign policy can help the UK to refine its approaches, so that it retains the ambition but recognises how difficult it is to achieve implementation without help from civil society. UNA-UK can be a bridge between the UN, government and civil society because it has a membership. This membership is part of our legitimacy.

The second area is global citizen responsibility. Governments cannot do everything. Individuals must contribute and UNA-UK is one example of how the institutional and the individual are linked. Unless both are working in tandem to some extent, programmes cannot be achieved. I don't think progress can be made on climate change unless individuals contribute. Human rights abuses can't be tackled by governmental action alone. Governments and individuals must cooperate and compromise for gains in development, sustainability, rights and security. And UNA-UK can stand up for that.

Is that what convinced you to take on the role of UNA-UK chairman?

I very much admired David Hannay's tenure of the chairmanship and was flattered when he suggested I follow him. When you have served at the UN, you develop a loyalty to the organisation and an admira-



tion for it that doesn't leave you. It is the only truly global organisation and it needs a tremendous amount of support from organisations like UNA-UK, which can influence governments, because it depends on governments understanding the need for collective action.

Your time at the UN seems to have made a deep impression on you. What are you most proud of?

I don't think back in terms of pride, I have to say. I don't think I'm made up that way. I've enjoyed almost all my career experiences, and I'm conscious of quite a few deficiencies and failures, but I feel I contributed the most at the UN. I can't, I think, better my recollection of my work in New York as the most interesting, most challenging, and, at times, the most moving experience of my diplomatic career. I think the work the UN did on Africa in my time at the Security Council, in the development committees and agencies, was the most important and the most effective of the issues that I have taken up in my career. I say Africa because two-thirds of the Security Council's work was on Africa. But East Timor was also an important moment. I think the Council's intervention in 1999 actually enabled an oppressed people to become free, so that too sticks quite firmly in my memory.

And what experience would you say moved you the most?

If you want to think of moments, I'd say taking the Security Council mission to Sierra Leone – basically the poorest nation on earth – in 2003, during its period of greatest trouble. Sitting down with the Freetown market women's association and hearing those women clamouring for peace and a better life for their children, which they could only achieve with the help of the international community, was one of the most moving examples I can remember of the need for the UN. It showed the good that the UN is capable of doing and the awareness of people in distress that the UN is there to do them good.

'Hearing those women clamouring for peace and a better life for their children was one of the most moving examples I can remember of the need for the UN'

One doesn't often hear about the UN doing good in Iraq. What role can and should it play there?

After the Canal Hotel bomb, when UN Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and many members of his team were tragically killed, the UN was absent from Iraq for many months. But the UN came back, and although the scale of what the UN has done there hasn't been that large, it has two things to offer. First, it represents the interest of the global community in helping Iraq to become a stable and more prosperous country and, therefore, a country that is not going to threaten peace and security in the future. So there is, if you like, a metaphorical contract between global citizens and the Iraqi people. Second, it can offer practical help, with health, refugees, building democratic institutions, promoting civil society, not least women's groups, and many other things.

There are mixed feelings about the UN among the people of Iraq – many of them saw the UN as the conveyor of sanctions. Inside the UN community, meanwhile, there remains a certain amount of criticism for what happened in Iraq – a distaste for the original invasion and a reluctance therefore to put their full effort into >> >> Iraq. But I think that was overcome to a large extent by the feeling that the Iraqi people deserve UN help and I'm glad to see that this has been the approach.

In your evidence to the Iraq inquiry, you said you considered the 2003 invasion to be 'legal' but not 'legitimate'. Could you explain that distinction?

Yes, it's puzzled people but I was making a very deliberate point so let me explain it again. Initially, the invasion of Iraq rested on UN resolutions 678 and 687, going back to 1990, but the legal arguments were so abstruse, even if they were correct, that the political effect – persuading people we were doing the right thing – was weak. I therefore wanted to see those resolutions renewed, which I believe happened in the form of resolution 1441 of 8 November 2002. The interpretation of resolution 1441, however, was disputed in the early weeks of 2003, so there was still a perceived deficit in legitimacy.

So I was contrasting the right to use force under 678 and 687, which had never been repealed in their effect, with public understanding of, and political support for, that argument. This is what I call a matter of legitimacy. We didn't have enough international support for what we were doing, particularly for handling Iraq after the invasion, and I argued this privately within my own government before it all came out. As it happened, in late May 2003, after the invasion was over, the UN passed a new resolution -1483 – which established a basis for the coalition powers to administer Iraq temporarily. But, while that gave us a legal basis for being there, it did not necessarily provide the legitimacy for what we were doing, in terms of political support in the Arab world and among the majority of UN member states. We were always short of full legitimacy, but we always had a legal basis.

Sticking with the theme of legitimacy, would potential gains in legitimacy derived from expansion of the UN Security Council outweigh a potential loss in efficacy?

Good question. I think representativeness is the most important argument in the Security Council reform debate, but effectiveness is a close second. A Council of, say, 24, as opposed to 15, probably would be more difficult to manage. The General Assembly is, in my view, a largely ineffective body because you can't have an effective committee of 192. What tends to happen in large committees is that small groups form to make things work. The danger about a larger Security Council therefore is that the permanent members might find it easier to fix. In my five years at the Council, the permanent members [P5] did not caucus as a matter of course. They did so only on one issue – Cyprus – or when specifically asked to by the elected members. Between 1998 and 2003, for example, when the P5 were divided on Iraq and the Council was paralysed, the other members said: Go sort yourselves out or none of us can act. In a larger Security Council, caucusing may well happen more frequently. So your question about effectiveness is very important, but I still think that a bigger Council would be more representative and therefore have more legitimacy.

In a letter to *New World* (see page 23), UNA Sudbury members accuse the P5 of excessive national interest. The UK has described its foreign policy as 'enlightened self-interest'. Is this a useful approach?

'Enlightened self-interest' sounds like a weasel phrase and we have to be careful of it, but let's be clear-headed – no state can be anything other than self-interested. National interest is a building block of the global political structure, but self-interest is also a collective thing. We can't be interested in our own environmental objectives without approaching them on a collective basis because the environment doesn't recognise frontiers. We can't achieve our



Sir Jeremy Greenstock, British Ambassador to the UN, confers with Colin Powell, US Secretary of State, in the Security Council on 7 March 2003, after a speech by UN chief weapons inspector Hans Blix on Iraq weapons inspections © Stephen Chernin/Getty Images

global security objectives unless we work with others.

I think the UK is very conscious of that and it has a tremendous amount to offer to international organisations - in bringing together countries' approaches, in drafting statements and resolutions, and in negotiating compromises between conflicting positions. We might make mistakes from time to time, but I think if you asked the other 191 UN member states which three countries contribute the most to working out in practice how to put together UN programmes, the UK would feature on most of those lists. We might be short of flair or ambition at times, or complacent in thinking that we can fix something without looking at the consequences, but the UK is generally very competent in its approach to intergovernmental activity.

The UK was seen as a driver of UN action on Libya. In the run-up to Security Council Resolution 1973, you cautioned against rushing into a no-fly zone. Is that a result of your past experiences?

I think past experience certainly plays a role. I have no difficulties with the concept of an intervention to constrain brutal treatment by a government of its own people. In my own mind, I would require UN authority for that, and that is UNA-UK's position. In the case of Libya, if certain members of the Security Council had blocked resolution 1973, I would have been satisfied with broad international support, as long as it included the Arab world and Libya's neighbours to make it fully legitimate.

If I express caution, it's because in my experience, the unintended usually happens when you use military force. You can't police a no-fly zone without using weaponry, particularly against ground-air defences, and that tends to kill civilians. I'm not sure that we know what our political strategy is over Libya because I don't know whether the Libyan people yet know. Being seen to take sides in a civil war is always dangerous for the international community and an intervention can change the perception of legitimacy, of the rebels, the regime, of us. If we did such a thing in Iran, the regime would urge the nation to consolidate against external aggression, which would change internal politics. Indeed, the Iranian regime has used these arguments. So there are always questions to be asked, but if they can be settled satisfactorily for most people, then I'm not against intervention.

What is the greatest challenge we face? Is it instability of this kind?

At the global level, I would say fragmentation: the multiplicity of actors and the selfishness of individuals, groups and nations. Under the influence of globalisation in economics, communications, knowledge – everything – there has tended to be a fragmentation of identity, culture, religion and politics. In this way, globalisation breeds polarisation.

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Can the UN tackle this challenge? Do you think it will become more or less important?

The context of your question is very complex. There is a historical tendency for international institutions to fade in their effectiveness because they reform themselves with great difficulty. And national interests appear to be growing stronger as more nations are able to implement their own objectives with more power. This is a particular problem for the UN because it is primarily a forum of nation states. And if nation states have increasingly diverse interests and approaches, it's more difficult for the UN to bring them together.

That, of course, makes the UN even more necessary. As a forum and through its programmes, the UN has a tremendous amount to offer and UNA-UK must call for better support, financially and politically, for those UN programmes that do the most good. Like all institutions, the UN must adapt. We must try to reform it where we can, patch things up where we can't and replace certain functions if necessary, or fold other activities over them, as the G20 has folded over the G8, and as regional organisations, in some issues, fold over the UN. But the UN remains essential because there is no other global institution. That is its enduring importance and we must all try to persuade our governments to devote more effort to making it work.

You've shared your thoughts on the biggest global challenges. What do you, as a person, worry about?

I worry about the possibility of weapons of mass destruction getting into non-state actor hands – perhaps the biggest and most real security threat. More generally, I worry that our institutions will not be able to bear the burden of the complexity of international affairs over the coming period. What cheers me is the ingenuity of right-minded human beings in finding answers to a lot of these things, in science and in policymaking.

And in diplomacy. Which brings me to something I've always wanted to know: is there camaraderie at the Security Council? Can you forget politics and go have a drink?

There is an extraordinary personal chemistry between permanent representatives. Most people are probably not aware that diplomats with the right sort of ambition can and do work together across their government instructions. If they see an opportunity for compromise on which they haven't received instructions from their capital, they should be able to follow that instinct, provided they know what they're doing and can persuade their capitals that the end result will be better. There were occasions when I did that (which I'm afraid I can't talk about) and things got going in the right direction, particularly on Africa. That is something very special about diplomacy at the UN.

You have covered an enormous amount of ground in this interview. Is there a book you would recommend to UNA members that explores some of these issues further?

Of recent books, I recommend Strobe Talbott's *The Great Experiment* because it's inspiring about the UN. In terms of essential reading, my advice would be: read a book from every continent – the most inspiring book you can find – within a month and try to understand the different perspectives.

You can listen to Sir Jeremy's interview in full in *New World online*: www.una.org.uk/new_world



THE UN & THE UK

This section of the magazine features coverage of UNA-UK's work with government and parliament, and developments in our main policy programmes: Towards Zero – our flagship nuclear non-proliferation and multilateral disarmament initiative – and other peace and security issues, sustainable development, gender, and human rights and humanitarian action. Further information, news and views can be found online at **www.una.org.uk/new_world**

Prepared by James Kearney, UNA-UK Peace & Security Programme Coordinator, and Natalie Samarasinghe, UNA-UK, Head of Policy & Communications

Hannay: Resolution 1973 on Libya 'watershed' for R2P

Speaking in the House of Lords on 1 April, former UNA-UK chair Lord Hannay hailed the 'watershed nature' of UN Security Council Resolution 1973 on Libya, which referred to the 'responsibility to protect' (R2P). Endorsed by all 192 UN member states in 2005, R2P affirms the responsibility of the international community to intervene when a state is unable or unwilling to protect its citizens. In practice, it has proved difficult to implement and recent UN action on Libya is seen as the first real instance of R2P in action. UNA-UK had petitioned for action on Libya to be channelled through the UN, with strong support from Libya's neighbours.

Lord Hannay also dismissed assertions that this latest UN resolution overturns the arms embargo on Libya as 'dubious and not very convincing', warning that it is crucial to stick firmly to the mandate to protect Libyan civilians and suggesting that the constraints it imposes 'are surely worth accepting as a necessary price for keeping together a wide coalition including, above all, the Arab League'. Days later, the UK foreign secretary, William Hague, told parliament that the UK is not providing arms but 'non-lethal equipment', such as telecommunications infrastructure, to Libya's interim transitional council.

Wallström calls on UK to combat conflict-related sexual violence

At an event in the Houses of Parliament on 19 January, Margot Wallström, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, spoke about the need to recognise sexual violence as one of the greatest peace and security challenges of our time (see page 7).

Jointly organised by three all-party parliamentary groups (on the UN, on women, peace and security, and on global security), the event was part of a three-day visit to Britain coordinated by UNA-UK, during which Wallström met with key government and parliamentary officials to canvass support for her work.

THE UN & THE UK

Coussins on women, peace and security and UN Women

During a House of Lords debate to mark the 100th International Women's Day on 3 March, Baroness Coussins raised two concerns on behalf of UNA-UK. The first related to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (on women, peace and security) and a perceived lack of senior-level leadership, funding and cross-departmental coordination for the UK's 1325 national action plan. Baroness Coussins also called on the government to commit sufficient resources to UN Women to ensure it can fulfil its purpose. The new agency is already facing a shortfall of \$300m in its operating budget of half a billion dollars. (See pages 8, 9, 15 and 24)

BASIC launches review of Trident nuclear weapons programme

On 9 March, the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) launched the Trident Commission, an independent body aiming to reassess the case for the UK's Trident nuclear weapons system. Commissioners include UNA-UK chairman Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Lord Browne of Ladyton and Sir Malcolm Rifkind. The launch event was attended by armed forces minister Nick Harvey, who said of the argument for the UK maintaining continuous at-sea deterrence (having a nuclear-armed submarine on patrol at all times): 'When you're looking for the paper trail, it is thin.' The government's official position is to maintain the Trident programme for the time being, with a final decision on whether to replace it scheduled for 2015.

Toward Zero convenes experts

UNA-UK's Towards Zero programme on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation will hold its second highlevel roundtable in September 2011. The event will convene experts from China, Russia, India and the Middle East to discuss issues including the prospects for a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the Middle East. A report of the first roundtable, held last November, is due to be published shortly. Written by Professor John Simpson of Southampton University, the report considers whether the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty framework is fit for purpose. (See www.una.org.uk for updates)

UNA-UK promotes Towards Zero campaign among students

During the first quarter of 2011, the Towards Zero programme focussed on youth engagement. James Kearney, UNA-UK's Peace and Security Programme Coordinator, introduced students at London Metropolitan, Richmond and Edinburgh universities to Towards Zero and spoke about the prospects for disarmament and non-proliferation in 2011 and beyond.

UNA-UK also arranged for students from Aberdeen and Edinburgh to visit the Foreign Office's counter proliferation department on 14 March. A joint Foreign Office/UNA-UK one-day conference for students is due to take place later this year.

Bribery Act set to come into force but guidance is lacking

The Bribery Act will enter into force on 1 July. The legislation, of which UNA-UK has been a strong supporter, updates Britain's outdated anti-corruption laws and brings them into line with its international treaty obligations, notably the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Anti-Bribery Convention. In January, Lord Hannay wrote to justice secretary Ken Clarke, urging him to press ahead with the act, despite claims from some businesses that it might prevent them from providing corporate hospitality. In his letter, the then UNA-UK chair reiterated the critical need for rich countries to enforce laws to combat practices that encourage corruption in developing countries, noting that, according to OECD reviews, the UK lags behind many comparable nations in introducing and enforcing anti-bribery laws.

While the act's entry into force has been widely welcomed, many campaigners have expressed disappointment at the accompanying official guidance. Chandrashekhar Krishnan, Executive Director of the UK chapter of anti-corruption NGO Transparency International, said: 'The guidance will achieve exactly the opposite of what is claimed for it. Parts of it read more like a guide on how to evade the act, than how to develop company procedures that will uphold it.'

Disability and development

On 16 May, UNA-UK and a consortium of UN agencies and NGOs will hold an event at the Commonwealth Society on making development more inclusive. >>





>> The event will bring together policymakers and practitioners to launch the UN's community-based rehabilitation guidelines on implementing the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. (See Diane Mulligan in *New World online*)

Push for UK government to take lead on arms trade treaty

On 16 February, the all-party parliamentary group on the UN co-hosted a meeting on efforts to secure an arms trade treaty (ATT) with the all-party parliamentary group on global security and non-proliferation and the NGO Saferworld. At the event, Foreign Office minister Alistair Burt reaffirmed the UK's commitment to the treaty, which is intended as a framework for regulating international sales of conventional arms.

Last year, the UN General Assembly called for an ATT conference to take place in 2012. A draft text was discussed for the first time in March, at the third preparatory meeting for this conference.

UNA-UK is calling on the UK to play a lead role in lobbying for the treaty to include the following: coverage of the import, export and re-export of the widest possible range of conventional arms; a firm basis in international human rights obligations; and an explicit measure to prevent transfers of arms when a substantial risk exists that they will be used to commit human-rights violations. Earlier this year, the UK and other EU countries revoked arms licences to Libya and Bahrain following the brutal suppression of protests in those countries.

DFID publishes results of UK international aid funding reviews

The government published the conclusions of reviews it has carried into its funding for multilateral aid organisations and its bilateral country-specific programmes. The Department for International Development (DFID) scrutinised 43 multilateral organisations, assessing their performance against criteria ranging from control of costs and accountability to delivery of outcomes. Of these, 34 – including the UN World Food Programme, UN Children's Fund and UN Refugee Agency – were deemed to provide 'very good', 'good' or 'adequate' value for money.

Of the remaining nine, four will have their funding reduced or discontinued and, in the case of the UN Industrial Development Organization, DFID will withdraw from membership. A further four, including UNESCO, were put under 'special measures' after DFID identified areas of concern. These organisations have been given two years to show they are making progress or they, too, could face cuts.

UNA-UK is calling on DFID to continue to work closely with the four agencies under 'special measures' to help them improve their performance. It also wants the government to review its decisions to cut or end funding after a suitable period.

Congratulating the government on resisting the 'slings and arrows of the tabloid press, who have asked them to cut our aid programme', former UNA-UK chair Lord Hannay has asked the government to enlist the support of other UN member states to press for the reforms identified in the aid review.

He said: 'Seeking reforms to these multilateral organisations, which is entirely legitimate, depends crucially on getting allies in other countries who take the same view as us ... Otherwise it is just a concealed cutting operation.'

Lord Hannay also flagged the importance of working with India, Brazil and China, which are emerging aid donors with plentiful recent experience of lifting large numbers of people from within their own populations out of poverty.

FEATURED PUBLICATION



Non-Governmental Organizations in World Politics: The Construction of Global Governance Peter Willetts Routledge, December 2010

From Amnesty International and Oxfam to Greenpeace and Save the Children, NGOs are now key players in global politics. This accessible and informative textbook provides a comprehensive overview of their increasing role.

Willetts examines a variety of NGOs, their structure, membership and activities, and their complex relationship with social movements and civil society, reminding us that there are many more NGOs exercising influence at the UN than the few household names. Taking a radical perspective, he challenges conventional thinking on the extent of NGO engagement in global policymaking, their status within international law, their role as pioneers and the need to integrate these organisations within mainstream international relations theory.

An in-depth guide to this crucial area within international politics, Willetts' book should be required reading for students, NGO activists and policymakers.

LETTERS



Send your letters to:

Natalie Samarasinghe, UNA-UK, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL

email: samarasinghe@una.org.uk

Dear Editor

In the article on global population ('Can the world handle 7 billion of us?', *New World*, Spring 2011), you reflect 'on whether population growth really is the defining challenge of the century'. That question can only be answered at the end of the century.

What we need to decide now is how much uncertainty is associated with growth predictions and what, if anything, the UN should be doing about it. Few would argue that the expected increase is actually beneficial. It follows that if '200m women who would like to use contraceptives lack access to them', the first thing the UN should be doing is formulating a programme to meet their needs.

It seems wholly inconceivable that you should conclude that our efforts should be directed instead 'at urban development [i.e. skyscrapers] ... managing migration [i.e. persuading developed countries to increase their already-unpopular intakes] and moving towards a low-carbon world [we are unlikely to do so at the required rate]'.

David Hayes

Westbury-on-Trym

Dear Editor

Much of the impetus for uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt seemed to come from the younger generation, able to use technology effectively to expose the abuses perpetrated by their regimes. Now, in Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria and elsewhere, the local populations are following their example. This 'people power' must be channelled through a democratic process.

The UN must use this window of opportunity. It should provide humanitarian assistance and help with transitional arrangements. It should advise new administrations on democratic institutions that reflect the wishes of the people. It should monitor closely developments in Israel/Palestine to avoid the unrest in the region spilling into this intractable situation. And it should facilitate justice and accountability. The Security Council's decision to refer the Gaddafi regime to the International Criminal Court is a step in the right direction and will hopefully act as a warning to other tyrannical regimes. Robert Mugabe – take note.

David J Thomas Porthcawl

Dear Editor

It is a matter of mounting concern that *New World* has rarely referred to the annual sessions of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). The Wales Assembly of Women is an NGO accredited to the UN. Our representatives have attended every major UN world conference for women since 1985 and every CSW session. We are deeply concerned that progress in attaining human rights for women has been so limited.

Take, for example, UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which states that women should be equally represented as members of national and international bodies involved with peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Little has been heard of this measure, far less of its implementation. As for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, most women have never heard of it and many men, sad to say, would probably prefer not to. It should surely be a responsibility of the UN and all associated bodies to correct this disgraceful situation.

Audrey Jones

Secretary, Wales Assembly of Women

Note from the Editor: this letter was received two weeks before this gender-themed issue of New World went to press, and we are very grateful for this feedback. UNA-UK shares the writer's concern at the lack of genuine debate and action on gender issues, in the media and in policymaking circles. This is why gender is a core policy focus for UNA-UK. Our current priorities are: support for UN Women (see page 15); women, peace and security (see page 9); gender and development (see page 8); and awareness and implementation of CEDAW (see New World online). While New World has not reported on every CSW session, UNA-UK sends delegates every year (see page 24) and regularly features content on a range of gender and women's issues, such as UN Women (Autumn and Spring 2010), violence against women (Winter and Spring 2009), maternal mortality (Summer 2010 and Summer 2008) and UNSCR 1325 (Spring 2008).

Dear Editor

Among the horrors of the conflict in Libya was the uncovering of a massive Gaddafi-government arms installation. Close inspection revealed the origin of the weapons – China, Russia, the UK and the US, all permanent members of the UN Security Council. Far from fulfilling their mandate to maintain international peace, they are leaders of the arms trade, flooding the world with weapons! And through their Security Council veto, these self-interested nations have humankind in a political and military stranglehold.

This tragedy will only be ended by reform of the Council. The permanent members – the aforementioned four and France – need to commit themselves to the well-being of all humankind, learn to trust one another, surrender their veto in favour of majority voting, and reconstitute the Council so that it represents every region of the world. And all states need to construct together a model of a civilised nation, where governments care for the well-being of all their citizens, build friendly relations with their neighbours, and multilaterally disarm. These measures will build a truly 'United Nations'.

Reverend Malcolm Hill, Dean Rees-Evans, Danile Pampanini, Jenny Ince and Robert Milne Sudbury

The Trustees of the UNA Trust would like to express their deep appreciation to the many UNA members and supporters who gave so generously to its recent appeal for funding to support work on disability and development. (See Diane Mulligan in *New World online*) **CSW 55** Sally Spear reports from New York on a new era for gender issues at the UN



On 22 February 2011, thousands

of women, including me, converged on New York to attend the 55th UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). Established by the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1946, the CSW meets each year to discuss global gender policies. It has been instrumental in setting equality standards and identifying the challenges women continue to face.

I have been to several meetings and, while they are always invigorating, the excitement this year was palpable because this was the first time the CSW had assembled since the new UN Women agency came into being.

After years of dedicated advocacy by women's organisations, including the UNA Women's Advisory Council, member states agreed last year to establish a consolidated UN body to lead the organisation's work on gender and to appoint a high-profile executive director to head it (see page 15). In Michelle Bachelet, they have made an excellent choice; the former president of Chile is more than capable of providing the authority and vision required to build up UN Women, and to marshal the resources it needs.

I was struck by how much she has already achieved. Briefing representatives of the National Committees of UN Women, she outlined her '100-day action plan', spoke about a 'field capacity assessment' that has nearly been completed and listed the agency's six priority areas: women's leadership and participation; violence against women; women, peace and security; women's economic empowerment; making gender equality central to national planning and budgeting; and the UN Millennium Development Goals.

In order to tackle all these areas, UN Women will be relying on support from many partners: states, NGOs, the private sector, community leaders, the media and, of course, National Committees. I was delighted that the UK's UN Women National Committee (formerly UNIFEM UK) has finally been awarded ECOSOC consultative status (see the report by Jan Grasty, President of the Committee, in *New World online*).

'We must push ministers to honour these commitments by arguing that people in Britain care about international development and the challenges facing women around the world'

UN Women wasn't the only topic discussed at the CSW. Each year the conference highlights a particular theme and on this occasion it was women's access to education, work, science and technology. Among the issues raised here were the enduring gender bias in textbooks and curricula, and the lack of teaching tools on violence against women. There were also inspiring examples of practical action, including a microcredit project jointly run by widows in Kenya, and training in solar panel installation delivered to and by illiterate women in India.

This got me thinking about what action we can take as members of UNA-UK. At the CSW there was a high level of coordination among British NGOs and we received daily briefings by the UK Mission to the UN in New York. It will be important to maintain these links so we can continue to press the government to do more for gender equality in the UK and worldwide – especially now that funding for the Women's National Commission, which acted as a hub for UK women's groups, has been cut.

Two immediate issues are lobbying for funds for UN Women, and the UK's report on its obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, due in May 2011 (see the article by Charlotte Gage in *New World online* on how to feed into this process).

The government has pledged to support UN Women and to make female health a priority. We must push ministers to honour these commitments by arguing that, even in this age of austerity, people in Britain care about international development and the challenges facing women around the world.

Sally Spear is a member of the UNA Women's Advisory Council. She was UNA-UK's accredited representative to the Commission on the Status of Women.



Young Professionals Network: equality means business

Harnessing the economic potential

of women is essential for building stronger economies, prosperous communities and more stable and just societies.

According to the UN, research in developing countries has shown that when women and girls earn income they reinvest some 90% of it into their families, compared to just 30-40% for men. But it's not just communities that benefit. A 2006 report in The Economist ('The importance of sex', 15 April) estimated that over the past decade, women's work has contributed more to global economic growth than China. It suggested that were Japan to raise its share of working women to American levels - from 57% to 65% it would boost annual growth by 0.3% over 20 years.

This message was echoed by a 2007 study by Goldman Sachs ('Gender, Inequality, Growth and Global Ageing), which reported that many countries could dramatically increase gross domestic product (GDP) by closing the gender gap in employment rates: the Euro zone could increase GDP by 13%, Japan by 16% and the US by 9%.

Empowering women is also an important driver of business performance. The World Bank has accumulated a growing amount of research showing correlations between a higher share of women in top management and a firm's financial performance and governance. Fortune 500 firms with a high number of women executives outperform their industry median firms on three different measures of profitability: return on equity, return on sales and return on invested capital. The firms with the very best scores for promoting women appear to be consistently more profitable than those whose scores were merely good. Companies with more women executives demonstrate better corporate governance practices. More diverse boards are also more likely to hold CEOs accountable for poor stock performance.

The UN Global Compact, a voluntary corporate responsibility initiative for busi-

UN Global Compact: Women's empowerment principles for business

LEADERSHIP

- Affirm top-level support for gender equality and define clearly the company's strategic case for advancing it
- Establish company-wide goals and targets and include progress as a factor in performance reviews and job descriptions
- Establish implementation plans and a task force to monitor progress
- Ensure that all policies are gender-sensitive identifying factors that impact women and men differently, and that corporate culture advances equality and inclusion

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

- Pay equal remuneration and benefits
- Ensure that workplace and recruitment policies and practices are free from discrimination
- Appoint women to managerial, executive and board positions
- Offer flexible work options, leave and re-entry to positions of equal pay and status
- Support access to child care by providing services, resources and information
- Track recruitment, promotion and retention rates by gender

HEALTH & SAFETY

- Provide safe working conditions, taking into account different factors for women and men
- Establish a zero-tolerance policy for violence and harassment
- Respect employee rights to time off for medical care for themselves and their dependants
- Address security issues, e.g. the safety of women travelling to and from work and on company business

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- Invest in workplace policies and programmes that seek to advance women at all levels, especially in non-traditional fields
- Ensure equal access to all company-supported education and training programmes
- Provide equal opportunities for networking and mentoring
- Promote the business case for women's empowerment and the positive impact of inclusion for men as well as women

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

- Expand business relationships with women-owned enterprises
- Support gender-sensitive solutions to credit and lending barriers
- Ask business partners and peers to respect the company's commitment to advancing equality
- Respect the dignity of women in marketing and other company materials

ENGAGEMENT

- Lead by example showcase company commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment
- Leverage influence with business partners, suppliers and community leaders to promote inclusion
- Work with community stakeholders, officials and others to eliminate discrimination and create opportunities for women
- Use philanthropy and grants programmes to support inclusion and equality

TRANSPARENCY & REPORTING

- Make company policies and implementation plans public
- Establish benchmarks that quantify inclusion of women at all levels
- Measure and report on progress using data disaggregated by sex
- Incorporate gender markers into ongoing reporting obligations

nesses, has published a set of women's empowerment principles for business, with tips and case studies (see table above).

The full report is available from www.unglobalcompact.org. UNA-UK is encouraging all Young Professionals to ensure that the relevant people in their organisation are aware of this initiative. Are you breaking the glass ceiling? Is your organisation a beacon of good practice? Or have you had negative experiences? We want to hear from you. Send your stories to the Editor, Natalie Samarasinghe, on samarasinghe@una.org.uk

LIMUN 2011

Pallavi Kavdikar on how Europe's biggest Model UN is helping future leaders



Pallavi Kavdikar

From 11 to 13 February, students

from across the world participated in the 12th London International Model United Nations (LIMUN) conference. With just under 1,000 delegates, this year's event was the most popular to date and the biggest such conference in Europe.

LIMUN offers students the chance to learn about global issues and diplomacy in an interactive and enjoyable way, by playing the role of country delegations and UN officials from a host of bodies. Its range of forums allows both novice and seasoned MUN-ers to get the most out of the event: newcomers are eased into proceedings at General Assembly debates, while crisis committees give eager experts a chance to take on the world's most intractable conflicts.

Over the course of the weekend, participants negotiated resolutions on issues such as the arms trade and maritime piracy, with the deliberations often spilling over from formal sessions into the time set aside for dinner and dancing – all in the spirit of multilateralism of course. But, aside from all the fun, why are so many people so passionate about MUN events? The answer lies in their value as an educational experience, giving participants a global perspective on major issues as well as fostering their leadership, communication and teamwork skills. Instead of being talked at, students learn from their peers and through their own research in an environment where the outcomes cannot be predicted.

'There is nothing quite like stepping into the shoes of world leaders, going through the same decision-making processes, and, like many of them, learning the rules as you go along'

LIMUN is Model UN par excellence. It is a truly multicultural experience, with delegates this year from 36 countries spanning six continents. To debate international affairs in this context helps the participants to confront their own prejudices. They can find themselves playing the US, Iran or Israel, listening to the frustrations of EU member states keen to make headway on climate change, or hearing why G77 countries think rich countries should bear the brunt of emissions cuts. This helps develop the understanding needed to work



LIMUN in a nutshell

Delegates: 936 Number of universities and schools:110 Countries represented: 36 Negotiating a tricky resolution:



effectively in a diverse society. Back home, the students can share their experiences, debunking myths and breaking down the barriers that are so counterproductive in this increasingly interdependent world.

MUN conferences also offer insights into the world of politics and diplomacy in a way that no classroom can. There is nothing quite like stepping into the shoes of world leaders, going through the same decision-making processes, and, like many of them, learning the rules as you go along. You see the context in which global issues are negotiated, and how these impact on national and regional politics. So deep is the immersion that many delegates stay in character for the whole conference, sporting national dress and socialising mainly with regional friends and trading partners.

Ultimately though, what makes MUN so fantastic is the natural way that it fosters cooperation and tolerance. By working together on resolutions and sharing their knowledge and experience, students learn how multilateralism can create peaceful solutions to the most complex challenges.

And who knows what will happen if some participants go on to become diplomats and policymakers. MUN could be their inspiration for maintaining an open-minded, cooperative approach to international affairs, leading them to pursue multilateral foreign policies in the real world.

Pallavi Kavdikar is a third-year Law LLB student at the London School of Economics. She was Under-Secretary-General for Communications at LIMUN 2011

Sir John Holmes, then UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, delivers the keynote speech at UNA-UK's policy conference in June 2009, held at the Scottish Parliament © UNA-UK

Want to get more involved with UNA-UK's Policy Conference?

If so, UNA-UK's Procedure Committee wants to hear from you!

The Procedure Committee is an integral part of UNA-UK, helping to shape its Policy Conference, at which UNA-UK members debate and adopt policy positions for the Association.

The Procedure Committee acts as the coordinating body for Policy Conference, collating submissions from the membership, advising on the programme and logistics, and chairing sessions at the event.

Ahead of the Procedure Committee elections at this year's Policy Conference, the current Committee is inviting nominations from those wishing to stand. There are five places on the Committee – Chair, Vice-Chair and three regular members – and all members serve for two years.

If you are interested in shaping this event, please send us a profile of up to 150 words outlining relevant skills and experience by **10 June 2011**. Profiles should be sent to: Rich Nelmes, UNA-UK's Membership & Business Development Manager, on membership@una.org.uk or by post to UNA-UK, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL.

Please note that there will not be an opportunity to submit your nomination at the conference, and that only paid-up members of UNA-UK are eligible for election.

Profiles will be circulated to those attending the 2011 Policy Conference on **18 June** in Cardiff (see page 4) and elections will take place at the conference. Attendance at the conference is therefore strongly encouraged!

More information is available at www.una.org.uk or by contacting Rich on the above details.

THE REVOLUTION WILL BE LED BY A 12-YEAR-OLD GIRL

IF YOU WANT TO END POVERTY AND HELP THE DEVELOPING WORLD, THE BEST THING YOU CAN DO IS INVEST TIME, ENERGY, AND FUNDING INTO ADDLESCENT GIRLS. IT'S CALLED THE GIRL EFFECT, BECAUSE GIRLS ARE UNIQUELY CAPABLE OF INVESTING IN THEIR COMMUNITIES AND MAKING THE WORLD BETTER. BUT HERE ARE 10 THINGS THAT STAND IN THEIR WAY:

LET'S SEE SOME ID

Without a birth certificate or an ID, a girl in the developing world doesn't know and can't prove her age, protect herself fram child marriage, open a bank account, vole, or eventually get a job. That makes it hard to save the world.

G

protecting themselves. But education is no

Girls need to be empowered

AND FEMA

hen girls are educated about HIV.

supported

ILLITERACY DOES NOT LOOK GOOD ON A RESUME...

70% of the world's out-of-school children are girls. Girls deserve better. They deserve quality education and the safe environments and support that allow them to get to school on time and stay there through adolescence.

A NICE PLACE TO WORK

If girls have the skills for sofe and decent work. If they understand their rights, if they are financially literate and considered for nonheaditional jobs at an appropriate age, if they get their fair share of training and internships, they will be armed and ready for economic independence.

> ADOLESCENT GIRLS AREN'T JUST "FUTURE WOMEN" They're girls. They deserve their own category. They need to be a distinct group when we talk about aid, aducation group when we talk about aid, aducation sports, cloit participation, health, and economics. Yes, they are future mothers. But they actually live in the present.

SHE SHOULD BE A STATISTIC

We won't know how to help girls until we know what's going on with them. Hey, all you governments and NGOs and social scientists: You're accountable! We need on annual girl report card for every country so we can keep track of which girls are thriving and which girls are not.

EVERYONE GETS ON BOARD OR WE'RE ALL OVERBOARD

Boys, girls, moms, dads. If we don't ell rally to support girls, nothing is going to change. Not for them, and not for us. Change starts with you So get going.





girleffect.org