

P@X online bulletin

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN
ARMED CONFLICTS

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Editorial

The transformation of the enemy's body into something freely available is inscribed in the deepest logic of military confrontation, as underlined by Simone Weil in her comments on the *Iliad* as the "poem of force". Hence, the right to resort to more or less unrestricted violence over someone, who, by definition, does not enjoy any rights, starting with the elementary right to live, has always been present in the unwritten law of war. There are no civilised wars, as Sigmund Freud was forced to acknowledge with melancholy after the outbreak of the First World War. From this point of view, this issue of P@x focuses on one of the most controversial and difficult topics in the realm of the reflection on the history of war and, in particular, the wars of the XXth century. In spite of the fact that women are not usually a direct actor in military confrontations, often the biopolitics of war takes the female body as a particularly vulnerable target. Thus, the wartime is usually a time of particular worsening of the endemic violence perpetrated against women, subject to assassination, sexual violence and slavery. In the XXth century, and especially in the advent of the Yugoslavian wars, it became evident that sexual violence and the rape of women was not only a "normal" consequence of armed situations, but also a

weapon of war, a strategic instrument deliberately aimed at breaking the enemy's resistance and creating effective mechanisms of domination through the transformation of the female bodies into a space of political struggle and a token of absolute supremacy.

The on-growing visibility of this topic has been paralleled by the persistence of stereotypes which are difficult to counter and dismantle, namely those associated with an alleged culturalist vision, according to which in certain contexts (for example, in Muslim areas), rape constitutes a double, particularly degrading victimation. The contributions gathered in this issue of P@x seek to question the rushed generalisations and prejudiced visions of sexual violence through a context-sensitive approach. The mass rape perpetrated by the Nazi army in the Eastern Europe – a topic which came to light only after the 90s –, the rape of German women at the hands of the Soviet military during the dismantling of the III Reich, the sexual violence endured by women in the context of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the Israeli violence aimed at Palestinian women as well as the sexual violence that victimised East Timorese and Mozambican women thus are dealt with within a framework which not only underlines the permanence of processes of female victimisation in scenarios of armed violence, but also,

albeit briefly, the specificity of each case.

As a contribution to comparative research, which despite significant progress over the last decade remains largely underdeveloped, the articles of this issue of P@x draw attention to the issue of voice, that is the ability of female victims of violence to denounce publicly the crime that they suffered. Such denouncing is only possible when a set of minimal institutional conditions are in place. At odds with the advice to "forget the past" given by a high profile official in East Timor to a woman victim of sexual violence, who was interviewed by Teresa Cunha, what is necessary is a politics of memory, which effectively transposes the often long-silenced individual suffering to the public conscience and responsibility. In this framework, testimony becomes a constitutive element of public discourse. As a performative act through which the victim achieves a status of authorship, testimony represents the most privileged moment to challenge the condition of victimhood, enabling the reconstitution of subjectivity beyond trauma.

António Sousa
Ribeiro/NHUMEP

P@X Theory

WARTIME RAPE AS A WEAPON OF PROPAGANDA

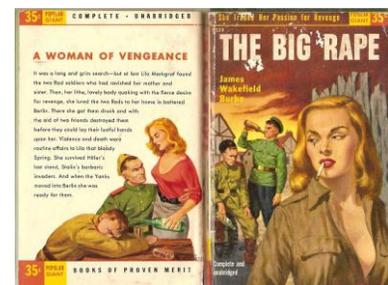
Wartime sexual violence was traditionally regarded as a regrettable albeit inevitable by-product of warfare. The premise that it resulted from the “biological urges” of soldiers was challenged by feminist research that favoured a “cultural approach”: rapes were perceived to be an expression of power relations; militarisation was accused of contributing to the production of violent masculinities. The concept of rape as a weapon of war was developed in research which postulates that sexual violence may constitute a form of warfare that can be used to frighten, demoralise and annihilate the enemy (destruction of the social fabric, flight of the population from a disputed territory, etc.). In certain contexts wartime rapes do indeed suggest the existence of an implicit strategy sanctioned by military commanders. The concept however should be used cautiously to avoid dangerously universalising aspirations that ignore the specificities of each conflict. The discourses on rapes committed during a given conflict can also play a strategic role in the conflict itself as well as in the processes of collective memory once it has ended. The case of German women raped in WWII is one of many examples that exhibit the extent to which sexual violence can be used as a weapon of propaganda.

The famous documentary *Liberators take Liberties* (Germany, 1992, 192m) on the mass rapes in Berlin in 1945, by the German feminist director Helke Sander, was promoted as the end of a long collective silence. Nonetheless, the subject was not new in the public sphere [1]. Scarring images of sexual violence had been a stocking feature of German wartime anti-Soviet discourse. After the massacre of Nemmersdorf (October 1944), for instance, photos and descriptions of the dead bodies of raped women were part of a racist propaganda that called upon the Germans to resist till death, for peace would be even more painful than war. According to Atina Grossmann (1995: 113-17), this discourse framed the reaction of both the victims and the broad population to the mass rapes by the Soviets, hence shaping the German memory of defeat.



“Victory or Bolchevism”, German wartime propaganda, 1943/45, © Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.

The rivalries of the Cold War favoured the use of sexual violence as an ideological weapon and the perpetuation of a monolithic image of the Red Army as “hordes of rapists”. See, for instance, *The Big Rape* (1951) by James Wakefield Burke. This work of propaganda became a bestseller that was translated to German and several other languages. Here the Red Army materializes a barbaric and bloodthirsty East, where sexuality is combined with violence, alcohol and perversity. This destructive masculinity has its counterpart in the healthy, potent and protective masculinity, which is embodied by the American military.



The Big Rape, James Wakefield Burke, 1952

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The wartime rapes committed by the Germans in the occupied territories are almost absent from Western German public sphere [1], while the sexual violence perpetrated by the Western Allies is scarcely present. Meanwhile the rapes by the Red Army fuelled the cliché of the Russian as savage masculinity and as a sexual predator. This image permeates the conservative propaganda, the daily press and the literature about the expulsion (memories, reports, works of fiction about the flight and the expulsion of the Germans from the territories that were lost in 1945 and from the Eastern neighbour countries). *Martyrium und Heldentum Ostdeutscher Frauen. Ein Ausschnitt aus der Schlesiens Passion 1945/46* (1954) by the priest Johannes Kaps is a collection of first-hand testimonies about the end of the German Silesia. This volume is presented as a remembrance of the “heroism of the German women and girls during the assault of the Bolshevik hordes” and as a “monument to the Christian West” (Kaps, 1954: 7). The rapes are inscribed in an ancient narrative of Christian victimhood at the hand of the infidels and hence used to discredit communism and secularism. In the 50s the sexual violence committed by the Red Army became gradually a metaphor for a Christian Germany threatened by a barbaric and communist East (Heineman, 1996: 355, 367-73). Therefore, the studies on the reconstruction of a German masculinity and on the re-militarisation of the FRG as well as on the alignment of the new republic as a Western ally of the US should not ignore the impact of the memory of the Soviet rapes in the German population. The real victims, however, did not benefit from this public attention: they scarcely had any possibilities of getting any economic compensation. Most of them preferred to keep silent about their past, for they feared social stigmatisation.

The ideological instrumentalisation of rapes committed by the Red Army reveals some of the contradictions that are inherent to certain

discourses on wartime sexual violence. Such texts may foster the visibility of certain aspects of warfare: sexual violence, the exploitation of women, the suffering of civilians, i.e. the counterpart of war heroism and veneration for armed struggle. However, one has to identify the voices that disclose those stories, their function in a given context and especially the possible processes of silencing that they create. These discourses may even be counterproductive in fighting sexual violence. Addressing the problem through a nationalist and racist ideology may veil some of the mental and cultural structures that contribute to the eruption of sexual violence in armed conflict, especially in contexts of ethnic rivalries and racial prejudice. As a discourse deeply anchored in traditional gender constructions it postulates the subordination of women to a model of patriarchal values. The raped woman tends to emerge as pure, sacrificed and stained by the sexuality of the Other. She is projected as a passive being in need of masculine protection. The denunciation of sexual violence may therefore simultaneously foster an hegemonic masculinity, an ideal of man as the owner of the exercise of violence, i.e., it may favour precisely the cultural structures that enable women to be considered spoils of war and a battlefield for the winners to inscribe their power over an ethnic group or a community.

That explains why in the context of the feminist movement, where the problem of sexual violence got increasingly attention, the traditional discourses on rape were often regarded as non-existent. The perspective that feminists tried to adopt for the phenomenon – as a crime against a woman, regardless of any judgment on her sexual, moral or political behaviour – is absent from the nationalist discourses, where victims are valued as members of a given community and not as sexually independent individuals.

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Nowadays, in spite of great advances in investigation, legislation and public awareness, the high visibility given to certain wartime rapes is still framed by patriarchal values and determined by ethnic rivalries and identities, as well as fostered by political and economic agendas. Wartime rape still exists as a weapon of propaganda.

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Notes

[1] See Regina Mühlhäuser's article in this newsletter

P@x Theory

HONOR AND RESPECTABILITY. THE SILENCING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE BY GERMAN SOLDIERS AFTER WWII

Erich von Manstein (1887–1973) was one of the most prominent commanders of Germany's armed forces in WWII. On 10 August 1946, he testified as a witness for the defense at the Nuremberg Trials. When questioned about the chain of command and the military laws in the *Wehrmacht* he replied:

We exercised military jurisdiction as we had to do according to our training, in other words, according to right and law and as decent soldiers. I should like to quote as an example that the first two death sentences with which I had to deal were imposed at the beginning of the Russian campaign on two German soldiers in my corps for the rape of Russian women, and it was the same everywhere [1].

Von Manstein presented the case of two soldiers who had been sentenced to death for rape charges in order to illustrate the respectability and honour of the *Wehrmacht*. By emphasizing this had taken place at the beginning of the war, he suggested firstly that acts of sexual violence were punished severely at all times, and secondly that the military leadership secured discipline and “male self-restraint” (*Manneszucht*) by passing down rigorous sentences with a deterrent effect. The picture von Manstein conjured up—that sexual violence against local women during the war in the USSR was strictly prohibited and punished severely—remains prevalent up to the present day.

Until the 1990s, the image of the disciplined *Wehrmacht* soldiers (which contrasted with the image of the SS, as the cruel Nazi elite that ignored laws and legal principles) was frequently referred to as evidence for the alleged innocence of the majority of German

men. In 1995, when the first exhibition on the crimes of the *Wehrmacht* was opened, the former parliamentary chairman of the Christian Democratic Party CDU/CSU Alfred Dregger defended German soldiering during WWII. Due to “discipline and male self-restraint”, he contended, crimes like rape were an absolute exception [2]. Interestingly enough, Dregger uses this reference to the crime of rape in exactly the same way that von Manstein (and other high-ranking Nazi officials) did. Today, descriptions of the honest and disciplined *Wehrmacht* soldiers have been shown to be myths. Nonetheless, the legend of German soldiers' sexual abstinence in the Soviet Union during the war, the occupation, and the “Final Solution” continues to be pervasive. “Ordinary men”, so the argument goes, participated in horrendous atrocities, but sexual violence was not one of them.



Cover *Conquests: German Soldiers' Involvement in Sexual Violence and Intimate Relations in the Soviet Union, 1941–1945*, Regina Mühlhäuser, 2010.

Ironically, the desire to emphasise the uniqueness of Nazi racist and antisemitic violence seems to have contributed to obfuscating knowledge about sexual crimes. According to Nazi racial ideology, sexual contacts between people who were considered to be “Aryan” and people who were categorized as Slavic and thus “ethnically alien” (*fremdvölkisch*) or Jewish and thus “of another race” (*artfremd*) were unthinkable. The notion that these prescriptions were consistently enforced and shaped daily life during the Nazi regime

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remains widespread. It is thus often assumed that Nazi soldiers did not rape women considered to be “inferior”, to avoid violating Nazi laws on “racial purity”. In addition, the fact that the Nazi party publicly condemned prostitution and promoted family life has supported the perception that German soldiers did not perpetrate sexual violence.

Recent research has demonstrated that racism and antisemitism as well as the threat of punishment did indeed, to a certain extent, restrict the heterosexual behaviour of German men in the confined spaces of camps and within the borders of the Reich [3]. In the vast territory of the Soviet Union, however, the Nazi vilification of “racial mixing” was by no means congruent with the interests and the behaviour of the majority of German men. Contemporary and post-war eyewitness accounts as well as official military documents indicate that sexual violence by German troops was a widespread reality and included coerced disrobement, sexual torture, sexual assault, sexual blackmail, rape, gang-rape and sexual enslavement. In addition, German soldiers visited secret prostitutes as well as officially-established military brothels; and engaged in relations with women who traded sex for protection, food or other scarce goods. In some cases, German men were also committed to consensual liaisons, which led at times, especially in Estonia and Latvia, to applications for marriage permits. Occasionally, sexual violence, sexual bartering, and consensual relations merged [4].

Indeed, military leaders knew about these sexual encounters, but were by no means persistent in their attempts to suppress them. While the Wehrmacht and the SS issued a variety of bans to curb sexual violence and/or sexual contacts with women deemed “racially inferior”, these were not put into practice with much vigour. The military leadership faced a dilemma: on the one hand, sexual activity was considered to be undesirable, because it

jeopardized military discipline and the health and reputation of the troops and also violated the principles of Nazi racial ideology. On the other hand, male virility was considered to be an expression of strength and, ultimately, beneficial to the war effort. In addition, the conquest of “enemy women” symbolised the victory over foreign territory. As Annette Timm has argued, “the expression of male sexuality was not a matter of individual pleasure but of the nation’s military strength”[5]. Nazi authorities thus widely accepted heterosexual activities of German men as a normal, even “healthy”, and virtually unavoidable part of warfare.

Von Manstein’s testimony thus did not reflect the recent past. Rather, he told this story in the framework of the post-war trials in order to argue that the Wehrmacht’s leadership had acted according to the laws and customs of modern warfare. Notably, one of the defendants at the Nuremberg trials, the former chief of the German air force, Hermann Göring, related a quite similar story in the witness stand [6]. Without being asked, both former military commanders told stories about rape and the alleged military handling thereof in order to prove that they had not violated the basic agreements of civilization in modernity. Whereas during the war the perpetration of sexual violence had often been perceived as an expression of masculinity and, in extension, of male honour (individually and in relation to a military unit), the post-war narrative presented offenders, who had committed rape, as individual men who had dishonoured the army. Sexual violence thus acquired a symbolic meaning on the thin line between male honour/dishonour and military respectability/disrespectability.

In the middle of the twentieth century the Allied forces shared this perspective. Sexual violence was regarded as an unavoidable by-product of warfare (and not considered to be a crime). In fact, American, British, French, and Soviet army leaders had to deal with cases of sexual violence perpetrated by their

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own soldiers at the end of WWII in Europe as well as Asia – and these became a closely contested, powerful metaphor during the Cold War [5]. It is thus not surprising that during the Nuremberg Trials acts of sexual violence were merely mentioned while evidence was being collected. They did not become part of the indictment. Rather, they served to emphasise the brutality and perversity of the Germans.

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Notes

[1] *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal: Proceedings* (1948), (IMT), Vol. 20, p. 61.

[2] „Dregger lobt die „Manneszucht“. Unionspolitiker attackiert Kritiker der Wehrmacht“, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27.03.1995.

[3] For example, Na’ama Shik (2009), “Sexual Abuse of Women in Auschwitz-Birkenau”, in: Dagmar Herzog (ed.), *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe’s Twentieth Century*, London, pp. 221-246.

[4] For instance, Birgit Beck (2004), *Wehrmacht und sexuelle Gewalt. Sexualverbrechen vor deutschen Militärgerichten 1939–1945*, Paderborn; Doris F. Bergen (2008), „Sexual Violence in the Holocaust: Unique or Typical?“ In: *Lessons and Legacies*, vol. 7; Monika Flaschka (2009), *Race, Rape and Gender in Nazi Occupied Territories*. PhD. diss (Kent State University); Regina Mühlhäuser (2010), *Eroberungen. Sexuelle Gewalttaten und intime Beziehungen deutscher Soldaten in der Sowjetunion 1941–1945*, Hamburg.

[5] See Julia Garraio’s article in the newsletter

[5] Anette Timm (2002), “Sex with a Purpose. Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich”, in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 11, no. 1/2, p. 253f.

[6] IMT, Op. Cit., vol. 9, pp. 404, 624.

P@x interview

Interview with Gabriela Mischkowski, by Júlia Garraio

“WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE YUGOSLAVIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA WE REACHED A POINT OF NO RETURN IN RESPECT TO PROSECUTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE”

P@x talked with Gabriela Mischkowski. In 1992, as the news about widespread rapes in the war in Bosnia unfolded, Gabriela Mischkowski became a co-founder of the women's rights and aid organisation *medica mondiale*; since then she has been internationally engaged in researching, combating and prosecuting sexual violence in armed conflicts. Since 1998, she freelances as *medica mondiale*'s program advisor on gender justice and as such she became a member of the “Women's Caucus for Gender Justice”, an international feminist group of experts that participated actively in the negotiations for the International Criminal Court in New York, 1998-2002. She participated in several international fact finding missions on sexual violence during armed conflicts in India (Gujarat), Indonesia (Aceh) and Northern Uganda and has published several articles on the issue, including problems in prosecuting wartime sexual violence.

P@x: You once said that Bosnian women had had enough of researchers willing to make Phds on the topic of wartime sexual violence. Why?

G.M.: We have to make a distinction between women who work for NGOs and women who experienced sexual violence. Once the fighting actions decreased, more and more journalists came from all over the world and they all wanted to speak with women who had been sexually attacked. Most of them wanted a juicy story or thought they could find the one and only authentic voice. The situation became more and more obscene and was mirrored in a running joke: a journalist comes to a refugee camp, turns his microphone on and asks “Is there a raped woman who speaks English?” The women concerned became more and more suspicious. At the beginning they used to speak quite open with journalists, but they (or many of them) soon realized that they were being used, that their stories were being distorted, and the need to speak rapidly turned into a silence. After the

journalists, the researchers came to collect data and “authentic” voices for their PhDs. Again, many women felt exploited because they rarely got anything back. I've met very few researchers who stayed longer in the country, who made an effort to learn at least the language and a little bit about the customs. In Bosnia, for example, you don't just sit around a table and interview people. It is very important to build up trust and that means, for example, to have a coffee, talk about your kids, talk about yourself, build a relationship. Secondly you must give something back to the projects that helped you, that gave you the contacts, and definitely to the interviewed women. What kind of control do they have on what is being published? Many researchers wrote great studies, but nothing came back to the women. You have to take that in consideration, to plan it, for example, when you ask for funding. I know about a researcher who made the draft of her book available to all those she had interviewed and they all could insert comments and corrections. She then reworked her text, so that they were really part of the process of that book. I think that you have many methods to avoid the gap: here the interviewer and there the objects of scientific interest that you soon forget.

Stereotypes

P@x: In the West there is a widespread stereotype regarding Muslim women as double victims in war: after the rape they have to face the rejection by their family and community for “loosing their honor”. How far does your experience in Bosnia refute this cliché?

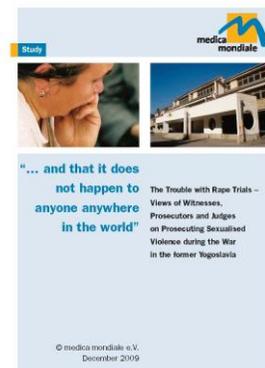
G.M.: Such stereotypes are indeed present on many levels and in many regions. During the war in Bosnia they were central in the media and political discourses in Germany with the effect of excluding Muslims as well as Serbs from the new “European house”. On

P@x interview

the one hand, the Serbs appeared as “natural born rapists”, and, on the other, there was this stereotype of the Muslim rape victim as particularly ashamed and destroyed and rejected by her own community. Muslim societies were introduced as particularly patriarchal in comparison to ours. That means that the way societies and nationalities dealt with “their” women became criteria to establish whether they were civilized and could be part of Europe. And that excluded Muslims and Serbs and ultimately only the Catholic Croats were introduced as part of the civilized West. This shows how dangerous stereotyping can be.

What surprised me was a study that we conducted in Bosnia with witnesses, judges and prosecutors who had been involved in trials dealing with wartime sexual violence. It was astonishing the way such clichés were reproduced by judges and prosecutors, locals as well as internationals. We wanted to know from judges how far trials with rape accusations were different from trials dealing with other atrocities committed in that war. All (men and women) said that there was something particular about those trials. As they tried to explain what it was, the stereotyping emerged, mainly however in male responses: they claimed that the reason why only a few women came forward to testify on rape was rooted in the Muslim (or Bosnian or Bosniak) society which they viewed to be extraordinarily patriarchal. And correspondingly, Muslim women were seen as being particularly modest, shy and decent who would just not talk about things like that. On the other hand, when we talked about individual witnesses many would say “but my witness was completely different, she was strong, she testified magnificently...”. We noticed that as they went into concrete examples the image of the Muslim rape victim would get more and more differentiated. And when we talked about men who had testified about sexual violence, it was clear that it was even more difficult for them to talk about “it”. But those differentiated images tended to be replaced by the clichés as soon as the

conversation became more general. The problem is that stereotyping leads to a simplified explanation of why it is so difficult to testify on sexual violence. It shifts the blame to either the women because they are so particularly ashamed or to the larger society because it is so patriarchal. This prevents the actors in the courts to ask what the courts or they themselves can do to earn the trust, the respect and the cooperation of women who have been raped. Thus, for example, they do not see to which extent they might project their own shameful feelings on the persons they interview - and witnesses may end up reacting exactly the way they believe you expect them to react. In our interviews we tried to avoid such situations. But you have to acknowledge the problem in order to learn how to deal with it.



Cover *The Trouble with Rape Trials*, Gabriela Mischkowski and Gorana Mlinarevic, 2009.

P@x: You said previously that the prosecution of sexual violence in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) depended to a great extent on the good will of some individuals (the first Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone, the former Gender Legal Adviser, Patricia Viseur-Sellers, or judges like Elizabeth Odio-Benito). How can we develop an international law that is able to prosecute sexualised violence without depending on the engagement of some key actors?

P@x interview

G.M.: On the one hand, you need a serious policy of recruitment, i.e., those who work in courts or in the Prosecutor's Office (judges, investigators, prosecutors...) must have skills in the area and should be required to attend further training. And within the Prosecutor's Office you need above all a high-ranking position that has the required mandate and resources, that is really institutionally anchored, that has not only staff and financial resources to develop strategies but above all the power to implement them. And that is what they all have been refusing so far. Patricia Viseur-Sellers had only an advisory mandate, and the ICC Chief Prosecutor Ocampo hired an American feminist jurist (MacKinnon) for you don't know exactly what, but she is not even in The Hague, she travels there once or twice a year. I am sure she does a good job, but in the end such random acts only contribute to a further marginalisation instead of developing systematic investigation and prosecution strategies that could disclose the specific patterns, dynamics and causes of sexualised violence in different armed conflict situations and the different responsibilities for such widespread acts.

International Criminal tribunals are there to determine the guilt or innocence of individuals. But willingly or unwillingly they are much more and they also claim to be more. They claim to establish a historical truth and ethic values. After all, they deal with crimes that concern the whole world, as the term "crimes against humanity" indicates. Their verdicts contribute to the collective memory of wars. If the issue of sexual violence in armed conflict is not given due attention and investigated properly, it tends to fall out of the court records and the collective memory once more. This is all the more so when – as it is increasingly the case before the ICTY and the WCC in Sarajevo – most rape testimonies are heard in closed sessions, i.e. hidden from public. Of course, rape witnesses need such protection – if they want it. However, in this case other ways must be found to describe for example in the discriptive parts of the judgements the full impact and widespread character of sexual violence in nearly all armed conflicts. This

would be a strong contribution to visualise the political responsibilities of all our governments and militaries to prevent such acts by serious preventive measures.

P@x: The most famous trials took place in The Hague, but local courts prosecuted many cases of sexualised violence. What is the impression of the ICTY victim witnesses? Would it have been better for them if local courts had been able to take charge of all the processes?

G.M.: I can only talk about the women that we interviewed. They were about 50 women who had testified in the ICTY and also in the War Crimes Chamber in Sarajevo and some of them had also testified in cantonal and district courts. There were different reactions. Many regarded the ICTY as a positive experience and said that it had been important for them to testify there and that they were willing to go back if they were requested. And this has changed a lot, because at the beginning (there are several studies on that) many witnesses said they felt that they had been treated at the ICTY without respect, they felt used and thrown away. Apparently that has changed after much critique from NGOs and former witnesses. There has been a learning process in treating witnesses with respect, keeping in touch and keeping them informed.

While most interviewees were satisfied with the ICTY, the judgment on the War Crimes Chamber was more differentiated. Some of the criticisms were about respect. Many seemingly minor things as, for example, not offering a glass of water, were already felt as disrespect. Some other criticisms concerned protection, such as "A police car came to pick me up. So all neighbours knew.", and this woman was a protected witness, i.e. nobody should know her name, her identity. The harshest of critics were aimed at the cantonal and district courts because they have the fewer resources, the less qualified



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staff, and there you have victim witnesses and defence witnesses sitting together in the waiting room, and no identity protection whatsoever. The international community created and enforced legal mechanisms without investing the necessary resources to make them work properly. This is shameful.

P@x: After almost twenty years of existence how do you assess the role of the ICTY in prosecuting sexualised violence? What were its major gains and its major difficulties?

G.M.: The major gain was the fact that after a sluggish start and due to the engagement of several individuals and pressure from feminists outside, it managed to come forward with many prosecutions. The most preeminent moment was the Foča trial, which dealt exclusively with sexual violence and sexual slavery, but it was also the only trial of this kind. And there should have been many more, and they didn't happen. You see there was no defined strategy. What have we learned with the ICTY? We should be looking for a more solid institutionalised position for the prosecution of sexual violence that is not dependent on individuals and chance. We should also be looking at the way sexual violence is being represented in the prosecution. Hasty presumptions on the specific features of sexual violence in different contexts should be double checked in the process by solid fact finding. When you assume, for example, that sexual violence is a strategy of war, deliberately employed to spread terror, and that it takes mainly place in the context of "ethnic cleansing", then you tend to focus on such situations and produce an image to the exterior that reinforces exactly this. You tend to classify rapes within a hierarchical framework that might marginalize, for example, such rapes you classify as "opportunistic" or "recreational" rapes. As for Bosnia, everybody talks about the so-called large rape camps as signifier for "ethnic rapes". But several trials revealed more or less by the way that countless numbers of women and girls were kept individually or in small groups in houses or flats used as brothels. Precisely in those

"houses" so many women went missing (that is, they were murdered). We also do not know how many were trafficked over the border to Montenegro as the prosecution was not specifically looking for such cases. So, we could also say the tribunals, the prosecutors and investigators in particular need more knowledge about the patterns and dynamics of wartime rape. There is need for interdisciplinary cooperation. However, in spite of all this, we can say that with the ICTY and the ICTR we reached a point of no return in respect to prosecuting sexual violence. We cannot fall back beyond this point any more.

*** Translation by Júlia Garraio

P@x Observatory

Resources on Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict Situations

Branche, Raphaëlle; Virgilli, Fabrice (eds.) (2011), *Viols en temp de guerre*. Payot

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Eschebach, Insa; Mühlhäuser, Regina (eds.) (2008), *Krieg und Geschlecht. Sexuelle Gewalt im Krieg und Sex-Zwangsarbeit in NS-Konzentrationslagern*. Berlin: Metropol

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Peace builders

Amnesty International

<http://www.amnesty.org/>

Amnesty International is a global movement of more than 3 million supporters, members and activists who campaign to end grave abuses of human rights and who defend the promotion of the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards. Through reports, the publication of result findings, as well as petitions, campaigns and direct lobbying, among others, they have been active in denouncing and fighting sexualised forms of war violence worldwide. Among their many reports and publications on the issue of wartime sexualised violence are: "Sierra Leone: Rape and other forms of sexual violence against girls and women" (2000); "This is what we demand. Justice!" Impunity for sexual violence against women in Colombia's armed conflict" (2011). Among their numerous campaigns: "In Sudan rape is used as a weapon of war" (2007).

Human Rights Watch

<http://www.hrw.org/>

Human Rights Watch is one of the world's leading independent organisations dedicated to defending and protecting human rights around the world. Their aim is to prevent discrimination, to uphold political freedom, to protect people from inhumane conduct in wartime, and to bring offenders to justice. They have been active in exposing wartime sexualised violence and lobbying to hold abusers accountable. Among their many reports and publications on the issue of wartime sexualised violence: "Afraid and Forgotten. Lawlessness, Rape and Impunity in Western Côte d'Ivoire" (2010), "Soldiers who Rape, Commanders who Condone. Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo" (2009), "Climate of Fear. Sexual Violence and Abduction of Women and Girls in Baghdad" (2003).

medica mondiale

<http://www.medicamondiale.org/home/?L=1>

Medica mondiale is a NGO based in Cologne (Germany) that has been developing concepts and methods to support war-traumatised women. These include, on the one hand, immediate and comprehensive support for women in war and crisis zones, ranging from medical care to psychosocial counselling and legal assistance and even securing livelihoods. On the other hand, medica mondiale runs information campaigns and engages in publicity work on the topic of sexualised violence in war and fights for the rights of women at political level. Medica mondiale came to life in the context of the news about widespread rapes in Bosnia. In 1993 some German activists established with Bosnian psychologists and doctors Medica Zenica, a women's centre in Zenica (central Bosnia), which would later grow independent of the support from Germany. Medica mondiale was officially established in Germany in 1994. It has therapy centres in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Albania and Liberia and works with partner organisations in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Israel.

Sexual Violence Research Initiative

<http://www.svri.org/>

The SVRI is an initiative of the Global Forum for Health Research. It is currently based at the Medical Research Council, South Africa. The SVRI aims to promote research on sexual violence and generate empirical data that ensures sexual violence is recognised as a priority public health problem. It intends to increase awareness of the problem and to improve knowledge of it to influence policy and service delivery. The SVRI addresses sexual violence in general and as such its numerous reports, research findings, publications and workshops are extremely valuable for those interested in the topic of sexual violence in wartime. They have a broad research and several initiatives dealing with prevention and restorative justice.

Stop Rape Now. UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict

<http://www.stoprapenow.org>

This campaign by the UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict unites the work of 13 UN entities with the goal of ending sexual violence in conflict. It is a concerted effort by the UN system to improve coordination and accountability, amplify programming and advocacy, and support national efforts to prevent sexual violence and respond effectively to the needs of survivors. This UN action includes actions to raise public awareness and generate political will to address sexual violence. On June 19th, 2008, the 15-member UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1820 (2008) on Sexual Violence against Civilians in Conflict. The Resolution states that rape can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide. The webpage of the campaign "Stop Rape Now" also includes UN reports and news on the topic of sexualised violence in armed conflict, as well as testimonies by victims worldwide.

WAM: Women Active Museum on War and Peace

<http://www.wam-peace.org/english/>

The Women's Active Museum of War and Peace (Tokio, Japan) was opened in the summer 2005, which marked the sixtieth anniversary of Japan's defeat in WWII. WAM was conceived by the late Matsui Yayori (1934-2002), a prominent journalist and activist for women's human rights and dignity. Her vision was to preserve records accumulated for the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery, which had been held in Tokyo December, 2000. The Tribunal records and materials related to the so-called "comfort women" issue are preserved in this museum and hence made available to future generations. The museum hosted several exhibitions on the topic and published several catalogues dealing with the so-called "comfort women". Among others: *East Timor: The Women Who Survived the War* (2006), *The "Comfort Women" issue from A to Z* (2008).

Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice

<http://www.iccwomen.org/index.php>

The *Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice* is an international human rights women organisation which advocates for gender justice through both International Criminal Court (TPI) and internal mechanisms, such as peace negotiations and justice processes. It has developed high pressure so that sexual forms of violence might be judged within international courts. It fights for the introduction and the reinforcement of the compensation mechanisms regarding aggravated crime victims, including the sexual and gender in nature ones. It works with women affected by conflict situations under International Criminal Court investigation.

BODIES LOUDER THAN DEATH: PALESTINIAN WOMEN RESISTING

“Palestine’s daughter/ love making can be as dangerous/ as curfews broken/ guerillas hidden you join now those who won’t leave/ the earth”

Of Woman Torn, Suheir Hammad

“I will dance/ and resist and dance and/ persist and dance. This heartbeat is louder than/ death. Your war drum ain’t/ louder than this breath.”

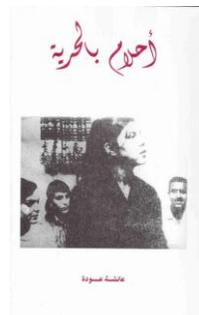
What I Will, Suheir Hammad

Thaqafet Al-ard or the culture of honour is a belief that any contact or rumour of contact of women’s bodies with stranger men will taint the “honour” of the family. Both women and men have the responsibility to protect the family “honour” which resides in women’s bodies. When the honour is considered to be dirty, the family men often attempt to “clean” it by shedding the blood of the dishonoured female body. Though the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is usually referred to as a conflict with a low rate of wartime rape, Israel uses the culture of honour to commit crimes of the same sexual nature: threat and rumours of rape. Analysing this cultural aspect is extremely important to understand the relation between occupier and occupied in Palestine.

Palestinian female political activists and prisoners frequently find themselves forced into physical contact with Israeli soldiers’ bodies. As a result, they fear not only being accused of losing their honour by their patriarchal society, but also the double violence of the Israeli occupation that uses their bodies and the culture of honour to control their resistance, as that of Palestinian people in general. It is therefore important to question Palestinian women’s reactions to these threats: Are their bodies louder than the deaths committed either by the Israeli occupation or by crimes of honour? Do these bodies resist all the violence and succeed in having a “louder heartbeat”?

Frantz Fanon (1965) suggests that the coloniser conquers the women in order to destroy the resistance of the entire nation. The Israeli occupation would be a case in point, as it takes advantage of the Palestinian “culture of honour” and uses it as a weapon against the Palestinians. Nadira Shalhoub Kevorkian confirms this idea: “The Israeli authorities don’t even have to imprison me; all they need to do is to spread nasty rumours about me which reflect on my sexual reputation as woman.” (*apud* Ebba Augustin, 1993:118). Israel often threatens both men and women with their “honour” in order to limit their resistance against the occupation.

Palestinian female political prisoners are often sexually abused, or threatened with what is considered as the loss of honour in their society, in order to get their confessions and to limit their participation in the resistance. They are often tortured in front of their fathers or in front of other male political prisoners; Palestinian male prisoners are also threatened with the loss of their women’s “honour” and bodies.



Aysheh Odeh, *Dreams of Freedom*, 2007

The autobiography of Aysheh Odeh (2007), a former Palestinian female political prisoner who spent years in Israeli prisons, mentions that some questions during the interrogation related to her sexuality rather than her political life: “How many men have you slept with? Do you want us to believe you’re still a virgin?”[1] (Odeh, 2007: 63). She mentions that she was

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tortured for a whole night just to make her repeat ten times the sentence: “I am a bitch”. It is significant that she preferred to endure the torture rather than saying a sentence which to her mind might taint her “honour”. The narration of the rape is also revealing: though Odeh crosses the cultural restrictions when writing about her rape, the whole act is mentioned in a single short sentence: “Azrael tried to get through my womb with a stick.” (Odeh, 2007: 149). The fact that she was raped with a stick is also significant; it shows that the rape is not sexual but used as a war weapon. By colonising Palestinian women’s bodies Israel colonises the whole Palestinian population.

However, Odeh’s autobiography shows that women started to talk openly about their torture and rape in the occupation prisons, turning their narratives into a language of resistance to the power used on them and their bodies by both the occupier and their society, as Rawda Basir confirms:

An important step towards liberation was our liberation from the fear of rape. By publicizing that Israeli interrogators had raped them with sticks, two of those first women prisoners arrested after 1967 asserted that it was one of the enemy’s acts and not something they should personally be ashamed of.(*apud* Najjar & Warnock, 1992: 90)

Palestinian women also started to show indifference towards the “culture of honour”. By letting their bodies exist without fear of harming their honour, they resist the colonisation of their bodies. Rihab Isawi, for example, transformed her body into her own resistance tool, as she described:

They threatened me that I would be raped by a Druze if I didn’t confess, when the interrogator threatened me with that [...] he looked at me indifferently and with a sarcastic smile on his face. I simply started to take off my clothes. (*apud* Raymonda Tawil, 1988: 120).

Their bodies are no longer the weapons used against them, their bodies are finally *their own*.

As a result, new behaviours were adopted in society. Speaking badly about the female prisoners was considered in many occasions a betrayal to the whole nation. On the contrary, many prisoners are now considered and treated as heroes. As Fairouz Arafa, a former prisoner, said: “After I came out of prison, a *zafa* [2] was made for me. They were all happy, and my father asked me to get out and shake hands with the men. I heard them say: ‘you must be proud of her’” (*apud* Itimad Mhana, 1992, 114). Shaking hands with men does not only mean a considerable place in society and a sign of her father’s pride, not shame, in her imprisonment, but it is also a clear symbol of the need to break the physical borders in society, especially as a way of resisting the occupation. The concept of honour has started to have different meanings, as Leila Khaled confirms: “we try instead to say that honour means more than virginity, that there is honour in recovering our homeland.” (*apud* Robin Morgan, 2001: 211).

The death of Palestinian women is connected with their own bodies, whether it is by the hands of their patriarchal society or by the occupation. Yet, Palestinian women use their bodies as a tool for their own resistance, and make them loud. Would we then dare to say that the bodies of these political activists and prisoners are louder than the drums of war, sexual violence and, above all, louder than death?

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Raymonda (1988), *Sajinat Al-Watan Al-Sajin (The prisoners of the Home Prisons)*. Jerusalem: Mu'asasat Al-Thaqafa Al-Filistinia.

Notes

[1] My translation. All further English versions of Arabic texts listed in the bibliography are also of my responsibility.

[2] A musical procession usually during weddings and other celebrations.

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DO WE HAVE TO GO TO WAR TO BE AT WAR? MOZAMBIQUE AND TIMOR-LESTE: NATIONALISMS, WOMEN AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

In the second half of the 20th century, Mozambique was at war between 1964 and 1992, with a brief pause between 1975 and 1976, and Timor-Leste lived a war with military occupation between 1975 and 1999. In both countries, these wars have been perceived and narrated as the feats of the guerrilla, the heroes, the combatants and their strength at the war fronts, even when fed and supported by their people through every possible way. The sufferings from these wars are mostly understood as virile acts from those who went to war and, as such, they are also discourses about the manly bravery of the nation's sons. The women and also those who, while being at war *did not go to war*, are given the discreet memories about the moral grief and the inevitable, but subsidiary, suffering caused by the independence war ways.

Therefore, in Mozambique and Timor-Leste, the histories of national freedom are told through those constituent wars which led to the emancipation from the long colonial period and the existence as sovereign and independent states. In both societies, the post-memory of these traumatic and founding periods is being consecrated through rituals of updating and manufacturing of epitomized consecrated spaces with place names like, for example, 'Praça dos Combatentes' ('Combatants Square) or 'Jardim dos Heróis' (Garden of the Heroes) [1]. The association of these names with the places and the inaugural memory contribute to consolidate that nation's history. This genetic feature of the independence of Mozambique and Timor Leste, among others, over determines both its reminder and its agenda about national cohesion, heroic nature, reconciliation and, most of all, the latent or explicit discourses about collective horizons and utopias.

In both countries, I find yet another common feature: the female imaginaries, the analyses and interpretations narrated by women about those epic periods are undervalued by a dominant virile nationalist zeal. The obliteration of memory by erasing women's experiences and subjectivities translates, in this post-war and post-independence period, into a national history

which is restricted and amputated from versions and significances as much important as those at play in the more dominant discourses. On the other hand, the cognitive discrimination tends to reinforce a manly nationalist mythology which, instead of accomplishing what it had been announcing since its outset, the equal dignity for every human being, now citizens of a free and independent country, promotes a sexist and unfair political economy from the past, present and future.

In this text, I try to show some of the other sides of this male and warlike nationalist imaginary. I intend to draw the analytical and theoretical attention, although briefly, to excerpts of the authorial discourses from three women who resisted to the dominant concept of suffering and bravery in armed conflicts, and show simultaneously that the sexual violence against them is so founding to the nation as the monotonous and old paradigm of war conquest.

As the blood spilled by the women's raped vaginas remains coagulated in the thighs and invisible to the eye or is hidden and silenced by fear and prejudice, to expose and tell the suffering caused and attested by that blood is a primary transgression. To describe the grief is also to find words to speak what is unspeakable. The performance which implies naming, attributing, defining is, for many women, the first act of profound cure and liberation. Thus, they oppose the strategy of oblivion and a violence which is not naturalised and is kept in the order of the inevitable, which is not longer able to be spoken, attributed and named.

The excerpts of life stories[2] here presented show that dichotomies like public violence versus private violence or also physical violence vs. emotional violence are realities which are symbiotically combined and contaminated by patriarchal power relationships based on different social relationships and their cultural and political instruments, particularly cruel and dramatic in

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war contexts. In the words of these three women I find the variations imprinted by their own biographic, political and cultural experiences. These are specific narratives which, like each violence, need a particular understanding and approach.

Angelina Araújo[3] talks about the sexual slavery inflicted to the women of Timor during the Japanese occupation [4]. For a woman, discovering that she is a victim and saying it aloud is one of the most difficult and resistant exercises of self-determination and of change in the narrative paradigm about herself, her life and her country's history:

[...] Because, you know, the character of East Timor, not only of East Timor, but woman as woman, sometimes they, beside hers, they doesn't want to say because they're inside or inside of a community and also aside to their husband. [...] I know that, the impact if they want to recognize themselves as a victim. [...] Many of them, maybe 90, 90. Yeah. 90 years old.

[...] We after make research, we note that, and then we write that, we want to make all our history. [...] Is the place of a comfort woman met the Japanese army. [...] We make it public here at 2007, with the 15 victim and four witness boys who work for the woman and they came here to speak to the public. [...] we go to Xanana Gusmão, when he, as a president, we talked, we explained to him to considerate defeat in comfort women that can come. And then what, you know what he said? He said: forget it about the past. So very, very disappointed, so, as a researcher and also as a new generation, I think it's no good for.

Many Timorese women, when talking about the war violence, do it in the first person and in a tone of testimonial, attempting to serve as an example: so that it does not happen again and to no other woman. Fátima Guterres[5] describes her personal experiences as a war prisoner in 1976 in the following manner:

When we arrived at Alas, they took me to the main prison, where Soe Mai, the OPMT secretary already was, and they led us to the

interrogation room. There, the law of rape came into force and I knew that I had no one to defend me. (...) Every night, Soe Mali and me were questioned in an improvised room at the Indonesian military quarters. They were always shirtless, with tight shorts, or only in their underwear. (...) Weeks later (...) all of a sudden, they opened the helicopter's door and pushed Soe Mali out. (...) After a few rides, we went back [to the place], the helicopter went down again and I saw my struggle companion, already dead, lying on the floor, being raped by the military henchmen. That scene left me a traumatic mark and it seemed almost surreal to me.



Inside the Office for the Protection, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (formerly Balide Prison, Dili, East-Timor).

In the case of Mozambique, many discourses are indirect and always refer to someone who is not present, i.e. one talks about oneself through others or it is presumably an experience that, because it is so often repeated, belongs to everyone. Speaking about sexual violence requires such a level of intimacy that insecurity spreads through the whole life of the people who helplessly experienced or witnessed it. Maria do Céu Chambal [6] about some of the sufferings of the women during the 1976-1992 war: abductions, forced marriages labour, hidden deaths, subjugation and slavery. In her view, these evils and conflicts must start to be known and to make sense for every Mozambican woman and man:

(...) [In] the war period, it was a constant thing because, when you travelled or when the Renamo men, we no longer knew if they were Renamo or what, but the truth is that the reputation belongs to Renamo, like those who say oh if it is Renamo, it is Frelimo as well. (...) At the time of Renamo, when men arrived from the woods and went into a village, they didn't kept from abducting people, they abducted people and you were force to be a girl, except perhaps an old woman, just someone they were going to make carry fifty kilos sacks until they died along the way, but the young ones had to love with that person and that was a constant thing during the war, our comrades, I don't have much to tell because I didn't live it that much right, the others arrive from the provinces, the information is slow getting there but the civilians suffered a lot. (...) They used to hit me, you know, I was beaten, I had to endure everything the man did, I mean, it was a normal thing, it was a normal thing from tradition the woman being a man's slave.



Paintings and posters were created by former victims and others while the building was being restored. © Teresa Cunha

The experiences revealed by these discourses show how political these women's bodies and minds are[7]. They are the other side, the indelible part of their countries' identity and history, those who are not granted, unlike the rest of combatants and heroes, the acknowledgement and fair distribution of the grief and sweetness of independence, dignity and expected full participation in the fruits brought by peace.

It is true that one can be at war without wearing a uniform, having a military rank or

taking up arms and going to war. It is true that nations were founded on more rubble than those left in the battle fields. This is the challenge I searched for: a feminist and post-colonial political science which widens the theoretical and analytical scope of what constitutes the discourses and memories about nationalisms and its wars.

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Holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of Coimbra (2010) with the dissertation "Beyond an Indian Ocean of Despair and Revolt. A Feminist and a Post-colonial Analysis on Women's Power Strategies in Mozambique and Timor-Leste". She is Associated Professor at the College of Education (Coimbra), Senior Trainer of the Youth Directorate of The Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France and Budapest, Hungary, and president of the NGO "Ação para a Justiça e Paz".

Notes

[1] In Mozambique and Timor Leste, respectively.

[2] The life stories quoted in this text are part of a work carried out in Mozambique, Portugal and Timor Leste between 2005 and 2009, for my PhD dissertation, which will be published soon.

[3] Interview with Angelina Araújo, 2009, Dili. She could have spoken in Tetum but she preferred English for a matter of social recognition.

[4] Although I highlight the wars occurred in both countries during the second half of the 20th century, we cannot forget that, in both countries, there were constant armed conflicts throughout the whole century: the so-called peace campaigns promoted by the Portuguese colonial power, the Second World War and the regional war conflicts were, among others, moments of huge war violence which the populations had to experience and overcome.

[5] Interview with Fátima Guterres, 2005, Lisbon.

[6] Interview with Céu Chabal, 2008, Maputo.

[7] Although it is not stated in this paper, it is important to say that these women are not merely victims of wars and nationalisms and that their ability to resist, oppose and reconfigure their lives and the lives of their communities is immense.

Peace Studies Attic

Publications PS

Barrinha, André (2011), "The political importance of labelling: terrorism and Turkey's discourse on the PKK", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 4, 2, 163-180.

Cardoso, Katia; Santos, Rita; Roque, Sílvia; Moura, Tatiana (2011), "Youth, Collective Urban Violence and Security: Key Findings", *Policy Paper*, Initiative for Peacebuilding – Early Warning Systems.

Cravo, Teresa (2011), "Consolidating Partnerships: History and Geopolitics in Portugal's Twenty-first Century Foreign Policy", in Sebastián Royo (org.), *Portugal in the 21st Century: Politics, Society and Economics*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Cunha, Teresa; Santos, Celina, Moura, Tatiana and Silva, Sofia (eds.) (2011), "Elas no Sul e no Norte", *Artigo Feminino VII*. Coimbra: AJP.

Freire, Maria Raquel (2011), *A Rússia de Putin: Vectores Estruturantes de Política Externa*. Coimbra: Coleção Cosmopolis. Almedina.

Freire, Maria Raquel; Daehnhardt, Patricia (2011), "As relações entre a Alemanha e a Rússia: Duas políticas externas em transição", *Relações Internacionais*, 32, 171-196.

Nascimento, Daniela (2011), "Da guerra à paz no Sudão: as (in)visibilidades do Acordo Geral de Paz", *R.I.*, 32, Dezembro.

Pureza, José Manuel (2011), "Da atonia metodológica à busca de novos referentes em Direito Internacional Público", *Scientia Iuridica*, Tomo LX, 326, 303-313.

Simão, Lúcia (2011), "Are Civil Society Organizations the Missing Link? Assessing EU Engagement in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict", in N.Tocci (org.), *The European Union, Civil Society and Conflict*. New York: Routledge, 50-74.

SEPTEMBER

Tatiana Moura was appointed, in September, as executive-director of the Brazilian NGO **Promundo**. Promundo is an organisation which works for gender equality and the end of violence against women, children and youngsters in Brazil and in the world..

Licinia Simão presented “**Region-building in the neighbourhood: Assessing EU regional policies in the South Caucasus**” e “**Here to stay or already vanishing? Implications of the Lisbon Treaty on the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)**” (with Heidi Maurer), 41st UACES Annual Conference “Exchanging Ideas on Europe”, Cambridge 5-7 September.

Daniela Nascimento lectured “**Sudan's wars and peaces: implications for the internal and regional stability**”, under the scope of the Masters in African Studies, Institute d' Études Politiques de Bordeaux, France, 26th September.

OCTOBER

Teresa Cravo presented “**Donor Perceptions of Success and Failure in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau**”, Cicle de Séminaires du Centre de recherches pluridisciplinaires et comparatistes: Les Afriques dans le Monde, Bordeaux, France, 6th October.

Daniela Nascimento presented “**As (in)visibilidades da paz e da guerra: uma análise crítica das estratégias dominantes de prevenção de conflito e construção da paz no Sudão**”, Conference of Instituto de Defesa Nacional - Prevenção e resolução de conflitos em África, Lisbon, 10-11 October.

Teresa Cravo presented “**Representações da violência na periferia e as suas implicações: a missão da União Europeia de Reforma do Sector de Segurança na Guiné-Bissau**”, Conference of Instituto de Defesa Nacional - Prevenção e resolução de conflitos em África, Lisboa, 10-11 October.

Licinia Simão lectured “**EU foreign policy through security community enlargement: dilemmas and achievements**” e “**EU relations with the South Caucasus: from distant neighbours to central partners?**” under the scope of the Masters in European Studies: Global and Transnational Perspectives, Leuven Catholique University, Belgium, 17-21 October.

Maria Raquel Freire presented “**A Rússia no Conselho de Segurança: entre projeção e contenção**”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs | Diplomatic Institute, Lisbon, 19th de October.

Maria Raquel Freire presented “**Russia in Central Asia: A Policy of Reassertion?**”, The Sixth Transatlantic Studies Conference, 'North and South: The United States, European Union and the Developing World', Universidad de Alcalá, Spain, 20-22 October.

Teresa Cravo presented “**Western Representations of the African Recipient State**”, Northeast Workshop on Southern Africa, Burlington, EUA, 21-23 October.

Katia Cardoso presented “**De volta à pátria? Os deportados Cabo-verdianos dos Estados Unidos da América**”, “In Progress. Seminar on Social Sciences and Development in Africa”, CEsa, ISEG, Lisbon, 27-28 October.

Sofia José Santos presented “**Peace Media: An Agenda of Research, an Agenda of Intervention**”, Media for Peacebuilding Seminar, Centro de Ciências Humanas e Sociais, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, 31st October

NOVEMBER

Maria Raquel Freire, Paula Duarte Lopes and Daniela Nascimento presented “**The ‘multi’ in multidimensional peace missions’ mandates and activities: a critical analysis**”, 1st International Congress of OBSERVARE, Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (UAL), Lisbon, 16-18 November.

Licinia Simão presented “**Relações UE-Rússia no domínio da segurança: lições do Cáucaso Sul**”, 1st International Congress of OBSERVARE, Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa (UAL), Lisbon, 16-18 November.

José Manuel Pureza presented “**Humanitarismo e despolitização da dominação**”, Congresso Internacional “International trends and Portugal’s position”, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, 18th November.

José Manuel Pureza presented “**Understanding the Arab Spring: the need for a multidisciplinary approach**”, Seminar “WAVES: a crosscutting research on social and political transformations in the Arab World”, Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, 21st November.

José Manuel Pureza presented “**Social media: an emancipatory tool**”, Seminar “WAVES: a crosscutting research on social and political transformations in the Arab World”, Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, 21st November

Maria Raquel presented “**O fim da URSS e a nova Rússia**”, XI Curso Livre de História Contemporânea da Fundação Mário Soares e Instituto de História Contemporânea (IHC), ‘O Fim da URSS, Vinte Anos Depois (1991-2011)’, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of Universidade Nova de Lisboa (FCSH-UNL), Lisbon, 22nd November.

José Manuel Pureza e Rita Santos participated on the following closed session: “**Proliferação das armas – Informação, conhecimento e acção, precisam-se!**”, organised by the Observatório Permanente sobre a Produção, Comercialização e Proliferação de Armas Ligeiras, 23rd November.

Maria Raquel Freire presented “**Estados Unidos e Rússia: desafios e oportunidades em contextos de mudança**”, Seminar on ‘A Política Externa dos Estados Unidos no Século XXI’, Instituto de Defesa Nacional (IDN), Lisbon, 25th November.

DECEMBER

Maria Raquel Freire and **Paula Duarte Lopes** presented “**Promoting (Un)Sustainable Peace: the disconnection between words and actions**”, Workshop on Sustainable Peace: Old and New Approaches, Deusto University, Bilbao, España, 1 - 2 December.

José Manuel Pureza presented “**As ambiguidades da responsabilidade de proteger: o caso da Líbia**”, International Congresso n “A primavera árabe e o uso da força nas relações internacionais”, Universidade do Minho, Escola de Direito, 9th December.