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**ANGOLA**

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## Editorial

Angola is at the core of this P@x issue. A brutal laboratory of consecutive wars, this country is presently a laboratory of reconstruction and consolidation of a peace meant to be ingrained and sustainable.

At the moment, Angola is a focus of all the lights, but also of all the shadows inherent to the peace studies field. The horizons of change that peace brought to Angolans are vast and extremely seductive. With the end of war, the excuse for the lack of development, hunger, mortality and crying social asymmetry also vanished. Furthermore, the halt of conflict challenges a radical change of the relationships between society and State, based on a perspective of a strong civil society empowerment. It additionally implies overcoming a State that, despite typically a fragile one (or even a failed one) in the provision of the universality of essential public goods, also shows an excessive authoritarian strength whilst conditioning the Angolan social fabric.

However it is mainly as an experimentation field of reconstruction policies that Angola today offers itself as an enticing case study. It encompasses all the relevant elements. Starting with the ‘white and blond’ affiliation of the cooperation models - so interestingly illustrated by the phonetic confusions or the clouds of meanings in the beautiful narrative of Pedro Cardoso. More than expressions that, by their uncritical use, have already lost their potential for effective change (from “local empowerment” to “good governance”), what we need are practices of political and institutional translation and, above all, an unconditional principle of respect and protection of locally rooted institutional practices and formulae.

If, as we believe, it is truth that the practical implementation of the many concepts grubbed up by the peace studies in the last twenty years has highlighted the urgency of a “decolonisation of peace studies”, then we must pay attention to Fernando Pacheco’s admonitions regarding the fact that the imposition of the demo-liberal model in Angola is directly responsible for the absence of a participatory development model and, being so, also potentially responsible for the recrudescence of elementary threat factors to the peace process itself.

The reconstruction process should then also be in the hands of those who are the main actors in processes of evolution and change, the grassroots organisations, thus allowing for a national ownership of the process.

*José Manuel Pureza and Mónica Rafael*  
*Peace Studies Group*

## Angola: from bullets to ballots, a quest for citizenship

Angola is a country in transition from an authoritarian regime to a multiparty democracy. The next general elections are expected to happen in 2006, and they will be the second ones in the country since it started its path to a multiparty system and the first ones since war came to an end.

The country is finally living a period of peace, after the signature of the Luena Peace Accords on April 4th, 2002, which ended the armed conflict in the Angolan territory, except in the oil-rich province of Cabinda. Almost three decades of civil strife left a devastated society, around one million deaths, four million internally displaced people, half a million refugees and several million mines in a national territory with a population of 14 million.

In one of the world's potentially richest countries in natural resources, war was used for a long time as an excuse for the lack of development and the exclusion of most of the population. Notwithstanding the devastating effects of this conflict, the problems faced by the Angolan society also comprehend authoritarianism and deficit of democratic culture, corruption and appropriation of natural resources by the country's elites and lack of investment in an inclusive development that can benefit the majority of the population. In order to overcome this reality and to build a country committed to the human and social development of its population, Angola clearly needs a peace dividend.

At the moment, the threats to the national reconstruction process are still huge. In fact, almost 70% of Angolans live in poverty or extreme poverty, there is no sustained investment in health and education (in a strong contrast with an economy that produces 900.000 oil barrels a day) and there is an urgent need to diversify the economy beyond oil. On the other hand, the return and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced people is not yet completed, and the same goes for the reintegration of former combatants, which is far from being concluded.

So far, the steps taken in the national reconstruction process are, at best, limited and the absence of this dimension in the political and public debate raises serious concerns in regards to the electoral campaign and the possibility of occurrence of intolerant and violent actions, as it has already been the case. Closely linked to this reality is the lack of a national disarmament policy. Some organisations estimate that around one third of the population still has small guns in their possession. On the other hand, the so-called civil defence committees seem to be reorganising in some urban neighbourhoods, in municipalities and provinces, which is an added obstacle to people handing in their arms. In fact, notwithstanding the fact that over 100.000 arms have already been collected, there remains a feeling of insecurity amongst many sectors of the population, a result to a great extent of people's distrust in State and police institutions and in the fate given to the arms collected.

Although some of these situations hardly characterise the whole national reality, they are important alerts to the danger of a return to unstable situations such as those that took place before and during the 1992 elections. A return to civil war is not an option, but it is important to monitor the incidents of political intolerance and violence that are happening, namely in the more isolated provinces where there is little access to information, which makes fear grow, specially in the rural communities where most people relate elections to war, due to the 1992 experience. The national political landscape, with a system that leads to the social exclusion of most of the population and with only one party with a national structure, as well as the extraordinary difference between Luanda and the main coastal cities and the other provinces, both in terms of development and access to goods and of access to information, freedom of expression and of political participation, are only few

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examples of the threats and limitations to an inclusive, participatory and transparent process.

There is also a strong lack of knowledge amongst the population on State institutions, their tasks and responsibilities, as well as a discredited political class. These factors are worsened by the lack of ownership of the political processes by the citizens that feel that politics and politicians are far from them and their daily problems. Some voices denounce the absence of a real democratic culture, not only within State institutions but also within society. As Fernando Pacheco (ADRA) usually stresses, the concept of democracy in Angola is above all a new concept, due to cultural and historical reasons that didn't allow the creation of a real democratic culture. According to him, the "imposition" of the neoliberal democratic model in the early 90s as the solution for the country's problems barred the attempt to build a fairer development model and a democratic model more in touch with such an ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse society as the Angolan one, where the nation building process isn't yet consolidated. Still, there is consensus within the Angolan society on the relevance of the coming elections, namely due to the strong symbolic value these will have for most of the population, an opportunity to close the process started in 1992 and a test to a sustainable peace.

Thus, the forthcoming elections in Angola should be seen as a step in the political democratisation process and in the progressive development of citizenship, in which civil society actors have the opportunity to participate in the definition of priorities and in demanding a set of pre-conditions for the national democratisation, with the final aim of broadening Angolan citizens' public participation. And it is in the field of change and widening of the public participation arena that I would like to highlight the work done by some groups in the Angolan civil society.

These groups have had a fundamental role in promoting and defending human rights and building social capital in rural communities of the country's inland, as well as in including traditional participation and debate spaces in their civic education projects, which, despite almost always invisible, translates an extraordinarily important contribution to the quest for citizenship in the several provinces of Angola.

The kind of initiatives and activities developed by several civil society groups regarding the electoral process, namely in terms of civic education campaigns, but also regarding strategies to share information and to fight political intolerance, illustrate the potential for change and the dynamics of an actor that has a fundamental role to play in Angola's democratization process. Besides the direct work with the population and the communities, there is a strong belief in the need to develop pressure and lobby strategies with less conservative wings of the government and political parties to ensure political tolerance, freedom of the press and free access of all actors to the media, so that a gradual change can take place in the Angolan society.

*Mónica Rafael*  
*Peace Studies Group*

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## Peace builders

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Interview to Aguswandi (TAPOL), October 2004

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TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign

(<http://tapol.gn.apc.org>)

*They stare at her. Dressed in coloured clothes or political parties' t-shirt's, they listen to her. And she speaks and makes them think. In a cubata, in the centre of Cambândua village, in the Angolan province of Bié, Ana Teresa Milheiro gets involved with the population in a "give and take" bilingual dialogue. A translator with moustache is found amongst the participants. Samuel Chissapa, representative of the commune's education delegation. Umbundo versus Portuguese, in a non-official game between languages from two sides of the world. They identify the community's needs, within the Programme for Reconstruction Support (PAR), a project financed by the European Union (EU).*

They listen to the explanation of what is, after all, that Programme for Reconstruction Support, which came from far to help the commune of Cambândua. As Ana Teresa explains, the distance between the village and Europe, that continent "where some countries gathered in a community called European Union" is measured by more than just kilometres. The low murmur of voices in the cubata confirms it. The word roupa [clothes] is heard in the room. The mistake is understood - Europe suddenly transformed in roupa [clothes], sounds that deceive, a clear sign of the peoples' wishes.

One of the most expected themes is delayed for some moments. It is important to know, first of all who is who. They then find out, through Ana Teresa, that PAR is "a project financed by the EU", mainly directed to "the institutional support of Angolan municipalities. It deals with infrastructure reconstruction planning in the sectors of water and sanitation, education and health". "It has the Angolan provinces of Bié, Benguela, Huambo and Huíla as implementation areas". "I am Ana Teresa", she continues, "and I work with an Italian non governmental organisation that is involved with PAR's implementation in the Kuito and Kunhinga municipalities".

In a white board, a blue pen shapes the stories of adobe schools that were destroyed by the rain, of the medical centre where everything, from the walls to the beds, are made of *capim* [sort of grass], or of a horrible tale of the seventeen thousand inhabitants to whom UNICEF monthly donates only one emergency kit. Humour, though, prevails in chaos. Alice Sorte, a woman of expressive gestures and large body, says "here health is like one of those once upon a time tales", disclosing the wit of those who can no longer be surprised. Everybody laughs. Each participant's story condemns the good intentions of the several humanitarian organisations. World Food Programme donations of "rotten corn seeds", that aren't suitable for the land and don't even sprout, are denounced by a *mais velho* [name given to the elderly]. A young militant of the MPLA youth rises against the ploughs donated by a cooperation project, which can't be used because "they failed to remember that they need to be pulled by cattle". Complains in the language of the Cambândua people: long sentences in Portuguese, followed by just a few seconds in the language of the Angolan highlands; sometimes the other way around.

Someone asks for a list of the region's resources. Resources? What are "resources"? Confusion seems to reign amongst the participants. "We need tables", someone says. "No, resources are not needs. Resources are what land gives us, crops, hunt, fish, wood", Ana Teresa explains. A confuse translation, with concepts e references hard to understand.

RECONSTRUCTION

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After of a long battle of words, they find out that it all exists. The elderly then reveal that during the colonial times they had manioc, beans, rice, wheat and potatoes. They also talk about river fishing, hunting and wood. "You are rich", Ana Teresa exclaims.

According to Ana Teresa, the support given by several NGOs during the civil war, mainly focused on meeting basic needs, "shrunk the community's initiative, production and development". "Now we need to show that problems can be solved locally, without large amounts of external aid", she concludes.

Needs are enumerated, priorities are requested. "Priorities", "primary", "what is more urgent", "urgency", "most important", concepts that generate new confusions and demand additional gestures and words from the translator. A tough word battle, with blasts of non-understandable syllables. "How can you talk about priorities with people who have nothing and need everything?", Ana Teresa said latter. Priorities were defined in Cambândua: "to build a health centre", "teachers and materials, education further than the primary level", "to expand the health system to the villages", "to recover original seeds". The meeting was then concluded and soft drinks were distributed among the participants. A hot *cubata* in gasified relief. A perfect publicity ads in a hut of an African lost village. Red cans of those who have in their hands the responsibility of Cambândua's future. After the meeting, the data available on the commune will be analysed and the results will be used to create the Reconstruction Programme of Cambândua. In Ana Teresa's opinion, these kind of public meetings are very important because they give the opportunity "to know the region, the community and above all to jointly discuss development strategies". "After forty years of war, it's fundamental that these people know that they can talk in public about their own problems and that the reconstruction project to be implemented will adapt to their needs", she adds. In Ana Teresa's perspective, the perception of the population's real needs implies the "empowerment of the municipal and communitarian administrations". In this way, it would be possible to overcome the communication difficulty resulting from the translation and from the different perspectives of reality that were clear in Cambândua.

#### Words that say the opposite...

Several humanitarian aid organizations present during the war are now shifting their main goal from emergency to development.

To Ana Teresa "it is difficult, at the community level, to transmit the concept of development, to explain that results won't be immediate".

As she recognises, "these people live on a daily basis, for many years they would spend the night not knowing what would happen the following day. To make sure they understand that we are planning on middle and long-terms is hard". "It is inevitable that they create expectations that don't match the reality", she concludes. The meaning of this meeting to most of Cambândua's people reflects these fears. In fact, Alice Sorte categorically said that Cambândua would immediately receive "all the priorities listed". Her opinion was shared by the *Soba* [name given to the traditional authority] from Lomba, who required the immediate implementation of what was discussed. His experience reminds him that "spoken words often vanish with time..."

RECONSTRUCTION

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*Pedro Cardoso*  
*Journalist*

According to the Global Report on Child Soldiers for 2004, published recently by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, the end of the armed conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola or Sierra Leone allowed for the demobilisation of nearly 40,000 children. At the same time, in the Ivory Coast and in Sudan alone, more than 25,000 children were used in the wars. The Coalition calls attention to the responsibility of Western governments who violate their commitment to "protect future generations by providing arms and military training to governments such as the Rwandan and Ugandan, which use child soldiers and support armed groups that include children." The report also highlighted that a high percentage of child soldiers are girls. In addition to being soldiers or messengers, they are also sexual slaves and "war wives."

*No child born after 1975, the year of independence in Angola, knew a country without war. J.Q. was born 34 years ago and was part of the first generation of child soldiers. At 15, he was recruited by a group known at that time as the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (Forças Armadas para a Libertação de Angola, FAPLA), today the Armed Forces of Angola (Forças Armadas de Angola, FAA). He was taken to the highlands, to the city of Huambo, where he continues to live until today.*

*In the year 1993, after nearly 55 days of confrontations, Huambo fell into the hands of UNITA. One morning, J.Q. and other youngsters were awoken in a building in ruins. The army had fled; the city had been taken by the rebels. Literally overnight, the city had passed from one group to another. At 23 years old, J.Q. was no longer a child. "If you have a gun, you defend yourself. That's it. It doesn't matter which group you are in, you are a soldier, you have to defend yourself," he said. And so he became a fighter for UNITA. But this affiliation turned out to be short-lived, as the army quickly recovered control of the city. The two clearest memories that J.Q. retains about his years in combat - with one side or with the other - are hunger and the thousands of families fleeing from the destroyed villages.*

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"In Angola, mostly in the 80s and 90s, children from 10 years and older, as well as women, some of them with new-born children, were taken," says Mary Daily, Co-ordinator of the Angola Christian Children's Fund (CCF). "They were porters, worked on the land and accompanied the raids on the villages, first to carry the ammunition, and later to transport the stolen goods. We estimate that each soldier had three to four children at his disposal".

At the end of the war, in April 2002, there were nearly 16,000 Angolan children in the ranks of the two groups, according to the Global Report on Child Soldiers for 2004. Tens of thousands of others, although they never used a weapon, were made slaves, starved, forced to work, or sexually abused. According to this report, during the civil war, nearly 30,000 children were taken by both armies. Some boys recruited by government forces remained in the army when the war came to an end; the majority were from rural areas and many of them had already reached adulthood.

"To speak of child soldiers in Angola is complex and relates to the different stages of the conflict," says Abubacare Sultan, Co-ordinator of the Youth Protection Area of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Angola. There are two main stages.

The first began in 1994, with the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. At that time, there were nearly 9,000 identified child soldiers: the majority in the ranks of UNITA and nearly 500 recruited by the Armed Forces, according to CCF. Of these 9,000, nearly 4,000 were identified and reintegrated with their families, "but then the war started up again and the process stopped there," said Mary Daily. Further, this demobilisation program did not include girl soldiers, and they did not receive specific assistance,

## Estudos sobre a P@X

as stated in the April 2003 Human Rights Watch report *Child Soldiers Forgotten in Angola*. The UNICEF representative in Angola summarises the results of Lusaka as "a failure because most of the [demobilised] children were newly recruited by the army [with the re-initiation of the conflict], since they had been identified by the government as part of the force. This was a grave error in the process. Only a minimal percentage saved themselves; those that were reintegrated into areas near the cities benefited from some kind of protection. But the majority were not able to return home."

The second main stage of the conflict that gripped the country for nearly three decades was in 2002, the year that definitive peace was declared between the government of President José Eduardo dos Santos (in power since 1979) and UNITA (which agreed to sign the peace accords after the assassination of their leader Jonas Savimbi). Unlike Lusaka, the Memorandum of Luena did not contemplate special programs for demobilisation and reintegration of child soldiers, boys or girls. The Human Rights Watch report of 2003 is inflexible in its criticism of the government: the child soldiers were reinserted with family members or acquaintances in the areas where they were from - but without food, adequate sanitation, or opportunities to study. According to the report this violated "Angola's commitment to provide care and attention to the victims of the armed conflicts."

In the framework of the demobilisation, reintegration and national reconstruction plans initiated with the beginning of peace, the government designed the "Strategy to protect children in the post-war period," with a central objective: to avoid future recruitment. This strategy has

financial support from the World Bank. At the same time, the UNICEF representative guarantees that in Angola there are still some cases of recruitment of children under 18 years of age, although this is prohibited by law. "The official version of the government is that this is being done by local commandants and there is no way to control it."

Three years after the end of the war, the relationship between national wealth, per capita income and investment in infrastructures and social services is not proportional. The budget for 2005 destined at defence reached 9.3% while just 37% of school aged children have access to education and nearly 60% of the population live in poverty. On the other hand, there are no opportunities for adolescents, either in rural or in urban zones. And, because of this situation, in big cities there is an increasing presence of children and youth in the street, a disconcerting phenomenon of juvenile delinquency," concludes Abubacar Sultan, who has a long experience in processes of national reconstruction and reintegration of child soldiers in civilian life.

*Blanca Diego*  
(*Journalist*)

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## Book review

**Tatiana Moura (2005),**  
*[Between Athens and Sparta: Women, Peace and Armed Conflicts. Coimbra: Quarteto Editora.*

José Saramago begins many of his stories with a series of *ifs* that show the reader other possible outcomes and other worlds that could have been. He wrote, "If women had not been silenced since the beginning of time, perhaps they would have been able to tell us - since it was they who invented that first sin from which all others were born - what it is that we do not know." In *Between Athens and Sparta: Women, Peace and Armed Conflicts*, Tatiana Moura invites us to take away this veil of silence and construct an alternative view of the world - one that questions the dominant thinking in International Relations, which has always been a masculine expression of the "system of war." What *if* we look at International Relations from a feminine point of view?, the author challenges. Before taking the reader into a story full of history, political, social and sexual *ifs*, Tatiana Moura gives a very informed critical overview of the political constructs on which the study of International Relations have been based. She shows the different matrixes of this discipline in its reflection on power and on the balance of power in order to avoid conflicts. She also shows how the theory and practice of IR (a discipline that aims among other things to generate equality) is characteristically unequal, insofar as it is constructed in an abusively in terms of thought and action.

Tatiana Moura questions the definitions of politics - and in particular the borders of political identity and citizenship established by the practices of the state; of power, namely military power, of which masculinity is an integral part; of violence, as conflict that leads to confrontation; and of security, as a state of equilibrium of bellicose ostentation between states - by all that they exclude. The deconstruction of this analytical paradigm, as applied to questions of war and peace, is developed in the first part of the book entitled "The Social Deconstruction of the War and Peace". Here, the author denounces the disguises, the silence, and the stereotypes that perpetuate a system rooted in unequal power relations.

She puts forward a critical vision of the evolution of the institutional discourse on the presence and participation of women in armed conflicts. In the second part of the book, "Women and post-conflict re(de)construction: between Stereotypes and Recognition", the researcher situates her analysis in the post-conflict period, basing her reflections on the theory and practice of the United Nations in peacekeeping operations. The interrogative tone in this section reveals that there is still much (so as not to say "almost all") to do in this area. Is the UN, in its anxiety to apply a standardised model of post-conflict reconstruction, able to adequately consider the different roles and experiences that make up the social fabric it aims to rebuild? Does reconstruction merely institute patterns of domination (ethnic, sexual, economical or political) similar to those that led to the conflict? But what is perhaps most disturbing about Tatiana Moura's line of questioning is that it shows us what has been left out of these documents. The revolutionary act of seeking and questioning is, in fact, an interrogation of the silences in those documents and actions, and of the motives behind them.

The book opens with an idea that is paradoxically at once polemic and consensual. The expectation of peace at the end of the Cold War has not materialised. To the contrary, since 1989 "we have come to see the perpetuation of conflicts and global violence" (p. 7). The emergence of new forms of conflict bring numerous civilians to the stage of war, and lead us to a deeper reflection on their most numerous victims: women and children. Curiously, the same groups that are seen to need "protection" by the masculine political-military ideology are those in whose name great so-called classical wars have been waged.

This is not about looking in the peripheries of war and post-war to find women. Tatiana Moura questioning goes much further in refusing to see women as being on the margins of the system. As the author points out, today women are at the centre of conflicts and are their main victims. Therefore, they should also be involved - on par with men - in post-war reconstruction. There is no doubt that feminist scholars, whether in international relations or in peace studies, have been constructively critical of the masculine and state-centric vision of international relations. Their criticism of the stereotypes of warlike men and peaceable women (which perpetrate the social construction of the system of war and shape post-war reconstruction), and of war/violence and peace/security are cause for hope, as Tatiana Moura shows. Her account of the political and

## No sôtão do NEP

institutional discourse on women reveals how they have gone from a target group for humanitarian assistance to a group that must be involved in conflict resolution. In the same way, the discourse on the need to build capacity among women also changes: women are recognised as agents of change.

Tatiana Moura's critical analysis of the standardised model of post-war reconstruction in the United Nations, contained in the Agenda for Peace of 1992 by Boutros-Ghali, shows that more change is needed. As the author says, post-war reconstruction is a crucial period in reconfiguring power relations in societies devastated by conflicts. The post-war discourse reaffirms the pre-existing relations between the two sexes in seeking social peace. This always implies, in feminine terms, backtracking relative to the positions acquired during the war, because the end of the war alone does not change the patriarchal relations that characterise societies, leading to effective transformation.

In an extremely stimulating criticism, Tatiana Moura follows the four basic elements in post-war reconstruction. In the military plane, she points to the absolute discrimination of women: where are the women combatants? Why are they not counted as combatants and therefore unable to participate in reintegration programs? Women combatants were not, in fact, given any economic, educational, or professional benefits because it was assumed as natural that they would re-assume their domestic tasks, confined to the private sphere. And, as the researcher notes, all the women who were involved in conflicts alongside the men in traditional support tasks (but who were not combatants) remain in the shadows. But they too should have assistance in terms of rehabilitation and integration. Further, their needs in terms of physical or material insecurity should be met. In the post-conflict period, there is a clear transferral of the military violence from wartime to other forms of violence at the societal and family levels.

The political-constitutional plane - in which a political authority is designated through elections, a critical element in the transition to democracy - is also typically dominated by males. This means that degrees of influence and distribution of resources will reflect this domination (p. 94).

In the economic-social plane (which in macro-economic terms aims to make the area attractive for investment, often through structural adjustment plans that do not take into account all the social aspects destroyed in the war), Tatiana

Moura calls attention to the micro-economic dimension where most of women's work is linked to daily survival and the informal economy.

Finally, in the psycho-social plane (without a doubt, the most overlooked, because it is delicate and also invisible since it deals with the interior of people and subjects). Tatiana Moura says this is where the biggest challenge of effective rehabilitation towards positive peace lies. It is about seeing a human in that which the conflict dehumanised. Recognising a human after all they have gone through and all they have done, so that it is possible to be in mourning for the ghosts of history, and then make history (Calafate Ribeiro, 2003: 59-68), even amongst the memories of war.

In the perspective of Tatiana Moura the Agenda for Peace is a considerable effort in the sense of seeing the problem, and trying to correct it. But as the researcher shows, the logic that it produces is still traditional, masculine and politically strict in its sectorised approach, in the dominions it privileges, and also in the gaps it contains. This does not mean that we should think any post-war reconstruction project that does not consider women will not succeed. The question is more complex than that. Any post-war reconstruction project that in its definition of politics, power, violence and security does not include sexual differences will not be successful because it does not respond to the social fabric it aims to rebuild. It will always be, in the short or the long term, doomed to failure because of all that it excludes.

Tatiana Moura's book forces us to change the scale of our vision, in its re-examination of international relations. From this, it denounces the sexualised barrier that surrounds us and its consequences. As Maria Lourdes Pintassilgo said, "against the barrier, there is not only one solution - to take up daily gestures again, like sowing, planting, constructing, building, sewing..." (Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, *Graal, Notícias* n. 17, January 2005). For this reason the conclusion of Tatiana Moura's book is not a destination but a space from which we depart on new journeys.

*Margarida Calafate Ribeiro*  
*Centre for Social Studies*

## PEACE STUDIES GROUP (NEP) AGENDA

### NEP's Projects

"Peacebuilding Processes and State Failure Strategies. Lessons Learned from former Portuguese Colonies" (project started in February 2005, financed by the Ford Foundation)

"Women and Girls in Context of Armed Violence. A case study on Rio de Janeiro" (in partnership with the Brazilian NGO VIVA RIO, started in March 2005. Financed by the Ford Foundation.

### Publications

Cardoso, Kátia (2004), "[A intervenção do Centro Carter no conflito Etiópia-Eritreia](#)", *Janus 2005. Anuário de Relações Exteriores*. Lisboa: Público/UAL, 162-163.

Cravo, Teresa (2004), "[Consolidación de la Paz](#)", *Enciclopedia de Paz y Conflictos*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, pp.172-175

Cravo, Teresa (2004), "[A Noruega, 'superpotência da paz': o exemplo do Sri Lanka](#)", *Janus 2005. Anuário de Relações Exteriores*. Lisboa: Público/UAL, 164-165.

Moura, Tatiana (2004) "[La Paz Feminista](#)", *Enciclopédia de la Paz*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada.

Moura, Tatiana (2004), "[Mulheres e Consolidação da Paz](#)", *Janus 2005. Anuário de Relações Exteriores*. Lisboa: Público/UAL, 174-175.

Moura, Tatiana e Pureza, José Manuel (2004), "[O regresso da paz negativa?](#)", *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 25, Coimbra, 157-168.

Moura, Tatiana e Simões, Mónica (2004), "[Reconstrução Pós-Bélica](#)", *Janus 2005 - Anuário de Relações Exteriores*. Lisboa: Público/UAL, 162-163.

Nascimento, Daniela, Keeler, S., Jacobs, M. (2004), "[Building Peace Through Participation: A Case Study of Northern Ireland](#)", in Gray, A. *et al*, *Conflict Resolution and European Legacies of War*. Limerick: Centre for European Studies, pp. 15-28.

Pureza, José Manuel (2004), "[Os múltiplos dialectos da emancipação](#)", in Marnoto, R. (coord.), *Leonardo Express*. Coimbra: FLUC / FCTUC.

Pureza, José Manuel (2004), "[O tempo da guerra eterna?](#)", *Janus 2005 - Anuário de Relações Exteriores*. Lisboa: Público/UAL, 138-139.

Simões, Mónica (2004), "[James Carter e as experiências de mediação](#)", *Janus 2005 - Anuário de Relações Exteriores*. Lisboa: Público/UAL, 160-161.

### NEP's Activities

October 21st 2004

Mónica Rafael and Tatiana Moura (NEP) participated in the conference "Paz y desarrollo en los estados fragiles: nuevos retos, nuevas respuestas", organised by Fundação 'la Caixa' and the Ford Foundation, Madrid (Spain).

1-15 December 2004

Mónica Rafael (NEP) produced a viability study for the "Programme on Pre-Conditions for Elections in Southern Africa" (PEPSA), with the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA), Luanda (Angola).

9 December 2004

Teresa Cravo (NEP/FEUC) presented the conference "A Relevância do Tratado de Não-Proliferação Nuclear na actualidade internacional", International Relations Degree, Minho University (UM), Braga (Portugal).

7-14 January 2005

Teresa Cravo (NEP/FEUC) presented the conference "A reacção normativa e institucional às violações graves de direitos humanos: o Tribunal de Nuremberga e a Convenção de Genocídio", Master in Human Rights of the UM Law School, Braga (Portugal).

February 28 to March 2, 2005

Mónica Rafael (NEP) presented the Angolan case at the [PEPSA Experts Meeting](#), Johannesburg (South Africa).

[NEP's INITIATIVE: "Newly wars, newly peaces. From City of God to Almost Two Brothers"](#)  
March 14, 2005

Exhibition of the film "Almost Two Brothers" and debate with Boaventura de Sousa Santos (CES/FEUC) and Luís Carlos Nascimento, Renato de Souza and Diego Batista (Brazilian NGO "Nós do Cinema"), FEUC, Coimbra (Portugal).

March 15, 2005

Exhibition of the documentary "New Life with Favela" and debate with Pedro Hespanha (CES/FEUC) and Luís Carlos Nascimento (Nós do Cinema), FEUC, Coimbra (Portugal).

March 30, 2005

Book launch of [Tatiana Moura \(2005\), Entre Atenas e Esparta. Mulheres, Paz e Conflitos Violentos](#). Coimbra: Quarteto Editora.