

CONTEMPORARY FEMINISM IN EUROPE AND PEACE MOVEMENTS

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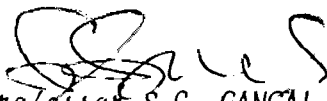
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JULY, 1989

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "CONTEMPORARY FEMINISM AND PEACE MOVEMENTS" being submitted by KALYANI KURAPATI in partial fulfilment of requirement for the award of the Degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY in this University, is a record of the students' own work, carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

It is hereby certified that this work has not been presented for the award of any other degree or diploma.


Professor S.C. GANGAL
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DEDICATED TO
MY PARENTS

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PREFACE

The study of Feminism and its relation to Peace Movement has gained immense significance in recent years with the rise of mounting violence in all sections of society. In a world which is everyday facing the threat of nuclear annihilation, doom and deprivation, it will be interesting to examine whether feminists in Peace Movement have anything concrete to contribute.

This study is organised as follows : Chapter I consists of a discussion of the theoretical starting points for examining the relationship of Feminism to Peace Movements.

In Chapter II, I have examined the effectiveness of the feminist world view in initiatives for peace in a conscious and deliberate way. The analysis is set in the framework of women's participation in the Peace Movements since the International women's peace congress held at Hague in 1915. This historical perspective of how women have opposed war and militarism is necessary in order to understand the institutions, values and beliefs through which women's behavioural perspectives have been expressed in favour of peace. Against this background it is not surprising that in more recent times women around the world have realised the dangers of ecological destruction. Women can help in the expansion of social conscience and thus one of the ways to making peace with the environment is through Feminism. Feminism

offers a new way of experiencing and understanding the world and achieving an alternative style of international relations. The basic principles of Eco-feminism -- Holism, Interdependence, Equality and Balanced Progress which are pillars of contemporary Feminism are all derived from insights based on the integral relationship between women and nature. Human beings being the integral components of the Eco-system have severely effected the whole bio-sphere and our value orientations can destroy or sustain a durable environment.

Eco-feminists claim that instead of poisoning and polluting the natural world and ourselves, we should be working with nature so that life on earth can become healthier. Over the years feminist thought and practice has come to deal with the conservation of the environment as a practical human problem and takes into account the culture-nature dichotomy. Historically this is associated with the perspective on gender in the sense that nature is associated with feminine aspects while culture is considered to be much more of a masculine presence. The femaleness of nature and its exploitation by scientific culture has been an explanatory factor in several feminist studies.

Chapter III explains the emancipatory charactor of women's movements with the backdrop of the suffering of women in day to day life. As part of the public articulation of women's problems Feminists took an

active part in the Peace Movements. This participation had its roots in the peace campaign against the first World War. Subsequently women in Britain, France, Italy, Germany and various countries of Scandinavia took active part in anti-war protests and acquired a new dimension of responsibility. In Britain there were more than hundred peace camps. They all opposed the revived militarisation and held debates on security and co-operation and stressed the unprecedented dangers of arms race and the threat of nuclear war. They called for the implementation of United Nations declaration for the prevention of war and protection of future of human kind. The study also considers the organisational problems faced by the women in the Peace Movements in response to the Exigencies of external interdependence.

Though women were in a position of intimate solidarity with men in the peacerelated activities, they were not always treated with rational reciprocity . Feminists were not given leading positions, even when women were in majority in the membership of peace organisations. The massmedia did not recognise their contribution and activists found themselves in a position of subjugation to the dominant roles of men. I have cited the example of Bertha von Suttner who worked for the establishment of the Nobel Prize for Peace. The internalized moves in the Peace Movement were derived from patriarchal values like hierarchy, inequality and the same power relations which its sponsors claimed they were rejecting in the society at large.

Though women faced many problems they continued to adopt prescriptions for remedial action and brought into play sophisticated organising abilities. Today the feminist rebellion has crossed the barriers of class, race, political, cultural and regional divisions.

In Chapter IV, the analysis is extended to feminist and peace issues in the Third World countries. Feminists want to alleviate the imposing suffering and misery of the Third World countries, thrust upon them by the economically advanced countries through military intervention in local conflicts and the cumulative effects of arms supplies.

Women in the Third World have participated in the struggle against imperialism and racial discrimination. They have also taken tentative steps towards joining the forces of Feminism and Peace Movements. An extended and conscious effort is required to develop autonomy and strength in Third World Peace and Women's Movements in order to build a peaceful and global human community.

The study concludes by placing the more general issues of Feminism and peace against the broader canvas of human prospects and values.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

A review of selected works on the Peace Movements and on feminist studies reveals three tendencies. First, there is a gap between the significant issue area outlined in studies on the peace movements and the contextual analysis of feminist concepts. Second, scholarship based on western Peace Movements leads to unreal assumptions about Peace Movements and feminist strategies in the Third World. Similarly there are ambiguous accounts of peace and women's issues in the developing countries which are based on dogmatic and monolithic thinking. In an interdependent world, it is necessary to pay careful attention to the formation and definition of feminist concepts and continue the search for explanatory theories which would transcend the division between the economically advanced countries and the Third World. Third, both conceptual analysis and empirical research can increase their effectiveness by adopting a general framework of analysis of the relationship between Peace Movement and Feminism. A realistic strategy for improvement of the Peace Movements cannot avoid directing attention to the aggressive responses of a world society which will continue to victimise women if the existing paternalistic structures are maintained. What many studies have failed to perceive is that peace is closely related to women's interests both in the

context of the destructiveness of atomic weapons and in the context of structural and overt violence in the Third World. The interface of peace and women's issues merits the closest attention if the high incidence of conflict, neo-colonialism and dominance in the Third World has to be controlled effectively.

The cumulative growth in women's studies has modified many traditional beliefs and raised several questions of adaptive stability in gender relationships. The varieties of feminist thought have an important role to play in the process of change and are indispensable to anyone seriously interested in understanding the characteristics of present day social movements. The Peace Movements in the 1980s have been extensively influenced by the worldwide concern to eliminate the human catastrophe threatened by the rivalry between the two Super Powers. It is clear, however, that the cross-pressures between the United States of America and the Soviet Union do not exhaust the risks and concerns in relation to the prospects for peace. Feminism as an activity and as a way of thinking goes beyond narrow considerations of the pressure of the international situation to consider broader questions which relate the depth and range of women's concerns to

strategies against aggression, violence and militarism. Feminism can thus be perceived as an effort at new thinking beyond the conventional power categories which have provided the frame of reference for patriarchal formulations. To develop a higher frame of reference for human survival, Feminism can serve as the starting point for human learning processes essential for effective disarmament, conflict management and conflict resolution

The theme of this dissertation is the relationship of Feminism to the Peace Movements. Some writers argue that linking up of Feminism with pacifism is difficult since the definitions of these two terms are totally different. They argue Feminism is primarily concerned with opening opportunities for women on an equal basis with men in all aspects of our present day society, including those which may help to intensify social conflicts, where as Peace Movements deal with pacifism in a specific social milieu.¹

The question to be raised is that does feminist theory have anything to contribute to the establishment of a more peaceful order and can it or has it contributed to the

1. Brigit Brock Uthe, "The Role of Women in Peace Research",
Paper presented in International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, p.8.

elimination of structural violence in society? Feminist studies have supported the idea that the patriarchal dominance in society over the second sex is projected in a larger context in the arms race between the nations and exploitation of the developing nations by the developed countries.² Are feminist principles operative in the development of peace-related activities? Can feminism directly and purposefully contribute towards the prevention of war and ensure survival of humanity?

Over the years, the Women's Movement, specifically in the western world, has taken important initiatives and steps in dealing with the problem of peace and disarmament.³ Even the women in Third World who are burdened with so many problems like malnutrition, unemployment and lack of basic needs have been mobilised to the task of achieving peace in the world in the face of the threat of nuclear annihilation.⁴

Feminism as a protest against the coercive relationship between men and women was there throughout history. Richard Evans defines Feminism as the doctrine of equal rights for

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2. Barbara Roberts, " Research and Resources for Feminist peace Studies", Atlantis, vol 12,no.2, Spring/Printemps, 1987, p.47; Eboe Hutchful, "The Peace Movement and the Third World", Alternatives IX 1983,p.581.
 3. Ruth Roach Pierson, "Women and Peace Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives", USA, Groom Helm 1987.
 4. Maria Nzomo, "Women, Third World and International Peace", Atlantis, vol 12, no.2, Spring/Printemps, 1987.

women, based on the theory of the equality of the sexes.⁵ Gendra Lerner defines Feminism as "any struggle designed to elevate women's status socially, politically, economically and in respect to their self-concepts".⁶ David Bourheir states that "feminism includes opposition to any form of social, personal or economic discrimination which women suffer because of their sex".⁷ We may eventually find out that all male dominated cultures have experienced some kind of revolt. The modern era, however, clearly differs from the previous stages in terms of the exercise of real freedom of choice and decisions by women. The Women's movement as a collective activity by women to better their position and change male dominance of society started in the USA in 1840s, in England in the 1850s, in France and Germany in the 1860s and the Scandinavian countries in the 1870s and the 1880s.⁸ Depending upon the historical circumstances different forms of Feminism existed in different countries eg. Radical, Liberal, Socialist etc., but the term Feminism has been used widely since the beginning of the 1970s to include a wide range of options.⁹

 5. Drude Dahlerup, "The New Women's Movement Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA", London, Sage Publications, 1986, p.2.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. David Bouchier, "The Feminist Challenge, The Movement for Women's Liberation in Britain and the USA", Schocken Books 1984.

9. Drude Dahlerup, "The New Women's Movement Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA", London, Sage Publications 1986, p.6.

Feminism has developed a plurality of programmes against oppression in contemporary society. It also embraces a strategic approach to global change. European and North American women have been actively organising for peace for the past hundred years or so.¹⁰ The majority of women may well have been opposed to war for centuries as they certainly have had more than their share of suffering from armed conflicts.¹¹ Ursula Herrmann suggests that, emergence of the women's movement took place in the nineteenth century. And it was due to the movement of women out of the home into the public sphere on a large scale, that the politicization of women became possible and with it, women's involvement in peace movements.¹²

Peace is both a state of mind and an ideology for the "harmonious partnership of humankind". If there is war or violence outside, we cannot have peace of mind.¹³ Thanks to the application of modern technology to warfare, if there

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10. Ruth Roach Pierson, "Women and Peace : Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives", USA, Groom Helm 1987.
 11. Roulctte, "Feminism and Pacifism", or the Art of Tranquilly Playing Russian in Ruth Pierson, Women and Peace, USA Groom Helm, 1987
 12. Ruth Roach Pierson, "Women and Peace : Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives", USA, Groom Helm, 1987.
 13. Chakravarthy Gargi - "Peace Disarmament and Women, NIFW Bulletin, January, 1988, p.21.

is war in one nation its effect can easily cross political boundaries.¹⁴ The feminist perspective has stressed the need ✓ for a coherent strategy against war. Feminists have demanded in substantive terms that in conflict regulation and in negotiating peace, women should be full participants first and foremost in their capacity as fellow humanbeings with the men who have hitherto patronised these peace fora. Secondly in their capacity as women, with special appreciation for the 'metaphors of life' they can challenge the institutionalisation of war and aggression. Thirdly in their capacity as mother women are equipped with the special traits of patience and endurance and thus they can help in building the "image" of a future without wars.¹⁵ ✓

In order to build the theoretical foundations for studying the role of women in mobilisation for peace in the Third World, we need first of all to take into account a very broad spectrum of perspectives which focus on the linkage between patriarchal culture and militarism and violence. ✓

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14. Marion Kerans, "A Feminist Perspective on Military Security", Canadian Womens Studies, vol 9, no.1. pp. 31-32
 15. Maria Nzomo, "Women Third World and International Peace", Atlanlis, vol 12, no.2, Spring/Printemps 1987. p 46.

The cross-fertilisation of ideas between the fields of feminist studies and peace studies can help to generate a holistic consciousness, which alone can provide an exhaustive answer to the questions posed by the conflicts and wars in the developing countries. The political discourse on women's issues or peace issues in the European and North American countries is not directly applicable to the control of conflicts and hegemonic policies in the Third World, but the ideological contours of the feminist movement in the economically advanced countries must be studied to develop theoretical constructs which can later be modified to correspond to the structural factors and processes in Third World societies.

We may expect to find distinct forms of answers by which women in the Third World will sustain their struggle to strengthen women's position in society against varied patterns of discrimination. Similarly it seems far more likely that women will adopt their actions for peace according to the given historical conditions of Third World countries. Women are victims of both direct and structural violence in most nations of the Third World, but serious political analysis has yet to address this issue of complexity which hinders advancement in the field. The link between the feminist movement and the Peace Movement in the Third World

has to be discovered by widening the research horizons to include a multitude of social movements, including those dealing with the problems of ecological carnage in rural communities. A review and critique of the programmatic conceptions of the feminist and peace movements in the western countries can help to sharpen our thinking about the understanding of peace and conflict in the Third World. This can serve as the source of fresh theoretical starting points for developing images of peace as an integral part of a strategy of change. The following are some of the major interests on which this study will focus in order to critically assess the impact of the contemporary feminist movement on the organisational initiatives for peace :

1. *Critique of Patriarchal Culture*

The consequences of sexism have been related to the glorification of violence, war and militarism. There are several comprehensive works which examine the contribution of the patriarchal culture to the various forms of conflict. For a practical insight into contemporary problems of achieving a more peaceful and stable world, we have to get around a stalemated debate and promote deeper appreciation of the complexities and choices involved in different levels of socialised gender differences. A fuller and more coherent

explanation may have to go beyond existing feminine visions but whatever the eventual outcome, there can be no meaningful political practice that does not mobilise against the existing patriarchal culture. Obviously there cannot be final answers to all the questions that are raised and the needs and possibilities of change will have to be evaluated differently for historical and psychological reasons. While accepting different paradigms of thinking, women's liberation movements can chart their courses to overcome patriarchal claim by comprehensive and adaptable behaviour. The economically advanced countries have no claim to special wisdom in promoting feminist issues. There are areas in which interests have been defined and pursued wisely in the west; elsewhere the results have been problematical. On the other hand in many developing countries, women have transcended values, attitudes and beliefs which were affecting their lives adversely and have obtained specific policy responses from the state and society. There are different ways of overcoming resistance from the forces of patriarchal culture and it is difficult to apply general rules to particular cases of women's emancipation.

The challenge of the future can be met more confidently if the task of transforming conflict and violence

into peace is tackled by both men and women working to establish social harmony. Patriarchal culture is no longer adequate to the requirements of peace in our interdependent global system.

2. *Ecology and Environmentalism*

Feminism has paid special attention to the connection of human survival with ecology. Increasingly scholars are focussing on how conflicts can be explained on the basis of threats to the environment. Conflicts in the Third World represent a special problem for a deeper understanding of which we need the categories of Environmentalism. The emphasis of the feminist movement in Europe has resulted in developing an articulate protest against hyper-industrialism. In the Third World, women's movements have spontaneously developed against the exploitation of natural resources, particularly the forest wealth.

The anti-nuclear movement in the western countries undoubtedly provided an incentive to social protest against ecological destruction. Women who took part in the anti-nuclear protests inevitably developed ecological sensibilities and these became all-encompassing in the long run. Ofcourse the present day environmentalist lobbies in western

countries can enlist enthusiastic participation of many segments of the population, but women have remained at the forefront of the ecology movement. The ecological vision of women in the Third World represents a potential, which can find expression in many forms of citizens' initiatives.

3. *Feminist Views of : (a) the Arms Race
(b) Peace and Security*

Although claims about women's adherence to peace may be exaggerated, the strong expression of disapproval of the arms race by women's groups and organisations has affected public sentiments. The kind of direct interest which women, as wives and mothers, have in the forthright condemnation of weapons of destruction of human life has affected the expansion and vigour of the Peace Movement. Feminist views on peace and security have assumed a fundamental importance as the very real threat of a nuclear holocaust has brought up the issues of human survival. The feminist process of reasoning has suggested that women have a vanguard role in developing a strategy of change which can save humankind from the abyss of nuclear destruction.

In the Third World countries, from the village level up, women can come together to preserve the true interests of the people. Whether it is the threat from the highly centralised state or the promotion of pollution by private industry, the resistance to external pressures often comes from women who develop a participatory role for peace after the groundswell of protest.

4. *Feminist Perspectives on Development Issues*

Feminism has played an important role in the assessment of development issues. We must start by noting that thinking on development issues has evolved in a piecemeal and haphazard fashion. The pursuit of narrow interests and belief in trickle-down development has only strengthened the relation of dependence between the North and the South. The emergence of feminism has added a new dimension to the critique of economic development. It has encouraged a radical restructuring of thinking concerning economic and political self-determination in the developing countries. Although official development thinking continues to consider existing strategies as legitimate, there is an awareness of the potentially catastrophic effects of the policies pursued by the richer industrialised nations, and alternative Third World policies have appeared on the political agenda of discussion.

Women's movements in the developing countries have helped to express increasing doubts about the traditional faith in modernisation processes which are not guided by ecological or cultural considerations.

5. *Grass-roots Democracy*

Those who have a vested interest in maintaining the arms race and tension levels in international society have continued to adhere to the values and attitude of competitive politics at centralised national levels. In opposition to this, women's movements have shown a marked preference for decentralised and direct democracy.

The political obstacles to direct political expression erected by manipulative politics based on electioneering with the support of electronic media have seriously curbed citizens' initiatives. Women's organisations in several European countries, including Federal Republic of Germany, have been concerned with the deformation of political culture. Local and regional national groups with active women's participation have challenged the established political parties to develop a new political agenda which has swung the balance on occasion in favour of grass-roots democracy

In the Third World also, women's organisations have taken the political initiative away from existing institutional sources and strengthened the popular view of grass-roots politics.

CHAPTER - II

THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S INITIATIVES FOR PEACE FEMINISM
AGAINST MILITARISM - THE IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

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The impact of feminism on the political climate of the world can only be understood if several fundamental questions are asked. What is the history and development of women's initiatives in public life in different areas of the globe? What type of factors have motivated women's liberation movements to behave the way they do in order to overcome the status quo? To what extent we can regard the path-breaking developments in the western world as expressive of claims by women in different cultural contexts? What kind of futurology is relevant to the current struggle of women throughout the world to achieve economic and social equality and to ensure peace and human survival?

We cannot go into these and related issues if we aim at a concise presentation of the main initiatives for peace by women. Our empirical information emphasises the historical and political context of the initiatives by women in the western world. But this focus should not lead to the perpetuation of ethnocentric biases. Although the Third World plays a peripheral role in any areas, and is subject to political volatility, it is essential to take into account the ideas within the women's movements in the developing countries as they have developed, with varying degrees of success, since the era of decolonisation. The following aspects are important

in all women's movements, whether in the economically advanced world or in the Third World, and constitute as it were the unspoken ideological content of feminism :

1. *The Feminist Worldview*

The essential point is that with the rising militarisation of all states, the feminist worldview seeks to avoid genocidal risk and to generate a new equilibrium for recognition of mutual interests. Without going into the question whether women have a psychological disposition for peace, the response of women's movements to the specific problem of creating a world at peace has been remarkably robust.

In the Third World women's organisations have identified the nuclear danger as an imminent challenge but have placed relatively stronger emphasis on the threat to survival arising from the technological imperatives which are working havoc with the economies of the developing countries.

Although systematic theoretical perceptions of feminists in the North and South may diverge, yet their common awareness of the social inequalities of men and women, have helped in the formation of a common political vision of global Feminism. The major arguments of women activists all over the

globe point out the fallacy of all attempts to deny the aspiration for human equality of the sexes. The ideological persuasions of global Feminism may range from radical Feminism to moderate Feminism but the different prescriptions for remedial action entail a shift in emphasis away from the violence-prone values of patriarchal society.

2. *The Feminist Analysis of Gender*

It can be argued that neither the man-centred nor the feminist analysis of gender is particularly well based. The main thrust of the feminist analysis has been to stress the importance of a new renaissance in social understanding. The feminists may not have the final answer to what would be put in place of the present social arrangements, but as a "cry of the powerless", the feminist effort has gravitated towards the need to give up traditional ways of thinking and to place social demands within a more explicit context of cooperative relations.

The feminist analysis of gender may not always show the way to elimination of all violence and aggression but by challenging the existing distribution of power in society it does provide for different motivational strategies which in turn may help to dismantle destructive capabilities.

Since male domination has produced privileges and vested interests in almost every society in the world, the feminist analysis of gender provides a basic perspective for institutional reform although the rethinking of attitudes should take into account the significance of differences in cultural heritage.

3. *Womens' Liberation Movements*

It is misleading to think of women's liberation movements exclusively within the western paradigm. The manifestations of women's power should be interpreted in line with the general processes of change in different societies. The range of women's concerns are inevitably shaped by the logic of the situation imminent in the antagonistic attitude they face. Women's liberation is not an item for export. Women have to feel themselves to be genuinely involved in the solution to their problems and to make choice for the new dimensions of cooperative social behaviour. In trying to extricate themselves from the values that dominate patri-archal society, proposals that are entirely utopian do not serve a real purpose.

The success of women's liberation movements can be seen ultimately as the fulfilment of a process of mutual

accommodation and not as a destructive end-game. In areas of policy stereotypes and misperceptions have to be removed and a broadened definition of social peace has to find a place on the social and political agenda. Women's liberation movements in all parts of the world demand skills to identify and overcome attitudes of competitive hostility.

4. *Feminism and Politics*

It is part of the empirical reality that feminist power can be used for influencing public policy. Even in societies where social pressures favour the values which dominate patriarchal systems, there are social regulators which increasingly provide concessions to feminist prescriptions. At all events, in highly mobilised modern societies, women's social movements offer positive opportunities for dynamic structural changes in the political system. Ultimately feminist thinking provides the foundation for the emergence of women's interest groups which become a manifest source of political action.

To secure far reaching changes in public policy the highly complex differentiation of bureaucratic functions has to be brought in line with the feminist agenda. This is not easy to advance in any of the existing societies since the

emancipation of women goes hand in hand with overcoming ✓
bureaucratisation. It also becomes apparent that more is
involved than merely adopting a feminist political strategy.
Feminism can achieve a breakthrough in politics not by the
acceptance of an intellectual attitude but by a fundamental
reorientation of motives which dominate patriarchal society.
To overcome war and militarism it is enough to offer feminist
social criticism. Feminism has to abolish an archaic view
of politics.

5. *Feminism and Economics*



Feminism finds itself in opposition to the destruc-
tive technologies of the contemporary world and challenges
the conventional wisdom of economics which endangers the
feminine life style. Feminism offers a critique of economics,
which rationalises inequality of the sexes and threatens
ecological damage to the life support systems on the planet.

Women in the Third World, in particular perceive social ✓
degeneration as a direct consequence of the existing models of
economic development. Women's liberation movements, therefore,
stress the urgent need for decentralised economic decision- ✓
making. In this line of thinking if we want to create a more
peaceful world, an alternative model of economic development

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which is based on considerations of ecology and sustainable growth, is a prime necessity.

Feminist thinking in the developing countries is coming finally to the conclusion that unless economic development processes are redesigned with a holistic perspective there would be ever-increasing threats to survival. A new economics is therefore needed which will safeguard the resource base of the Third World.

6. *Women against War and Militarism*

Women's opposition to war is not new. Eight months after the first World War broke out in April 1915 approximately 1,200 women from neutral and belligerent nations assembled at the Hague and protested against human suffering caused by the war.¹

Early feminist writers such as Fredrika Bremer and Ellenkey of Sweden and Camilla Collect of Norway clarified the principle that "Women's fight for their own rights often becomes more widely political and frequently leads to a fight against violence and war"². British authoress Emeline Pethick - Lawrence and the Hungarian writer Rosika Schwimmer

1. Sandi E. Copper, "Women's participation in European Peace Movements : The struggle to prevent world war I", In Ruth Roach pierson". Women and Peace theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives", USA, Groom Helm 1987, p.51.

2. Ibid.

toured the country lecturing and talking with political leaders about peace and aroused American women to join the women of Europe in general protest against war.³

Women all over the world protested against the war. Alice Paul, Crystal Eastman and the Congressional Union in the United States; Catherine Marshall, Sylvia Pankhurst and the East London Federation of Suffragettes in England and Helene Brion and the syndicalist teacher union in France -- all opposed the first World War and adopted a strongly pacifist stance.⁴ Many national and international peace-groups organised peace marches opposing militarism and war. National socialist leaders Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg of Germany were committed to the breaking down of national boundaries and ending military competition between nations.⁵

Women individually and collectively worked against war and militarism. When Nawalel Saachawi interviewed the people in Britain they replied "we lived through two third wars, we were determined there will not be a third". Many women who are working in the peace movement said "In the past

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3. Brock-Utine Brigit "Educating for peace, A Feminist Perspective" The Athene Series Pergamon Press, New York 1985, pp.3-4.
 4. Berenice A. Carroll, "Feminism and Pacifism : Historical and theoretical connections" in Ruth Roach Pierson, Women and Peace Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives" USA Groom Helm 1987, pp.9.
 5. Ibid

our men left home to go to war now we women are leaving home for peace".⁶

7. *Women against Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament*

Today the world is in danger. Humanity is virtually sitting on a volcano of destructive weapons, particularly the nuclear weapons, which have a capacity to destroy the world many times over. It is becoming increasingly clear that without global peace one cannot have peace of mind, there cannot be harmony in the family if there are riots or violence outside the house.⁷ Women who constitute more than half of the world population have a right to voice their demand for peace. They are ready to stop the arms race which is eating up vital resources and their children's welfare.⁸

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) estimates that in 1985, world expenditure on arms was \$970 billion, which worked out to \$1/2-2 million a minute. The military budget itself is twice that of India's GNP. Over \$50 billion is spent annually on military research against

6. Nowal el Saachawi - "Politics, United Kingdom, Women a World report". The New Internationalist book, 1986, p.561.

7. Ajeet Cour, "Women for Peace and Disarmament". NFIW Bulletin January 1988 p.2

8. Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women : Equality, Development and Peace (DOC. A/CONF. 94/39).

\$ 1/2 to 400 million on medical research. At present 60 million people are engaged by the military industry of whom 30 million are in uniform. European arms manufactures have trebled their sales over the past few decades to 1/2 - 2.2 billion in 1985. Not only developed but also developing countries engaged in this arms race.⁹

Long back women advocated for universal disarmament in the 1915 Hague conference. Wiesniewska focussed directly on arms control danger of arms race and the need to reduce armaments. This was necessary to usher in an age of justice and harmony.¹⁰

Supporting the Soviet mode of discourse on peace, the Women's International Democratic Federation was formed on December 1, 1945 with representatives of 181 women's organisations from 41 countries of Europe. North and South America Asia, Africa and Australia -- which resounded its voice twice in the General Assembly. Valentina Tereshkova the then vice-president of WIDE addressed the special session of disarmament in 1978 and 1982 to show that peace ranked high in the Soviet Women's hierarchy of values.

9. World Armament and Disarmament, SIPRI Year Book, 1985.

10. Ruth Roach Pierson, n.1, p.51.

Women around the world realised the danger of nuclear weapons and mobilised an impressive following for antinuclear movement than ever before. Many organizations were established in 1970-80 like European Nuclear Disarmament group (END) which has prominent women's groups like Women's Peace Alliance, Women for Life on Earth and the World Disarmament Campaign.¹¹ Nordic women for peace, (1979) The Argentinian Mothers of Plaza de Mayo Australian women for survival and many other organisations started by the women for peace conducted peace rallies, public demonstrations, peace camps, peace marches and peace conferences which spread the women's struggle for peace, disarmament and detente and protested against nuclear and deadly weapons of mass destruction. Recently Women in the peace movements started new, spontaneous form of protest -- blocking of peace camps, picketing of parliamentary houses, torch marches, peace-festivals improvised stress anti-war songs concerts and so on. Though the members of the peace groups came across so many hurdles like being arrested, put to death by the police at the gate of the Greenham Common military airbase, it did not weaken their will and they continued their struggle.¹²

11. Phil William, The Nuclear debate Issues and Politics, Chatham House Special Paper the Royal Institute of International Affairs London, 1984.

12. Jean Gross Hostlz, US Women on the Right side of the Fence at Greenham, Women's Studies international Forum, vol 12, no.1, 1989, pp 97-98.

8. *Ecofeminism*

When Feminists talk of peace, it not only refers to the absence of war in the conventional sense. They refer to the other forms of violence and exploitation directed the eco-system as well.

Neither ecology nor feminism is monolithic. To some people ecology is science, to others it is philosophy which is holistic and integrative, emphasising the interdependence of all forms of life and the frailty of planet earth. Similarly there are different types of feminism -- liberal to radical and in between. Eco-feminism brought these two together.¹³

In 1974, Francoise d'Equibonne coined the word "Eco-feminism" in her book "Le feminisme ou la mort". Since then eco-feminism has been associated with the struggle against the oppression of women and natural environments.¹⁴

Ecofeminism suggests that there are common features in the control and exploitation of women and of nature in male dominated culture and that understanding is necessary to stop this exploitation. Ecofeminism is concerned to the

13. K. Warren "Feminism and Ecology : Making Connections", *Environmental Ethics* 9, 1983. pp 3-10; David Bouchier, "The Feminist Challenge, The Movement for Women's Liberation in Britain and the USA", Schocken Books, 1984.

14. Katherine Davies, "What is Ecofeminism"? *Women and Environments* Spring 1988, p.4.

immediate problems like nuclear threat and chemical contamination. However, the main aim of eco-feminism is the struggle to eliminate existing pattern of exploitation and control of existing society. Since feminism offers a new way of experiencing and understanding the world, it is believed that one of the ways of making peace with environment is through feminism.

The basic principles to eco-feminism are holism, interdependence, equality and process which are also partly basic principles for feminism.¹⁵ Ecofeminists have a holistic approach which implies that the planet is a single interacting ecosystem comprised of human and non-human sub-systems. Actions in some components influence other remote and apparently unconnected components. Though all living things influence their environments, humans have a severely affected the whole bio-sphere, so much so that the bio-sphere maybe damaged irreparably because of the exploitation of natural resources, contamenation of air, soil and water and changes in climate and topography.

Daily news events remine us that our relationship with the earth and its natural systems is changing which we do not realise. In May 1985, a British research team reported finding a shap decline in the level of the atmospheric ozone

15. Ibid.

layer over Antarctica. The thinning of the ozone layer would allow more of the sun's ultraviolet radiation to reach the earth, causing skin cancer, impairing the human immune system and retarding crop growth.¹⁶ In July 1986, a team of scientists studying the effect of rising atmosphere levels of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other "greenhouse gases" published the evidence that the predicted global warming has begun.

Another basic principles of eco-feminism is interdependence of all forms of life. They believe humans are integral components of the eco-system, not separate of superior. Not only do we originate from and return to earth, but we are an open biological system using air, water and nutrients to produce energy and water products. One result of our current lifestyle is that we are exposed to a myriad of chemicals released or disposed of in the environment.¹⁷ Pollution has reached an extent where most North Americans have residues of at least a dozen toxic chemicals in their fat. Some of these chemicals have been linked to cancer and birth defects. It is estimated that 6,75,000 young children in the United States have high concentration of lead in their blood. The effects vary with the quantities present but include damage to the kidney, liver, nervous system.¹⁸

 16. Lester R Brown and Sandra Postel, "Thresholds of change" in "State of the World 1987", A World Watch institute, pp.159-170.

17. Patsy Hallen, "Making peace with the Environment : Why Ecology needs Feminism" Canadian Women Studies, vol.9, no.1, p.10.

18. Lester R. Brown and Sandra Postel "Thresholds of Change" in "State of the World 1987" A world Watch institution, p.169-179.

Scientists have documented acidification thresholds in soil -- the crossing of which may irreversibly damage the terrestrial eco-system. Even the temperate zone forests are being pushed beyond a threshold of pollution tolerance. Conventional wisdom holds that tropical rain forests are typically too wet to burn naturally but in 1982 and early 1983 in some seven forests, fire spread through Indonesia's East Kalimantan province and Malaysia's¹⁹ Borneo. They consumed 3.5 million hectares of tropical rainforest.

Ecofeminists claim that instead of poisoning and polluting the natural world and ourselves, we should be working with nature so that life can become healthier. No nation acting alone can avert the costly consequences of altering the earth's chemistry -- air pollutants and acid rain waft easily across the political boundaries. Carbon dioxide emissions anywhere contribute to climatic change everywhere.

Many different institutions can help build cooperation needed among governments. The United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Eco-commission for Europe, the European Economic Community, the World Meteorological Organization and others have in various ways been

19. Ibid.

instrumental in achieving progress towards global environment. But only with leadership from individual nations will concrete measures result. Sweden's efforts to make acid rain a top priority on the international environmental agenda, West Germany's call for stricter pollution controls on European power plants and the recent enactment by Australia, Sweden, and Switzerland of Automobile pollution control etc. are some examples of concrete initiatives taken by some countries. Action by just a few countries can lead to action by many. Ten nations initially made a commitment in March 1984 to reduce their sulphur dioxide emissions by 30 per cent within a decade, at present 21 nations have joined in this pledge.²⁰

Another principle of eco-feminism is the importance of non-hierarchical system. Both Ecology and Feminism Challenge this hierarchical picture. This principle follows from the holistic emphasis on interdependence. Eco-feminism emphasises the value of each part of system, each element having a unique role and function.

Eco-feminists emphasise process. The way on objective is achieved i.e. through non-violent means, is at least as important as its goal. The ends do not justify the means. This principle originates independently in ecological as well

20. Ibid

as in feminist thought and in both, there is an emphasis on interactions and relationships.²¹

Many voluntary organisation in different countries have been taking active participation in preserving the environment in their respective countries. The most outstanding contribution is of the 'Greens in Germany'.

The green ecological movements are founded in the 1960's. It's major themes were in the protection of the environment of the ecosystem. In course of time, it crystallized into a political party called the 'Green Party' and has been playing an active role in Peace movements.

The Greens²² Program is holistic and views the problems of nuclear weapons as inseparable from ecological issues, women's and children's rights, political participation and the economy. The green Party of West Germany is categorically opposed to nuclear weapons and deterrence. The risks of unilateral disarmament it strongly believes far outweighed by those of status - quo. Their goal is beyond the ambitious goal of Disarmament. Their ambition is a world entirely without enemies and violence of all

21. Katherine Daves, "What is Eco-feminism"? Women and Environment Spring 1985. p.5.

22. E. Papadakis 'The Green Movement in West Germany', New York, 1984.

types. Non-violence is a pillar of the program of the Greens with "structural violence" defined as violence and oppression imposed by the state and institutions as well as "violence by and against persons explicitly prohibited". Four salient dimensions in the green's overall design seem specially important and interesting.²³ One is regionalism - this program turns on the premise that nation states are inherently dangerous and not simply products of the environment in which they interact, as in the realist view. Their idea is that by replacing artificial national states with communities whose members are naturally bound, the power acquisitive and militaristic postures exhibited by the former would relax considerably. A second cardinal feature of the greens is the democratization of the supposed enemy. A third dimension of the Green peace program is the dissolution of the bloc system. Petra Kelley has described the Greens as a "non-aligned peace movement in Europe" To this extent the Greens find it necessary to abolish the military industries complex whether it be capitalist or state socialist. Finally the Greens are not inhibited about demanding unilateral disarmament. Although the Peace Movement existed well before attention was paid to INF of the East-West relations and the diminishing prospects of arms

 23. Herbert Ammon & Peter Brandit, "The German Question", TELOS, Spring no.51, 1982, p.280.

control that the leadership of the Green turned their attention to issues of nuclear weapons and war and were supported by elements within both the Protestant Church & SPD. Unlike the situation in other European countries, where the peace movements have the support of at least one major political party, the Peace Movement in West Germany was initiated outside the established parties. Later in the guise of the greens the peace movement can be said to have become a party, albeit an anti-system party.²⁴ In many ways the political currents in the Peace Movement and the greens represent a challenge to all three major political parties, and even to the conduct of Parliamentary Politics.²⁵ The issues raised by the peace movement and the greens also have serious implications for the direction of the social democrate.

Women realise that nature is under threat. Women have been involved in struggles to protect the environment against despoliation in many parts of the world. Anita Anand has described how a group of women in a remote village in north India successfully resisted attempts to fell the forest around them, which for them was not only home, but resources.

24. Jeffrey Boutwell, "Politics and the Peace Movement in West Germany" International Security, Spring, 1983, vol 7, no 4, p.81

25. See The Economist, July 10, 1982, pp.40-41.

She described how the women were "doing the unusual thing. Hugging trees. They were resorting to chipko, which means to hug, to prevent trees from being felled. With their arms wrapped around the trees the women and children cried" the forest in our mother's home. We will defend it with all our might. Now Chipko has become a very popular movement in Uttarakhand and heroic role played by Gaurdevi and other women brought it to the attention of people outside the region. This movement built up pressure on the government to reverse its decision regarding the allotment of the trees of the Raniforests. Finally the government appointed a committee of experts to look into this matter.²⁶

The Chipko movement has not only attracted national attention by championing the cause of forest preservation, it has also come up with some very practical and constructive suggestions for renewal of depleted forests. All tree felling in catchment and sensitive areas must be stopped, and the natural process of vegetation renewal should be helped by every possible means. Women of this region have been playing a greater role in preserving the forest wealth.²⁷

26. Lynda Birke, "Women, Feminism and Biology", Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., Great Britain, 1986, p.119.

27. Anupam Mishra, "The Forest Cover "Chipko Movement" in North India" Paper presentation in a Seminar New Delhi, May 1979.

The familiarity of feminism with the social problems helps to embrace new categories and to create a general atmosphere of democratic vigilance. The technical and material progress of the world does not by itself ensure the realisation of a more informed and strategic approach to peaceful change. Women's organisation can impart new meanings to the ideas of human welfare and security in periods of intense crises. They provide an ethical and political counterweight to the self-contradictions of militarisation and other development of destructive power. ✓

CHAPTER - III

THE ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS AND PRESPECTIVES
OF WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN PEACE MOVEMENTS

Feminism's mode of discourse has had a powerful effect on defining the situation in the current human impasse : We are living in the world of male dominated culture. As long as masculine tendencies predominate, we have war and aggression in the society. It is in the hands of women who constitutes more than half of the global population to overcome this danger."Separately we are weak and can achieve only a little but if we extend our hands around the world, we should be able to take the earth in our arms like a child". (Federika Bremer 1854)

Suffering of Women in Day-to-day Life

According to Barbare Roberts, First the most common form of physical violence in our society is violence against women by men. Second, women suffer more than the men from structural inequality and institutional violence, within every strata of society where force is either historically distant or a last resort : that is, domination and systemic discrimination long enshrined by law or custom. Third, women have little say in the political decisions that lead to war, and virtually none in stopping it once started. Women both as civilians and simply as women are targets for attack, including sexual attack in peace as well as in war. Fourth, women are statistically more peaceful than men; despite the historical evidence

that some women can be as bloody minded and militaristic as their brothers, there is increasing evidence that women as a whole are characteristically more co-operative, nurturing and constructive than men.¹

Active Participation of Women in the Peace Movement ✓

The involvement of feminists in the Peace Movement is certainly not new. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has its roots in the women's campaign against the First World War. The Congress of Canadian Women, whose mandate includes a commitment to peace have been active for more than 40 years and the voice of women for more than 25.² These groups have raised the issue of peace in a way to which women have been able to relate. They have also ensured that issues connecting women and peace have been raised within the broader Peace Movement.

Women from different historical and cultural backgrounds of the respective countries took active participation in the Peace Movements. The peace action among Nordic women, names "*Women for Peace*" was started directly after NATO had made the decision, on December 1972³ to install a new

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1. Barbara Roberts, "Research and Resources for Feminist Peace Studies", Atlantis, vol 12, no.2, Spring /Printemps 1987.p.47
 2. Wendy Wright, "Towards a Non-Sexist Peace Movement" Canadian Women Studies, vol 9, no 1, p.70.
 3. IKV Peace Journal 1977, no 3, p.6.

generation of land based intermediate-range Nuclear Missiles in West and Central Europe. In the case of threater Nuclear weapons people felt that they had been deceived and betrayed by their own government as a result Nordic women for peace was started by Denish and Finnish Women. A common text for the action was adopted in OSLO on January 22, 1980.⁴

The manifesto was translated and spread, with petitions to sign, to all women in all the Nordic Countries. By June, 1980 more than half a million signatures had been collected. The signatures were delivered together with the manifesto to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim immediately before the official opening of the UN Conference on Women, held in Copenhagen in the summer of 1980. The campaign also addressed itself to President Carter and President Breznev. The Nordic women conducted Peace March in 1981 from Copenhagen to Paris. Later in 1982 to Moscow.

Mothers of Plaza de Mayo is another group of courageous women has been working for peace and human rights in Argentina. Because of the military coup in Argentina in 1976 and until 1983, thousand of Argentinians have been murdered, tortured to death during this period. Since the

4. Bright Brock Utne, "Educating for Peace" Feminist Perspective, New York, Pergamon Press 1985, p.48.

beginning of 1977, mothers, wives and other women relatives of the murdered and imprisoned persons carried on a silent demonstration in front of the Palace of the President at Plaza de Mayo every Thursday. They protested against the torturing, killing and protested against War.⁵

Inspired by the Nordic Women for Peace who marched from Copenhagen to Paris in the Summer of 1981, 40 Welsh women and a few men set out from Cardiff on August 27, 1981 to March 125 miles to Greenham Common Air Force Base in protest against the 96 cruise missiles that the government planned to base there in 1983.

In December, 1983 when the first of the 96 cruise missiles were sited at the base at Greenham Common, the women had camped outside the base for more than two years. They are constantly about 15 to 20 women in the camp, week-ends many more though men are admitted to the camp they have never been permitted to play a leading role. The march was organised by women and camp was set up by women and have become the symbol of growing Peace Movement in Britain.⁶

5. Ibid., p.49.
6. Nawal el Saachawi, "Politics, United Kingdom", Women a World Report, The New Internationalist book 1986

Women from all over Australia have recently organised *Women for Survival Groups* in all main centres in Australia and some in rural areas as well. Women for survival organized their peace camp outside Pine Gap, the US Satellite Communication base, on November, 11, 1983 collaborated with the aboriginal women of Alice Springs, women for survival organised the march on Sunday November 13, when women tried to enter the base one hundred and eleven women were arrested after they claimed into the US Communication base. On the following day they were all subjected to all-day hearings in the Magistrates Court and were charged with trespass.

American Women also took an active participation in establishment of peace. On November 16, 1981 thousands of American women rallied in front of the Pentagon. Ynestra King (1983) writes : "The Pentagon emerged as a symbol of all male violence we opposed". They opposed the imperialist role of the United States military around the world. Feminists will continue in Peace Movements both in separate and mixed groups to work against militarism and patriarchy. They claim "we want a world of peace and justice not only for our children we want it for ourselves."⁷

7. Rosemary Sullivan, 'Women Working for Peace : Reclaiming the Imagination', Canadian Women Studies vol 9, no.1, pp 83-84.

Organisational Problems Faces by Women

The role of feminists in this recent growth of the Peace Movement has been challenging. Not only feminists have ongoing tasks of organising and carrying campaigns, but women are committed to ensuring that the traditional roles for women are not reproduced with the Peace Movement.⁸

The recent resurgence of the Peace Movement has been a renewed involvement of women. This has meant growth for the existing women's peace groups and the birth of new ones. Some of these groups have looked at violence against women and violence in society, exploitation against earth or eco-system with a clear feminist analysis and then linked the need for peace with violence in general.

There are today and have been historically, many women's movements and many Peace Movements in different times and places. These movements have been highly diverse and internally complex and among them there have been profound disagreements on many issues.

Women come across so many problems in peace movements unconsciously patriarchal values creep into it by

8. Barbara Roberts, "The Peace Movement as a learning site" Canadian Women Studies, vol 9, no.1 pp 51-53.

enlarge and ignores the situation of women and in the process tends to reproduce the same power relations found in society at large.⁹

Though women were fighting together with men for the liberation of other groups and for peace, in the organisation there were being delegated to the lower position. They were kept away from the leading positions. They were not asked to appear on television or make speeches. They were asked to embroider banners, to collect signatures and money to hand out folders. According to Birgit Brock Utne - In the American delegation to the big anti-slavery congress in London in 1940, there were seven women, all had fought courageously for the abolition of slavery in their own country. Several of these women wanted to take the floor at the congress, but were not allowed by the men. From this illustration we can draw conclusions that inequality is existing with in the Peace Movements.¹⁰

Even when women are fighting for peace the work they are doing is not recognised by men. Their fight is made invisible in the mass media and in the history books. The Norwegian historian Yngvar Ustvedt said in a newspaper interview that he had found out that of all the brave Norwegian

9. Ibid

10. Birgit Brock Utne, "The role of women in Peace Research", International Peace Research, Oslo, pp.1-20.

women who fought alongside the men during Second World War to resist the German occupation and had been killed during that fight, not one had her name encarved on the memorial slabs erected to the honour of those who were killed during the war. He also mentioned that the men had not wanted to have the women, that they had been fighting togethter within the underground movement with them, when they were marching up the main street of Oslo to celebrate the victory at the end of the war.¹¹

Celina Garica, the peace researcher from Costa Rica asks whether male peace-makers are reluctant to incorporate the work of women because they themselves have not understood the relationship between violence and oppressive sex roles.

Patriarchal society tries various ways to make women's work for peace invisible. Articles and letters written to newspapers are not printed. Womens actions for peace receive scant attention from the mass media. For instance, the massive signature compaign of the Nordic women for peace in the spring of 1980 was hardly noted on the Norweigan T.V. It was mentioned briefly twice in the news.

11. Ibid

The enormous work and efforts of women for peace were not remembered. It was through Bertha Von Suttner's constant pleadings that Nobel donated the money for the Peace Prize. Yet there is no statue of her in the Nobel Institute in Oslo, although there are three statues of men.¹²

As an illustration of the fact that women's fight for their own rights often becomes more widely political and frequently leads to a fight against violence and war we may draw both on the work of early feminists like the Swedish author Frederika Bremer and the Norwegian author Camilla Collett and we may draw on more recent examples like the work of the organization "Nordic Women for Peace". Again women are met either with silence or ridicule. Frederika Bremer who was an early pioneer in the fight for women's rights, was made a laughing-stock when she tried to mobilize women to make an end to the Crimean War. Bertha von Suttner was also ridiculed. A critic wrote about her book "Die Waffen Nieder" ; "The conclusion the lady draws can only be met by a smile from any serious statesman".¹³

12. Ibid, p.9

13. Brigit Brock Utne, "Educating for peace feminist Perspective", New York, Pergamon Press, 1985. p.48

Women's Peace Movements are also concerned about the economic exploitation. Women in these movements feel frustrated. At times there is a tendency to expect the Peace Movement to adopt the concern of women's movement. This is not always easy or possible in a movement organised around demands and goals which are not specific to women. All the feminist demands cannot be the demands of the Peace Movement.

In the Peace Movement leadership position are not given to women though they are in majority in the organisation. A recent poll by the United Nations indicated that 70 per cent of all peace workers are women.¹⁴

Many feminists, active in the Peace Movement discovered relatively early that the same racism and authoritarianism, that they have rejected and left behind in other social and political organisations is to some extent present in the Peace Movements.

Progress of Peace Movement and Women's Influence in Peace - Building :-

Feminists in the Peace Movement have experienced frustration, Regardless of their problems the Peace Movements

14. Wendy Wright, "Towards a Non-sexist Peace Movement", Canadian Women Studies, vol 9, no.1, p.71.

have continue to grow and develop more sophisticated organising abilities.

In some countries decision makers have been forced to recognise the Peace Movements as well-informed and as representing a broad segment of society. Feminists and women in general have contributed a great deal to this broad representation. Women have been active in all aspects of organising the movement and have brought skill, commitment and an analysis linking militarism to the oppression of women.

Great feminist peace heroines like Bertha von Suttner, Fredrika Bremer, Ellen Key, Clara Zetkion believed that women had a special role to play in the creation of peace. Clara Zetkin in 1915 addressing the women of all countries said : "when the men kill, it is up to us the women, to fight for the right to live. When men are silent, it is our duty as we are filled with suffering to raise our voices in protest."¹⁵ The Cuban women raised the slogan "women will never sleep easily as long as injustice reigns in a large part of the world". They believed women together can transform their society when they are organised, disciplined and prepared it is easy carry for them to change the society.

 15. Sondi E. Cooper, "Women Participation in European Peace Movement. The struggle to prevent World War I in Ruth Roach Pierson, "Women and Peace" USA, Groom Helm 1987.

The Peace Movements have played a vital role in the decision making process of the Western democracies but they failed to reach their final objectives. Basically, the effects of the activity of the peace movement must be evaluated from a more comprehensive and a more long-term aspect as this is possible from the standard of "development of euromissiles". Seen from this angle, and inspite of the deployment. One can no longer speak of a failure of the peace movement because, in many items listed further on, one can speak rather of a success of the peace movement.

In recent years the peace movement was able to sensitize broad sections of the population for the topic of peace, including established institutions and parties which were obliged to take a stand. These institutions had not only to include the peace policy in their own progress, but also to change their points of view in many respects (At least in Europe it has created a widespread awareness to rethink the security policy. "Alternatives" are officially discussed, essential demands taken over by the oppositional social democratic parties).

- It has possible contributed to a re-politisation of the security policy and to democratisation of foreign policy (it created interest for an immediate

participation in the decision-making in foreign policy).

It is certainly one of the merits of the peace movement to have had this effect on public opinion and that the continued marked aggressive rhetoric of the superpowers was tuned down considerably.

In this way it has, at least, changed the vocabulary and hopefully, also partly the thinking of the rulers. But it is to be hoped that, when speaking of "conventionalisation" and "Europeanisation" not mere changes in military strategy, but more profound socio-political changes will occur.

As no other movement before, the peace movement has succeeded in sensitizing the public for the bloc problems and bloc logic and to confront it with the problems of the "Third World" in relation to the issues of security and peace policy.

Furthermore, it embodies and disseminates future-oriented structural features such as post-materialism, ecological awareness and democracy at the grass roots.¹⁶

16. Dieter Thielemann, "The Peace Movement and the Soviet American Negotiations on Nuclear and space weapons - Requirements, Problems and Perspectives

It is necessary to increase women's understanding and awareness of constructive negotiations aimed at reaching positive results for international peace and security. Governments should take measures to encourage the full and effective participation of women in negotiation for international peace and security. The rejection of the use of force, or the threat of use of force and foreign interference and intervention should become widespread.¹⁷

In this situation, it is necessary to bring up children in the spirit of peace and humanism. Humanism should become a worldwide aim. Family, being the smallest cell of society should be committed to build up peace. Bringing up children to love peace always includes bringing them up to practise international solidarity. Mothers and teachers at the kindergarten level should make children aware of the actual threat to the whole of mankind as well as of the necessity to maintain peace.¹⁸

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17. United Nations Report of 'The World Congress to review and appraise the achievements of the UN decade for Women : Equality Development and Peace', Nairobi 15-26, July 1985, pp 1-55.
 18. Rosemaric Walther, 'Bringing Children up with in the family in the spirit of Peace and Humanism', Atlantis vol 12, no 2, Spring/Printemps 1987. pp 31-34

In his epoch making work, "Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns", J. Habermas exalted the Women's Movement as the only example of a truly emancipatory movement. This critical insight has an important bearing on the whole question of women's activism in Peace Movements. Peace Movements are not always well planned nor can these always retain their credibility. The issue of conscientization, therefore, becomes significant if the creation and realisation of the conditions of peace is to be provided a solid basis. The *weltanschauung* of those who take up feminist issues impels them to participate in raising problem consciousness about the consequences of sexism. This generates attitudinal changes in favour of participation and egalitarianism.

It will become apparent from the following considerations that the issue of conscientization may play a central role in defining the links between women's activism and the Peace Movements. The personalised experience of women activists constitutes a unique educational process which provides a moral vision to both men and women and leads ultimately to intergenerational cooperation.

The Emancipatory Character of Women's Movements

The mobilisation of women's energies in projects like the Greenham peace camp in the advanced world and in the

Chipko Movement in the Third World has contributed to consolidating positive trends in peace-related activities. It should be emphasised that the collective bond of identity of the women's liberation movements arises out of a sense of psychological security and the rekindling of hope in the human prospect in the face of the paranoias and misgivings which represent the general progonosis for male-dominated humankind.

The emancipatory character of Women's Movements leads to constructive political opportunities in several operational aspects which include the struggle for political equality, winning the right of universal suffrage and the removal of discrimination in employment. The organisational difficulties in the way of a women's cultural revolution cannot be underestimated, but the messianic impulses of feminists have opened the way for radical changes in political values and standards. Since women cannot be regarded as a governing class, their political motives need not follow the pattern of those who have war-like interests for promoting their power positions.

Public Articulation of Women's Problems in a Male-Dominated World

Feminist writings, even when they partake of the character of propaganda, can facilitate human education by

developing the ethical dimension of human transformation. The participation of women in male-dominated political life can further the deepseated sentiments of the common people. The familiarity of Feminism with social problems helps it to embrace new categories and to create a general atmosphere of democratic vigilance. The technical and material progress of the world does not by itself ensure the realisation of a more informed and strategic approach to peaceful change. Women's organisations can impart new meanings to the ideas of human welfare and security in periods of intense crises. The public articulation of women's problems also secures productive reformulation of interconnections between social, economic, defence and foreign policies, since they strike a chord of recognition by developing a strong voice for freedom and spontaneity. They provide an ethical and political counterweight to the self-contradictions of militarisation and other development of destructive power.

*The Peace Movement as a Process of Public Education and
the Role of Women in Securing Changes in Public Awareness*

The arms race and the cold war demonstrated the elaborate complexity and dogmatism of the educational framework of the conflicting elite groups. It could even be suggested that ultimately both Superpower elites are playing

supportive games to mutual advantage. In order to restore the control of the people over their destinies, the Peace Movement endeavours to create new types of educational relationships in the public domain. The mega-instruments of death can only be controlled if there is a large scale value transformation to remove the condition of general hostility between the contending parties. To engender peace and security the Peace Movement seeks to engender awareness of the interdependence of the nation for creating a peaceful future of the world. The feminist role in securing changes in public awareness arises out of the contribution of the women's liberation movement to the change in the conception of socialised gender differences. This leads to political experience which can in turn highlight the dangers of the arms race, the disadvantages of existing energy strategies and the threats from the revival of imperial attitudes. The Women's Movement provides a visionary synthesis for understanding the apocalypse and forming a basis for lasting security.

Women's Interests and Political Parties

The Women's Movement would not have been needed if political parties, whether of the right or the left, had adopted a forward thinking approach on feminist issues. The

management and development of the political agendas in most political parties proceeds on the basis of theoretical and doctrinal inferences which are the consequence of sexism. It is not as if decisive choices are made to reject the endorsement of women's demands. On the contrary political parties often endeavour to project themselves as "natural allies" of feminist causes. But these assurances are calculated not upset the expectations of the conventional political culture. In a sense the Women's Movement is an answer to the confidence crisis which political parties have created in the minds of women.

Women militants are not interested in power in the sense in which political parties cultivate the idea. Feminism is located above the hostile elements which seek to bolster their supporters on male-dominant issues. It wishes to initiate a new era, which means beginning the the politics of human survival for a *tabula rasa*.

New Feminism and Class Politics

The critical bent of mind of the women's liberation movement finds its culmination in the New Feminism which stresses the particular historical configuration of class politics. From this perspective the left-right division increasingly recedes into the background and is replaced by a concept of political rationality which arranges its

goal setting primarily with reference to the rejection of all rationalisations of inequality of the sexes. The feminist analysis of gender rules out all inconsistencies in man-women relationship which create fundamental political categories favouring male domination. The new feminist critique challenges sexism, violence and the mentality of nuclear deterrence which it finds common to both right wing and left wing political programmes. The New Feminism is encouraging women to enter politics as a primary group with an independent position in political life. It does not accept patriarchal leftism as *avant garde*; it refuses to place the responsibility for the nuclear threat or the denial of rights of women exclusively on either side of the existing political divide. The Feminist political vision seeks to transcend the traditional political enemies who have failed to check the push towards war and sexism.

Overcoming Stereotyped Roles for Women

The high degree of susceptibility of women to stereotyped role bears much of the responsibility for the lack of rapid advancement in women's concerns. Women's organisations therefore stress the importance of overcoming such stereotyped roles which cannot respond to the needs of new political

strategies. Feminist thinking, therefore, encourages women to give vent to their feelings in a manner which helps to achieve self-controlled personalities. Strategies for changing male-family roles and for achieving external social interdependence on a compatible basis have to be deliberately contrived. Some of the areas for future investigation would refer to roles for women in a world beyond war.

CHAPTER - IV
ROLE OF WOMEN IN MOBILISATION FOR PEACE
IN THIRD WORLD

The ideas and concepts of feminism and peace-related activities developed in the western context cannot serve as ideological panaceas for the Third World. It is only through a pragmatic process that the creative potentialities of developing societies can be strengthened by the transmission and application of ideas from the developed world. This is directly applicable to any efforts of international mechanisms of cooperation between peace movements and feminist organisations in the west and their counterparts in the Third World. There can be no wholesale application of theories which have originated in western experience; there can only be the utilisation as "building blocks" for new theories of some selected ingredients taken from particular spheres of western reality. The important point is that those who wish to shape change in the Third World have to directly reflect on the objective reality in the developing countries and evolve strategies for upsetting old power relations which are largely responsible for the intensification of malignant social conflicts.

The study of decolonisation and imperialism may provide all the scientific arguments to expose the contradictions of the North's domination over the South, but the tools needed for tackling Third World problems must be adapted to the

situational circumstances.

Women are very concerned about peace, not merely because she is a sensitive human being, but actually it is ultimately connected with her struggle for existence, equality and development.

Women are beginning to understand how the arms race in general and the nuclear arms race in particular is proving totally counter productive so far as the jobs, education, health etc are concerned. They are realising that peace is the basic precondition for development and social progress as well as for the implementation of equal rights for women and for the welfare and happiness of their children.¹

Women have for centuries occupied a very peripheral and powerless position. In this respect women have a lot in common with the Third World countries.² Women in these countries are trying to overcome the obstacles and have started mobilising for peace.

1. "Report of the world conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace" Nairobi, 15-26 July, 1985, p.55.
2. Barbara Roberts, "Research and Resources for Feminist Peace Studies", Atlantis Vol 12, no.2. Spring/Printemps 1987, 47-56
Eboe Hutchful, "The Peace Movement and the Third World" Alternatives IX 1983, pp 581-594.

Misery and Militarisation of Third World : Implications for World

Comprising more than two third of humanity, Third World Countries have the unenviable distinction of being populous as well as super poor. This reality is manifested in all manners of economic, social and political crises ranging from food and energy crises, civil wars, military coups, social disintegration and economic colapse in the post World War Two era.

That the world is divided into first, second and third, is itself an indication of differences in power and wealth that separate the haves from havenots and on the other hand the ideological differences that form the basis of East-West conflicts and contribute to the impoverishment and militarisation of "third World" countries.³

After the Second World War the developed countries on many occasions militarily intervened in the localised Third World conflicts. It is clear, the regional wars fought after 1945 in the Third World countries have been fought with arms supplied by the industrialised countries. It is estimated during 1977-80 that the west sold arms worth \$70,000

3. Maria Nzoma, "Women, Third World and International Peace" Atlantis vol 12, no 2 Spring/Printemps 1986. p.40.

million to the developing countries of the Third World.⁴

The arms race compels the poor countries to fight proxy wars for their arms suppliers and end up by buying more arms, borrowing more loans and sinking deeper in poverty. The cycle is unending. It is estimated that in 1982 the world spent about \$860 million on the military machine,⁵ which is equal to annual income of 1,300 million Asian and Africans.

In this situation one is bound to cast very serious doubts as to the 'peacefulness' that some westerners claim. It could be argued that although post 1945 regional wars have tended to take place within the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, they have often been instigated by the same major nuclear powers who would want to keep the Third World as a nuclear free zone. Indeed, there have been numerous incidents since 1945 in which external powers have sought to influence the outcome of events in the Third World through the use of military power. For example, the 1950 North Korean invasion of South Korea prompted a significant use of American and other Western armed forces, particularly British and French force. In the 1960s,

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4. World Armament and Disarmament, SIPRI Year Book, London, 1980.
 5. World Armament and Disarmament, SIPRI Year Book, London, 1983.

there was significant American military involvement in Indochina, as well as British, French and Belgium involvement in their former colonies. Even the Eastern Bloc countries, particularly the Soviet Union have also become increasingly involved in Third World countries, particularly since the mid-1960s, the Soviet military intervention in Angola in 1976 and Afghanistan in 1979.⁶

The major nuclear powers are not directly engaged in any conventional war within or between themselves. They certainly have been far from peaceful as they obviously have been engaged in wars by proxy with Third World countries serving as their "playgrounds".⁷

The major powers have been using Third World countries as testing grounds for new nuclear weaponry. This habit has continued despite the 1968 test Ban Treaty, of which many of the nuclear states are signatories. The major nuclear states continue to promote limited wars in Third World countries rather than discourage them, in addition to exposing millions of local people to the danger of radiation resulting from nuclear tests.⁸

6. Maria Nzomo "Women, Third World and International Peace" Atlantis, vol 12, no.2, Spring/Printemps 1986, pp.40-45.

7. Ibid

8. Ibid

Apart from the militarization of Third World countries that results from major power military involvement and intervention in local conflicts, there is a traditional superpower competition in search of spheres of influence in small developing countries. Again the major nuclear states which may have vested interests in maintaining the status quo in a given Third World country, foster the dictatorial regime and even encourage it to increase its military expenditure in the midst of serious economic crisis.

Despite the nonalignment policy, some of the small countries act against their better judgement and grant military bases or facilities to one of the major nuclear powers.⁹ For example while the African States at the time of their independence wanted to keep the Indian Ocean as a "Zone of Peace" -- free from American and Soviet military installations - they have not succeeded in keeping it so.¹⁰

Like Second sex, the third world countries are experiencing the violence and exploitation by the developed or industrialised countries. Unless they get united and fight it is difficult for them to overcome the danger that is

9. Sadananda, "For Peace and Life", New Delhi, Liberation, 1983.

10. Galan Hull "The French Connection in Africa : Zaire and South Africa", Journal of Southern African Studies, vol.5, 1979.

nuclear threat and to achieve global peace.

Role of Third World Women in the Advancement of Peace

Women in the Third World countries are experiencing all kinds of violence - wars, armed conflicts external domination, foreign occupation, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, discrimination on the basis of sex and structural violence etc.¹¹

Peace in the Third World context does not mean absence of war in the conventional sense, but also refers to the absence of all forms of violence. In Third World context, peace and development are inter-related. For example the women's flight for equal opportunities and a better life and peoples struggle for peace, national independence and against all forms of oppression can not be separated from one another.

The Third World countries comprising more than two thirds of humanity have mass poverty, coupled with mass illiteracy, population explosion, food crises etc. In this situation, where human survival is threatened by starvation, it may be virtually impossible to convince the victims that the greatest threat to peace in the world is nuclear war.

11. Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women : Equality, Development and Peace", Nairobi, 15-26 July 1985, p 55.

In other words it is only well-fed, well-sheltered, well-clothed and well-informed human beings who would be disposed to deliberate over issues of international peace particularly matters pertaining to the negative effects of nuclear technology. Most of the Third World people are too pre-occupied with the local social, economic and political problems that affect their basic survival, to be bothered by a relatively distant threat such as nuclear weapons.

Women in the Third World countries are realising the need for peace since it is interconnected with the development. The Third World countries being poor also spending most of their budgets on the arms race. What is more depressing is the poorest nations spend a greater proportion of their G.N.P. on armaments than the western nations do.

Women of these developing countries are committed to peace and disarmament not only because of the horrors of nuclear war, but because the huge amounts of money spent by the governments on defence have meant huge cuts in other sectors. The less wealthy sections like education, national health service etc. have been most adversely affected. The present expenditure on arms by countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is estimated by the SIPRI to

to be one billion per year.¹² This amount is enough to set up 300 thermal power station, 350 refineries and 10,000 hospitals.

Ajeet Cour in her paper on 'women for peace and disarmament' has mentioned that if things do not change, by the turn of the century the number of unemployed and the food shortage will trebled, dragging 800 million people below the poverty line.¹³

Women in the Third World have a special role to play against oppression and creation of place. Peace activists like Johan Galtung and Mahatma Gandhi, who led the Indian non-violent fight against British colonial rule have announced publically that women have a special role to play in the creation of peace. Gandhi went so far as to maintain that only women were able to save the world. He looked at women as the incarnation of Ahimsa.¹⁴

Mobilization of Women for Peace

The nature of women being to create and conserve humanity, the women in the Third World countries are realising

12. World Armament and Disarmament, SIPRI Year Book, London 1985.

13. Ajeet Cour - "Women for Peace and Disarmament" NIFW Bulletin, January 1988. p.5

14. Birgit Brock Utne, Educating for Peace - A Feminist Perspective, New York, Pergamon Press, 1985.

the evils and horrors of war, pledged themselves to give wholehearted support to the organisations which are working for peace and also decided to work individually and collectively for this great cause.

Women in the developing countries realised since development and peace are inter-related, they cannot separate the question of disarmament from the question of social and economic injustice.

For example in April 1985, over a hundred public organisations protested against the US interference in Central America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Asia, the Pacific and Europe, and the US Administration's support of the South African racist regime and demanded an arms freeze.¹⁵

African women are getting aware of the militarization of South Africa by vested interests of big business, and this awareness acquires an added edge by the racists pursuing a policy of apartheid. Therefore, the women of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia joined hands with their sisters of South Africa and held several peace and anti-apartheid rallies. The fact that South African regime spends

15. Ibid

\$ 24 billion every year on arms while hundreds and thousands of African children die of hunger, imparts an added razor-edge to their struggle for peace.¹⁶

In the Middle East, women of Lebanon have joined hands with their Palestinian sisters. The movement of democratic women in Israel demanded to put an end to indiscriminate bloodshed and to pull out all Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories. The joint voice of women resounded and revibrated in its full strength on Palestine at Geneva in 1983.¹⁷

Women of Latin American countries raised their voice for disarmament and for national independence. They also strongly protested against US intervention and aggression in that region. In Argentina and Nicaragua women are becoming conscious, and aware of imperialist designs they are also mobilising their voices for peace in the region. In Argentina, the women's movement for peace is called "Appeal for survival". Women of Argentina, Guatemala, Puerto Rico and Costa Rica El Salvador and Chile are trying to develop a climate of detente, because arms race is a major handicap in democratic process and economic development.¹⁸

16. Sadananda "For Peace and Life" New Delhi, Liberation 1983.

17. Gargi Chakravarty, "Peace, Disarmament and Women", NIFW Bulletin January 1988. p.5

18. Ibid.

If peace-making is viewed as "social technology", women's peace groups should engage in mediation and should exert political pressure by struggling for greater representation in international forums where these issues are deliberated, and by organising their own international conferences aim at bringing greater awareness and unity among women on nuclear and other issues that affect peace, development and equality of humanity. For example women in the Third World can raise their voice in the Non-alignment Movement, which is in a way a peace Movement. Women who attended the World Congress of Women held at Moscow in July 1987 returned with a note of optimism.¹⁹

Both the Peace Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement in the West claim that there is a trend of integration of different values on a global scale. It is difficult to accept this from a Third World perspective, although it may be conceded that some peace groups and some feminists are indeed grouping their way towards increasing measure of respect for local cultures and local possibilities in the developing countries. The ideological context between the two Superpowers which was accentuated in the decades after the Second World War appears in retrospect to have prevented a revolution of ideas necessary

19. Hemalata Swarup "Women and Peace", Paper presented at Women's NGO Consultation New Delhi, 3-4 April 1985, p.1.

both for peaceful coexistence and for a new and peaceful order in the Third World. The suffering masses in the developing countries certainly require new techniques in the sphere of economic production but the widespread consequences of the consumerist system which both the capitalists and the communists have foisted on them has certainly diminished liberty, equality and human rights and adversely affected the dignity of women in the Third World. The complex of relationships which constitutes the patriarchal culture in Third World societies (emphasising the moral principles of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam or Christianity) is also influenced by a host of factors from the western world communicated through the mass culture and mass media. The mass consumption society works to reinforce the existing patriarchal culture, although it claims to recast national consciousness in favour of "progress". The distinction between mass culture and culture for the masses must be underlined if the peace movements and the women's liberation movements are not to create a gap between their perceptions of the Third World and its actual realities. The intense escalation of westernisation and militarisation in countries like Iran and the Phillipines at the time of the Shah of Iran and during the Marcos era did not improve the economic, social and cultural life for the women of these countries.

Peace activists and feminists who are involved in social issues in the Third World have to work to undermine the patriarchal culture but the structure of ideas, premises and perceptions of the culture of the people have not to be destroyed under the slogan of modernisation. No theory of peace or feminism can justify a version of modernisation which instead of liberating the women of the Third World as full human beings reduces them to social degradation. To negate the existence of religion and culture in Third World societies may result in negating the nation's background and aspiration and dehumanising society. This does not mean that peace activists and feminists in the Third World should not work to combat the influence of obsolete or doctrinaire patriarchal theories; it means that peace and women's liberation strategies must depend upon consent and changes in public opinion and not subvert the sensibilities and cultural attitudes of the people through violent switches in policy modelled on alien ideologies.

The very character of Third World societies demands that ecology and environmentalism should be strengthened while working for the extinction of exclusivist patriarchal values. As the Chipko Movement has shown, there are great strengths that reside in social and cultural traditions of

Third World societies which can be employed for peace-related activities especially if the ecological imperatives are interpreted as effecting the daily lives of the peasants, youth, women and children.

The response of Third World women to worldwide struggle against the arms race has been quite meaningful. Women's movements in the developing countries have reflected on the highly unsatisfactory situation created by the world military order which is getting more and more exploitative. Unfortunately their capability for dialogue on issues involving regional crises and rivalries has been limited. The range of clear options for peace has not been made visible by detailed examination of principles of confidence building at regional levels. Thus between India and Pakistan, there has hardly been any serious effort through popular initiative to work outside the formal channels of diplomacy to develop a participatory role for peace. Although there are indications that the restoration of democracy under Ms Benazir Bhutto has changed the situation, the conflict syndrome stems primarily from concerns which have failed to integrate politics with the real interests of the people. The growing leverage of the people in South Asia will not find expression in peace-related activities unless broadbased social groups including women's organisations emphasise the human side of foreign

policy. It is not enough to achieve significant and decisive progress to mobilise Third World opinion on the issue of nuclear destruction; in the new phase of international relations Third World women activists have to take direct initiatives for an examination of the peace and security requirements which can obviate regional tensions and crises.

"Development" has become almost an invidious term in the Third World when when the context of projects like the Narmada River Valley Project is remembered. The well known social worker Baba Amte has explained the dangers of the large dams under the project to the survival of tribal communities and has shown how political tools have been misused and government propaganda in favour of the project is based on downright deception. How can ecological and development issues in Third World societies be related to support the larger objectives of peace-building, human survival and women's liberation are matters for further scholarly consideration. The basic principles and values of development in the Third World have been interpreted so far in rigid terms and quantity has been emphasised at the expense of quality. It is an urgent task for women's organisations to emphasise the dangers of applying development guidelines developed in the West to changing situations

in the Third World. Feminism in the Third World if imaginatively employed can provide new thinking for the variety of structures and levels of development which are in line with popular objectives. It is also clear that women's organisations will fail in their objectives if they do not resolutely oppose "unwanted development projects" like the Narmada Valley Project.

Finally, the Chief threat to social peace, and women's rights in the Third World arises out of the bureaucratic maze created by over-centralised political systems. Central planning and policy directions work against the exploited classes and groups. It is only through grass-roots democracy that the exploitive elites can be undermined, and women defended from exploitation and oppression. Mahatma Gandhi, who defended the rights of women throughout his public life wanted centralised government and authority to be avoided like the plague. It is useful to list several questions which are relevant to grass roots democracy in the context of women's rights and peace-related activities in the Third World. These require hard choices if the deformation of political culture is to be avoided :

1. Should centralised democracy be supported even if it continues to be dominated by special interests, which can organise and legitimise their claims at the expense of the political, social and economic needs of the masses, including in particular the vast majority of women in the Third World?
2. Should state ideology be supported even if it mobilises and diverts resources against the interests of the "have-not" in order to support interventionist and aggressive militarism in favour of so-called national goals which are plagued by ambiguity?
3. What is the proper role of grass-roots democracy, given the fact that there are limitations on the capacity of women and peace activists to prevent the state from increasing military hardware, as the recent controversy regarding the Agni Missiles in India has shown? How should peace organisations react to official charges that peace-minded academic and civic groups are engaging in anti-national activities?
4. What is the relationship between grass-roots democratic institutions and the principle of non-discrimination against women? How should women

respond to the "new dimensions" of decentralisation which are aimed to sidetrack attention from the patriarchal environment and conservative public philosophy of centralised ruling parties? In India, for instance, how can "Panchayati Raj" activities be evaluated by feminists and peace-activists if the economic and political power structure at the central level continues to build up accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few and supports the political needs of entrenched ruling groups?

The study of Third World feminist and peace issues requires an understanding of the historical processes which are at work in developing societies, and it is all the more important if answers are to be found to the type of questions formulated above that the definition of peace be broadened and alternative political and theoretical approaches developed to eliminate violence and aggression from the political and social terrain of the Third World.

CONCLUSION

Women around the world have highlighted the continuing dangers of patriarchal structures which fuel conflict from the lowest levels to the apocalyptic danger of nuclear war. Feminist thinking embraces conflict resolution at both the level of the family and at the international level. Feminists reject the stereotype of woman as man's inferior. Since the attributes of feminism are love, understanding, patience and peace, they opposed all sorts of discrimination. Even the peace activists like John Galtung and Mahatma Gandhi said 'women have a special role to play in the creation of peace'. Mahtama Gandhi went to the extent to say that only women were able to save the world, since women have a different upbringing than men, are a more peaceful sex and more capable than men of solving conflicts in a non-violent manner.¹ To bring about a metamorphosis to the present military industrial complex and this entire war system, a change in the attitudes of the masses has to breed. A while milieu of peaceful thinking and peaceful process has to be created. After all "wars are made in the minds of men and women, therefore it is in the minds of men and women that the seeds of peace must be planted" (A para phrase of the UNESCO charter).↓

 1. Birgit Brock Utne, "Educating for Peace A Feminist Perspective" Pergamon Press, New York 1985, p.35.

The concept of peace must seep in the grass root level of the human community, Hanna Newcombe in a book talks about Einstein who said that if only five per cent of the world's population wanted peace and work for it, they would have it. The stress on the active involvement is extremely vital. The idea of peace must be communicated to be effective and wider the dissemination the better. The Feminism and Peace Movements have contributed for the greater cause of peace.²

Feminist Movements and Peace Movements existed in different countries in different conditions but the basic features are the same. First, there are striking similarities between the kind of support, the activities and the position of the women in Peace Movements in political systems of Britain Germany and Netherlands. The educated middle class and the lower age groups are the basis for the recruitment of peace movement followers. They co-operated closely with people from the ecological movement and also the Women's Movement. In other words, they have incorporated the Eco-feminism in the Peace Movement.

Hilde Krogh explained that women have established and conducted many new peace groups and some even claim peace as

2. Hanna Newcombe "Design for a Better World", University Press of America.

as a women's issue. Women feel especially well-equipped to understand war and peace relationships due to their own experience of structural oppression. Women feel a great concern for future generations and general environment because they often feel a close link to life.³

The Peace Movements have played a vital role in the decision making process of the western democracies and even in the international level. For example the joint voice of women resounded and reverberated in its full strength against the arms race at the UN International Conference of Palestine at Geneva in 1983. Although they failed to reach their final objectives they proved to be a conspicuous force, able to influence major political parties of the democratic left.⁴

Women in the Third World countries, even women in some western countries are concerned about the exploitation of the Third World by the industrial or developed countries. Where is the connection between the situation of women in a male dominated society and international relationships between the conflicting nations. As Maria Nzomo explains that the industrial nations intervene in the local conflicts and supply the arms to developing countries. There is also

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3. Hilde Krogh and Ulrike C. Washmuht, "Sexism and Bellism or Women and Peace", IDRM, Vol XXIII, no.3 1984, pp 17-21.
 4. United Nations Report of the world congress to review and appraise the achievement of the UN decade for women : equality, development and peace" Nairobi 15-26 July 1985, pp 1-59.

the traditional Superpower competition in search of spheres of influence in underdeveloped countries. The Third World countries are not only used for serving as their playgrounds but also as testing grounds for their nuclear tests.⁵ In other words it simply means the violent oppression of one nation by another through threat of war. From these illustrations we can conclude that both are systems of oppression with no interest in negotiations and arbitration between the conflicting parties on an equal basis : secondly both are manifestations of patriarchal systems, thirdly, both have to disappear in order to achieve internal and external "peace" in a positive sense.⁶

Women in the Peace Movement could not come together because of lack of interaction specially in reference to Third World countries. When compared to men fewer women take part in politics on the elite level. Women's involvement in Peace Movements can be explained by their perceptions of the connections between the peace and war issues and their own immediate concern about their particular situation within the male-dominated societies. Stereotyped thinking and lack of career prospects and educational opportunities

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5. Maria Nzomo, "Women, Third World and International Peace. Atlantes vol 12, no. 2 Spring/Printemps 1987 pp 40-44.
 6. Hilde Krogh and Ulrike C. Washmuht "Sexism and Bellism or Women and Peace", IDRM, vol XXIII no 3 1984, pp 17021

within our society prevent women from participating in major political decision-making processes. Even the women's role in the political decision making process is also reflected within arms control negotiation and other series issues. In Salt, The Vienna talks and UN discussions, there are hardly any women representatives and one more reason is there are no qualified women available in the disarmament and security field.⁷ However, the public polls indicate that women are more concerned about the peace than men.

The Feminism and Peace Movement approaches are imaginative, humane and challenging, they appear to offer some hope for introducing change for the better. The Feminists in the Peace Movement desire peace through non-violence means, so war like violence and structural violence has to be transformed into positive peace.

Feminism and Peace Movement with war preventing and Peace creating intentions address existing governments and the broadest societal groups, which are the only ones able to effect the necessary transformation in international society to overcome mass destructive structural violence.

7. Ibid

Recently Peace Movements have been looking beyond Europe to the dynamics of national and international conflicts in the Third World. The Feminists are looking beyond the nuclear question to the concept of positive peace and beyond Europe to the Third World. The links between disarmament and development are prominent in Campaign material. In order to be a success they have to join hands with the peoples of other non-aligned states in seeking a world order based not on military power but on Justice and Freedom.) They profess that the elimination of structural violence inherent in the global community will be the most effective to nuclear annihilation. In the Judgement of protest co-ordinators the drive for peace has developed into a powerful non-violent grassroots movement that has contributed significantly to a broader understanding of democratic process. It has fostered a willingness on the part of heretofore unorganised or inactive constituencies to take advantage of their constitutional rights to assemble, speak, demonstrate and participate in defense of their own needs and interests.

Feminism and Peace Movements : Some Conceptual Problems

In trying to solve the apparently insoluble actual and potential conflicts in today's world, the importance of Feminism has been amply demonstrated. Feminism can be mobilised against war-making and for strengthening the Peace Movements.

But to develop the link between Feminism and Peace Movements creatively it is necessary to seek conceptual clarification of the alienation produced by coercive power in Peace Movements. In fact, the need for non-coercive conflict management within the Peace Movements cannot be fulfilled within a single framework. One must recognise and take into account the self-renewing vitality of Feminism and use its logic to override the arguments and rationalisations of those who wish to retain militarisation as a permanent feature of the world. Feminist logic can help to focus more clearly on the armed conflicts among the nations and on the ways to demilitarisation by taking adequate account of the countercultural dimensions of Women's Movements. Peace Movements can surely enhance their reputation by taking advantage of the conceptualisation of "the full potential of human nature" in feminist thinking.

*Mediating the Demand and Need for Peace in Gender
Specific Terms*

The immediate risk of nuclear catastrophe has generated protest movements at all levels of international society. The dangers from ecological disturbance threaten a destructiveness which may even exceed that of war. Under such conditions long valid dogmas have to be rejected and

strait jacketed Peace Movements have to be freed from the politics of despair in order to cope with the full dimensions of the threat to human survival. The question to be faced, then, is whether the demand and need for peace can at all be fulfilled unless it is stated in gender specific terms. It seems beyond dispute that the principle of equality between the sexes if implemented widens the range of options so that a different social order may emerge. This approach helps to answer both the global predicament of nuclear destruction and the impending environmental catastrophe through a real network of human relationships and by projecting peace as an issue of the entire human species. The resilience and adaptive capabilities of women can be used for peace-building if the narrow patriarchal basis of Peace Movements and peace research yields place to a moral awakening to look squarely at our collective destiny in gender specific terms.

*Planetization and Feminization of the Peace Movement :
Towards a Coherent Strategy*

It would be an unrealistic aim and pretension to suggest that the Peace Movements in Europe and North America should be replicated in the developing countries. Similarly national goals, tactics and strategies of peace movements will vary

in socialist/communist countries, although the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union has now been moderated. Increasingly, however, transnational influence will promote the integration of issues relating to both Feminism and Peace Movements. The end of the decade of the 80s has witnessed a new effort for institutionalising confidence on a planetary scale. In line with this trend, we can anticipate new trends of increasing feminisation hastening the decay of social and cultural traditions of patriarchalism. The broad trends and generalised patterns in peace-related activities appear to be simultaneously towards both planetisation and feminisation. Feminist debates and political strategies will, however, require reshaping to meet the needs and imperatives of survival of the majority of the human race living in the Third World.

Prospects for the Future

At the beginning of this study we developed a theoretical approach to the analysis and explanation of the relation of Feminism and Peace Movements in terms of a critique of patriarchal culture, the perspective of ecology and environmentalism, the dynamics of the arms race and the structure of peace and security, and the dimensions of

development issues and grass-roots democracy. Our analysis has shown that this theoretical approach is relevant and helps to describe the main characteristics of the connection between Feminism and Peace Movements.

The prospects of the future regarding peace-related activities will depend upon both global adjustments and radical changes in domestic social policies. In both these areas, feminist thinking and action can provide much of the focus for analysis and decision-making. In his essay on "Models of Conflict" Anatol Rapoport sought to describe the orientation for peace if both the cataclysmic and strategic views of conflict were not regarded as exclusive in the following words : "In the light of these complementarities, a third view of conflict suggests itself, namely, one which recognises the existence of conflicting interests and commitments in human groups but which focusses on the analysis of these conflicts. Not blind dynamics or strategic calculations, but the issues are at the centre of interest in this view. The task then becomes one of getting at the core of the conflict by filtering out the noise generated by slogans and postures."⁸

8. Anatol Rapoport : Models of Conflict in Anthony de Reuck & J. Knight : Conflict in Society, London 1966, p.284.

The credibility of Feminism in the Peace Movements of the world will be maintained by its ability to get at the core issues of human survival and through the very real gains of filtering out the noises generated by the patriarchal power structures. This is the most urgent task on hand today for the women's liberation movement, and on its fulfilment depend the prospects for the future creation of peace.

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