



The Gender Monitor



One of the OSCE Office's youth educators speaks to a woman in Vose District in south eastern Tajikistan about the importance of political participation.
(OSCE/Mavjuda Gaffurova)

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Miroslava Beham

How to Work on Gender Issues in 2014 LOOKING FORWARD TO A CHALLENGING YEAR

Ambassador Miroslava Beham is the Senior Adviser on Gender Issues of the OSCE

Anniversaries are a good opportunity to look back and take stock of achievements, but also to identify areas for improvement. In 2014 the OSCE will mark the 10th anniversary of the 2004 Action Plan for the Implementation of Gender Equality.

One clear benefit of the Gender Action Plan over the years has been its provision for the Secretary General to report annually on the implementation of gender related commitments. Thanks to these Annual Evaluation Reports the Organization has been able to follow its progress over the years. To take just one example: in 2004 there were only 15 per cent women in senior management positions in the OSCE; this percentage has grown gradually, year by year, to 34 per cent during the last reporting period (May 2012 to May 2013) and now up to 37 per cent as of December 2013. It is a remarkable improvement that the share of women in the OSCE senior management has more than doubled in under a decade. The Secretary General's Report was an essential contribution to tracking and encouraging progress every year.

The annual reports show positive developments, but they also remind us of existing shortages and call upon us to better comply with our commitments. And there are a number of areas that need improvement. For example, after almost ten years of work with the Action Plan we have still problems with increasing the number of women staff in the first dimension and including a gender perspective in security sector activities. As the largest regional security organization in the world we have to find more systematic and efficient ways to address these shortcomings.

Another challenge is the co-operation



Ambassador Miroslava Beham delivers a statement on behalf of OSCE at the Open Debate on Women Peace and Security at the United Nations Security Council in New York on 18 November 2013.

between the Organization and the Capitals of participating States. The OSCE could do far more in assisting countries to address pertinent issues, but for this it needs a closer and more structured framework for collaboration.

One of the areas where assistance in all forms is still needed in all participating States is combating Violence against Women. The European Parliament's Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee is about to adopt a study which estimates that the economic annual cost of Violence against Women in the European Union amounts to 228 billion Euros. This is an incredible figure compared to the annual OSCE budget of around 150 million Euros, and it relates to only about half of the OSCE participating States.

At the same time the OSCE has long ago identified combating violence against women as one of its priority areas. The

2004 Gender Action Plan stipulates that "OSCE structures will continue to assist participating States in developing programmes and activities aimed at the prevention of all forms of gender-based violence". In order to comply with this provision we have to redouble our efforts and develop a more efficient co-operation with OSCE countries, which includes the collection of relevant data to inform effective policies.

These and other issues require detailed review and improvement. In 2014 we should take stock of the OSCE's achievements in gender equality issues beyond the Secretary General's Annual Evaluation Report. This is a challenging joint endeavor for the OSCE structures and the participating States, but we should look forward to it and approach it in a positive spirit. Because gender equality is for the benefit of us all.

Special Focus on...

What Are the Positive Impacts of Involving Women in Mediation Processes?



Ambassador Erwan Fouéré (centre), the Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for the Transnistrian settlement process, with the Moldovan and Transnistrian political representatives Eugén Carpov (left) and Nina Shtanski (right) at the official 5+2 talks on the Transnistrian settlement, Dublin, 29 February 2012.

On 24 October the OSCE Gender Section launched its Note on Gender-Responsive Mediation at Sabanci University in Istanbul.

Panelists Ambassador Erwan Fouere, former OSCE Special Representative for the Transnistrian settlement process, Annika Karlsson, Regional Manager for South Caucasus and South Asia at the Swedish foundation Kvinna till Kvinna, and John Ruhoff, a Swiss diplomat in Istanbul were asked to reflect on gender responsive mediation.

Ambassador Erwan Fouere

Annika Karlsson

John Ruhoff

What are the positive impacts of involving women in mediation processes?

Involving women in a mediation process, at the earliest possible stage, ensures that issues of gender equality form an integral part of a peace agreement. With their proven leadership role in civil society organizations, particularly at grassroots level, and their sensitivity to the voices of the marginalized communities, women can bring greater legitimacy and local ownership to a peace agreement and its implementation.

What suggestions do you have for high-level mediators and envoys to find entry points for the inclusion of women and gender aspects?

Since the involvement of women and the focus on gender equality issues in a mediation process is by no means automatic, the mediator can make the difference. By taking the initiative in meeting with civil society organizations including women's groups, the mediator can ensure that their views are heard and hopefully help to shape the final outcome. Sustainability of a peace agreement often depends on the degree of inclusivity in the process itself.

What is the added value of the OSCE mediation Guidance Note to your work in the field?

The Guidance Note provides very concrete recommendations and advice that we and our partner organizations can use in dialogue with decision-makers and the OSCE field operations in the conflict areas where we work.

Do you have any practical examples of bringing women into peace processes that you could share?

We work closely with Armenian and Azerbaijani women's organizations which co-operate in bringing forward the voices of women to the OSCE Minsk Group that facilitates the mediation efforts surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. We support the organizations with contacts and opportunities and knowledge and skills on advocacy work.

What are the priorities of the upcoming Swiss OSCE Chairmanship in regards to mediation and gender in 2014?

The strengthening of mediation capacities is one of the priorities of Switzerland's incoming Chairmanship. As chair of the Organization, Switzerland plans to build upon the 2004 Gender Action Plan to develop an OSCE gender equality implementation strategy to enhance gender mainstreaming and the implementation of all gender related commitments.

Have you seen the benefits of including women and gender issues in your own extensive work in the field?

Switzerland has fully recognized the need to include women in all stages and at all levels of peace processes. Gender issues are mainstreamed throughout our activities, but much work is still needed in order to make the voices of women heard in peace processes and beyond in the reconstruction, as well as in the consolidation or democratization phases. As a matter of fact, my country will publish its third and revised National Action Plan on the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, in which we also address the issue of mediation.

Interview with...

*Heleena Kakar***A Young Afghan Professional
with a Mission for Peace***By George Sand*

For the past two and half years **Heleena Kakar** has been working in the Ministry of Counter-Narcotics of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Initially serving as an Action Officer for one year in Regional and International Cooperation Directorate in the Ministry of Counter-Narcotics (MCN), she was later promoted to a Specialist in the General Planning and Coordination Directorate. Recently she became the Director of the Research and Studies Directorate in the Ministry of Counter-Narcotics. Ms. Kakar also manages a women's rights advocacy NGO called Third Thought Organization. She is consequently leading a group of women who focus on the promotion of feminism in Afghanistan. The group runs a small magazine called Ruidad, which is a quarterly publication dedicated to female activism in Afghanistan. Ms. Kakar is 24 years old, she was born in Kabul and lived for nine years during the Taliban regime in Pakistan.

What circumstance brings you to the OSCE Office in Tajikistan?

The Ministry nominated me to the training in the OSCE Office Tajikistan's Border Management Staff College, as it believes that I am young and talented and can contribute in war against narcotics. Therefore, the leadership of the Ministry decided to provide me with opportunities to further enhance my knowledge domain and develop my skills. The OSCE training will add to my working capacities and will contribute in ensuring effectiveness and efficiency at work.

Tell me about your educational background?

I completed my elementary school in Kabul and then continued to the Computer Science Faculty at the Herat University. It was the first computer science faculty in Afghanistan. I also have a Master of Business Administration from the World Wide Science University of Malaysia.

What motivated you to pursue a career in the Ministry of Counter-Narcotics?

During my undergraduate studies I witnessed several cases where drugs and narcotics destroyed lives and families. This motivated

“Eliminating poppy production is not something that can be achieved in a year or two.”

me to take action and be part of the war against narcotics. I began to do research on the negative implications of drugs, poppy cultivation and how this phenomenon creates a negative perception of Afghanistan in the world. And then when I saw the vacancy at the Ministry of Counter-Narcotics and I applied and got the job. I have advanced and am currently the Director of Research and Studies, a position that allows me to contribute more systematically to the understanding of the mechanisms behind poppy cultivation and finding alternative livelihoods.

Why is there such a high prevalence of poppy cultivation even after all the efforts to prevent it?

First, it is the general lack of security in Afghanistan. Secondly, the poor economic situation in Afghanistan is a big contributor as poppy cultivations are one of the small cultivations that provide a regular income that

you can live off. And thirdly, it is about lack of education. A further driving factor, not to be ignored, is that Taliban and terrorism activities are directly linked to the prevalence of poppy cultivation as the money earned from the drugs supports their activities.

All of this contributes to Afghans choosing to grow poppy. But also the international mafia plays a role; of course, it is not all about Afghans. Poppies are cultivated in Afghanistan, but the demand comes from all over the world. Therefore it is not a challenge for Afghanistan only, but a challenge for the international community as a whole. If we seek to end poppy cultivation in Afghanistan, we should go to the root causes of the problem and have a long-term plan. Eliminating poppy production is not something that can be achieved in a year or two. For example, in spite of all the preventive work that has been done in the last couple of years, the domestic poppy cultivation is higher this year than

“The current conditions for women at the Ministry are better than they were in the past.”

“Post 2014 is a matter of concern for most Afghans and has created fear and insecurity in the country in general - not only for women, but also for men.”

last year, aggravating the intentions of the international community which has worked hard on eradicating poppy cultivation. However, I believe they forget the long-term perspective. It will take time for Afghans to understand the full impact of poppy cultivation; it will take time to change people's mindset; it will take time to economically empower Afghans; it will take time to decrease the international mafia's influence in Afghanistan; and it will, of course, take time to secure the country itself.

What role does your Ministry have in the fight against drugs?

I think that the Ministry has an important role when it comes to awareness-raising. It is not only about bringing alternatives to poppy cultivation. It will have a limited effect as the poppy farmers do not have enough education which in turn leads to the failure of well-intended projects. The farmers can cultivate other crops, but because they are not educated, they don't know, for example, about marketing and how to develop their business. Thus, after six months or a year of trying to growing alternative crops, they go back to cultivating poppy as they were not able to make enough money from the alternative crop. We have to work with the root causes of the problem in order to create change.

How are women viewed in the Ministry and what kind of support for your work life do you get from your family?

The current conditions for women at the Ministry are better than they were in the past. Although according to the officially set quota there should be 30 per cent women working in governmental institutions, currently there

are approximately 16 percent of women working at my Ministry.

But, the issue I really would like to emphasize is that in Afghanistan it is still not acceptable for a woman to be a leader. Somehow this seems to be too disturbing. I cannot personally blame anyone, because it is about the social environment and the male dominated society in Afghanistan. It is really tough for some to understand that women can work alongside men at the same level. However, I am positive that for the next generation of women it will be much easier to work side by side with men.



Heleena Kakar in the OSCE Office in Tajikistan. 2013. Photo: OSCE

“Being a women in my position carries some risks, but I don't fear threats. I am committed to being part of creating prosperity in Afghanistan, and I will continue my work at any cost.”

As for my family they are proud of my accomplishments and very supportive. If my family did not support me, I would not be here. I would not be able to do many of the things I do now.

Is there danger in you pursuing a career in such a male dominated society?

Afghanistan is a dangerous place not only for women, but also for men. Post 2014 is a

matter of concern for most Afghans and has created fear and insecurity in the country in general - not only for women, but also for men. Of course, being a women in my position carries some risks, but I don't fear threats. I am committed to being part of creating prosperity in Afghanistan, and I will continue my work at any cost.

Why are individuals like you a large threat to extremist groups?

I think they fear change. People like me are a threat for extremist groups as we challenge their radical ideas by spreading the seeds of prosperity and self-sufficiency. In essence my enemies are the enemies of a prosperous Afghanistan. The extremists don't want young people to grow and become leaders, because they fear that they will bring changes to Afghanistan that they oppose.

If you could spread a message across the Western world, based on your experience as a girl living in Afghanistan, what would it be?

Actually what comes to my mind, is that in Western countries girls are often treated as products. That is what I really don't like. Of course, girls have their rights, but they are viewed as products in everything. And that decreases the value of a woman. I believe in giving more respect and more values for women, not only in Afghanistan but across the world. This is my personal opinion and mainly what I would like to say to people from Asia to the West.

If you had a chance to meet with Malala Yousafzai and tell her just one sentence, what would it be?

Just only one sentence? First of all I just wish her all the best and I salute her for all her courage. And I would say “Just go ahead, we the women are all with you”.

George Sand is the Economic Officer and the Gender Focal Point for the OSCE Office in Tajikistan.

From the Field...

The OSCE field operations provide the framework for OSCE projects and activities on the ground. It is through their work that the goals of the OSCE take shape. To promote the exchange of ideas and sharing of best practices, each issue of the Gender Monitor features projects from a number of field operations that highlight the various methods of successfully incorporating a gender perspective into their work.

OSCE Mission to Moldova

Enhancing Leadership Skills for Young Women from Both Banks of the Dniester River

By Maria Damian, Aleksandra Vidojevi and Jan Plešinger

50 young women from both banks of the Dniester/Nistru river, participants of the 2013 OSCE Summer School of Leadership, met on November 1 to assess their achieved results and performances.

The Summer School of Leadership empowered girls through various workshops, seminars, and master classes given by professional trainers and high-profile women from different fields on the principles of leadership, business management and job hunting. After the summer school, some of the girls developed successful business plans and started project ideas in their communities.

During the Evaluation Meeting, the participants had the opportunity to meet with Ms. Valentina Buliga, Minister of Labor, Social Protection and Family, to discuss employment challenges, gender stereotypes and communication barriers between



Participants from the 2103 OSCE Summer School of Leadership, 1 November 2013 (OSCE Mission to Moldova)

young people from the two banks of the river Dniester/Nistru.

The Summer School of Leadership has been an annual project implemented by OSCE Mission to Moldova since 2008, and around 250 young women have participated in it.

Maria Damian is the Senior Programme Assistant in the Anti-Trafficking/ Gender Unit, Aleksandra Vidojevi is the International ATG Officer and Programme Manager of the ATG Unit and Jan Plešinger is the Deputy Head of Mission and a Gender Focal Point, all for the OSCE Mission to Moldova.

OSCE Office in Tajikistan

The Office in Tajikistan Reaches over 115,000 Voters Nationwide

By Maria Gratschew



Mastura Mamadsaidovadiscusses voting procedures in the village Ozod. (photographer Rustamov Davlat)

In advance of the presidential elections, the Office, in co-operation with the Central Commission on Elections and Referenda, conducted door-to-door voter education in Dushanbe, the Rasht Valley, Sughd and Khatlon regions and the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province (GBAO). Over a period of three weeks, 60 voter educators – 29 students and 31 activists from OSCE-supported Women's Resource

Centres - reached 115,377 voters, 54 percent of whom were women. The campaign raised awareness of voting procedures, stressing the importance of the secret ballot and prohibitions against proxy and family voting. It reached out in particular to first-time voters, young people and women, many in rural locations.

Maria Gratschew is the Anti-trafficking/ Gender Officer of the OSCE Office in Tajikistan.

From the Field...

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Women with Illiteracy Problem are Informed on Special Voting Procedures and Kosovo Elections

By *Zuzana Pavlikova*

On 25 September, OMiK Field Teams of Pejë/Pec Regional Centre (RC) facilitated an event to increase awareness of public participation for the Kosovo Roma and Kosovo Egyptian women living in an ethnically-mixed neighborhood in Pejë/Pec town. The high illiteracy rate (50-70 per cent) is a pressing issue in the neighborhood, especially among women. Illiteracy contributes to an attitude of passivity and non-engagement among the women towards public life. The event was attended by seventeen women from the neighborhood.

The aim of the event was to familiarize the women with the concept of public participation and to directly involve municipal officials in the process. The event included presentations by local officials on the electoral process followed by a voting simulation exercise for

persons with illiteracy problems facilitated by a local NGO. The issues covered at the presentation included defining public participation and explaining the various modes of engagement in public affairs, as well as elaborating on the importance of voting as means of active participation and of influencing the decision-making. Importantly, using practical examples the presenters touched on the legal provisions in cases where a person is unable to read or write.

The women-participants were highly involved and by the end of the event, their level of awareness on the matter was significantly raised. By using a concrete example of voting and a simulation exercise they admitted to gaining a better understanding of the



Community Centre in the "7 Shtatori 17 Shtetbar" neighborhood in Pejë/Pec, 25 September 2013 (OSCE Mission in Kosovo)

procedure and a better understanding of how to engage in public affairs with greater confidence.

Zuzana Pavlikova is the Human Dimension Officer for the Regional Centre Pejë/Pec, OSCE Mission in Kosovo.

Raising Awareness on Breast Cancer in Prizren

By *Sehida Miftari*

In October, OMiK together with the Prizren Municipal Officer for Gender Equality (MOGE) and the Women's Caucus group, organized lectures for women from the Kosovo Bosniak village of Donje Ljubinjë/Lubinjë e Poshtme and Kosovo Albanian women from Romaje/Romaja village, Prizren municipality.

The lectures were part of the campaign implemented in October, a month dedicated to raising awareness about breast



Pink ribbons distributed to participants during one of the lectures (OSCE Mission in Kosovo)

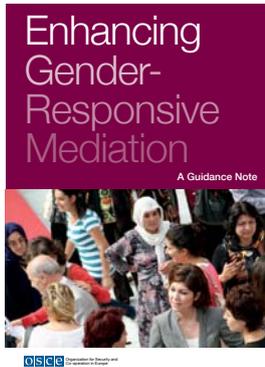
cancer. Approximately 50 women and girls were informed about the causes, symptoms, preventive measures and treatment methods of breast cancer, as well as about the services available to them at the Prizren family health center. Following the presentation, the participants were able to ask questions and express their concerns.

Sehida Miftari is the Senior Programme Assistant and Gender Focal Point for the Regional Centre Prizren, OSCE Mission in Kosovo.

Recommendations ...

OSCE 2013

Enhancing Gender-Responsive Mediation - A Guidance Note



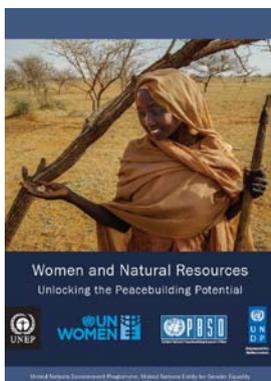
The publication is a step in the enhancement of early warning and conflict prevention structures of the OSCE. It provides a practical guide for mediators engaged in formal peace negotiations on how to include women in peace dialogue, as well as how to gender mainstream the mediation process.

There is increasing agreement that women's perspectives are crucial for a full understanding of the impact of a conflict and that taking into account women's conflict experience is essential to establishing lasting peace. Including women in peace talks creates a different dynamic and their contribution, not limited to so-called "women's issues", will influence the broader mediation agenda. Adding women in peace processes gives them greater legitimacy as it offers solutions to a broader segment of society. By including women and women's organizations and addressing their needs and concerns a more durable, sustainable peace can be achieved.

Synopsis from / report available on:
<http://www.osce.org/gender/107533>

UN Women 2013

Women and Natural Resources in Peacebuilding



Women, men, girls and boys experience conflict in different ways and have different relationships and roles regarding the usage and management of natural resources. One of the unexplored ways of strengthening women's contributions to peacebuilding relates to how they use, manage, make decisions on and benefit from, natural resources. Indeed, women's multi-faceted relationships with natural resources, coupled

with shifting gender norms in conflict-affected settings, provide significant opportunities to enhance their participation in decision-making and take part in economic revitalization.

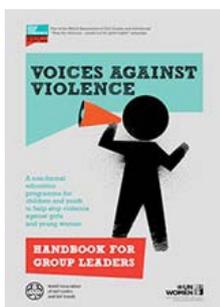
As primary managers and users of natural resources in many conflict-affected contexts, women have a key role to play in peacebuilding but are often excluded from decision-making over natural resource management. This report analyses how women's empowerment and the sustainable use of natural resources can be pursued together to help build lasting peace.

This "horizon-scanning" report examines the major issues around women, natural resource management and peacebuilding, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for policymakers and practitioners to improve the gender-responsiveness of natural resource management initiatives in post-conflict contexts.

Synopsis from / manual available on:
http://www.unwomen.org/~media/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2013/11/UNEP_UN-Women_PBSO_UNDP_gender_NRM_peacebuilding_report%20pdf.pdf

World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts and UN women 2013

Voices Against Violence



Voices against Violence is a co-educational curriculum developed by the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) and UN Women, with inputs from young people.

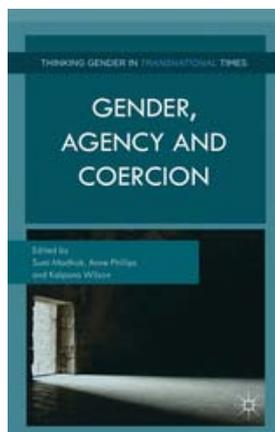
Designed for various age groups ranging from 5 to 25 years, it provides young people with tools and expertise

to understand the root causes of violence in their communities, to educate and involve their peers and communities to prevent such violence, and to learn about where to access support if violence is experienced.

Synopsis from / blog available on:
<http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications#sthash.HLF5uEJB.dpuf>

Recommendations ...

Sumi Madhok, Anne Phillips and Kalpana Wilson 2013 **Gender, Agency, and Coercion**

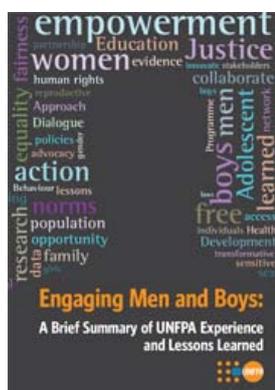


This collection aims to think critically about agency and explore the relationship between agency and coercion in greater depth. In academic, activist, and policy circles alike, feminist work has re-focused attention onto women as agents rather than as passive victims of overwhelming structures of male institutional power, or less capable of exercising agency by virtue of their class, race, gender or culture. These broadly positive moves are not without risks. Most notably, they can encourage a triumphalist

disregard for constraints through an exclusive emphasis on 'discovering' agency even in the least favourable situations, thereby obscuring domination, inequality, and subordination. So how does bringing agency and coercion into closer interplay impact our understanding of the two? How might the stories of feminist agency change if we locate agency and coercion on the same intellectual frame? What would it mean to disrupt the existing constellation of ideas accompanying agency so as to include coercion, subordination and oppression alongside ideas of freedom, autonomy, and independence? How do we theoretically negotiate agency and coercion in conditions of deep inequality? This collection thinks through these questions in a range of regional, intellectual, ethical and political contexts.

Synopsis from / factsheet available on:
<http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?pid=505804>

UNFPA 2013 **Engaging Men and Boys**



This report aims to support the work of UNFPA and partners by presenting a background and rationale for engaging men and boys. It illustrates a range of initiatives that have engaged men and boys for the promotion of gender equality as well as sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights. Based on those experiences that have emerged over the years, it presents a set of lessons learned in the areas

of evidence and data on engaging men and boys; research, knowledge, and tools for working with men and boys; advocacy, network and partnership building; support at policy and institutional levels; as well as engaging men and boys at the community and individual levels.

Synopsis from / report available on:
http://www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2013/UNFPA%20Engaging%20men%20and%20boys_web-2.pdf

Niall Richardson and Sadie Wearing 2014 **Gender and the Media**



This engaging book introduces everyone to key contemporary debates in the study of gender and the media. Integrating cultural theory with text-based criticism, *Gender and the Media* analyses recent debates in feminist cultural theory, masculinity studies, before applying these cultural paradigms to critical readings of relevant media texts. The book addresses new media texts and topics, including recent television dramas, make-over shows, life-

style magazines and internet dating. Critical, current, and far-reaching, *Gender and the Media* is essential reading for anyone interested in gender representation in different forms of media.

Synopsis from / report available on:
<http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?pid=487528>

Upcoming Events

12 December 2013

Vienna, Austria. *OSCE Reception on Eliminating all Forms of Gender Based Violence.* The goal of the reception is to raise awareness and trigger action on what the OSCE is achieving to combat gender based violence. The Reception will showcase an exhibition of the field operations' work on combatting Violence Against Women and the Secretary General will present White Ribbon Awards to Champions of Gender Equality over the past year.

10 - 21 March 2014

New York, United States. *UN Women fifty-eighth Session of the Commission on the Status of Women.* For this session the priority theme will focus on the challenges and achievements in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals for women and girls. The review theme will be on access and participation of women and girls to education, training, science and technology, including for the promotion of women's equal access to full employment and decent work.

14 - 21 April 2014

Marne-la-Vallée, France. *EIGE 5th International Conference on Women's Issues in Transportation- Bridging the Gap.* The 5th WIIT Conference is being organized around the general idea of "bridging the gap" in an effort to identify and address issues specific to women's use and involvement in the transportation system and to ensure that transportation systems meet women's needs. The conference will provide an international forum for information sharing and for presenting the latest research findings and policy analyses.

May 2014

Brussels, Belgium. *EU Gender Summit 4.* The GS4-EU will, again, bring together experts from research, industry and policy to jointly establish practical and effective ways of improving quality and impact of research and innovation through the inclusion of gender in science knowledge making and application. The 2014 European Gender Summit will focus on strategies, tools, and processes that promote the concrete integration of the gender dimension into the European Commission's current Horizon 2020 and European Research Area programmes.

STATISTICS



63%



37%

Women currently occupy 37 percent¹ of higher management positions², as compared to 35 percent in September 2013.



79%



21%

Within the 57 Permanent Missions to the OSCE, currently 21 percent¹ of Heads of Delegation are women, which is the same as in September 2013.



68%



32%

Within the 57 Permanent Missions to the OSCE, currently 32 percent¹ of Deputy Heads of Delegation are women, as compared to 28 percent in September 2013.

¹ Data as of 1 December 2013.

² S3+, P5+, Heads and Deputy Heads in field operations, Institutions and the Secretariat.

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