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**U.N. RESOLUTION 1325:
MORE ACTION NEEDED**

A REPORT
TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC, October 26, 2010.

DEAR COLLEAGUES: On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325, a historic document that recognizes violence against women as an issue of international security, and calls for women to be placed at the forefront of decision-making on all areas related to peace and security. While women are among the most vulnerable groups in times of conflict, the resolution recognizes that they are also agents of change who can positively affect the outcome of prevention and mediation efforts, peacekeeping, and post-conflict reconstruction and recovery.

As we approach the tenth anniversary of resolution 1325, I look forward to the United Nations system and all U.N. member states, including the United States, taking stock of what has been achieved and identifying those areas where more action is needed. This report, completed by the committee majority staff, highlights only some of the most pressing needs with regard to implementation of 1325. It points to case examples to highlight where the active inclusion of women has made even a small difference, and provides a set of concrete, actionable recommendations to guide U.S., U.N. and member state implementation efforts over the coming years.

Implementation of this important resolution would benefit from Congressional oversight and an echoing of best practices. I hope this report provides you with historical context and applicable recommendations for the future.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KERRY,
Chairman.

U.N. RESOLUTION 1325: MORE ACTION NEEDED

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On October 31, 2000, the U.N. Security Council (UNSC) unanimously adopted resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on women, peace and security. With its passage, the international community voiced support for the inclusion of women in efforts to end conflict and create the conditions for lasting peace. Resolution 1325 calls on all actors in conflict to increase the participation of women in peace negotiations, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding and governance; address the protection needs of women and girls in emergency and humanitarian situations; end impunity for sexual violence crimes; and expand the role and contribution of women in U.N. peacekeeping and field-based operations.

Resolution 1325 was drafted 5 years after the cessation of war in Bosnia and Croatia, and during active fighting in Sierra Leone and Liberia. These conflicts exacted a disproportionate toll on women. Televised images of rape camps and frequent news reporting of sexual violence crimes shocked the world's conscience. In the intervening years, the international community continued to witness many conflicts where unspeakable sexual violence was perpetrated with impunity.

Today, the international community more strongly accepts the notion that, as the often non-violent party in a warring society and with their strong stakes in family and community stability, women bring a unique dimension to transforming conflict. Women assume a myriad of active roles in times of conflict, including as combatants and supporters, but in most cases they are not directly engaged in violent acts. They often risk their lives at the height of conflict to provide humanitarian assistance, organize civil society and initiate reconciliation efforts. It follows that women must be fully included in the determination of peace in their communities and societies. Despite increased rhetoric and attention to women in conflict, implementation of this sound notion is lacking. Ten years on, our collective conscience is still shocked.

The slow pace of progress is neither welcome nor unexpected. On the positive side, the marking of the tenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325 gives us the opportunity to consider the beneficial effects brought by the inclusion of women in each phase of the conflict cycle, from prevention and mediation to post-conflict reconstruction and recovery. While unfortunately few in number, some high quality studies of these efforts show that women are particularly effective at responding to escalating tensions, leveraging their positions within society to build trust among negotiating parties, and bring-

ing to the fore often-ignored political, social, and humanitarian issues. In recent cases, women have also played an active role in post-conflict reconstruction and recovery, removing small arms from communities, reintegrating former combatants, and restoring public trust in government.

The United States has offered strong support for UNSC votes on these issues, taking the lead in the adoption of subsequent resolutions 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) focused on ending sexual violence in conflict. The appointment of an Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues has heightened policy attention to the women, peace, and security agenda, and the United States has implemented several related initiatives across the world, including in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today, we commend the measures of the Departments of State and Defense and the U.S. Agency for International Development to take stock of what has been achieved and identify those areas where more action is needed. At the same time, we look forward to the United States moving ahead on development of a comprehensive national strategy. More integrated approaches to promoting the role of women in peace and security by all U.N. member states will be vital to laying the groundwork for effective practices from which to build further. This will require comprehensive acceptance that violence against women is a security problem and that women's exclusion undermines the prospects for long-term post-conflict transformation. Key to successful implementation will be actionable commitments by U.N. member states, backed by sufficient resources and high-level policy attention.

In marking this anniversary, there have been more calls for greater commitment to the resolution, than congratulations for implementation. This may be due to a lack of positive examples on which to build best practices. Weak implementation begets itself, and we are forced to rely more on anecdotes and ad hoc measures than tried and true doctrine. The tenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325 presents the U.N. and all member states, including the United States, with an opportunity to build momentum on a robust implementation strategy and create best practices. The United Nations Secretary General (SG) put forward, on April 6, 2010, a report and action plan regarding women's participation in peacebuilding. The United States and other donor nations have the opportunity to apply leadership, expertise and resources toward translating the SG's commitments into real and effective actions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The United Nations system and all U.N. member states, including the United States, should consider:

1. *Developing comprehensive national strategies for implementation of UNSCR 1325.* It will be critical to build on the concept that violence against women is a security problem and that the inclusion of women improves the chances for sustainable peace. These strategies should be developed in consultation with relevant stakeholders, including those in the government, armed forces and civil society.

2. *Giving priority to strategies for bringing long-term peace and stability as part of the process of devising operational plans for im-*

mediate cessation of hostilities. Focusing on the sources of sustainable peace will promote comprehensive community involvement, compel peacebuilders to search for drivers of stability, peace and prosperity, and ensure that resources are allocated to building stronger law enforcement and judicial institutions. Addressing the effects of and impunity for sexual and gender-based violence in conflict in such strategies will enhance their contribution to long-term peace and stability.

3. *Supporting the adoption of national legislation, such as the International Violence Against Women Act.* Legislation should include training programs for peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel to build critical skills for preventing and responding to violence against women and girls. Such efforts are needed to create effective best practices that can be replicated.

4. *Recognizing the role that widespread and tolerated violence against women plays as a precursor to conflict and instability.* Develop and implement anti-violence social and norm-changing programs that target men in conflict-ridden societies.

5. *Providing incentives for women's participation in peace negotiations.* Employ a mix of pressures and inducements to encourage governments, parties to conflict, and peace negotiators to increase the presence of women on negotiating teams. Incentives should also be offered directly to women's organizations in conflict-affected areas. This approach will ensure a more inclusive reward structure and help lay the groundwork for a just and lasting peace.

6. *Implementing actions or programs designed to overcome the specific obstacles that prevent women's inclusion in any aspect of conflict cessation or prevention.* Efforts to include women on negotiating teams and supporting structures that provide women's groups with an avenue to participate in peace talks on a regular and continuing basis could be increased. In order to establish effective practices, U.N. member states could consider targeted donor contributions to U.N. implementing agencies undertaking these activities, including the newly-established U.N. WOMEN and the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict.

PROGRESS TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION

In the 10 years since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the record on implementation is decidedly mixed. On the one hand, the international community has voiced increasing rhetorical support for involving women in all areas related to peace and security. Several countries have mainstreamed gender considerations into their policies and capacity-building programs. The United States, for example, has appointed more women to senior level positions than ever before. Progress has also been made in developing a set of indicators to monitor implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the international level. However, women still face obstacles to their full and equal involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflict. This may be due to a lack of positive examples on which to build best practices. Weak implementation begets itself, and we are forced to rely more on anecdotes and ad hoc measures than tried and true doctrine.

As the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) notes, “In recent peace negotiations, women have represented fewer than 8 percent of participants and fewer than 3 percent of signatories, and no woman has ever been appointed chief or lead mediator in U.N.-sponsored peace talks.” Women continue to be under-represented in “formal roles in mediation processes” and, according to the U.N. Security Council, more action is needed to “ensure that women are appropriately appointed at decision-making levels, as high-level mediators, and within the composition of the mediators’ teams.”

Although a number of member states have begun to establish a practice of greater gender-integration and analysis, as well as strong support for innovative programs to include women, many still want for an effective and integrated whole-of-government strategy to promote the role of women in peace and security. More member states could commit to developing avenues to ensure that the views of women in civil society are sought and provide holistic guidance for identifying and training women leaders and raising their concerns with host governments. U.N. member states should also redouble efforts to ensure that their training and skills building programs for national or foreign militaries adopt a consistent incorporation of the specific protection needs of women in conflict.

THE NEED FOR INCLUSION

The inclusion of women can have a salutary effect on each phase of the conflict cycle, from prevention and mediation to post-conflict reconstruction and recovery. Women are particularly effective at responding to escalating tensions and bringing to the fore sensitive political, social, and humanitarian issues. Perceptions of women in many societies as less corruptible also give them a unique advantage in building trust among negotiating parties. Women in Sri Lanka, for example, were helpful in creating an inclusive atmosphere through the Subcommittee on Gender Issues and in building confidence among the negotiators during peace talks in 2002 and 2003. In recent years, women have played an active role in post-conflict reconstruction and recovery, removing small arms from communities, reintegrating former combatants, and restoring public trust in government.

Prevention

Successful prevention requires the development of concrete indicators to monitor progress and highlight early signs of conflict. Gender indicators, which measure the changing relationship between men and women in society, are often the most responsive to looming threats to stability. Research has shown, for example, the strong relationship between the physical security of women and the peacefulness of states. Scholars have also found that governments facing a growing population of unmarried young adult men are at greater risk of conflict than those with more balanced sex ratios.

Women’s coalitions and peace groups are particularly effective at responding to signs of escalating tension:

- In the *Niger Delta region of Nigeria* in 2002, women served as a catalyst for non-violent dialogue between civil society and oil

companies over issues related to environmental damage and the allocation of oil revenues. As a result of these efforts, the oil companies agreed to a series of programs designed to create jobs, facilitate access to credit, and fund local schools, clinics, and water and electricity systems. These initiatives, which previously failed to materialize in response to more violent protests led by male counterparts, helped ease tensions and prevent the emergence of violent conflict.

- In 1999, women from *Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea* formed the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Since its creation, MARWOPNET has played an important role in promoting the inclusion of women in the peace and reconstruction process in West Africa. The Network has facilitated women's access to ECOWAS summits, raised awareness about the unique experiences of women in conflict, and helped open up political dialogue between the three governments of the Mano River Union. At a summit in 2002, the three countries committed to work for the restoration of peace and expressed their appreciation for the contributions of MARWOPNET.

Participation

The involvement of women in peace talks has been proven to increase post-conflict stability and broaden the array of issues discussed at the negotiating table. Women are adept at using their leadership positions within civil society to highlight often-ignored political, social, and economic concerns, such as protection for the internally displaced, land reform, and food security.

- Women in *Darfur*, for example, pushed successfully for the inclusion of humanitarian, social, and economic concerns during the Abuja Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks in 2006. Although the resultant Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was not ultimately successful, the inclusion of women allowed important voices to be part of the process. The creation of the Gender Expert and Support Team (GEST), a neutral and multi-ethnic body comprised of fifteen women enabled Darfurian women to advocate for such issues as wealth-sharing and land rights, women's participation in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), and a gender-responsive reconciliation commission. Equally important, women-led and other civil society organizations engaged in dialogue with negotiators and decision makers. The international community also played an important role, providing rhetorical support for the GEST, technical assistance, and logistical and financial backing.
- At the 1997 all-party talks in *Northern Ireland*, Protestant and Catholic women, acting through the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC), lobbied successfully for inclusion in the final accord of a range of social, political and economic issues. These included accelerated release and reintegration of political prisoners, language on victims' rights, an emphasis on integrated education and mixed housing, and support for the creation of

a Civic Forum to provide opportunities for civil society to engage with the Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly.

- In *Rwanda*, women played an important role during the 1994 to 2003 reform process. Female leaders helped craft the country's constitution, which establishes quotas to ensure women's participation in government, and have led the charge to strike down discriminatory legislation. Women's participation in the peacebuilding process has also resulted in greater mainstreaming of gender in the country's approach to poverty reduction, health care, and children's rights. Women-led initiatives, such as the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians (FFRP), have introduced legislation on gender-based violence and helped promote dialogue and reconciliation.

Recovery

Enlisting the support of women in post-conflict reconstruction and recovery can enhance the legitimacy of the peace process and widen the base of societal support, particularly in the areas of justice and security sector reform. Drawing on their leadership positions within the community, women can play a key role in reintegrating former combatants, soliciting testimony on sexual violence, and rebuilding public trust in government.

- *Liberia*: Through "women-only dialogues," Liberian women pushed successfully to incorporate the views of local women in the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was established in 2005 to investigate human rights abuses that occurred between 1979 and 2003. The dialogues enhanced the legitimacy of the Commission, served as a conduit for recommendations from the grassroots level, and encouraged reconciliation among communities across the country.
- *Colombia*: Following the creation of the National Commission for Reparations and Reconciliation (NCR), a body charged with overseeing the transitional justice process in Colombia, women's groups and two of the four female commissioners on the NCR led a successful effort to establish a unit on gender and minorities. The unit helped women advocate for gender-sensitive implementation of the 2005 Justice and Peace Law, which created the NCR, and ensured that gender considerations were taken into account for reparations in 2007.

CONCLUSION

The tenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325 offers a window of opportunity for the U.N. member states, including the United States, to build forward momentum on an implementation strategy. The last 10 years have seen some positive examples where women have made contributions to conflict mediation efforts, peace negotiations, and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction. We look forward to the creation and implementation of new best practices, backed by sufficient resources and high-level policy attention, to ensure that women may enjoy full and equal participation in all areas related to peace and security.

Resolution 1325 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on

31 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President and recalling also the statement of its President, to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on

Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls* on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, *inter alia*:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls* upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention Security Council—5—Press Release SC/6942 4213th Meeting (PM) 31 October 2000 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls* on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls* upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

