9 Creating UNSCR 1325

Women who served as initiators, drafters, and strategists

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Introduction

On 31 October 2000, in the 55th year of the UN Security Council (Council), the Council, at its 4213th meeting, unanimously adopted a four-page resolution with a preamble and 18 numbered operative paragraphs.¹ That resolution was UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325,² the Council's first resolution on women, peace, and security.³ This chapter explores how, in a Council of 15 State members—five permanent and ten elected—and with only one UN Security Council State represented by a female Permanent Representative, the almost all-male Council adopted the first Council resolution addressing women, peace, and security in its over a half-century existence. This chapter highlights the women who served as initiators, drafters and strategists of UNSCR 1325. It starts with the State that sponsored UNSCR 1325—Namibia.

The Sponsor

In 2000, Namibia was in the second and final year of its two-year term as an elected member of the Council.⁴ In its first term as President of the Council (August 1999), Namibia sponsored a resolution on children in armed conflict (UNSCR 1261), the “first one in history to focus exclusively on children and armed conflict.”⁵ The question for Namibia then was: what “first in history” resolution to sponsor for its second term as president of the Council in October 2000? Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah of Namibia had the answer. In 1995, Nandi-Ndaitwah was the Rapporteur-General of the Fourth World Conference on Women.⁶ The resulting Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action addressed “Women and Armed Conflict.”⁷ In 2000, Nandi-Ndaitwah was serving as Namibia's Director-General of the Department of Women's Affairs and Minister of Women Affairs and Child Welfare.⁸ In May 2000, Namibia was the first State, along with Senegal, to ratify the Optional Protocol to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (OP-CEDAW).⁹ Thus, unlike women in States that refuse to ratify OP-CEDAW, the women of Namibia possess the power to hold Namibia accountable if it violates CEDAW.¹⁰ Nandi-Ndaitwah, “early in the planning process” for 2000, made a “suggestion” that Namibia sponsor a Council resolution “recognizing the contribution and participation of

women in peace and security.”¹¹ In 2020, twenty years later after “suggesting” a Council resolution on women and security, Nandi-Ndaitwah is the Deputy Prime Minister of Namibia and Minister of International Relations.¹² Why did Namibia choose to sponsor UNSCR 1325 during its presidency of the Council? According to Nandi-Ndaitwah, “In Namibia, we have always recognized the link between peace and gender equality. That is what we have learnt from our long years of our liberation struggle for independence.”¹³ She elaborated: “Before returning from exile ... our Founding President ... called on Namibian women to be on alert and not to allow the country to be messed up once independence is achieved ... the peace we are enjoying today since Namibia’s independence 25 years ago, was achieved through a critical role, played by women” -- “[w]omen’s meaningful participation in our post-conflict reconstruction has been pivotal to the peace and stability in our country today.”¹⁴

A decade prior to UNSCR 1325, on 23 April 1990, Namibia became the 160th Member of the United Nations.¹⁵ Namibia became a State after lengthy foreign rule. Germany, when it ruled Namibia in the early 1900s, marked women as “special targets” in the “first genocide of the twentieth century.”¹⁶ Later South Africa engaged in “racist ... brutal repression” against Namibians,¹⁷ resulting in the UN General Assembly on 3 May 1978 “condemn[ing] ... South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of repeated demands by the Assembly and the Security Council for its withdrawal.”¹⁸ South Africa did not withdraw. Instead, on 4 May 1978, the South African Army attacked the refugee camp of the current (2020) Namibian Ambassador to the U.S., Monica Ndiliawike Nashandi. Subsequent to the May 1978 attack, the Council resolved to provide “free elections [for Namibia] under the supervision and control of the United Nations”¹⁹ through “a United Nations Transitional Assistance Group,”²⁰ known as “UNTAG.” Yet it took 11 years for the Council to “decide to implement” its 1978 resolution to establish UNTAG.²¹

After the 1978 attack, Nashandi became “a freedom fighter alongside my fellow women combatants who served at the frontline.”²² (Today Nashandi states she is “proud to have fought for my country at the frontline because that experience made me whom I am today.”²³) By 1989, during the UN deliberations on the budget allocation for the deployment of UNTAG to Namibia, Nashandi was serving as Deputy Representative to the SWAPO Observer Mission to the UN in New York. According to Nashandi, the budget negotiations for UNTAG were “not easy” as the “size of the territory and the huge number of the South African troops in Namibia required a large UN contingent” and that “a lean budget ... would translate into the deployment of a small UNTAG ... leaving most of the country still occupied by the South African forces.”²⁴ The resulting UNTAG budget and deployment ensured elections on 7-11 November 1989, with 97% of eligible voters voting.²⁵

Was UNTAG effective because UNTAG did not exclude women? The Director of the Special Representative’s Office for UNTAG explained: “Many of our most effective officers, at all levels up to the regional director, were women, often working in exacting circumstances.”²⁶ Women comprised 40% of the

professional service and “much more than 50%” of “the general service, in the regions and districts.”²⁷ Given that “working in the field can be exhilarating,” assessments of the experience by female peacekeepers included “the best year of my life.”²⁸ UNTAG, describing itself as the “first [UN] mission to ‘give women a chance,’” reported that its civilian men “were described as sometimes helpless,” with women “seen by a number of women as ‘more resourceful and resilient.’”²⁹ UNTAG reported “with its large numbers of women, Namibia may be the first mission where the conduct of [male] UN staff vis-à-vis local women was called into question.”³⁰

The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibian Plan of Action on mainstreaming a gender perspective in multidimensional peace support operations

In May 2000, Namibia hosted a seminar culminating a three-year effort by UN Assistant Secretary-General Angela King’s UN Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, the Division of the Advancement of Women (DAW) of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations to provide “objective and empirical findings” to answer “the skeptics” regarding the need for equal participation of women in UN missions.³¹ The seminar occurred on the 10th anniversary of UNTAG,³² and it celebrated the 10th anniversary of Namibia’s independence.³³

The participants elected Dame Margaret Anstee (1926-2016) to chair the seminar.³⁴ Anstee, in 1987, became the first female UN Under-Secretary-General.³⁵ Anstee was also the first woman to head a UN peacekeeping mission (1992-1993).³⁶ With command over military, police, and civilian components, she headed the peacekeeping mission in Angola—“a State as large as France, Spain, and Germany combined.”³⁷ Anstee had attended the first three UN Women’s Conferences, but refused to attend the 1995 conference (which was to have taken place in Vienna) when “out of the blue ... so soon” after Tiananmen Square, China announced it wanted to host the conference in Beijing.³⁸

Anstee had a plan, recalling:

The unlikely genesis of the groundbreaking Security Council resolution 1325 during a routine meeting that I was chairing on gender and peacekeeping, in Windhoek, Namibia, in May 2000, is a telling demonstration of how the far-reaching impact that women can have if they act in unison. During a cocktail party given by Namibian minister of women’s affairs, it occurred to me that our message on women, peace and security would have more impact enshrined in a Declaration of Windhoek and a Namibia Plan of Action. In discussing this with our hostess, who had been a junior minister in her country’s foreign ministry, I suddenly remembered that Namibia was a member of the Security Council. I reminded her that, when Namibia’s turn came to preside over the Council, it could have a meeting on a subject of its choosing. I suggested it would be a great coup for Namibia if she could

persuade her foreign minister to use this opportunity to spearhead a high-level debate about the issues we had been discussing. She agreed and, by working through the next 24 hours, our little group of women prepared both the Declaration and the Plan of Action, something that, in the UN, normally takes several months. The minister was as good as her word and Resolution 1325 was passed on 31 October 2000 with our two documents annexed. Had it not been for that serendipitous cocktail party, and the coming together of a group of like-minded and determined women, that resolution would never have seen the light of day.³⁹

Jelena Grčić Polić (b. 1955), the Vice-Chair of the UN General Assembly's Fourth Committee and on the Sub-Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (and the Croatian Deputy Permanent Representative at the UN), recalls: "We worked late, all women, and had only one man, an officer from the Croatian MOD [Ministry of Defense], help with photocopying and errands."⁴⁰ Grčić Polić had grown up in Dubrovnik, which was "brutally shelled and kept under siege for months in the winter of 1991/1992" when Croatia declared independence after multiparty elections in spring 1991 and "the Serb-led Yugoslav National Army attempted to avert the dissolution of the former communist-led federation by force."⁴¹ Grčić Polić later served as Croatia's Assistant Minister of Defense for Policy.⁴²

According to Judith Hicks Stiehm, an academic, the "little group of women" that "drafted the resolution" did not include all "official" women; it did not include her.⁴³ The DPKO LLU had hired Stiehm to present a report to the seminar.⁴⁴ Stiehm learned "something 'bigger' was in the works," and after "consult[ing] with the representatives from the Peacekeeping Unit, they agreed her report should just be filed."⁴⁵ Stiehm today recalls being "physically present" in the room when the Declaration and Plan of Action were put on the table, that it was "a thrilling moment."⁴⁶

Another academic at the conference, Peter Wallensteen, contends "there was also a fair number of men in the group," explaining: "In the afternoon of May 29" Anstee "suggested" that the product of the seminar be the Declaration and Plan of Action, rather than "reporting on the studies that had been made" and that he "was concerned about the possible attitude of the funder, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs."⁴⁷ Wallensteen explained: "What happened is that the second day, May 30, two working groups were formed. These groups presented their reports on May 31, when the texts were brought together into the action plan."⁴⁸

The Windhoek Declaration castigated international and national actors for denying women a "full role" in peace support operations and for failing to "adequately address" the "gender dimension in peace processes" and maintained, that for peace support operations to be effective, "gender equity and equality must permeate the entire mission" to create conditions of "political stability in which women and men play an equal part in the political, economic and social development of their country."⁴⁹ The Namibia Plan of Action addressed "practical ways" to realize the gender equity and equality goals of the Windhoek Declaration.⁵⁰

Beijing +5

In 2000, Namibia sat not only on the Council, it served as president of the UN General Assembly. Just days after the 31 May 2000 Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action, Namibia chaired Beijing +5 (5-9 June 2000).⁵¹ Beijing +5 included panels on “Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Peacekeeping Operations,” which included issues of “peacekeeping, peace building and conflict prevention.”⁵² The outcome document of the Beijing +5 addressed 50/50 gender balance in peacekeeping missions and peace negotiations⁵³ as well as obstacles to women’s equal participation in peace-building efforts.⁵⁴

The delegates at Beijing +5 included two Indian Parliamentarians of different castes and experiences: Phoolan Devi (1963-assassinated 2001) and Krishna Bose (1930-2020). Phoolan Devi, a member of the low-caste and illiterate 85% of India,⁵⁵ had served years in prison (without trial) for extra-judicial actions she took against unprosecuted rapists who pried on low-caste and illiterate females.⁵⁶ Her extra-judicial actions: Damaging or dismembering penises of unprosecuted rapists.⁵⁷ Krishna Bose, a member of a prominent political family, sought change through legislation. For example, she introduced legislation in the Indian Parliament in February 2000 (Bill No. 62 of 2000, dated 28 February 2000) “to cancel the registration of a political party if that party does not field candidates at elections ... from both genders proportionately.”⁵⁸ As of January 2020, Bose’s bill, despite being reintroduced in 2016-2017 by one of her sons, is not law.⁵⁹

For Bose, Devi “brought out [to Beijing +5] the stark reality of the situation while we were discussing women’s issues only theoretically.”⁶⁰

Advocating to the security council

As of mid-2020, the dates of Nandi-Ndaitwah’s “suggestion” and Namibia’s decision to sponsor what became UNSCR 1325 are unknown. Whether, and to what extent, others influenced Namibia’s decision remains to be deciphered. What is known is that individuals and entities were advocating to the Council for what became UNSCR 1325.

Patricia Flor of Germany held the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) Chair from March 1998⁶¹ until March 2000 and served as the Vice-Chair of the CSW acting as Preparatory Committee for Beijing +5.⁶² Earlier than April 2000,⁶³ as Chair of the CSW, Flor “did meet with the President and Members of the Security Council and asked for inclusion of gender-related questions in the deliberations of the [Council] with reference to the women in armed conflict elements of the Beijing Platform for Action.”⁶⁴ Today Flor is the EU Ambassador to Japan.⁶⁵

While recognizing that “civil society alone ... could not have secured a resolution in the Security Council,” Sanam Anderlini contends UNSCR 1325 “was driven by civil society.”⁶⁶ According to Ambassador Wensley, civil society holds “certain advantages,” to include:

- 1 “not [being] limited by the processes of government or constraints of party politics,”
- 2 “great freedom to lobby, to mount campaigns for particular causes and to concentrate on these,” and
- 3 for some, “well-established networks of contacts and of support structures ... stretching across countries and continents, increasing significantly the opportunities for exchanging information (because it is vital to be well-informed) and for developing effective strategies.”⁶⁷

In March 2000, “at the CSW meeting, an NGO network formalized,”⁶⁸ consisting of Felicity Hill, Isha Dyfan, Cora Weiss, Florence Martin, Maha Muna, Ramine Johal, and Betty Reardon.⁶⁹ Hill served as “the coordinator ... during the build up phase.”⁷⁰ They obtained a \$180,000 grant from the Ford Foundation (with Mahnaz Isfahani “as a key force”)⁷¹ “for a campaign specifically for a UN Security Council resolution.”⁷² In addition to funding, they also needed access to individuals and entities within the UN. Anderlini credits Cora Weiss for opening doors through her contacts.⁷³ Cora Weiss had been an activist since the 1960s, starting with Women Strike for Peace.⁷⁴ And they needed for their work to have impact. Concerned that instead of a “resolution,” the outcome would be limited to a “declaration” or a “statement,”⁷⁵ International Alert and African women’s groups had approached UNIFEM to strategize on how to obtain a legally binding document.⁷⁶ The NGO network (NGO) assumed the name “Coalition on Women and International Peace and Security.”⁷⁷

According to Hill, the NGO “form[ed] an alliance with sympathetic states (Namibia, Bangladesh, Jamaica and Canada) to first secure support for an Open Debate” and then met “with each remaining member of the Security Council, utilizing different arguments with each to advocate for a thematic debate and resolution on Women, Peace and Security.”⁷⁸ The NGO met with the Namibian ambassador, Martin Andjaba, on 20 July 2000, during which they “discussed the possibility of Namibia—during its Presidency of the Security Council in October 2000—holding an open debate on women and international peace and security and presenting a resolution on this subject.”⁷⁹ In August 2000, the NGO informed Ambassador Andjaba that they were “working with relevant agencies ... on this project,” offered to provide the Namibian delegation with “information, assistance, and consultations wherever necessary ... to help it in carrying out this task,” and expressed their willingness to meet again in early September.⁸⁰

UNIFEM, as a technical advisor, could be “the bridge between the real experiences of women and the high level decision-making processes of the Member States in the Security Council at the time when there was insufficient understanding and literature on women, peace and security.”⁸¹ The Foreign Minister of Namibia (Theo-Ben Gurirab) wrote to the UN Secretary-General (Kofi Annan) requesting UNIFEM to be the technical advisor to the Council.⁸² (UNIFEM and civil society actors had been working with Namibia “secretly because of fear that it would be stopped if known.”⁸³) Yet, as technical advisor, UNIFEM had to be “visible and invisible at the same time” and had to “hide their handiwork in drafting UNSCR 1325.”⁸⁴ Further, the NGO “did not seek to make [their actions]

public,” believing “if their interactions with delegates became publicly known the likelihood of the ... resolution would be greatly diminished”⁸⁵; that “[i]n order for [Namibia] to succeed, it was vital that Namibia did not appear to be NGO led.”⁸⁶

Socializing and drafting

On 1 October 2000, Namibia assumed the presidency of the Council. Before October, the Namibian delegation started socializing the idea of a resolution on women, peace, and security with member States of the Council.⁸⁷ In August 2000, the socializing not only intensified, but Aina Iiyambo, the First Secretary at the Namibian Mission to the UN, started “putting the language together” as the “pen-holder in a team effort.”⁸⁸ While a proposed resolution usually is the result of recommendations by the Secretary-General, no Secretary-General report on women, peace, and security existed.⁸⁹ Therefore, Namibia requested that the Windhoek Declaration and Namibian Plan of Action be issued as official documents of the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly.⁹⁰

The UNIFEM Executive Director, Noleen Heyzer, recalls assertions from States that “first research on the ground was necessary to establish evidence.”⁹¹ In response, the NGO “quickly collected copies of 10-15 recent publications for each of the fifteen Security Council delegations” and “summarized the facts and arguments in each.”⁹² Given the absence of UN literature on women, peace, and security, Iiyambo was “in touch with many actors, to include civil society actors,” finding Graça Machel’s report on children in armed conflict “invaluable in helping [her] to situate the resolution, as well as opening [her] eyes.”⁹³ Assistant Secretary-General Angela King provided “invaluable materials” for the drafting of the resolution, with the “main source of material” from UNIFEM, “especially from Jennifer Klot.”⁹⁴ Heyzer had appointed Klot as the UNIFEM point person to work with Iiyambo throughout the drafting of the resolution, with Klot “consult[ing]” Heyzer “every step of the way,” aided by “a small team of staff and civil society partners, including Hill, to provide ... ideas.”⁹⁵ Klot previously “led UNICEF’s strategy for advancing the first Security Council resolution on children”⁹⁶ (which Namibia had sponsored during its Presidency in 1999 and which, as UNSCR 1261, is the first resolution that UNSCR 1325 references). Iiyambo also consulted frequently with Hazel de Wet, the Namibian expert on women’s human rights covering the UN General Assembly’s Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural).⁹⁷ De Wet today serves as part of the UN Mission in South Sudan.⁹⁸

By the beginning of October, an initial draft of UNSCR 1325 was completed.⁹⁹

Hill contends the NGO had “provided Namibia with language for a draft resolution as soon as they agreed to host the Open Session during their Presidency of the Council,”¹⁰⁰ and that UNSCR 1325 “resembles” the draft the NGO provided Namibia “with the preambular language virtually identical.”¹⁰¹ In 2004-2005, the “draft resolution [was] available on request.”¹⁰² Alas, by 2020, Hill’s copy was not locatable.¹⁰³

According to Klot, “Namibia’s delegates in New York, including two exception women leaders, Selma Ndeyapo Ashipala-Musavyi [the Deputy Permanent

Representative of Namibia] and First Secretary Aina Iiyambo, enthusiastically and skillfully shepherded the negotiations.”¹⁰⁴ Iiyambo facilitated the negotiations of the draft resolution with the participation of experts from the other 14 council members.¹⁰⁵ The final drafting occurred between 25 and 30 October 2000.¹⁰⁶ While “a UN official cannot unilaterally change what Member States have agreed to in negotiations,” given that “[a]s is the practice with Security Council and other intergovernmental processes, experts negotiated the entire text, word for word” with approval of the language a process of consensus, and if a consensus was not reached, approval did not happen,¹⁰⁷ hauntingly misleading assertions, such as by a “UN bureaucrat who very proudly stated that the night before the debate he had edited the resolution down to 1.5 pages,” are remembered.¹⁰⁸

Arria formula meeting

On 23 October 2000 (the day before the Open Debate in the Council), Ambassador Patricia Durrant of Jamaica chaired the Arria Formula meeting on women and peace and security.¹⁰⁹ In 2000, Durrant also served as chair of the UNIFEM Consultative Committee and therefore was “informed by the work of UNIFEM on women in conflicted affected countries world-wide” and “fully briefed” throughout the process of creating UNSCR 1325.¹¹⁰

The “purpose of the Arria Formula meeting [on women and peace and security] was to convince the Security Council of the urgency of a strong resolution instead of a presidential statement.”¹¹¹ Members of the Council informed Iiyambo after the Arria meeting “that they benefited from hearing from those affected, that it makes a difference, to hear about women’s role in peacebuilding.”¹¹² According to Heyzer, it was at the Arria meeting that members of the Council realized the urgent need for a Council resolution, as opposed to a declaration or statement.¹¹³

UNIFEM helped speakers to prepare, to include preparing statements.¹¹⁴ UNIFEM hosted rehearsals, with Klot in charge, several days prior to the Arria Formula meeting, with “little recommendations on how to convey better their messages.”¹¹⁵

The main speakers at the Arria Formula meeting included Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika of the Organization of African Women’s Committee on Peace and Democratization and Federation of African Women’s Peace Movements, Isha Dyfan of the NGO Coalition/Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)—Sierra Leone, Faiza Jama Mohamed of the Africa Office of Equality Now, and Luz Méndez of the National Union of Guatemalan Women.¹¹⁶ Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika, in addition to her work for peace in conflict areas, had lit the Peace Torch at the official opening of the Beijing conference and was part of the Zanzibar African Women’s Peace Declaration, which Angela King attended.¹¹⁷ Isha Dyfan addressed sexual violence by male peacekeepers, providing the ECOMOG Mission in Sierra Leone as an example, about which “[i]t was reported [at their departure] that women with their babies lined the runway at the airport calling attention to sexual violence that had occurred.”¹¹⁸ Luz Méndez, the sole woman on the negotiating team of the URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria

Nacional Guatemalteca) at the start of the negotiations in 1991 to end Guatemala's decades-long internal war,¹¹⁹ succeeded in ensuring that the Guatemalan peace accords addressed the rights of indigenous women,¹²⁰ participation by women,¹²¹ the role of women in strengthening civilian power,¹²² and equitable participation by women (as a sector requiring specific priority attention).¹²³ When incorporating "women" provisions into the peace accords, Méndez informed detractors "they needed Guatemalan women to support the accords after signature, and that it would send a very bad message if only the proposals made by women [of the Civil Society Assembly] were excluded."¹²⁴ Her recommendations at the Arria Formula meeting included (1) the need for women's participation—"that what they achieved in Guatemala would not have been possible without women at the table" and (2) the need for equal representation of women at the table—"that the UN could ask members of the parties to include women (equally)."¹²⁵

NGO representatives also attended. They included Eugenia Piza Lopes of the NGO Coalition/International Alert, Mary Diaz of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Anne Burke of Amnesty International, Cora Weiss of the Hague Appeal for Peace, and Betty Reardon of the International Peace Research Association.¹²⁶ Reardon, a peace education scholar, served in 1994 as the Rapporteur of the "Gender and the Agenda for Peace" (GAP) report.¹²⁷ Missouri Sherman-Peter of the Bahamas was the Vice-Chair.¹²⁸ Today, Ambassador Missouri Sherman-Peter serves as the Permanent Representative of CARICOM (Caribbean Community and Common Market) to the UN.¹²⁹

Maj Britt Theorin, the Chair of the GAP report, opines the GAP report "is the real starting creation of UNSCR 1325" as it contained recommendations and strategies to "increase the participation of women in all aspects related to conflict resolution and peace."¹³⁰ GAP recommendations included:

Gender balance in all UN peace-related activities and the adequate representation of women's perspectives should be assured by including at least 40% women in all peace-keeping, peace making, peace building, preventative diplomacy, and preventative activities including fact-finding and observer missions and in all stages of peace negotiations.¹³¹

Six years later, on 20 October 2000, EU Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, under the leadership of Theorin, then a Member of the EU Parliament and Chair of the EU Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, provided the EU with a proposed 12 page resolution on women, peace and security titled "European Parliament resolution on the participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution."¹³² Unlike the UN Security Council, the EU Commission put the proposed resolution "in the drawer," rather than sending it on to Parliament.¹³³ As such, the EU not only failed to lead, but instead blocked, women, peace, and security. However, the EU Committee's proposed resolution may have influenced the drafting of UNSCR 1325. A two-page summary of the proposed EU resolution was part of the summaries of documents compiled by the NGO.¹³⁴

Open debate

At 1030 AM on October 24, 2000, the UN Security Council Open Debate on “women and peace and security” began.¹³⁵

At the table sat the five Permanent Members and the ten Non-permanent Members of the Council, with Namibia sitting as President. All were men except for two: Patricia Durrant (1943-2019) and Nancy Soderberg.

Durrant served as the Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the UN starting in 1995. Jamaica was a Non-permanent member of the Council in the years 2000 and 2001. Durrant was the sole female Permanent Representative to the Council in 2000. Subsequently the UN Secretary-General appointed Durrant at the rank of Assistant Secretary General to serve as the UN Ombudsman (2002-2007).

Soderberg was the Alternative Representative of the US and regularly “was in the seat [in the Council] because [the US Permanent Representative to the UN, Richard Holbrooke] knew there should be a woman at the table.”¹³⁶ Holbrooke was “a major ally and driving force” for a thematic debate on women and peace and security,¹³⁷ a change from the Dayton Peace negotiations, which had failed to include women.¹³⁸ Holbrooke’s boss was Madeleine Albright, the Secretary of State for the US 2000. Soderberg met Madeleine Albright when Soderberg was a graduate student at Georgetown.¹³⁹ When Madeleine Albright started her service as the Permanent Representative of the US to the UN (1993), out of more than 180 States, the only States that sent women as their permanent representative were Canada, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Liechtenstein, the Philippines, and Trinidad-Tobago, and the US.¹⁴⁰ According to Albright:

Being American, I naturally proposed we form a caucus, which we did, and suggested that we pledge always to take each other’s phone calls. The agreement on instant access upset some male representatives, who didn’t think it logical that the ambassador of Liechtenstein could get through to the U.S. ambassador more readily than they could.¹⁴¹

Albright’s response: “I told them the solution was for them to give up their posts to women, which stopped them cold.”¹⁴² Prior to serving at the UN, Soderberg had a career that included being the third ranking official on the US National Security Council.¹⁴³

At the table also sat, as invited guests, Angela King (Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women) and Noleen Heyzer (Executive Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women). King had served as Chief of Mission in the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), which appears to have had gender parity.¹⁴⁴

In the seats at the side of the Council Chamber sat over two-dozen individuals representing States that were not members of the Security Council,¹⁴⁵ but who had requested to be on the speaker list.¹⁴⁶ All were men but four: Penny Wensley of Australia, Claudia Fritsche of Liechtenstein, Jelena Grčić Polić of Croatia, and Parliamentarian Krishna Bose of India.

Australia appointed Wensley in 1997 as its first female ambassador to the UN.¹⁴⁷ She later served as Governor of Queensland (2008-2014).¹⁴⁸ Wensley currently is a director of an international think tank.¹⁴⁹

Liechtenstein appointed Fritsche in 1990 to serve as Liechtenstein's first ambassador to the UN, where she served until 2002.¹⁵⁰ Liechtenstein, like Namibia, became a member of the UN in 1990.¹⁵¹ Only six years prior to Liechtenstein becoming a member of the UN did a majority of Liechtenstein's men (by a majority of 119 men) vote for suffrage for women, 2370 votes for and 2251 votes against.¹⁵² Earlier referenda in Liechtenstein, in the years 1971 and 1973, voted against women's suffrage.¹⁵³

Croatia appointed Grčić Polić as the Croatian Deputy Permanent Representative in 1998.¹⁵⁴ Grčić Polić was an author of the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action.

India asked Bose, the Chairperson of the Indian Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, to deliver India's statement at the Open Debate, "in order for it to carry weight."¹⁵⁵ As of 2020, Bose is the only woman to have chaired the Indian Parliamentary Standing Committee of External/Foreign Affairs.¹⁵⁶

At the time of the Open Debate, it appears no copy of the working draft UNSCR 1325 had been distributed to non-Members of the Council. In her statement, Wensley remarked: "I have not seen a draft of the resolution that the Council may be planning to adopt, but I hope it ... will pick up the practical suggestions that have been put forward today by a number of delegations."¹⁵⁷ Wensley contends that her remark in 2000 about not having seen the draft "didn't mean we – the non-members of the [Council] weren't involved with the drafting/lobbying process. We were. As I recall, the remark was more a dig about the strict [Council] processes."¹⁵⁸ Wensley recalls that several members of the small group of women who were Permanent Representatives worked closely with King and Heyzer in the drafting process, to include her.¹⁵⁹ Wensley maintains that this group was:

[A]ctively involved with the crafting and adoption of this resolution and ... contributed directly to the effort to have the subject brought before the Security Council and discussed in an open meeting of the Council – which meant that countries not members of the Security Council – countries like Australia – could participate and contribute.¹⁶⁰

Fritsche, while observing the resolution going through the drafting process by the members of the Security Council, tried to obtain details of the draft resolution.¹⁶¹ Given that "there were no written rules or regulations prohibiting ... inspiration from others, non-member States were able to 'indirectly work' with several States on the Council to 'informally' inject the drafting process of UNSCR 1325 with ideas and strong concerns as to what needed to be in the resolution."¹⁶²

The Open Debate acknowledged the contributions of the many individuals leading to the creation of UNSCR 1325, to include: Madeleine Albright;¹⁶³ Louise Frechette, Mary Robinson, Sadako Ogata, Carol Bellamy, Catherine Bertini, and Hillary Clinton;¹⁶⁴ Graça Machel;¹⁶⁵ Rani of Jhansi, who "died fighting leading India first War of Independence in 1857," and Kaipkire of the Herero, who "led

her people in battles against European slave traders;”¹⁶⁶ Colleen Lowe Morna, Louise Olson, Judith Hicks Stiehm, Maggie Patterson, and Colonel Festus Abo-ayge;¹⁶⁷ and Dame Margaret Anstee and Elizabeth Rehn.¹⁶⁸

A recommendation oft stated in the Open Debate concerned the need to appoint women at the highest civilian levels.¹⁶⁹ In October 2000, of the “61 Special and Personal Representatives and Envoys of the Secretary-General serving in peace support functions,” zero were women.¹⁷⁰ As such, it appears that the voices against the exclusion of women from the highest civilian positions in peace operations were shaped by the lived experiences of the diplomats and politicians speaking.

In the gallery overlooking the Security Chamber sat members of civil society. The speakers appreciated these members of civil society. As stated by Soderberg:

I also want to pay a special welcome to our guests in the gallery. I think your participation and support are very important and I think this is the first time I have ever heard applause in this Chamber. So you are enlivening it.¹⁷¹

Grčić Polić concurred: “The enthusiastic response from the gallery is proof that they [Heyzer and King] do make a difference.”¹⁷² Wensley recalls that her statement “drew applause – something quite unprecedented within the Council Chamber.”¹⁷³

Conclusion

The history of the creation of UNSCR 1325 demonstrates the power of disparate actors fighting for women and peace and security. For those who hesitate to participate, the history of the creation of UNSCR 1325 may dispel the belief that agitating for women and peace and security, while it may be the “right” thing to do, ends careers. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, rather than ending careers, it may propel careers.

I write this chapter to express my gratitude to the creators of UNSCR 1325, through this attempt to crystalize the history of their work. They have given us a great gift. As this chapter concludes, another one opens. In 2019, Namibia announced that it would establish an International Women’s Peace Centre,¹⁷⁴ and one year later, on 31 October 2020, opened the Centre.¹⁷⁵ I look forward to the Centre’s accomplishments in 2020 and beyond.

Acknowledgement

I thank the individuals who responded to my many questions about their recollections of the history of the creation of UNSCR 1325, to include via in-person, Skype, telephone, and/or email (which I describe as “communications”), to include Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Krishna Bose, Hans Corell, Isha Dyfan, Patricia Flor, Claudia Fritsche, Jelena Grčić Polić, Noeleen Heyzer, Swanee Hunt, Aina Iiyambo, Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika, Luz Méndez, Monica Ndiliawike Nashandi, Eugenia Piza Lopez, Betty Reardon, Judith Hicks Stiehm, Maj Britt Theorin, Peter Wallensteen, Cora Weiss, and Penny Wensley. I thank those who

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Notes

- 1 UN Security Council, S/PV.4213 (31 October 2000, 2.10 pm).
- 2 UN Security Council, S/RES/1325 (31 October 2000).
- 3 Hans Corell, the Legal Counsel of the United Nations at the time of the adoption of UNSCR 1325, confirms that Council resolutions are enforceable (author communications with Corell, 2019/2020).
- 4 UN Security Council, "Countries Elected," <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/countries-elected-members>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- 5 Martin Andjaba, "Assessment of the Work of the Security Council, The Namibian Presidency," *Global Policy Forum*, August 1999, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/185/41110.html>, accessed 15 January 2020.
- 6 The Deputy Prime Minister of Republic of Namibia, Republic of Namibia Office of the Prime Minister, <http://www.opm.gov.na/deputy-prime-minister>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- 7 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Strategic Objective E: Women and Armed Conflict (UN Women, 2014, reprint from United Nations, 1995), 87-100, https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/csw/pfa_e_final_web.pdf?la=en&vs=800, accessed 7 February 2020.
- 8 Deputy Prime Minister, fn 6 *supra*.
- 9 UN General Assembly, A/RES/54/4, Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (6 October 1999), Status as of 7 February 2020, https://treaties.un.org/doc/Treaties/1999/10/19991006%2005-18%20AM/Ch_IV_8_bp.pdf, accessed 7 February 2020.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Author communications with Aina Iiyambo (2019/2020). Soumita Basu appears to write that the "suggestion" occurred around the time of the annual session of the CSW, and that it pertained to "issues relating to 'war and women,'" see Soumita Basu, "Security Through Transformations: The Case of the Passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security" (Ph.D. diss., Aberystwyth University, 2009), 174.
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- 17 UN General Assembly, A/RES/S-9/2 (3 May 1978), para 4.
- 18 Ibid, para 4.
- 19 UN Security Council, S/RES/431 (27 July 1978), para 1.

- 20 UN Security Council, S/RES/435 (29 September 1978), para 3.
- 21 UN Security Council, S/RES/632 (16 February 1989), para 2.
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- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Communications: Nashandi.
- 25 Peacekeeping UN, fn 15 *supra*.
- 26 Cedric Thornberry, *UNTAG experience in Namibia: First Phase* (South African Institute of International Affairs, 1990): np.
- 27 Ibid.
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- 29 Ibid, 134–135.
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- 47 Communications: Wallenstein.
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- 50 A/55/138–S/2000/693, Annex II.
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- 54 Ibid, para 13.

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- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
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- 85 Hill, 30.
- 86 Ibid, 29.
- 87 Author communications with Iiyambo (2019/2020).
- 88 Ibid.
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- 90 Ibid.

- 91 Ibid.
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- 93 Communications: Iiyambo; *see* UN General Assembly, A/51/306, "Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: Report of the expert of the Secretary-General, Ms. Graça Machel, submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 48/157," 26 August 1996, 3-96; *see also* Graça Machel, "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children: A critical review of progress made and obstacles encountered in increasing protection for war-affected children," September 2000, chapter 15 addresses "Women and the Peace Process."
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- 103 Author communications with Hill (2020). Efforts by the author to locate the NGO's draft have included requests to individual members of the NGO, as well as to academics and archives that have engaged with the NGO. At the time of this writing (during COVID-19), a request is pending with the Rockefeller archives, which houses the Ford Foundation records of the NGO.
- 104 Klot, 92. According to Ambassador Selma Ashipala-Musavyi, "Following the introduction of the theme [on women, peace and security], what followed then was a minute of silence, followed by a mix of laughter, plain astonishment accompanied by sophisticated ridicule." Nekwaya Jileka and Julia Imene-Chanduru, "How Namibia Helped Birth UN Resolution on Women, Peace and Security," *Africa Renewal*, 27 October 2020, <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/october-2020/how-namibia-helped-birth-un-resolution-1325-women-peace-and-security>, accessed 17 December 2020.
- 105 Communications: Iiyambo.
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- 108 Anderlini, 48.
- 109 Global Policy Forum, "Arria Formula and Other Proceedings," at 23 October 2000, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/security-council/ngos-and-the-council/arria-formula-and-other-un-proceedings.html>, accessed 2 December 2019.
- 110 Communications: Heyzer.
- 111 Communications: Heyzer. Bangladesh had issued a presidential statement on 8 March 2000. UN, Press Release SC/6816, "Peace Inextricably Linked With Equality Between Women And Men Says Security Council, In International Women's Day Statement," 8 March 2000, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2000/20000308.sc6816.doc.html>. The Bangladesh Mission, due to internal and external constraints, was unable to provide records, to include "official correspondence," for this chapter. Communication from the Bangladesh Mission to the author (2020).
- 112 Communications: Iiyambo.
- 113 Communications: Heyzer.
- 114 As a result, Heyzer was told she "broke UN rules," that she was "going to be punished." A UN Under-Secretary-General alerted Heyzer she would receive a phone

- call posing one question: “Did you ‘participate’ in the Arria Formula?” and that her response should not employ the word “participate.” When Heyzer received the call, Heyzer stated: “I ‘introduced’ the issue and the women who were going to speak.” After the call, push-back, through allegations of “[w]e have evidence and we saw her participate,” arose. Heyzer again was alerted that a telephone call was coming. The caller this time stated: “I was told you participated.” Heyzer’s response: “I introduced.” As a result of the pushback from internal actors in the UN, UNIFEM abstained from taking any credit for the creation of UNSCR 1325 (and did not take credit for almost 20 years, until being interviewed for this chapter). Communication: Heyzer.
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 - 116 “Arria Formula,” October 23, 2000, fn 109 *supra*.
 - 117 Author communications with Mbikusita-Lewanika (2020).
 - 118 Author communications with Dyfan (2020).
 - 119 Méndez 2008: 224
 - 120 Guatemala, “Agreement on identity and rights of Indigenous Peoples,” 31 March 1995, Section II B, para 1.
 - 121 Guatemala, “Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation,” 6 May 1996, Section I B, paras 11–13.
 - 122 Guatemala, “Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and on the Role of the Armed Forces in a Democratic Society,” 19 September 1996, Section IV.
 - 123 Guatemala, “Agreement on the Basis for the Legal Integration of the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca,” 12 December 1996, Section II, para 12.
 - 124 Communications: Méndez.
 - 125 Ibid.
 - 126 “Arria Formula,” October 23, 2000, fn 109 *supra*.
 - 127 Division for the Advancement of Women/Secretariat for the Fourth World Conference on Women, Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, Expert Group Meeting: Gender and the Agenda For Peace, GAP/1994/1 (5–9 December 1994) para 40.
 - 128 Ibid, para 40.
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 - 132 EU Parliament, A5-0308/2000, Committee on Women’s Rights and Equal Opportunities, Report on participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution (2000/2025(INI)): 5-12, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A5-2000-0308+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN&language=EN> (accessed 13 May 2019).
 - 133 Communications: Theorin.
 - 134 Copy of summaries provided to author by Sheri Gibbings. Gibbings wrote a history of the creation of UNSCR 1325 in 2004. Gibbings used pseudonyms stating, “Most individuals I interviewed consented to the use of their names in my research, but, at my discretion, the names of individuals have either been changed, or, in some cases, comments have not been attributed to any specific person.” Sheri Gibbings, “Governing Women, Governing Security: Governmentality, Gender Mainstreaming and Women’s Activism at the UN” (master’s thesis, York University, Toronto, Canada, September 2004), fn 27, <https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item?id=mq99312&op=pdf&app=Library>, accessed 14 March 2020.
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- 164 Ibid, 13.
- 165 Ibid at 9 and 10.
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