



## Resolution 1325 Reception

Moderators:

**Ruhakana Ruganda, Uganda U.N. Ambassador**  
**Morten Wetland, Norway U.N. Ambassador**

Speakers:

**Eriya Kategaya, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for East African Affairs of Uganda**  
**Grete Faremo, Minister of Defence of Norway**  
**Michelle Bachelet, Executive Director and Undersecretary General for U.N. Women**  
**Abigail Disney, Executive Producer of "Women, War and Peace"**

International Peace Institute  
777 United Nations Plaza

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**Warren Hoge:** Good evening. I'm going to invite the President of IPI Terje Rod-Larsen to take the floor.

**Terje Rod-Larsen:** Thank you very much, Warren, excellencies, ladies and gentleman and dear friends, good evening everybody and a warm welcome to the International Peace Institute and to this event commemorating the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Security Council Resolution 1325. I'd like to start with expressing my sincere appreciation to our two co-hosts, Norway and Uganda, to thank them for initiating this event and for bringing to our attention this landmark resolution.

Before I continue, let me welcome and very briefly present our distinguished panel. And let me start by extending a special word of welcome to Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for East African Affairs of Uganda, Eriya Kategaya.

I'm also delighted to welcome the Minister of Defense of Norway, Grete Faremo my old colleague and friend. Grete, you are most welcome. And let me also warmly welcome to IPI the Executive Director and Undersecretary General for U.N. Women, the former president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet.

And, finally, a warm welcome to our first speaker Abigail Disney who is the executive producer of the forthcoming documentary, "Women, War and Peace." She will tell us a little bit more about that a little bit later.

Our discussion tonight comes at a particularly important time because tomorrow the Security Council will convene for its high level debate taking stock of the past ten years of implementation of Resolution 1325. Indeed this ten-year anniversary is not only a time for celebration it is an opportunity to have a candid discussion and an honest assessment of our achievements. The price of not doing so is simply too high. Unfortunately, there is an increased scale and an

increased brutality of sexual violence and conflict and the trend of using sexual violence as a strategic and technical weapon of war reminds us what is to expect if we fail. And while women are widely recognized as effective agents of peace, we still have little access – they still have little access -- to power and peace negotiations.

Much more needs to be done to recognize the central role played by women in conflict prevention and resolution, peacekeeping and peace building. This includes achieving better gender balance at the U.N., though major achievements have taken place over the last few years. We need to get serious with addressing the low numbers of female staff, including military and civilian personnel in U.N. peacekeeping operations and at the senior levels such as special envoys and special representatives of the Secretary General and other staff at U.N. headquarters. The challenges are many, and I hope we can address some of them this evening.

Before I give the floor to our two co-chairs, Ambassador Wetland of Norway and Ambassador Ruganda of Uganda, I'd like to recognize, in particular, a few other prominent guests that are with us this evening. I'd like to welcome in the audience the Minister of State for Integration, Equality and Human Rights of Ireland Mary White and the Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women Issues of the United States Melanne Vermeer. Finally, I'd like to also welcome, in particular, the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church who owns the very building we are in. She has been a valued partner of IPI for many years here. So please join me in extending a warm welcome to Harriet Olsen, the Deputy General Secretary. Let me now with these words give the floor to Ambassador Ruganda and Ambassador Wetland for them to chair the panel. Thank you very much.

**Morten Wetland:**

Dear guests, Ambassador Ruganda and I, we just reached a consensus conclusion that I should introduce the speakers and he should moderate the debate afterwards. But let me say first of all how pleased I am representing Norway that we were able to do this together with Uganda who, as you know, is holding the presidency of the Security Council this month. And I believe that such partnership between countries of the north and countries of the south are essential to move the issues forward. None of us are perfect. We all have ground to cover to reach and realize the intentions of that resolution. We have a few eminent speakers to start with, and we will have a little trailer. I will speak about that film. We'll speak about that later. And then we will invite comments from you all, in particular, those of you who will not have the opportunity to speak in the Council tomorrow. So this is the overture for tomorrow's Council meeting.

Our first speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister of Uganda. Minister Kategaya has held – he's a lawyer by training, and has held a number of ministerial posts in his country over several decades. He's been Minister of the Interior and has been Minister of Foreign Affairs and he is now serving as both as Deputy Prime Minister and as Minister for East African Affairs of Uganda, and it's a privilege to have you here, and I give you the floor, sir.

**Eriya Kategaya:**

Thank you. Excellency, Mrs. Grete Faremo, Minister of Defence of Norway, Excellency, Mrs. Michelle Bachelet, Executive Director and Undersecretary General for U.N. Women, Mr. Terje Rød-Larsen, President of the International Peace Institute, Ms. Abigail Disney, and members of the civil society, I welcome you all to this event this evening. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate former President Bachelet for a recent appointment as the head of the U.N. Women.

The year 2010 marks the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Security Council Resolution 1325. When it was adopted on the 21<sup>st</sup> October 2000, Resolution 1325 was recognized as a landmark resolution. It was the first Security Council resolution to address women's issue in international peace and security agenda. The resolution sought to ensure women full and active participation in conflict resolution, peace processes, and post-conflict reconstruction. And it also sought to protect women and girls from violence, particularly sexual violence, in conflict and post-conflict situations. It affirmed that women were an integral part of peace and security. For the first time the Council provided a strong rationale for all stakeholders, itself, member states, the United Nations system, civil society, peacemakers, peacekeepers, peace builders and parties to conflict to acknowledge and address the plight and role of women in the situations of armed conflict.

On our part, the government of – the Uganda government will launch a national action plan for Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, as well as the Goma Declaration in December, 2008. It highlights specific commitments and duties of the government and stakeholders, identifies the priority interventions for the short- and medium-term, out five years, lays out the institutional responsibilities, and establishes a mechanism for coordination, monitoring and reporting. These are issues which we shall further elaborate upon in our national statement during the open debate tomorrow. You are all welcome here this evening to share your experiences as well as the views of the way forward for the way of the UN membership, as well as the United Nation system, and I hope to see you all in the Security Council chambers tomorrow.

**Morten Wetland:**

Thank you Deputy Prime Minister. The next speaker is the Minister of Defence of Norway, Ms. Grete Faremo, here who has come to New York for the council meeting tomorrow.

Ms. Faremo is also a lawyer by training. She has a comprehensive background as a business executive covering finance and information technology. But she's here now into her fourth ministry as a cabinet member. She has been Minister of Development Cooperation. She has served as Minister of Justice and she has served as Minister of Oil and Energy of Norway, and is now back here in charge of our operations in several countries which are represented here today. I have the honor to give you the floor.

**Grete Faremo:**

Thank you, and Mr. Deputy Prime Minister Kategaya, President of the Security Council, ministers, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I am overwhelmed to see such a full house of decision makers, experts and advocates come together for this very important cause.

Security Council Resolution 1325 is a milestone, not only in our struggle for gender equality, human rights and the empowerment of women, but for political legitimacy, social stability and economic efficiency for society at large. This is Norway's experience, and our conviction.

Norway and the Nordic countries would not be as prosperous nor as stable as we are today without the full participation of women. Experience proved that gender equality and full participation of women is a precondition for growth, development and peace. And those countries who neglect that need pay for it by slowing down on their paths to progress. Societies that fail to tap the full talent of 50 percent of their population are less likely to achieve political legitimacy, social cohesion, and economic growth – the essential building blocks of peace.

I am particularly proud to co-host this event with Deputy Prime Minister Kategaya of Uganda who tomorrow will preside over the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary ministerial meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, your leadership, and that of Uganda, is needed and appreciated. It is important for sustainable peace. Because we still have a long way to go before the letter and the spirit of Resolution 1325 and its follow-up resolutions on women, peace and security are respected and fully implemented. Deeply-rooted impediments conservative and archaic attitudes still leave women at the margins of society, depriving them of human rights to health, to education, to formal ownership of land, inheritance and other economic assets. And as a result, women are made vulnerable, exposed to violence and abuse, denied a voice and access to decision-making processes. This is particularly true for countries in conflict and post-conflict situations. In fact, I am convinced that absence and abuse of women contribute to the level of tension and conflict in any society. We, therefore, need to do better immediately.

On protection, we would hold peace accords to a higher standard. To ensure that a peace deal will truly bring peace for all, and not allow sexual violence to thrive on the impunity that is created through a lack of domestic prosecution and internal indifference.

On participation, we can no longer accept that women are left at the margins of economic, social and political life. This goes for all countries around the world, but it also is a challenge for the United Nations itself. Women focus on issues that men often overlook. Time and again, women play critical roles in the transition from war to peaceful development by focusing on healing the schisms on health services, education, water, grievances, ethnic tensions or the flawed institutions that produced the violence in the first place. We, therefore, can no longer accept that only three percent of the U.N. peacekeeping soldiers and only seven percent of U.N. police are women. Nor can we accept that only five percent of participants in peace processes are women.

Ladies and gentlemen, for these reasons we are here to commemorate, if not to celebrate, the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Resolution 1325. However, we do have a reason to celebrate this evening; the establishment of U.N. Women and the appointment of Undersecretary General Michelle Bachelet as its executive director, congratulations. And I trust that you will take an active role in monitoring and supporting member states and the U.N. system to ensure accelerated implementation of all the resolutions on women, peace and security. I will present Norway's specific commitments to this agenda at the Security Council tomorrow.

This evening, I will only reiterate that we welcome Mrs. Bachelet's immediate leadership on this issue, including the new strategic partnership with the Department of Political Affairs to increase women's participation in peace processes and improve the gender balance at all levels of mediation. And I'm proud to announce that my government will provide the funding of U.N. Women for this project in 2011, one million U.S. dollars. And we look forward to working closely with you at the helm of the U.N.'s efforts to ensure all women of the world the power and position they deserve for the sake of society as a whole. Thank you.

**Morten Wetland:**

That is quite a responsibility which has been put in the hands of our next speaker who is Executive Director, Michelle Bachelet. We all know her, and we all

welcomed her recent appointment and we will do our utmost to help you and support you in that job. And, of course, we know that Michelle Bachelet was the first ever elected woman president of Chile over the past – since 2006 through to this year, and she is a surgeon doctor by training and has spent time in the health sector of her country, and has held ministerial postings. She was also a Minister of Defense, and you've seen the hard work part of that, so I'm pleased to give you the floor.

**Michelle Bachelet:** Thank you very much. Mr. President of the IPI institute, your excellencies, and ministers, Ms. Disney, friends, ladies and gentlemen.

First of all, I have to say that we believe that all who are in this room have no possible doubts on the relevance of strengthening women's presence on and their positive contribution on peacebuilding and peacekeeping processes as also as key elements on the development of the countries and the societies. And the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is an opportunity to evaluate achievements, but also define how we pass from policy development to further implementations. And I think that there has been a lot of achievement but also much has to be done.

And I am proud to share this panel with representatives and excellencies from Norway and Uganda, two countries that have been so committed to gender equality and women empowerment. Norway's consistent support to U.N. Women's peace building work has proved catalytic in many contexts and the new mediation strategy will allow U.N. Women to take on the role of support for women at the peace table in a much more coherent and consistent manner, because still, it's not enough, what is there, and we need to produce more capacity so more women will be sitting at the table being mediators negotiating the peace terms.

Uganda was among the first countries to adopt a national action plan to address women and peace and security. The Uganda action plan for implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 together with a Goma Declaration defines a systematic framework for national actions and monitoring systems to assess progress and impact of interventions at all levels. Uganda's experience in developing and implementing the national action plan will be available to other countries that are yet to develop such plans. And on the eve of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary Security Council open debate on 1325, this event, as I already mentioned, offers the occasion to reiterate key points about the forward agenda on 1325. And if I could really summarize it, but I'll go into a little bit more detail, I would say we need much more leadership and accountability on the 1325 agenda. And I will mention some specific issues.

First, we need to improve monitoring and accountability via use of the U.N. – United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 indicators. The indicators can be adapted for regional- and country-specific situations to help, for instance, guide and track implementation of national action plans for women, peace and security and have already proven useful in the design of recently adopted plans.

Second point I want to make is planning and implementation coherence with support from U.N. Women. The creation for U.N. entity for gender equality and empowerment of women – the so-called U.N. Women – shows that the United Nation's system is committed to a considerable strengthening of its coherence and coordination when it comes to gender streaming. And nowhere is this more important than in its women, peace and security work. Membership support for U.N. Women is critical at this juncture to enable it to build capacity to be the

system guide on women, peace and security. Membership support is also needed for innovative and gap-filling programs on the ground in conflict-affected countries.

And the third point I want to raise is standard requirements to address women's participation and needs. Women's participation and inclusion of gender expertise must be standard practice in all aspect of peace making, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. UNIFEM co-hosted 27 open days this summer, together with DPKO with DPA and UNDP, and, in each context, women requested that the open-day format become a routine rather than remain as a one-off event. So it shouldn't be only an activity for, you know, commemorating the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary. It should be the way we have work in the future, and I completely agree on that.

Mediators should establish routine consultations with women civil society groups as a matter of standard practice, regardless of whether women are present on negotiating delegations, even though we would like the women will be always present at negotiating delegations. Norway's general support for the gender on mediation strategy, as the minister just mentioned, will definitely further enable U.N. Women to play the catalytical role of being the bridge between the women movement on the ground and formal political process. Thank you very much.

**Morten Wetland:** Thank you. Now, I believe it's very important how we communicate about these issues, and we currently have to work on our outreach and public relations work to gain and solidify support for these issues. I believe the Disney family has some experience in telling a story in an effective way. Abigail Disney here is a filmmaker and a philanthropist and scholar, and I would say maybe activist, and she is going to show us a trailer tonight – a trailer – an excerpt from a documentary entitled, "Women, War and Peace." Is that it?

**Abigail Disney:** Yes.

**Morten Wetland:** And she's been effectively making films about these issues in the past as well and I will take the title of your award-winning 2008 film I think was, "Pray the Devil Back to Hell." Is that right? Maybe you would say a couple of words about your film?

**Abigail Disney:** Sure. Of course. I'm thrilled to be on a panel for which I am so supremely unqualified, and I want to thank, particularly, President Bachelet for her words. I think only a surgeon could take on the job that she is doing right now.

1325 is a subject very close to my heart, and I've been interested for decades, really, in the subject of women and war. I started thinking about this issue 20 years ago, actually more than that, while I was writing a dissertation on literature, believe it or not, but I wrote a dissertation on the American war novel. And I was fascinated in that subject because it was a landscape that was completely devoid of women. It was a very interesting thing to me to find a landscape that was completely absent of women.

And so I read and pursued and came to know a lot about the way we understand war. And the more I understood about our literature and our popular culture – the way we think about war in this country -- I came to understand that we had come to mistake our depictions of war for war itself. And that logic didn't necessarily support the idea that women were totally absent from the landscape. In fact, our language always had women embedded in the landscape in a kind of coded way. If Attila the Hun could rape and pillage his way through northern Europe, there had to be women present. If we fought house-to-house in World

War II, women had to have left those houses. Where were they? What happened to them? And it really crystallized for me not long ago when I was reading a book by Cynthia Enloe and I found a letter from a British soldier back to his family in 1938. They're setting up the camp in Libya in the desert in the middle of nowhere miles from anything and he writes home to his family in a kind of humorous tone and he says wow, we've set everything up so quickly and so efficiently and the latrines are built and the mess tent is built and the line at the brothel is six-men deep because there are only four women in it. So where did those women come from? Are they there because they want to be there? Do they get to leave when they want to leave? How old are they? What happens when they get sick? There is a story implicit and embedded and encoded in every war of women that we have never taken the time to surface.

And many years later in 2006, I found myself in Liberia, and I heard a story that really took me really by the throat and it was precisely the story I had imagined. Women had become sick and tired of their position, what had happened to their families and to their culture in the war, and they really took action and that is the story of "Pray the Devil Back to Hell."

I want to point out, first of all, that the director of "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" is here, Gini Reticker – the enormously talented Gini Reticker.

So not long after we completed that film we came together with Pam Hogan who's our other partner, who's also here, who spent many, many years making beautiful public television, and we came to the decision that "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" was just one story of many stories. And that there was this enormous power in making visible a truth that had for one reason or another – benign neglect, malign activism, I'm not really sure, probably a combination of these things – but forces that had conspired in one way or another to keep women's voices out of the process, to continue to make us think of them as objects and not subjects when it came to conflict. And we decided, almost simultaneously with the release of "Pray the Devil Back to Hell", to put together this series.

So for almost two and a half years, we've been doing research, we've been raising money and we've been putting together all of the resources we needed – an incredible team at WNET – to put together really the first, most comprehensive look of women and war and peace around the world. It is important to say -- and this is a lesson I learned from "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" -- the story had value and traveled incredibly far and wide and it's shown in 35 countries and it's been translated into many languages, and it's inspired movements in other places. And the reason it did that was because no dreaded U.N. acronyms, no numbers, no jargon, no meetings -- these are stories of human beings. These are stories of people's lives. And from the poorest woman and most unlettered woman in the middle of nowhere in Darfur all the way up to foreign ministers, the response to that story is almost the same. And that is something that I learned from my family that I took into this process. Stories are universal. They speak to people's hearts, and if you can change their hearts, then you can really change the world. And for me, that was all summed up in Davos when we showed the film there, and Prince Haquin of Norway said to me I've always understood that 1325 was important. I always understood that it was valuable. I always understood that it would matter a lot for people but I couldn't really picture it until now.

So this series of films will have no acronyms. It will have no jargon. It will have no meetings. It will be about people. It will be about what women know and when they know it. How much more they know than we give them credit for

knowing. How much more subjects they always are than objects and, yes, there is the important story of how they are victimized, how they are strategized about and around but beyond that that incredibly important piece about how they always act and they always organize on behalf of the whole civilization to bring their countries back to peace, to restore communities and to rebuild in the aftermath of conflict.

So what you're going to see now is literally fresh out of the computer. I mean literally just a few hours old. We just finished it. We haven't gotten all the rights to all the archival films, so you'll see those little numbers going by in the bottom of the screen, that's called time code. That means that this film really hasn't – we don't really have permission to show you, but that'll be our little secret, and so there's a little – there will be a little bit of roughness to it. You are its first audience ever and I am thrilled to be able to show this to you.

[Film trailer playing]

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** We will now have a discussion period, questions, opinions for 20 minutes.

**Fedra Fateh:** Hello. My name is Fedra Fateh. Has there been any consideration to having quotas, to actually require a certain percentage of, say, female representation at various levels, whether it means the negotiating parties, for example, in Afghanistan. The fact that the United States, for example, is funding so much of the activities there, you would think that the United States would have the leverage to actually mandate that a certain number of women are present in any government negotiations regarding peace. Is that something that the parties would consider supporting? Thank you.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** The next will be her Excellency Melanne Vermeer Ambassador-at-large for Global Women Issues U.S. Department of State.

**Melanne Vermeer:** Well, let me just respond to what you said for starters. And that is quotas have been implemented for parliament and the provincial councils not for the peace process, but there has been a real effort over many, many months to ensure considerable representation in the peace jirga and in other forms as they go forward. Unfortunately, with the high peace council that's just been named, only about ten percent of the participants are going to be females. So it is an ongoing problem. And what I would just say tonight is that I couldn't help listen to those voices and not appreciate what powerful change agents they are. And I think, too often, and this has partially been the deferred promise of 1325. We look at women only as victims, and we can't imagine them doing the kind of peacebuilding and peace negotiating and reconstruction that they are fully capable of doing. And I will say that one night in Afghanistan, and Gini was with me for many days there, and you will see as this comes forward, as you saw tonight, the power of the women. And one woman said, "Please do not look at us as victims. Look at us as the leaders that we are." And I think that's the prism we need to look through 1325. So that it is no longer a promise deferred. That our world does benefit for what women represent and that any potential for peace will only happen and be realized if women's voices are heard.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** Thank you.

**Fedra Fateh:** Picking up President Bachelet's point about accountability if the countries that fund peacekeeping processes don't have the leverage to mandate quotas ten years from now we're going to be sitting here and saying oh, you know, now there's an incremental three percent of women participation. For the women who



are here representing high positions of government, they know how hard it was for them to get there, and so clearly if there is a will, it's not unachievable. And the same way in the business community when a business makes a quota and a target money has the most leverage and that's what men are responsive to. So if the women and the governments that are really committed to making this happen make a commitment for quotas and link funding -- each time Norway or the EU countries, the United States is funding governments they should have the ability to require mandates.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** So I think we'll now open the discussion to other participants. I think it would be right to raise three questions or issues and then the panel can participate.

**Sorosh Roshan:** Thank you. My name is Sorosh Roshan, I'm a medical doctor. I congratulate all of us to having met Madam Bachelet after so many years, we were looking forward to have a woman at high position at the United Nations, so all focus is on you, all our hopes are on you.

Being an obstetrician/gynecologist I have been really troubled for the last 40 years that MDG 5 -- maternal health -- has been neglected. So I hope you will take that up and will we see some improvement. The question which I have in relation to the topic of tonight is do we consider a special care for sick women, pregnant women, newly delivered women, postpartum women. I also had the privilege of being in Bosnia and listening to the stories of women and I congratulate you on your film and I hope you will do more. And the other part of this question is about women in Islamic countries, not equally treated in all Islamic countries, but in many, the basic human rights of women have been taken away. And, Madam Bachelet we need you to pay attention to those women and once more MDG 5. We are waiting. Thank you.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** We shall have two additional issues to be raised before the panel responds.

**Pim Valdre:** Thank you. Pim Valdre from International Peace Institute and thank you to the panel for great presentations. My question goes to President Bachelet. We heard a lot here about women being kind of excluded from peace processes and part of that problem is that we have a very low level of female civilian and military officers and staff within specifically peacekeeping operations at the U.N. peace building missions and so forth. What kind of strategy do you think we need to move forward with troop-contributing countries, with police-contributing countries and how do you see that evolve?

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** Well, I think you could answer those three.

**Michelle Bachelet:** Of course, I completely agree that it's frankly unacceptable that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century when we know exactly what we have to do in order to avoid or prevent maternal death. We see how the rates of maternal death in many parts of the world and when everybody asks me which are your priorities I always say to have urgent priorities are all short-term because of their urgency and their relevance, and, of course, middle- and long-term priorities.

And one of my -- I have two very urgent priorities -- one is violence, and, of course, I talking about sexual violence in conflict countries but also domestic violence, not only in the developing countries also in developed countries.

And second, of course, is health -- maternal health -- women's health, not only maternal. You mention a lot of different situations that will be a priority. It has

been during the General Assembly, there was a special summit on women's health and children's health, and I think we need to do much more.

And when I was present, the republic, with Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg from Norway... we not only were in the leaders network for MDGs 4 and 5 and maternal and infant mortality but also we launched it in Latin America, and we were with the countries in the region – in the South America – were with most difficulties, that was Bolivia, Paraguay and Ecuador and we were finding which were the obstacles to improve their indicators, and what we could do about it. So what I mean to say, we know exactly what has to be done. We're not facing anonymous or unknown disease. We know exactly what's got to be done. Usually the question is the financing, but I believe that in these issues, like in any other issue, the central point is political will. Because you set your priorities when you are convinced that something is relevant as important. So political will will try to engage most of the states in having a huge political will and some findings you can prioritize in your own government agenda. The central issues – we will be working a lot on producing advocacy towards all women's issues but, of course, health and, of course, the MDG 5.

On the other hand, we will work, respecting, of course, different cultures, different religion, as far as we all work together in order to assure that women's rights are taken into consideration, are a guarantee. And we'll work together also with women's organizations, with civil society and, of course, with member states, to get to, I would say, have the best progress that we can in all this issue. We know that there are some very sensitive issues, but we will try to work with the best intentions, because I understand that at the end we all want better societies. Women and men developing in better conditions, and we'll find the ways to produce a good outcome for women throughout the world.

And you ask about – well you didn't ask – but you make a comment that I'm not sure if it's true. I'm not sure that we don't have enough capable women that can be part of different levels. On the contrary, I have met many wonderful women from all over the world who have the capabilities of being a negotiator, a mediator, or be part of – can be troops, can be police – part of police forces. But, of course, I believe that sometimes women are invisible and we need to visibilize them. We need to give them the opportunities because we have great leaders, as some of you have mentioned, at the local level, in the regional level or international arena. But usually they do not have the opportunities to be sitting on the table, to be part of the mediators, so that's why we believe we have... but you ask what strategies.

First, be visible, and we're going to work – and we know we support – we're going to work on having, if I may say, very practical issues from a list of women capable of doing different things. But also, because I have met many excellent people, but usually they're not called... they're not included in this set of peaceable persons to do these kinds of jobs. I mean, Secretary-General has done a lot. He has put a lot of women as special envoys, for example, in many conflict countries, and many conflict situations, but we need to go into, I would say, middle levels. We need to have more women in police forces. We need to have more women as soldiers and in the country level but we need also to put sort of quotas so that peacekeeping missions will include much more women in it.

But we also need to strengthen the national capacities with women inside the institutions, and, again, political will is the central part. Many women will want to go into the police forces, into the armed forces if they are given the opportunities

but the thing is not only quantity but also quality and leadership, because we don't want women doing the same that they could do anywhere. You know, women that can be in the future commander and chief that can be generals, that can be really... they can make decisions not only to show that we have women there, you know, we need to have them in very important and central positions. So we are going to work on that, educating, giving training opportunities.

We will also work on developing capacities on the field within women who are part of the legal system, judges and so on because one of the problems is not only that women are excluded from those positions, but also, when they're excluded, many places women's issues are not raised. So, for example, in many places where you have had terrible conflict and post-conflict peace talks and negotiations, there is impunity for the perpetrators, for example, so we need women to have... to give them access to justice and that impunity must have an end. Otherwise, how you really produce the reconciliation, how you really produce the change that we need in those countries after conflict.

So there's a lot of things that we'll be working on in order to assure a bigger, I would say, women's presence in the different stages. Some will be easier. Some not that easy; it will take long, and we'll work on that definitely. Thank you.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** Thank you. Yes, Ambassador, Apakan. Ambassador of Turkey.

**Ertuğrul Apakan:** Well, I'm thankful to those who organized this meeting. I came a little bit late, but I want to share with you one of the ideas which had floated in Alpbach, the Austrian retreat, last August for the members of the Secretary Council and, personally, I found this – the one which I am going to describe – the idea – interesting and I wish to promote it here. Maybe we could have a kind of MDG's for women – MDG's – a separate MDG's for women. I mean, some indicators with a long-term perspective in order to cover developed and developing countries, both of them. And some indicators for the promotion of women in social, economic life. I think these MDGs, the current ones, which we have reviewed, are useful for many countries to go through them and to look at their national targets and objectives. A similar understanding – a similar perspective for women would be helpful. That's my idea. That's my thinking, and I wish to share with Madam Bachelet this idea, and I wish you every sincere feelings of success is your new job. Thank you.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** Thank you Ambassador Apakan. Now, I give the floor to Ambassador Abigail Disney.

**Abigail Disney:** I just got a promotion. Thank you.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** An ambassador of peace.

**Abigail Disney:** Yes. Thank you. I just wanted to refer back to what President Bachelet just said – do I call you President Bachelet, or Her Highness? – about the invisibility of women. When we made "Pray the Devil Back to Hell," one of the single most challenging things about it was finding footage of the women doing this remarkable work of protesting for peace. What we had no difficulty finding was footage of men shooting at each other, which is why this question of the aesthetics of war, the mythology of war, this kind of beautification of it is an incredibly important thing, and what comes as the flip side of that coin is the invisibility of women, the tendency to look through them, to not see somebody authoritative, because they don't look like, they don't sound like authority. And this is the heart and soul of why we're doing what we're doing, which is making

women visible to each other, first of all, to themselves, and also to men, to leaders, to the media and to people around the world.

Which leads me to this very important point we need to make this case to people in the mainstream public, because they're just as likely to look through women and not see their authority as anyone else. And so if any of your television broadcasting systems are interested in working with us to get these on the air in your countries, please come and let me know because this is the heart and soul of what we're doing. It's a global project. We want to make a global case for the importance of women to all of the constituents who make decisions about defense policy, not just the people at the top.

And I also just wanted to – we'll be finished in the spring, by the way, just to give you a sense of the project – but I also wanted to add something that I'm terribly upset that I left out at the beginning, which was that Norway was one of our earliest supporters of this project. And I just want to say a special thank you to the Foreign Ministry of Norway. As a film maker, getting early support is incredibly critical because you have nothing to show. You just have ideas. It's really difficult to convey what it is that you're trying to do, so it takes a person or a group of people with a special kind of vision to step up for you in those early days, and the Foreign Ministry of Norway understood the critical nature of this project from the beginning, and I just wanted to extend my gratitude.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** Thank you. Yes. You can mention your name, and you may mention your department, where you come from so that also get to know each other.

**Paloma Munoz:** OK. My name is Paloma Munoz. I am from Chile, but I work at the Danish Institute for Human Rights, I touch on the issue of women, especially in Latin America. And I just have a question for President Bachelet about how you view, or viewed, at least, either personally or, as, I guess, a political actor in Chile, the role of women during the transition in the country, not only after but perhaps, before – leading up to the yes/no vote that essentially brought down the dictator. So what role did women have at that time, perhaps, and did you learn anything, is there something that you take from that experience that you can apply now to your job? Thank you.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** You'll get a straight-forward answer now.

**Michelle Bachelet:** Well, thank you, Paloma. I think that – we saw in the trailer that was shown to us – and as in many places of the world and experience that many people have women in Chile, as in the rest of the world, were very instrumental in the human rights struggle during the dictatorship. I mean, they were every day on the streets, even though they were in imprisoned, they were tortured, but they were everyday there, if some of them died or were imprisoned, others came. And they were in moments where there is a lot of fear, these women were really committed.

On the human rights struggle, on the other hand, working for peace and on the other hand also denouncing a violent situation, violations of human rights, on the other hand, organizing, struggling to find out where its family whereabouts, you know, the disappeared ones, where they were. And it was like this, you know, like this – it not only had a concrete action, that it could have good outcomes but also was like symbolically so important, you know, when many people didn't dare to speak out loud – to say anything about it.

And on the other hand, women at the shanty towns, at the neighborhoods were organizing – how you call this, I mean they were making food for the children, for the elderly, cooking together, everybody brought something and produced a meal for a big – so they were doing a lot of innovative things, you know, to respond to a very critical, political, economical and social situation.

But on the other hand, Latin American women still are working very strong in trying to improve women's conditions, and there was this ECLAT meeting with civil society and, of course, all the countries of Latin America and Caribbean states, and there was one very important discussion was what state do we need for what kind of equality? Because when we're talking about gender equality, what are we talking about and what sort of state do we need? Do we need a state that's neutral, or do we need a supportive, really, I would say, committed state? Of course the answer was, we need a committed state, and we need a committed state because this state cannot be neutral on women's empowerment and women's rights and equal opportunities.

And, in that sense, I will try to share with you something that is very relevant and it was thought as a very important conclusion is that in Latin America, at least, of course there's much to be done in order to fulfill all the equal rights for women and all the equal opportunities, but there is one essential issue and that is linked to what I mentioned at the beginning and some others is that how important are women as an agent of change and as economic actor, and as key of development. And one of the conclusions was that in order to really achieve equality, we needed to work much harder on women's economic autonomy, because that would give them the possibility – the real possibility – of having equal rights – not to be dependent, economically. And that meant that we have to make a big effort on discussing one essential issue. It is the economy of care but as soon as women in Latin America and many other parts of the world are continuing having on their shoulders the responsibility of the ill people at home, of the elderly, of the children, and so on, and we don't find solutions in the society that will facilitate the women's task, it will be very difficult to have real equal opportunities.

I am not talking only Latin America. I can imagine in developed countries the same happens. So we need to try to think – we need to take care of very essential and basic issues, like the one we are discussing today related to 1325 how we fight against sexual violence, how we protect women and children from war or from crimes, but on the other hand, we also need to think how we really are able to give women equal opportunities if we don't change some structural factors in the society that will not permit – there will be obstacle to its development.

Of course, every country has a different situation, and some countries need to respond to much more basic issues, and it's not their issues today, but in some others, this is the kind of discussions that have been today on the table, because if, for example, in Latin America, there was a huge agreement that this kind of issue should be taken into consideration.

**Ruhakana Ruganda:** Well, there have been no other issues to be raised from the members, I would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the panelists for the excellent presentation that we have made and the response to the questions that have been given.

Let me also thank Abigail for the film "Women, Peace and Security" – I thought that was a very, very good film, because it depicts women, yes, as victims, but

also as peacemakers, as leaders, as catalysts for peace, which I thought was a very, very important point.

The issues of high maternal morbidity and mortality and a lot of high figures for prenatal deaths were highlighted, and I think Madam Bachelet has illustrated very well that we know the problems, we have the solutions to bring all these indices down, but we need political commitment. All of us should become activists to ensure that we bring everybody on board, especially the policy makers and, of course, this will then bring money in order to advance the cause.

Let me also say that this discussion is very fitting, since tomorrow the Security Council will be discussing 1325 and commemorating the ten years of 1325. I agree with the comments made that we should not close the chapter and say, "ah, we have arrived, ten years" but it's just really beginning in many ways. We do stocktaking of what has happened in the ten years, learn from the positive signs and lessons, and also strategize for the future to make sure that we advance the regional objectives and aim of 1325.

Let me also thank Norway for their generosity, the traditional generosity of Norway. You have seen one million dollars on the table to support the cause of women, which is very, very, very, very welcome.

Finally, I want to thank IPI for providing this excellent environment and, of course, thank all of you for coming in the big numbers to participate in this discussion. The meeting is adjourned.