**"h**d Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

Mediation for peace

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### Annual Report 2012

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#### The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

(the HD Centre) is an independent, private diplomacy organisation founded on the principles of humanity, impartiality, independence and discretion. Its mission is to help prevent, mitigate and resolve armed conflict through dialogue and mediation.



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### About the HD Centre



# Message from the Chairman of the Board

Jean-Marie Guéhenno

#### It was an extraordinary year.

The Philippines peace process saw a spectacular breakthrough. The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro was signed at Manila's Malacañang Palace on 15 October 2012. The agreement brings with it the hope that forty years of bloodshed, and upwards of 100,000 dead, is coming to an end.

As co-ordinator of the eight-member International Contact Group, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue has been proud to have supported the parties — the Government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front — as well as the Malaysian facilitator. The Philippines country programme is the HD Centre's largest, and has been stretched by the surge of work in the run-up to the agreement, and in the follow-up.

In Somalia, we played a niche role facilitating the implementation plan for the Road map that saw the passage of a new constitution and the emergence of Somalia's first full government in over twenty years.

In Kenya, the HD Centre focused on efforts to prevent violence in the run-up to the 2013 elections. We worked with the National Cohesion and Integration Commission on an Accord between Agikuyu and Kalenjin Elders in the Rift Valley. In Libya, our work was divided into two phases. Prior to the elections, we worked with Libyan civil society to help identify and address key issues, from transitional justice to the constitution. After the elections, we worked with Libyan Elders to build up mediation capacities in a context in which civil society had been suppressed for forty years, and in which manageable problems can easily become less so.

As ever, much of the HD Centre's work had to be conducted discreetly. Two of the confidential projects in Africa produced agreements, both of which have been implemented. Our role will have to be airbrushed out, as it often must be, but we should not regret that — it is a part of the work we do. Progress was made in the back room, too. The HD Centre's finances are healthy. There is a delicate balance to be struck with the HD Centre's financial and other systems. Our success relies on our willingness to take some calculated risks, to be fast and flexible, and to work quietly. At the same time, we need to use our funds accountably, manage our people properly, and protect them in dangerous places. We owe constant thanks to our donors whose support allows us to be what we are.

Finally, on a personal note, it is a pleasure to be back as Chairman of the Board. It is one of the most interesting, and most delicate, positions in the world of peacemaking. And it is a privilege to serve.

About the HD Centre

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# What is the HD Centre?

Mediation and dialogue in the service of peace – this is the mission of the HD Centre. Driven by a humanitarian desire to stop the suffering caused by violence and war, the HD Centre opens channels of communication and facilitates dialogue between conflict parties, seeks to expand the space for the non-violent resolution of armed conflict, and provides support to the broader mediation and peacebuilding community.

#### Founded on independence and impartiality

The HD Centre was founded in 1999 with a strong sense of its independence and impartiality. The discretion required to gain and hold the trust of its primary clients - parties in conflict - is another core principle of its work. The HD Centre has grown considerably in the last decade, and learned from its own experience. Its programmes now cover a broad spectrum of conflict resolution assistance, as it strives to engage in ways appropriate to the requirements of each context. The HD Centre's independence and impartiality are rooted in its identity as a private actor and supported by funding from a number of different governments and foundations. Without political constraints, it seeks to engage in the best interests of a just and lasting peace. At the request of the conflict parties involved, some of its interventions are confidential: however, as a matter of both principle and good practice, the HD Centre works to deepen its impact through growing engagement with local and international partner organisations.

#### Working as a trusted third party

The HD Centre's early work focused on private diplomacy between opposing groups. It involved the opening of channels to, or between, parties in conflict and mediating high level political negotiations such as in Aceh, Indonesia. Mediation remains a core activity for the HD Centre, either undertaken singly or with others – as in the Philippines, for example. However, the nature of global conflicts has changed in the years since the HD Centre started and the organisation has adapted accordingly. It facilitates broader dialogue in support of peace efforts, whether helping to prevent election-related violence in Liberia in 2011, supporting the creation of platforms for inclusive dialogue in Libya, or engaging in dialogue specifically directed towards humanitarian issues in Darfur and elsewhere.

Several features characterise the distinct niche in international peacemaking filled by the HD Centre. Trusted for its discretion, the HD Centre has a low-profile approach that means it can sometimes open up channels for communication and dialogue in situations where it might be politically impossible for official actors to become involved. Its unofficial status offers conflict parties some measure of 'deniability', as well as the reassurance that it has no hidden agenda. The HD Centre also brings with it the advantages of an experienced, entrepreneurial and well-connected team. The HD Centre can react quickly and flexibly to conflict and looming crisis;

it is not afraid to take risks, and tries to find innovative ways to achieve peace. It has access to decision-makers, influential players and conflict parties around the world and draws on a network of former senior diplomats, representative

senior diplomats, representatives of civil society and experts in mediation and justice to provide support to local and nationally-owned processes. It encourages gender responsive approaches to peacemaking by promoting the participation of women in peace processes and agreements that address the different needs of men and women.

The HD Centre has strong working relations with others in the mediation and peacebuilding community - the United Nations, regional organisations, governments, as well as local and international civil society organisations. It is always interested in pursuing new approaches to addressing mediation challenges, whether through research or at the annual Oslo Forum mediators' retreat which it co-hosts with the Norwegian Government. This brings together senior mediation practitioners, high-level decision-makers, representatives of conflict parties and others to



The Villa Plantamour, the HD Centre's headquarters

address current issues affecting mediation and encourage the exchange of knowledge, peerlearning and networking.

#### **Grounded in Geneva**

The HD Centre is a Swiss foundation, based in Geneva, but with a fully international focus. Its ethos, therefore, reflects that of the city which surrounds it. Hosting the European headquarters of

the United Nations, Geneva provides a hub for humanitarian actors and peacemakers the world over. The HD Centre's headquarters at the Villa Plantamour, which is generously loaned to the organisation by the City of Geneva – far from the immediate pressures of communities and countries in conflict – provides a tranquil place to gather opposing parties and work together to resolve issues through dialogue.

#### In demand

Mediation and dialogue

in the service of peace –

this is the mission

of the HD Centre.

As a small organisation, the HD Centre is agile and adaptable. It can offer strategic support quickly and quietly as soon as it sees an opportunity to help. As a result of its extensive networks and unique combination of independence, experience, flexibility, impartiality and discretion, the HD Centre's services are in high demand.



## A Conversation with the Honorary President of the HD Centre

Dr Javier Solana

### As a close observer of Middle East politics, what are your thoughts about the progress accomplished in the two years following the Arab Spring?

The revolutions of the Arab Spring were a wave sweeping over very distinct shorelines. Each country's profile was very different to start with, which has led to very distinct transitions with their own peculiarities: Tunisia had a large middle class to start with, while Libya's transition was through war and in Egypt the military stepped in. The wave did not wash significantly over Jordan or Algeria – although the latter is now being affected by the events in Libya and Mali – or the Gulf States, with the exception of Bahrain. In Morocco, reforms served as the dyke that kept the wave at bay. It is important to recall that the transitions of the Arab Spring are distinct from what happened in Eastern Europe after the fall of the wall. While the nascent Eastern European nations had a goal or horizon to work towards – the EU and NATO – the countries of the Arab Spring do not have a similar objective to latch onto, which would give them purpose and momentum.

It is also necessary to realise that transitions and revolutions are long processes, and that some time will surely have to pass before the new contours of each country become clear and neatly outlined.

### What are the biggest challenges facing countries going through those transitions?

One of the challenges those countries face is that government institutions – where they exist – are weak and might be further weakened by the fast pace of political change. So there may be very limited capacity within the countries to resolve conflicts peacefully. Political parties and political processes might not develop as quickly as the uprisings which put them in place, and this might fuel frustrations and result in further conflict – at a national level and between local communities.

In addition, the process of transition in itself, which includes steps such as building a new constitution, can also represent a source of internal conflict and polarization.

### What can be the role of external actors, if any, in supporting those transitions?

Political transitions are, by definition, locallyowned and locally-driven, and each country will consequently take its own path to establishing the rule of law and democracy.

In this context, the role of external actors in those countries might be limited. This may be due to the fact that those revolutions found their source on the streets and also to people's rejection of external interference. In such cases, the role of external actors might be to offer advice or share experiences, for example on constitutional and electoral processes, or perhaps facilitate discussions and build local mediation capacity if needed. In providing this support, international actors might also encourage national partners to put in place inclusive political processes which, as much as possible, take into consideration the interests and visions of all segments of the population. This supporting role can be of enormous benefit to national actors interested in learning from the experiences of others.

### How can organisations like the HD Centre foster an inclusive approach during transitions?

In countries undergoing transitions to democracy, as is the case in Libya, Egypt or Tunisia, nascent political processes don't always include all social currents and discontent and disillusionment are common among the wider public. At the same time, capacity for containing and resolving disagreements and discontent is limited. Tensions might escalate around the constitution or the electoral process because they both have an impact on the future structure of the state and division of power within the state.

But inclusive and consultative political processes are particularly needed at this stage when countries are drafting constitutions and agreeing on the long term principles which will underpin the state and its institutions. More than at any other time, inclusion and dialogue are key during transitional processes.

In its work in the Middle East and North Africa region, the HD Centre has encouraged the principle of inclusive political processes. In Libya, the HD Centre has been working to find ways for Libyan people to contribute to the transition there. It has offered to collaborate with national actors and encouraged people from many towns and cities in the country to discuss national issues such as elections and the constitution, with the principle of national ownership always in mind. It has also paid attention to ensuring women can participate and used the internet to reach out to as many people as possible. The HD Centre is also working to develop inclusive dialogue between political actors in Tunisia as well as among Sunni, Alawite and Christian communities in Syria to ease sectarian tensions between them.

### What do you think the future holds for those countries affected by the uprisings?

The topography was varied to start with, and each country will emerge transformed, in its own way, in the end. The end-state has not yet been reached in these transitions – there is still a great deal of turmoil.

Even Tunisia, which is often presented as an example of a successful transition to democracy, still faces major challenges. The transition in the country, as with Egypt, has been far from smooth.

It is also to be noted that the Muslim Brotherhood is a very different organisation in each of the countries in transition; its relation with the state depends, to a large degree, on its relations with the previous regime. The organisation has also not been able to get a grip on the economic situation in the countries they govern.

Transitions in the Middle East and North Africa also face an extra degree of difficulty in the form of the ongoing and critical struggle between Sunnis and Shiites. This conflict is effectively a struggle for regional dominance. Syria also sketches, on a smaller scale, this larger regional conflict which involves external actors supporting either side.

But Syria is, of course, a case of its own. The popular uprising has now turned into a civil war with no end in sight. Once the conflict comes to an end, Syria, more than any other country which embodied the Arab Spring, will have to face a very challenging transition with an Opposition which is currently fragmented, fears of sectarian tensions, and, as mentioned above, the conflicting influence of regional players.

#### The HD Centre's faces

### Presenting the HD Centre through its staff



#### Where are you based?

I am based in the HD Centre's Geneva office.

#### What is your role at the HD Centre?

I work on the HD Centre's engagement in wider Eurasia [Eurasia refers to the HD Centre's programme of activities in Europe, the Caucasus as well as Western and Central Asia]. I also manage one of our confidential projects.

#### What does this involve on a day-to-day basis?

Most of my time is spent on establishing, managing and maintaining relationships and on exchanging information with, and engaging, the conflict parties. This involves much co-ordination and consultation with advisers, and often meticulous planning when preparing for field visits or meetings between parties. I also manage the financial aspects of my projects and analyse relevant developments and conflict dynamics in the region to engage stakeholders on their needs for developing new projects.

The work differs greatly on a day-to-day basis, and plans often change unexpectedly. This can be frustrating sometimes when factors come into play that we simply cannot influence or when there does not seem to be nearly enough hours in the day to keep up. Yet, contributing even in little ways can be very rewarding.

### What is your previous experience in peacemaking?

Before joining the Eurasia team, I was responsible for facilitating the sharing of experiences and lessons learnt among senior mediators and peacemakers from all walks of life. Before turning to mediation to prevent or resolve conflicts, I worked on countries transitioning from war to peace with a special focus on the South Caucasus, especially Georgia.

### What inspired you to join the HD Centre?

Violent conflict is a major factor that prevents people from developing their full potential. How such conflicts are ended plays an important role in whether the transition to peace will succeed and whether the opportunity to redefine how people live together afterwards is seized.

There is something refreshing about working for an independent organisation that carved its niche in a diplomatic area that used to be the prerogative of state actors. We have the luxury of engaging with conflict parties without the constraints of wider policy imperatives. As an independent organisation, we can evaluate a situation without introducing an additional political agenda that would complicate an already complex mix of interests to allow the parties to find a solution for themselves.

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### Three key **2012 dates** at the HD Centre

#### Three key 2012 dates at the HD Centre

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### 18-19 June 2012 The Oslo Forum sets a new standard

Aung San Suu Kyi, Myanmar's democracy icon, inspired the 2012 Oslo Forum audience with her vision of peace for her country. Having collected her 1991 Nobel Peace Prize just prior to the Forum, the opposition leader declared that genuine democratic transformation and peace in Myanmar demanded constructive engagement with the Government. Suu Kyi's opening intervention provided the ideal seque into the rest of the event, which revolved around the theme of 'Negotiating through Transition'.

> U2 lead singer Bono stressed the value of cultivating channels of dialogue; he recalled his own experience of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, during which a visionary Bill Clinton had chosen the path of inclusion by allowing IRA leaders to visit the United States despite their isolation elsewhere. Drawing parallels with other famous peacemakers, Bono praised Aung San Suu Kyi's openness to negotiating with her former captors - 'without an FW de Klerk', he reminded the audience, 'there couldn't have been a Mandela'. Keeping to that theme, the Oslo Forum presented Suu Kyi with a first opportunity to meet with U Soe Thane, Myanmar's Minister of Industry and one of the government's key reformists.

The absorbing high-level opening set the scene for what was widely considered the most successful Forum to date. Aung San Suu Kyi was the latest of several Nobel Laureates to have attended the prestigious event, which is co-hosted each year by the HD Centre and the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The attendance of the abovementioned luminaries, as well as more than one hundred other high-level international mediators and peace process actors, generated significant media interest.

In many of the discussions at the event, attendees debated transition processes underway across several countries, sharing experiences and drawing relevant lessons for their own mediation work. A discussion of the political changes underway in Libya, Egypt and Tunisia highlighted the limited role of outside mediation in these transitions, all of which were locally driven. However,

participants did identify potential opportunities for mediators to support the development of new state structures and dialogue mechanisms in these countries. A subsequent debate compared dialogue efforts in Yemen with those in Syria, although significant dissimilarities between the two contexts meant that the approach to mediation in support of Yemen's transition was not

Aung San Suu Kyi,

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easily transferable to Syria. The agenda also featured updates from Syrian, Filipino and Burmese speakers on peace efforts in their countries.

As well as providing opportunities for an exchange of experiences and expertise, the Oslo Forum also allowed attendees to take practical steps to advance their own

peace processes. For example, the retreat facilitated dialogue between the Myanmar Government and the opposition, and helped rejuvenate another peace process by enabling those involved in formal mediation to continue their discussions discreetly.



Myanmar Industry Minister, U Soe Thane (left), and historian and author, Thant Myint-U (right).



From left to right -Torgeir Larsen, Teresita Quintos Deles, Louise Arbour and David Harland.

As part of their ongoing efforts to increase the involvement of women in peacemaking and in the Oslo Forum, the organisers aim to ensure that at least a third of the participants are women. In the past, the Oslo Forum agenda has featured dedicated discussions on the role of women in

> international peacemaking and, in 2012, a meeting was arranged for Afghan women participants to share experiences of peacemaking in their country with international peacemakers with gender expertise.

> The 2012 retreat was particularly well received and feedback from attendees was overwhelmingly positive.

Having started in 2003, the forthcoming year also marks the Forum's tenth anniversary. The memorable highlights of 2012 have served to raise the standard of this important global event as it enters its second decade in 2013.



Bono, Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre and Aung San Suu Kyi during the opening panel discussion.

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### **19 August 2012** Making peace in Kenya

In August 2012, a broad-based peace agreement was signed in Nakuru County in Kenya, the epicentre of post-election violence in 2007-2008. The agreement was the result of a long process, started by the Kenyan National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) in collaboration with the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution, to draw together the divided communities of Nakuru County within the Rift Valley and deal with some of the tensions which had led to the eruption of violence between them after the 2007 Presidential Elections.

> In the wake of this violence, the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Agreements negotiated by Kofi Annan in 2008 had provided a framework for power-sharing between the incumbent President and the leader of the Opposition. However, while these national agreements calmed the violence and stabilised the country, they could not hope to deal with all the local tensions which had intensified the violence in areas like the Rift Valley, and Nakuru County was considered a hotspot in this region.

Set up to promote peace between different groups in Kenya, the NCIC decided to focus on Nakuru County and the influential leaders of its two main groups; the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin. The aim was to start a local peace initiative between Elders from these groups who could foster peaceful relations between their communities with the hope that this would provide an example for co-operation between groups in other parts of Kenya too. As the NCIC hoped the project would ultimately have a national impact, the Commission wanted to ensure the initiative was clearly linked to the 2008 national KNDR process from the early stages.

Having supported Kofi Annan during the mediation of the KNDR Agreements, the HD Centre could offer both experience and expertise to the NCIC's initiative and the organisation was invited to a meeting of Agikuyu and Kalenjin Elders in order to explain how it could help. The HD Centre was welcomed into the process and subsequently provided technical expertise in the development of the peace agreement document and the implementation plan. The HD Centre also provided a unique link between the Elders' local peace process and the national KNDR Agreements, and is developing a case study on the peace process which will be shared with other communities across Kenya facing similar changes.

Drawing on its experience of peace processes in other parts of the world, the HD Centre also encouraged the Agikuyu and Kalenjin Elders to broaden the process to include all the other communities in Nakuru County. Since the aim of the agreement was to heal some of the divisions between them it was vital to include other communities as well as women and young people to increase the chances that peace would prosper. The Elders consequently

met women and youth representatives and travelled around Nakuru County to explain their peace process and the draft agreement to local communities.

### With Kenyan elections

scheduled for March 2013, the NCIC and the HD Centre were very aware of the need to establish peace in Nakuru County in time to prevent tensions escalating around the elections. By the time the peace agreement – now named the Nakuru County Peace Accord – was finally signed on 19 August 2012, there were many people ready and willing to sign it.



Signing of the 'Nakuru County Peace Accord', 19 Aug. 2012.





Meredith Preston McGhie, HD Centre Regional Director for Africa, and Alice Nderitu, NCIC Commissioner, at the 'Nakuru County Peace Accord' signing.

A peace agreement was signed in Nakuru County in Kenya, in August 2012.

Unlike a traditional mediation process involving two sides negotiating terms, the Elders' process in Nakuru County had become a community-wide

effort to make peace and resulted in the building of trust between previously divided communities. So instead of signing the agreement behind closed doors, the Agikuyu and Kalenjin Elders signed alongside Elders from all the other communities in Nakuru County. Women's representatives, young people, political leaders and national figures also added their signatures to demonstrate the commitment of the whole society to living in peace with each other.

The HD Centre not only witnessed this unique signing process but the organisation has already begun to support the really important process of implementing the agreement in Nakuru County and considering ways it can repeat this success in other areas of Kenya. Since the agreement was signed, both the NCIC and the HD Centre have been working to ensure that the Nakuru County Peace Accord contributes to the prevention of violence, promotes peace and provides a model for other communities in Kenya to follow.

Three key 2012 dates at the HD Centre

The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro was signed at the Malacañang Palace in Manila on 15 October 2012 in the presence of President Benigno Aquino III. After years of conflict and 32 rounds of formal talks between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, both parties signed an agreement which puts forward a new framework for governing contested areas of the southern Philippines.

> This is a particularly refreshing achievement since the conflict devastated the southern Philippines for over 40 years and the peace process has been long and gruelling with many ups and downs. The HD Centre has been working to resolve conflict in the country at both a national and local level for some years and 2012 may vet prove to have been a monumental breakthrough. The organisation has been involved in the formal talks since 2009 when the HD Centre helped establish an International Contact Group (ICG) to support the peace process. Unusually, this group included representatives from individual states such as Japan, Turkey, the United Kingdom and The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as well as non-governmental organisations including Conciliation Resources, Muhammadiyah and The Asia Foundation. By drawing on a broad range of state and non-governmental support through the ICG, the parties involved in the talks were able to access impartial, outside expertise. In its role as a member and ad hoc co-ordinator of the ICG, the HD Centre helped bring in numerous international experts who had either mediated or negotiated other conflicts around the world. Frequently, the HD Centre was called upon by either party or the Malaysian facilitator to discreetly provide advice and, from time to time, draft aspects of the agreement which might bridge differences between the parties.

The HD Centre has also helped buttress the peace talks at the leadership level with complementary efforts on the ground aimed at preventing and resolving local conflicts and providing a link between communities and the peace process. This work includes supporting the Mindanao Think Tank (MTT), a group of prominent Christian, Muslim and Lumad leaders which has conducted numerous community-based workshops and produced publications clarifying aspects of the peace process and raising the views of local people. The HD Centre's efforts also involve supporting volunteer mediators in the Tumikang Sama Sama group, a small body composed of wellrespected local individuals who aim to prevent and reduce violence across Sulu's 19 municipalities.

As a result of the range of the HD Centre's work, the organisation has been able to provide a link

between the national peace process and local people in the areas affected by the conflict. As the peace process has evolved, the HD Centre has strived to share information about the latest developments with a wider audience through

with a wider audience through public meetings and supporting the production of radio shows. In 2012, for example, the HD Centre supported the MTT in holding public meetings so people could hear more about the peace process and, through these meetings, managed to reach out directly to over 30 communities. Similarly, when there was a breakthrough at the 27<sup>th</sup> round of Exploratory Talks in Kuala Lumpur which resulted in an initial agreement on the '10 Decision Points on Principles', the Government's Chief Negotiator was interviewed on the MTT radio show to explain the agreement to people. Locally, the HD Centre's support to mediators in the Tumikang Sama Sama



also helped resolve over 15 violent conflicts.

Signing of the 'GPH-MILF Decision Points on Principles', 24 April 2012.

The signing of theTheFramework Agreementpothas laid the bedrock forgethe future.Re

The HD Centre has also supported efforts to increase the role of women, and raise gender concerns, in peacemaking in the Philippines. Recently, five female mediators from Sulu were fea-

tured in the HD Centre's *Taking Peace Into Their Own Hands* publication. In 2012, the HD Centre also supported three roundtable discussions run by the Muslim women's rights advocacy group, Nisa UI Haqq Fi Bangsamoro, which focused on increasing the consideration of women's rights and gender issues in the national peace process and helped bring women from each side of the table together.

Finalising the implementation of the peace process between the two parties may still take time and involve numerous challenges but the signing of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro has laid the bedrock for the future and represents a historic step forward. The signing ceremony itself reflected the international nature of this peace process with the Philippine President sharing the stage with the Prime Minister of Malaysia and acknowledging the support of all the thousands who contributed to the process including the International Contact Group.

For more, please read "The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro – Keeping the momentum up" (p.38), and watch the HD Centre's video clip on the signing of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro on 15 October 2012: http://www.hdcentre.org/en/our-work/peacemaking/ philippines-mindanao/videos/



GPH and MILF Peace Panel Chairs Marvic Leonen (right) and Mohagher Iqbal (left) shake hands after signing the FAB, 15 Oct. 2012.

### 15 October 2012 Peace deal signed in the Philippines

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The HD Centre's work in the Middle East and North Africa has expanded significantly since the Arab uprisings. In line with the organisation's new strategic focus on fostering peace during periods of national change such as political transitions and elections, the HD Centre's work in the area has included efforts to initiate, develop and foster public and confidential dialogue processes in Syria, Libya and Tunisia, as well as with key emerging political forces throughout a region whose future remains challenging to predict.

> In 2012, the situation in much of Syria developed into an internal armed conflict between opposition armed groups and the authorities' security forces and pro-regime militias, although in areas such as Homs and Hama, it involved members of communities fighting each other. As a result, millions of people have been displaced internally, including many loyal to the Government, whilst nearly a million others have sought refuge in neighbouring Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan. The demands of both the Government and those fighting it are mutually exclusive and, despite the efforts of the former and current United Nations/League of Arab States Joint Special Envoys to build an international consensus, the conditions have not yet been suitable for a political settlement or international mediation.

In this context, the HD Centre has continued to facilitate dialogue between actors from the Sunni, Alawite and Christian communities to mitigate inter-communal tensions and to keep open channels of communication in a time of heightened conflict. The organisation has also engaged both armed and non-armed opposition actors in a dialogue on International Humanitarian Law, Human Rights and transitional justice. All in all, six closed-door rounds of dialogue were convened in 2012 with interlocutors from across Syria.

In Libya, since the revolution, along with more freedom, there has been a massive proliferation of weapons in the country, state security structures have remained extremely weak, and violent conflicts have restarted in many regions. Mediation has consequently become the

principal means for resolving disputes, with a group of traditional leaders, known as the Hukama, emerging as one of the most effective mechanisms in Libya for responding to armed conflicts. Over 2012, the HD Centre has developed a close working partnership with the Hukama and is the one international organisation which is directly supporting their efforts. As well as offering direct support for the Hukama's mediation of some intrastate Libyan conflicts, the HD Centre has also been working to develop the group's mediation capacity through exposure to international expertise and best practice. By facilitating dialogue and close collaboration between the Hukama and other key Libyan actors, including the Libyan Government, the HD Centre has also enabled those traditional leaders to develop their network and ensure a more co-ordinated response to armed conflicts.

Issues surrounding Libya's democratic transition also remain extremely divisive

In 2012, the HD Centre

held workshops on the

key concerns of Libyans

during the transitional

period.

in the country, particularly the issues of lustration, the distribution of electoral seats, and the formation of the constituent assembly which will be responsible for drafting the constitution. Tensions have resulted in violent clashes and assaults on Libya's nascent

democratic institutions. To develop dialogue between communities across the country, in 2012 the HD Centre held thirteen sub-national workshops and two national workshops on the key concerns of Libyans during this transitional period. These have involved more than 450 Libyans from over 30 towns



Signing of the 'Sabha Peace agreement' by Elders from Sabha, 20 April 2013.



Residents walk along a street lined with damaged buildings, Deir al-Zor, April 2013.

and cities in a constructive dialogue on areas such as the electoral and constitutional process, reconciliation, security and local conflicts. The HD Centre's work in Libya aims to bring together Libyan stakeholders with different backgrounds and political

affiliations as well as those from different regions, ethnic groups and communities to find mutually acceptable solutions to the political questions facing the country.

In Tunisia, while the country remains a positive example of the democratic transformations which began in January 2011, many challenges remain in terms of consolidating a successful transition to democracy in the country. Political polarization continues and the public debate is extremely confrontational with few points of consensus and little appetite for making the necessary political concessions. The HD Centre has been working to support inclusive dialogue between Tunisian political actors to ensure that tensions and violence do not derail the delicate transition process in Tunisia towards democracy.

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A tense transitional

### Sheikh Mohamed Idriss EL MAGHERBY

Head of the Libyan Elders' Council and Chief of the Libyan Shura Council

Sheikh Mohamed Idriss El Magherby is Head of the Libyan Elders' Council, which reunites the tribal leaders of Libya to mediate and resolve violent conflicts and to promote reconciliation, and Chief of the Libyan Shura Council. He is also the leader of the El Magherby tribe, originally from Ajdabiya and resident of Benghazi. He has been Chief of the Elders' Council since the beginning of the revolution.

### What is the nature of your collaboration with the HD Centre?

We have had an excellent collaboration with the HD Centre. Many members of the Elders' Council have participated in the many workshops organised by the HD Centre. We were impressed by the high level of knowledge concerning mediation and reconciliation which the HD Centre can offer.

### How did you become involved with the HD Centre?

My first contact with the HD Centre was at the Libyan Prime Minister's office in Tripoli. We were meeting with Dr Hadi El Gheryani. The discussion focused on reconciliation processes around the world: other countries which have had similar popular political uprisings to Libya.

### What is the HD Centre doing to support stability, peace and state-building in Libya?

The HD Centre is providing good advice and counseling to Libyan Elders. They are providing expertise to us: experts with a great deal of knowledge and experience. They are sharing their experiences on national reconciliation and mediation.

### What are the most significant changes you've seen as a result of the HD Centre's work in the area of local conflict mediation (or other areas)?

With the support of the HD Centre, learning from their experience, and using the expertise they provide, the Elders' Council has run many mediation processes which contribute to the stability of Libya, peace, and the state-building process. The HD Centre is supporting the work of the legitimate Libyan actors in this field.

### What more could be done (by the HD Centre or other actors) to contribute to Libya's transitional process?

The HD Centre should organise more workshops and events, bring in more international expertise and share comparative experiences with Libyan actors. The HD Centre's network of experts is very effective and important for us to be able to draw upon.

### How do you see the collaboration with the HD Centre in the future?

We continue to need the knowledge of the HD Centre for advice and consultation. The Elders of Libya will continue to be involved in peace and reconciliation processes and welcome input from the HD Centre for all of these processes. This last year of co-operation, collaboration and support has convinced me of the continued need for the HD Centre's involvement in Libya.

### Do you think that the role of the HD Centre in Libya has been accomplished?

As we saw, the UN mandate in Libya has been extended. The Libyan state-building process is not complete. In such a context, the mediation conducted by the Elders' Council is very important. Consequently, the role of the HD Centre is not yet finished in Libya. We have underlined to the Prime Minister that we need expert assistance to tackle the economic, social and psychological aspects of the mediation and reconciliation process. As we have told the Prime Minister's office, the HD Centre can provide us with this type of expertise. No, the role of the HD Centre in Libya is not finished.

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### Africa

Reconciling communities and stabilising volatile situations

The HD Centre has been expanding its work in Africa with a focus on building new programmes in West Africa. The organisation's work in support of peaceful elections in Liberia in 2011 began this process, followed by wide ranging activities in the Sahel and now also in Nigeria. This work complements the HD Centre's long-standing collaboration with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to improve mediation capacity throughout the sub-region.

> In the Sahel, the HD Centre has been working with the communities of Northern Mali to find common ground in a region beset by violent conflict. The HD Centre has focused its efforts on improving relations among these communities as well as developing a way for them to communicate their concerns to the mediators involved in official peace efforts.

To start developing a network of leaders who could communicate their communities' concerns through official channels, the HD Centre brought elected and traditional leaders together in two inter-community dialoque meetings. The first was held in Dori, in Burkina Faso, in October 2012 and drew together people from the Gourma region of northern Mali with those from Burkina Faso and Niger. Given past grievances among these communities, and particularly between those living on the land and those living in nomadic groups, the HD Centre hoped the dialogue process would help address these grievances and reduce conflicts between them. The HD Centre took the same approach at the second meeting in December 2012 in Tapoa. Niger which brought together people from communities in the Ansongo and Menaka regions in Mali as well as communities in Niger.

To get a comprehensive picture of these communities' concerns, the HD Centre took care to ensure women and young people were involved in the dialogue process. To do this, the organisation drew on the experience of the Women's Reference Group on Mediation it has established through its Africa-wide "Women at the Peace Table" project and gathered those



Bamako conference of army officials from Mali and other West African countries on conflict resolution, Oct. 2012.

In the Sahel, the HD

Centre has been wor-

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find common ground.

women invited to the first inter-community dialogue meeting beforehand to prepare them to take part. In November 2012, the HD Centre also arranged a meeting between women from northern and southern Mali who are leading, or working with, women's organisations to discuss peace and security in the country.

All these efforts have helped to generate a stronger understanding of the concerns of local commu-

nities in Mali and neighbouring countries among local leaders and a network has begun to form between them. Community representatives have already held meetings with officials from ECOWAS, the African Union and the United Nations to communicate these views in order to

ensure they are considered by official mediators. With the help of the Women's Reference Group, Malian women have also developed a communiqué calling for more involvement in Malian peace processes which has been made public and discussed with the lead mediator in the Mali conflict.

In 2012, the HD Centre has also been working to reconcile communities and stabilise volatile situations in other parts of Africa. In Somalia and Sudan, the focus of the HD Centre's work is on

fostering political dialogue; this is part of the organisation's long term involvement in both of these countries. The HD Centre hopes to help political leaders to address the more sensitive issues contributing to conflict in these countries. Significantly in 2012, the HD Centre supported dialogue around the end of the transitional period in Somalia, which successfully ushered in a new permanent government in Mogadishu.

In Somaliland, the HD Centre has been engaged in political dialogue in support of peaceful elections - following successful interventions in this area in the 2010 Presidential ties of Northern Mali to elections. This included support to both dispute resolution systems for the elections themselves, and broader dia-

> logues between political parties/associations and the electoral management bodies.

> In Kenya, where the HD Centre has its regional office, the organisation has been working with the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) to facilitate a Peace Accord signed by all communities in Nakuru County in the Rift Valley - a region which saw considerable conflict during the post-election violence in the country in 2008 (see 'Making peace in Kenya').



Children wave at a Niger soldier on patrol in Gao as part of the MISMA West African forces, Feb. 2013.

In 2012, plans were also developed for similar work in Plateau State in Nigeria, where the HD Centre aims to bring communities together to address long-standing grievances in order to seek a sustainable resolution to their conflict. Building on the HD Centre's experience in the mediation of long-standing, localised conflicts with national implications (such as in Kenya), the HD Centre has been building relationships with the key communities who have been engaged in, and affected by, the violence in Plateau state. By offering an impartial facilitation and mediation model that will enable the communities to build slowly to a series of agreements to rebuild trust and end the cycles of violence, it is hoped this will help to resolve the conflict that has plagued Plateau State for decades.

Recognising the important role played by regional states in peacemaking in Africa, 2012 also saw the commencement of a partnership between the HD Centre and the Foreign Service Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kenya to develop training programmes for mid and senior level diplomats from Kenya and the region. The HD Centre's faces

### Presenting the HD Centre through its staff



Victoria Akinyi Odhiambo

#### Where are you based?

I am based in the HD Centre's regional office in Nairobi.

### What is your role at the HD Centre?

I am the Office Manager. I try to keep the show on the road.

#### What does this involve on a day-to-day basis?

My overall task is to manage the smooth running of the logistics, finance, general and personnel administration of the HD Centre's African operations. On a day-to-day basis this would mean preparing finance reports, making travel arrangements, managing personnel administration for employees and consultants working in the Africa region, managing local recruitment, procuring supplies or services and making payments, assisting programme staff in organising conferences and internal meetings, assisting in preparing project budgets, assisting in the audit process for Africa projects and internal controls, among other tasks. I am also usually on hand to give whatever support is needed to ensure the programmes/projects achieve their targeted results.

### What is your previous experience in peacemaking?

The non-governmental organisations I worked with before joining the HD Centre were not directly involved in peacemaking. However, my experience at the HD Centre has piqued my interest in peacemaking. I can assure you that, even on the sidelines, there is never a dull moment as the work done by my colleagues, wherever they may be, inspires hope. In the end, that is what matters.

#### What inspired you to join the HD Centre?

I wanted to expand my experience and knowledge not only in finance and administration functions but also in the core activities of the HD Centre and especially in mediation dialogues that take a humanitarian approach.

### Alice NDERITU

Commissioner, National Cohesion and Integration Commission, Kenya

### What is the nature of the collaboration between the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the HD Centre in Kenya?

The NCIC was established under an Act of Parliament after Kenya's 2007 and 2008 postelection crisis within the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) Framework mandated by the African Union and chaired by Kofi Annan. The accord marks out a set of reforms to be carried out between 2008 and 2012 to prevent what Kofi Annan described as 'violence on a larger scale in coming years'. The NCIC's mandate is to deal with, and mediate, ethnic and race related conflicts and promote peaceful and harmonious coexistence in Kenya. The NCIC has been working to mediate or prevent conflicts at grassroots and political leadership level, including between the then Principals, the President and Prime Minister. HD [The HD Centre] supports mediation and was behind the technical work on the drafting of the KNDR, which created the NCIC. The two organisations have a lot in common. HD understands the NCIC, having been party to the thinking behind its creation, however the partnership is based on the NCIC's mediation role which HD supports.

### How did this collaboration come about and how does the HD Centre's work complement that of the NCIC?

The partnership came through a meeting with Meredith Preston McGhie [Regional Director for Africa] of HD in a women mediators' workshop in Washington DC, hosted by the Institute for Inclusive Security. On coming back to Kenya, I invited her to our office to meet the Chairman and other members of the NCIC. Of the various mediation efforts we were following, we decided that the Rift Valley posed the greatest danger to a peaceful election. In all past elections since the introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya in the 1990's, there had been violence, deaths and displacement in the Rift Valley. The core area that was affected by violence was Nakuru, an area comprised of six constituencies in the Rift Valley.

### How specifically did the HD Centre support the peacemaking process in the Rift Valley?

The spectre of ethnic related violence and numerous county election stand-offs was looming in the lead up to Kenya's 2013 elections. Ethnic militias had not been dismantled in the Rift Valley and elsewhere. The issue of the International Criminal Court had become a political campaign tool that had fuelled ethnic schisms. As the months rolled towards the elections, a new set of threats were rising in prominence; that of new 'minorities' created by the county arrangement that the new Constitutional order had created, with majorities threatening to outvote minorities. In this new political arrangement, potentially explosive issues such as access to resources as well as ethnic and religious differences were elevated. The NCIC had been discussing these issues in the Rift Valley and requested support from the HD Centre as the political issues, in particular, were difficult to handle. The HD Centre brought in consultants and staff who assisted the NCIC to draw up a technical peace agreement with a full implementation work plan. The HD Centre also added considerable value in that its staff and consultants, not being Kenyan, were seen to be honest arbiters with no interest in the process. The Rift Valley Elders readily accepted the HD Centre. The HD Centre was extremely professional, keeping to deadlines and exhibiting tons of patience as the agreement was discussed in English, translated into Kiswahili and discussed again, sentence by sentence and finally signed.

### How were women involved and included in the peace process in Nakuru County?

The approach in Nakuru specifically targeted Elders, as they plan the violence – and do so without women. They accepted women in the workshops but when they withdrew into ethnic groups to discuss the peace agreement they did not include women. Until the HD Centre came in, I was the only woman sitting with the Elders with my male colleagues. This was a contrast – especially for the Kalenjin community who had the greatest number of women members of parliament elected yet, in matters of war, they did not invite them. The contradiction was that Meredith and I sat in the discussions. The Elders did not, however, treat us as women, but rather as experts.

We did continue to press the matter and a series of meetings with women were held as part of the process, and women were brought in as supporting signatories to the agreement.

### What are the most significant changes you've seen in Nakuru County as a result of the Peace Accord?

This is the first time in 5 elections since 1992 that Kenya has had a peaceful election and in which nobody was killed or displaced in Nakuru County. The Elders have maintained the plans in the framework for inter-ethnic meetings. People have enjoyed the dividends that come with peace such as no schools closed and hospitals not running out of medicine during the election period.

### What more could be done to foster peaceful relations between communities in Kenya – both in Nakuru County and more widely?

There is still a need to follow through on the implementation to ensure lasting peace. The agreement

34

<image><caption><text>

Did you have to handle any particular gender issues during this peace process and do you have any advice for other women working in mediation roles? How did you find mediating as a woman, particularly with a male group of Elders? Were there specific challenges you faced?

My male colleagues prepared me and supported me for this role. An Elder challenged me on one occasion on an opinion I raised and ordered me to sit. I stood my ground and my colleagues told him to respect me or leave the room. He did not leave. I was lucky to have the authority of office as a Commissioner. I used this authority. Male Elders in the African setting, I have realised, respect knowledge. I prepared adequately for the meetings. I read up the history of the Rift Valley from as many books as I could and discussed with history teachers the politics of the Rift Valley. I met the women separately for advice on the dynamics of the conflict. The women also advised me on the characters of the men in the room.

I maximised on the breaks. At teatime, I would start a conversation with the Elders I found difficult, those who opposed most. I always refer to them respectfully as Elders, Wazee, and always make them feel that I know they are wise. I carefully choose what I wear, favouring long flowing clothes. The idea is that they concentrate on what I say, not what I am dressed in. I try as much as possible to dress older. The HD Centre's faces

### Presenting the HD Centre through its staff



**Roland Steininger** 

#### Where are you based?

I am based in the Geneva office, since the HD Centre's MENA (Middle East and North Africa) programme has been operating from Geneva since its inception in 2008.

#### What is your role at the HD Centre?

As the HD Centre's Regional Director, Middle East & North Africa, I am supervising the HD Centre's diverse projects and activities in the MENA region. This involves regular trips to the region to meet local authorities, colleagues working on the ground as well as key stakeholders operating in a given country or sub-region. Besides that, my job is to secure and develop relations of trust with all the HD Centre's partners and interlocutors in order to enhance our ability to prevent conflicts, minimise human suffering and facilitate discreet dialogues or negotiations between different kinds of actors.

### What does this involve on a day-to-day basis?

This involves managing a team of experts, who operate both from Geneva and from the field, designing and implementing strategies and operational activities, supervising and enforcing security guidelines for staff, reviewing and synthesizing relevant information regarding various conflict situations, attending meetings with a wide range of interlocutors such as politicians, military officials, rebel leaders, diplomats or civil society groups, as well as fundraising for our activities and ensuring regular and comprehensive reporting to our main donors and partners.

### What is your previous experience in peacemaking?

During the 90's, I served in an international observation mission (TIPH) in the West Bank city of Hebron. This constituted my first rich field experience in a conflict-torn area. I later worked extensively on projects such as the *Geneva Initiative*, a process facilitated by Switzerland whose purpose was to help bring about and market a blueprint for a permanent status agreement between Israelis and Palestinians. I subsequently worked on an initiative involving the Syrian Government and Israeli interlocutors. More recently, in my former capacity as Representative of Switzerland to the Palestinian Authority, I took part in several initiatives designed to facilitate a rapprochement between *Fatah* and *Hamas*.

### What inspired you to join the HD Centre?

I got in contact with the HD Centre in 2003 against the background of the *Geneva Initiative* process. Ever since, every time I happened to learn about the HD Centre's programmes and projects in the MENA region and elsewhere, I was impressed by the high level of expertise of its staff, its entrepreneurial spirit and its original approach to mediation and conflict resolution.

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### The prospect of peace draws closer in the Philippines

The highlight for the HD Centre in Asia last year was the October 2012 signing of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. After decades of fighting, over 100,000 deaths and a chronic displacement of more than a million people, this landmark agreement promises a lasting peace for the people of the southern Philippines.

> The HD Centre played a significant role in supporting the parties during the final negotiations surrounding the Framework Agreement. It was one of four international organisations and four states in the International Contact Group, a body established to support the Malaysian facilitator and assist the parties.

The Framework Agreement is the result of years of negotiations and, for the HD Centre, it was gratifying to see the results of more than eight years work in the country. For the head of the HD Centre's Manila office, David Gorman, it was also a personal achievement to be proud of. Other members of the HD Centre's team in the Philippines included Mike Alar in the Manila office. He was joined later by Ali Saleem, the incoming country representative replacing David Gorman.

The work doesn't end there. The HD Centre's Philippines country programme remains engaged in the implementation of the Agreement and, in many ways, the work has become more challenging. Meanwhile, the HD Centre has established a new office in Cotabato in Mindanao to complement the work it is doing from its office on the island of Sulu and the organisation's presence in this region demonstrates the HD Centre's commitment to full engagement in the Philippines.

Elsewhere in the region, the HD Centre supported Thailand's formal commitment to a dialogue process with representatives of the Patani Malay Liberation Movement, facilitated by Malaysia, which aims to address the ongoing conflict in southern Thailand. The HD Centre also established a country office in Myanmar with the goal of supporting the peace process between the



Signing of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro, Manila, 15 Oct. 2012

Myanmar Government and ethnic groups. In addition, the HD Centre supported regional consultations on the plight of the Rohingya people and advised stakeholders inside and outside Myanmar on options for reconciliation in the Rakhine State.

Throughout the year, the HD Centre also assisted the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat in the launch of the ASEAN Institute of Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) by convening a group of conflict resolution actors to brainstorm on the potential role of the Institute. The AIPR aims to increase the capacity of ASEAN and its Member States to peacefully resolve conflicts in Asia by generating research and offering officials



Rohingya run away from a fire set to a part of Sittwe, during clashes, 10 June 2012.

The HD Centre played a significant role in supporting the parties during the final negotiations.

access to relevant expertise. The Institute was formally launched at the ASEAN Summit meeting held in Cambodia in November 2012.

The Asia-Pacific project of the HD Centre's "Women at the Peace Table" programme, which aims to bring gender concerns into mainstream peacemaking in the region, also convened an Asia-wide roundtable in Nepal in 2012. Forty women from across Asia gathered together to discuss how gender could be considered in areas such as constitutional reform. A workshop was also held in Chiang Mai in Thailand which drew together Myanmar ethnic nationalities to discuss how gender issues could be included in peace processes in Myanmar (see 'Promoting women's participation throughout peace processes').



### The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro – Keeping the momentum up

David Gorman

The signing of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB) in October 2012 represents a significant step forward in the peace process between the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which has been running on and off for more than 15 years. While this is recognised internationally as a historic achievement, there is more hard work to be done to secure the peace.

Many challenges lie ahead for the parties and the Bangsamoro people in the southern Philippines; the international community will also need to play its part and stay engaged to help support the Government and the MILF as they work towards implementing the Agreement. The HD Centre will of course be there to play its supportive role.

#### A home-grown process

Looking back at the process which led to the historic signing, perhaps one of its most instrumental features is the architecture which helped support the process leading to the 2012 Framework Agreement. The MILF-GPH process is a home-grown one, driven by local stakeholders and bilateral mechanisms for co-operation among the parties.

In the early days of the process in the late 1990s, representatives from both parties worked together without the intervention of any third party facilitation or monitoring. Various components, including bilateral, multilateral and civil society operations were progressively put in place by the parties to respond to the evolving demands of the peace process. The first agreements negotiated between the two sides, from 1997 to 2001, focused on setting up joint bodies such as co-ordinating committees and local monitoring teams focused on preventing and resolving incidents on the ground.

The MILF-GPH process was also characterized by the heavy involvement of civil society groups, which played a critical role from early on. Key groups, such as the Bantay Ceasefire composed of 900 volunteers, were instrumental in ensuring monitoring of the process at the local level, through fact finding missions and reaching out to remote communities. Later, three local NGOs were also added to the official monitoring teams to report on each party's adherence to International Humanitarian Law.

#### Involving international third party facilitation

It was not until 2001, following the breakdown of the peace process, that the parties considered involving international elements in the process. The Government of Malaysia, which from then on became the official facilitator of the process, first became involved in March 2001, and brought the parties together to sign the General Framework Agreement which recognised the need for a political solution. Later that year, the parties signed a second accord, the Tripoli Agreement, under the auspices of Saif al Islam of the Gadaffi Foundation. This landmark agreement invited international

monitors from the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to monitor the agreement. This monitoring mechanism became operational in 2004.

Following a new breakdown in the peace process in 2008,

an International Contact Group (ICG) was created to support and strengthen the peace process. An independent body composed of both states and international Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs), the ICG sought to help facilitate the peace process led by the Malaysian Government, by attending all peace talks and frequently shuttling between the parties when sticking points became an obstacle to further progress, or at the request of the facilitator to drill down into detailed aspects of the proposed agreement. The body, co-ordinated by the HD Centre, is composed of the Governments of Great Britain, Japan, The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Turkey as well as INGOs - Conciliation Resources, Muhammadiyah and The Asia Foundation. It is one of the only hybrid state-NGO facilitation groups directly involved in helping facilitate peace talks.

### The Agreement

This extensive architecture, involving both local and international support, reinforced the process which led to the 2012 Framework Agreement and helped create a uniquely tailored arrangement meeting the particular needs of this conflict.

The key issue the FAB addresses is the relationship between the region and the central government. While the Agreement is clear that the new region is still very much part of the Philippine state, it also provides for the relationship between them to be asymmetrical. It recognises the region's unique historical place in the Philippine nation, creates a special governing relationship between the new entity and the central Government which will be different than in other regions of the country, and provides

> the opportunity to create a new form of governance in the region. Furthermore, the FAB recognises the Bangsamoro identity and its historical ancestral domain within the country.

Practically, the Agreement goes some way towards identifying how powers between the central Government and the region will be divided or, in some cases, shared. It lays out the responsibilities the central Government will retain such as defence and external security as well as foreign policy, and goes into some detail on security, wealthsharing, territory and Basic Rights. More details are still to be ratified, however, in the Annexes of the FAB.

Learning from previously failed agreements, the FAB also recognises the need to eventually address the manifold issues associated with the multi-layered conflict. These include a multitude of armed groups and the proliferation of weapons; historical injustice; a deep lack of trust due to previously failed peace agreements; disenfranchisement; poor governance; a breakdown in law and order; poverty; and

The signing of the neered a real represents a significant step forward in the peace process. contact of the significant step for a signif

a heterogeneous population containing many ethnic and religious groups with varying needs and aspirations. In addition, the Agreement includes provisions for joint action by the two parties to control and reduce the proliferation of firearms and disband private armed groups as well as undertake the phased decommissioning of the MILF forces.

While the Agreement provides a broad outline which addresses the key issues in the conflict, perhaps most importantly it opens up a space for the people of Mindanao to participate in the process.

The Agreement makes provision for a series of popular consultations on the FAB and its Annexes, the creation of a local law and of a new form of governance, as well as a consultation process through a plebiscite on the Agreement. It is hoped that those measures will infuse it with more ownership by the people and ensure the laws that implement the FAB reflect the wishes of the people.

#### The challenges ahead

However, there are still several challenges ahead. There will most probably be legal objections to the Annexes and other provisions that result from the FAB as such legal challenges have been used successfully in the past. In addition, there will be political hurdles. President Aquino is extremely popular, but cannot run again in 2016 and could lose some of his clout as his term nears its end. In addition, the national polity is still rather sceptical of granting more powers to an autonomous region that has not been well governed in the past. As a result of the failure of the 1996 Agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), there is much scepticism surrounding the idea that any new agreement with the MILF will produce better results.

The multitude of armed groups may also pose challenges for the implementation of this Agreement. There are numerous local clan leaders who frequently wield enormous political, economic and armed clout. If these groups feel excluded from the process, they may find ways to undermine the implementation of the Agreement. Moreover, while the MILF is certainly the strongest and most legitimate armed political group, it is not the only one. Aside from the clans, there are also rival political groups with their own ideological agendas and followers including the MNLF, the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters and the Abu Sayyaf Group among others. The recent incursion in February 2013 into neighbouring Sabah, Malaysia by followers of Sultan Kirim (who has made claims on the region) led to the death of up to seventy people and demonstrated the multitude of new challenges this process could encounter.

Added to this, the autonomous region has been plagued with corruption, injustice and a barely functioning legal system, as well as an inability to respond to local needs. The MILF will need to reach out to other communities in its efforts to improve governance and to develop confidence in the process to attract domestic, and perhaps even foreign, investment.

Civil society groups will also need to make significant efforts to educate the population about the process and the Agreement, including what it means for the people and how they can all work together. Centuries of division among the communities in Mindanao, and between Mindanao and those in the rest of the country, mean that a complete paradigm shift will be required in how they view each other.

The international community will also need to stay engaged to help support the two parties as they work towards implementing the Agreement. But they will also need to know when to stay back and let the parties and the people run and own this process. At the end of the day, it will be the people who will determine whether this process succeeds or fails and both parties and the international community will need to give them the power to make it work.

David Gorman is the former country representative of the HD Centre in the Philippines, a position he left in 2012 following his appointment as Regional Director for Eurasia.

#### The HD Centre's faces

### Presenting the HD Centre through its staff



*Where are you based?* I am based in Manila, Philippines.

### What is your role at the HD Centre?

I am the Senior Program Manager, responsible for our presence and activities in the Philippines.

#### What does this involve on a day-to-day basis?

Everything from complex political and technical relationships to the design and implementation of our various initiatives and activities. I also provide political and technical support to colleagues in the Manila, Sulu and Cotabato offices.

In addition to this, supported by a competent team of professionals in the Philippines, I have to perform particular tasks to sustain an enabling environment for peace processes by engaging parties and personalities on a one-on-one basis. Often these tasks involve shuttling to achieve a certain objective, providing advice and comparative knowledge of peace processes or technical assistance to deal with complex political situations.

### What is your previous experience in peacemaking?

I have over sixteen years of peacemaking, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation experience with the UN [United Nations], international and regional non-governmental organisations and as an individual consultant. Prior to joining the HD Centre, I worked in Bosnia i Herzegovina, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Pakistan, Switzerland, Nepal, Timor-Leste and many other places on short term assignments.

#### What inspired you to join the HD Centre?

I have always believed in seeking non-violent, peaceful resolutions to difficult political situations. The HD Centre is a unique organisation which gave me a formal mandate to pursue my commitment.

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### Supporting mediation and peacemaking efforts

In order to contribute to reducing and resolving armed conflicts, the HD Centre's mission includes a commitment "to provide support for the broader mediation and peacebuilding community". By promoting the sharing of expertise and experiences among actors working in mediation and peacemaking, the HD Centre seeks to ensure that each new peace process learns from the hard-won lessons of other efforts and can benefit from new ideas emerging in the field.

> The HD Centre's Mediation Support and Policy (MSP) Programme supports the organisation's own operational work while also contributing to international developments in mediation and peacemaking. Internally, it monitors the HD Centre's progress against its strategic objectives as well as the development and outcomes of its projects. MSP staff also support the HD Centre's operations by providing expertise, research and other support, as needed. In 2012, this included working closely with the HD Centre's Middle East and North Africa team on a number of issues, including the project in Libya as well as providing expertise on peace process design and national dialogue to support the HD Centre's work in Myanmar. In addition, the Director of the MSP Programme, Dr Katia Papagianni, participated in a High-Level Expert Panel which held public meetings to discuss issues such as power-sharing and transitional governance in the Philippines.

In 2012, Dr Papagianni was also seconded by the HD Centre to the Office of the United Nations Special Adviser to the Secretary General (UN SASG) on Yemen as a National Dialogue expert and accompanied the SASG on six missions to Yemen. Dr Papagianni worked closely with the Yemeni Technical Committee responsible for organising the National Dialogue Conference to support this significant part of Yemen's political transition.

To support the international mediation community more widely, the HD Centre's MSP Programme also continued to work with the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 2012. Both organisations play an important part in the mediation of disputes in Africa and have been working to develop their capacities to support peace processes. The HD Centre has worked closely with the AU Commission to develop Standard Operating Procedures for AU mediation processes and to design a Knowledge Management Framework to help capture, and learn from, the AU's experiences in peacemaking. Both the Procedures and the Framework were finalised in 2012 and are currently being distributed among AU staff to support their future peacemaking work. The HD Centre also developed an AU Handbook on Managing Peace Processes which includes multiple chapters on issues such as the inclusion of civil society and women, ceasefires, confidence-building measures and the implementation of agreements. The HD Centre's collaboration with ECOWAS focused on supporting the establishment of a Mediation Facilitation Division within the ECOWAS Commission. As part of this collaboration, in November, the HD Centre assisted ECOWAS in preparing a workshop to discuss the structure of the Division. The focus of the MSP Programme in 2012 also included supporting specific governments in the East African region, starting with the Kenvan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to enhance their national mediation capacity and establish a regional peacebuilding network.

In an effort to learn and share experiences with other mediation support actors, the HD Centre has also been an active member of the Mediation Support Network (MSN) over the last few years. This group of mediation support organisations meets regularly to share experiences and to discuss the latest information about successful mediation and peacemaking techniques. At the 2012 MSN meeting in Accra, participants discussed the collective response of member organisations to the UN's recently published 'Guidance for Effective Mediation', and were briefed on the collaboration in the field of conflict management between ECOWAS and civil society in West Africa.



Peace process training course with members of the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 2012.

The HD Centre seeks to ensure that each new peace process learns from the hard-won lessons of other efforts.

As part of its mission to support the work of those involved in peacemaking, the HD Centre also co-hosted the latest edition of the annual Oslo Forum retreat with the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in June 2012 (see The Oslo Forum sets a new standard). The Oslo Forum retreats bring together a host of high-level mediators and peace process actors from around the world to share their experiences and discuss the most critical challenges they face in mediation and peacemaking. The 2012 edition focused on the theme of "Negotiating through Transition". One of the event's highlights was the opening session which brought together the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy in Myanmar, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and U2 Singer Bono, with Norwegian Foreign Minister, Jonas Gahr Støre, in a discussion on the role of dialogue in countries in transition. In 2012, MSP staff also seized opportunities to contribute to a number of international conferences on peacemaking.

### What is the nature of your collaboration with the HD Centre?

The nature of our work at the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Early Warning Directorate is to monitor the region, based on peace and conflict indicators, in order to identify potential conflicts. When signs of conflicts are identified, policy makers are notified in order to take appropriate action for their prevention and/or mitigation. And part of this action could be mediation, which links it to the HD Centre's work.

We have collaborated in the past on two key issues with the HD Centre: a field study on the impact of early warning on mediation in Liberia and Togo, following which the HD Centre collaborated with, and assisted, the Early Warning Directorates of both IGAD [Intergovernmental Authority on Development] and ECOWAS in discussing areas for greater collaboration around their respective early warning and early response mechanisms. These were the two entry points for our collaboration with the HD Centre. We, i.e. ECOWAS, are now collaborating on the establishment of ECOWAS' Mediation Facilitation Division, which will support all aspects of peace processes in the region.

Florence

IHEME

Acting Director,

Early Warning Directorate.

ECOWAS Commission

ECOWAS staff have also been invited by the HD Centre to the Oslo Forum. I, myself, attended the Forum in 2011 and 2012, during which issues of concern to West Africa were discussed.

### How did you benefit from your participation in the Oslo Forum?

The Oslo Forum is a gathering of senior and experienced mediators from around the world and, in that sense, it has provided me with a mentoring platform. Even though I was involved in mediation in the past, for example working as a facilitator in support of General Abubakar in the Liberia Peace talks in Accra in 2003, I have found that mediation skills must be constantly developed. From that point of view, the Oslo Forum has provided me with a platform for improving what I have learned over the years.

The Forum is an exceptional platform because it brings together a great mix of experiences from different conflicts around the world. It is also a place where young mediators get to meet much more experienced ones. It is rather exceptional from that point of view and should really be supported.

### What is the HD Centre doing to help ECOWAS in establishing its Mediation Facilitation Division?

ECOWAS has a lot of organs, including its Council of the Wise, the Mediation and Security Council, and the President's Special Envoys, which deal directly or indirectly with issues of preventive diplomacy and mediation. ECOWAS' experience has also demonstrated the importance of capacity and expertise within the Commission to support peace processes.

In 2003, for example, when ECOWAS supported General Abubakar during the Liberia Peace talks, the Peace and Security Department, which was quite small, basically had to move to Accra, because we needed to accompany the process. Subsequently there were improvements in the staffing level of the ECOWAS' Peace and Security Department. During the Niger mediation, for example, we were able to second a few peace and security staff to accompany external consultants and the Mediator (incidentally General Abubakar again) during the mediation efforts. But overall, as the recent cases have shown, it is really important that ECOWAS has the means to support a mediator when s/he is appointed and support them throughout the process. So the ECOWAS Mediation Facilitation Division was long overdue.

The HD Centre is supporting us in the process of setting up the Mediation Facilitation Division. As part of this, a workshop was organised, with the help of the HD Centre, in November 2012 to discuss the establishment of the Division. The Division's focus, budget and mandate were discussed between ECOWAS and its partners, including the HD Centre.

### In what other ways have you collaborated with the HD Centre?

I have also collaborated with the HD Centre on gender-related issues. Currently, not enough attention is being paid to the issue of women's involvement in peace and security and the related UN [United Nations] Resolution 1325. Linked to this issue, the HD Centre has set up an Africa 'Women's Reference Group' of which I am a member and which brings women with mediation experience together to think of ways in which women's skills could be used in mediation. This group offers advice to women in conflict-affected countries to help improve their access to peace processes in their own context, and helps raise the profile of women who have important experience in mediation in the region.

As mentioned before, I have also participated in the Oslo Forum. The HD Centre has been placing great importance on inviting women with relevant expertise to its Oslo Forum retreats over the past few years, as well as organising sessions dedicated to gender-specific issues.

In terms of our existing collaboration with the HD Centre on building the Mediation Facilitation Division, I also hope that the HD Centre will be able to help us ensure that the Division has a gender dimension to its work. Specifically, I think that it would be useful to explore additional ways of better linking the many women who participate in mediation at the local level to the more formal mediation efforts. This new Division should be expected to do that.



Nigerian troops, part of the ECOWAS force to push for emancipation of Northern Mali from Islamists, Jan. 2013.

### What are your aspirations for the ECOWAS Early Warning Directorate in the coming few years?

We are doing a lot towards strengthening our early warning system. Among other things, we have been working with our partners to try to encourage Member States to have their own early warning/early response mechanisms — a result of a pilot study of three Member States. We also just concluded a study of the first 10 years of operation of the ECOWAS regional early warning system and are developing a strategic plan of action covering the next 5 to 10 years to implement the recommendations which the ECOWAS Management has approved. As the 'early response' part of the early warning mechanism should include issues of mediation, we hope that the HD Centre can help ECOWAS build the capacity of Member States on mediation skills.

#### The HD Centre's faces

### Presenting the HD Centre through its staff



#### Where are you based?

I am based in the HD Centre's Singapore regional office.

### What is your role at the HD Centre?

I am a Project Officer working on our gender in conflict resolution programme ('Women at the Peace Table') as mediation support, and I work on supporting our regional projects. I am also involved in an assessment of the HD Centre's exploratory work in Asia.

#### What does this involve on a day-to-day basis?

My daily activities change from day to day. I work closely with the two Project Managers, Antonia Potter Prentice (based in Brussels) and Cate Buchanan (based in Sydney) on the Asia-Pacific side of the gender project. My activities may range from helping to edit publications that are produced as part of this project and helping to enhance our existing regional projects' gender components, to organising regional roundtables and meetings, and keeping track of the budgets. In addition, I carry out my own research through a watching brief on several key events in the region and conduct interviews with relevant experts to better understand the historical and political contexts, as well as current angles to expand and develop the HD Centre's work in Asia.

### What is your previous experience in peacemaking?

I wasn't formally in peacemaking circles, but rather I worked in the Singapore Foreign Service. Perhaps you can call that peacemaking in some form. I dealt mainly with bilateral relations between the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and Singapore, which have traditionally enjoyed very peaceful relations, although this always needs careful and consistent repairing and upgrading to keep the relationship nice and polished!

### What inspired you to join the HD Centre?

The HD Centre's Women at the Peace Table project, which combines developing knowledge in this area and building women's capacities based on our operational work, was inspirational. It was an attractive goal that appealed to my aspiration of working in the realm of more active peacemaking without the formal obligations of diplomatic responsibilities and advancing the rights and concerns of women in conflict areas. The knowledge that the HD Centre has, and contributes to the international discourse on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), is thoroughly grounded in our work in the field, a quality that is unique and sets it apart from other organisations. The HD Centre was, and still is, a leader in the field of WPS and mediation, and the dynamic, creative and effective peacemaking work that the HD Centre is involved in also appealed to my inclination to go down paths less travelled.

Since it established the "Women at the Peace Table" programme in 2009, the HD Centre has been forming networks among leading women peacemakers and producing analytical guidance related to the increased involvement of women in peacemaking, and gender content in policies and programmes. This work aims cross borders, beliefh and professions, S to support the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) which calls on those involved in international peacemaking to increase the participation of women in peace processes. orate w

> With networks of women peacemakers in place in both Africa and the Asia-Pacific region, in 2012 the focus of the HD Centre's programme shifted to identifying opportunities for women to become actively involved in all stages of the peacemaking process: from initial discussions through to peace agreements and during the important implementation phase.

In Africa, the Women's Reference Group network of experienced female mediators set up by the HD Centre formed a subgroup to focus on involving women in efforts to restore peace in Mali. The Reference Group advised Malian women on strategies for getting involved in negotiations and also met those involved in mediation efforts to advocate for their involvement. Malian women were subsequently invited to attend an African Union meeting where they were formally acknowledged by the Secretary-General. They also produced a communiqué which proposed that the mediation process should involve women and take account of UNSCR 1325. This communiqué was publicised across West Africa and presented to the lead mediator who expressed an interest in working with the women to incorporate their proposals into the process.

In Asia, as the peace process in the Philippines between the Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) built to a crucial stage, the HD Centre worked with a local women's rights organisation - Nisa UI Hagg Fi Bangsamoro - to support three seminars. These aimed to raise awareness among those in the

opposition movement of how women's rights and gender could be considered during the negotiations which led to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro in October 2012.

In order to demonstrate how gender considerations can be incorporated into the text of peace agreements, in 2012 the Asia "Women at the Peace Table" project published, From clause to effect: including women's rights and gender in peace agreements. The Philippine Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, Teresita Quintos Deles, provided the foreword. This unique publication offers peacemaking communities practical examples they can use to ensure that peace agreements reflect and support the rights of both men and women.

The HD Centre has also been working on a new way to ensure women are considered, and involved, in the implementation of agreements too. opportunities for women Following the HD Centre's support for the mediation process led by Kofi Annan in Kenya in 2008 which resulted in the Kenya National the peacemaking process. Dialogue and Reconciliation agreements, the organisa-

tion has been working with the African Woman and Child Features Service to facilitate online discussions about how the agreements have affected the lives of Kenyan women. These "cyber dialogues" have provided a new way for women's views to be considered and have offered valuable



articipants at a regional dialogue roundtable in Nepal discuss the role of women in peace processes. March 2012.



Participants at a regional dialogue roundtable in Nepal discuss the role of women in peace processes, March 2012.

*In 2012, the focus* 

shifted to identifying

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information for organisations involved in the implementation including the African Union Panel of Eminent African Personalities. The discussions

> have highlighted a lack of awareness among Kenyan women of the way the agreements relate to them which is not only a concern in itself, but also indicates that women may not currently be able to monitor, or get involved in, the implementation of the agreements.

> To ensure the HD Centre

also considers gender and the involvement of women in its own peacemaking projects, in 2012 the "Women at the Peace Table" Asia team provided advice to several projects within the organisation including on how gender could be considered in the design of peacemaking activities in Myanmar. The HD Centre also convened an "Experts Exchange Process Meeting" in Chiang Mai in Thailand to identify how organisations involved in supporting peace processes can consider gender issues in their work. Six members of the HD Centre's staff in Asia were also supported by 'gender mentors' who offered ongoing advice about incorporating gender concerns into their operational work. This pilot scheme has been so successful that other organisations are now considering setting up their own gender mentoring process.

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Mediating to increase humanitarian access in conflict situations

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Ja; Creative, and willingness to take risks for peace; and at is reliable, discreet and astute. The Centre for Humanita

> As an independent mediation organisation, the HD Centre has several distinct advantages when it comes to responding to humanitarian crises, especially those which are linked to conflict. Its independence gives it the flexibility to act quickly and the HD Centre's mediation experience may also be very valuable in helping other humanitarian organisations to negotiate access to people who need aid or civilians who are affected by conflict. Equally importantly, by facilitating dialogue between parties in armed conflict on humanitarian issues, the HD Centre can build confidence and establish connections which could lead to mediation on a political solution to the conflict.

> > In Africa, the HD Centre's Humanitarian Mediation Programme, headed by Senior Humanitarian Adviser Dennis McNamara, is working with networks of nomads from all five regions of Darfur to identify their humanitarian needs and connect them to humanitarian institutions that can help. In 2012, the HD Centre arranged four workshops involving representatives from the five networks as well as those from United Nations (UN) agencies and other relevant organisations. As a result of the HD Centre's efforts, the five Nomadic Networks are now registered as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) with the Federal Humanitarian Aid Commission in Sudan and the UN has undertaken eight projects to address some of the immediate needs of nomadic communities. These include water, health and education projects as well as some which specifically focus on addressing the needs of nomadic women.

Meanwhile, the Programme's work in Asia has included responding to a request by the Minister of Immigration and Population in Myanmar to convene a discussion on refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs). The HD Centre subsequently held a workshop in Napyitaw with representatives from several Ministries within the Myanmar Government as well as the police. At the workshop, the HD Centre focused on Cambodia as a relevant case study and outlined particular issues to consider in relation to refugees and IDPs including the role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The HD Centre also invited a representative from the Myanmar Peace Support Initiative to outline its work with refugees and IDPs in Myanmar's Kayin State which provided a useful local example.

The HD Centre's independence and experience is also

valuable in facilitating closed-door meetings for representatives from the international community on shared humanitarian concerns in particularly challenging conflict environments. Since 2011, the organisation has been gathering senior humanitarian and government representatives at its headquarters in Geneva to discuss humanitarian crises as they arise, as well as to share operational experience and to develop joint approaches to improving humanitarian access. In 2012, the

The HD Centre's mediation experience may be very valuable in helping other humanitarian organisations to negotiate access. HD Centre hosted roundtable meetings on Somalia, South Sudan, Myanmar and Syria which were chaired by the Swedish Permanent Mission. By literally getting senior managers around a table to discuss humanitarian concerns in these countries and develop proposals for addressing them, the HD Centre hopes to have an impact on their operations on

the ground and improve humanitarian assistance in areas where conflict makes it difficult to access communities. The meetings have also helped the HD Centre to identify where it could make a valuable contribution to humanitarian efforts and the organisation has now established a humanitarian mediation project in one of the countries and developed its operational work in two of the other countries concerned following these discussions.



Humanitarian mediation workshop with Nomad Networks, Darfur, Sudan, April 2012.



tors and peace process actors to discuss the latest developments in peace processes around the world. To foster open and candid discussions, the main retreat is not open to the public. However, each year a report is published to share insights from the event with the wider peacemaking profession and, in 2012, the opening session – which featured Aung San Suu Kyi and U2 singer Bono – was also broadcast live on the internet: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ud/lyd\_bilde/ nett-tv-2/oslo-forum---suu-kyi.html?id=685558



From clause to effect: including women's rights and gender in peace agreements Having recognised the importance of ensuring peace agreements make explicit provisions for both men and women, in this publication the HD Centre's "Women at the

Peace Table Asia-Pacific" project offers policy makers, field practitioners and mediators practical guidelines for considering and including gender in the text of peace agreements. It draws on six peace agreements from the Asia-Pacific region and shows how important and sensitive changes to the wording, and references to international norms such as United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, could help future peace agreements address gender concerns more effectively.

to international debate – The HD Centre's publications

Contributing

One of the ways the HD Centre contributes to international debates around mediation and peacemaking is by documenting its own experience and expertise – and that of other peacemakers – in publications. In 2012, these included a report from the annual Oslo Forum gathering of mediators and those involved in peace processes, a guide to help mediators to draft peace agreements which are more gender-sensitive and reflect women's rights, and a close look at the way local mediators are trying to address conflict in the southern Philippines.



OSIOFORUM2012 \*\*

their own Hands Sharing comparative experiences between peacemakers in different places is an important part of the HD Centre's work in the Philippines and beyond. This publication focuses on the efforts of the Tumikang

**Taking Peace into** 

Sama Sama, a small body of well-respected local individuals on the island of Sulu in the southern Philippines who work to mediate peaceful resolutions to conflicts in their own communities. The HD Centre has supported the work of the Tumikang Sama Sama for several years and this evaluation of their activities aims to offer insights to those in other communities which may be affected by conflict. It also features five Tausug women mediators and illustrates their commitment to resolving conflicts in Sulu non-violently.

### Speaking your language – making HD Centre publications more accessible

As an independent mediation organisation based in Geneva, the HD Centre is very aware of the need to share its expertise, experiences and publications with as many peacemakers as possible in the international community. Consequently, in 2012, all three issues of the HD Centre's Mediation Practice Series – on external actors in mediation, engaging with armed groups and negotiating ceasefires – were translated into French. To increase access to the organisation's publications in Asia, the HD Centre's *Peacemaking in Asia and the Pacific: Women's participation, perspectives and priorities* publication was translated into Thai, Tagalog and Bahasa Indonesia.

The HD Centre's publications are available as free downloads from: www.hdcentre.org/en/resources/publications/

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connections between art and peace

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The role of art in war and peace has been the focus of an exhibition installed at the Villa Plantamour, the HD Centre's headquarters, in October 2012. The HD Centre is fortunate to be able to use the Villa Plantamour in Geneva as its headquarters. This beautiful building on the bank of Lac Léman is loaned to the organisation by the City of Geneva to support the HD Centre's work as an independent mediation organisation. The Villa is an architectural artwork in its own right, and, since October 2012, its walls have been enhanced by the hanging of artworks by international artists whose work considers how art can support peace. It is the result of a new colla-boration between the HD Centre and an independent Swiss foundation called artasfoundation for peace which was established in Zürich 2011 to explore the relationship between art, conflict mediation and peacebuilding.

> The exhibition is focused on a suite of three rooms facing the lake which provide a unique environment for hosting delicate discussions between those in conflict. The rooms are also made available at no cost to other humanitarian organisations working in a similar field. As a result, the walls bear witness to many vital discussions which aim to contribute to the resolution of global conflict and the reduction of human suffering around the world. By hanging thought-provoking artworks on its walls, the HD Centre hopes that those working and meeting in the building as well as those visiting the Villa will become more aware of the connections between art and peace, and of the work of international artists in this area.

The "Art and Peace" collaboration was formally launched in October 2012 with a reception at the Villa Plantamour and the HD Centre was honoured by the presence of two of the three artists. Sixty guests came to celebrate this new collaboration, including representatives from the local and international communities in Geneva as well as the Permanent Missions based in the city. They were welcomed to the event by the HD Centre's Executive Director, Dr David Harland, as well as Ms Danielle Nanchen and Ms Dagmar









'Art and Peace' exhibition at the HD Centre's headquarters, Geneva, Oct. 2012

Reichert from the Executive Board of the artasfoundation. The exhibition's Curator, Catherine David, subsequently introduced the guests to the artists and their work. The eclectic nature of the initial "Art and Peace" exhibition reflects the international way in which the HD Centre works and features artworks by Mr Ayaz Jokhio from Pakistan, Ms Beatrice Minda from Germany and Ms Hajra Waheed from Canada.



*The 'Art and Peace'* exhibition also reflects the HD Centre's interest in fostering peacemaking in all its forms.

The "Art and Peace" exhibition not only reflects the interest of the artasfoundation organisation in exploring the links between art and conflict mediation, it also reflects the HD Centre's interest in supporting the peacebuilding community, maintaining good relationships with the local and international community in Geneva, and fostering peacemaking in all its forms. Following this first exhibition both organisations plan to continue the collaboration with further exhibitions in the future.

The HD Centre is honoured to be part of this initiative and would like to thank the artasfoundation for its trust and support in this endeavour. For more information on the artasfoundation, please visit the organisation's website:

http://www.artasfoundation.ch/

**Governance** and Finances

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### The HD Centre's Board

The HD Centre's Board brings together leading figures in the fields of diplomacy, conflict resolution, international affairs and finance to steer the organisation's strategy and oversee its management by the Executive Director and the Senior Management Team. All the Board Members serve on a voluntary basis and meet three times a year. The HD Centre's Board also has two sub-committees – an Operations Committee as well as an Audit and Finance Committee – which focus on the organisation's projects as well as its financial controls and also meet three times a year.

In 2012, the HD Centre welcomed two new members to its Board: Ambassador Ellen Margrethe Løj in June and Dr Jakob Kellenberger in November, while two longstanding members, Ambassador Jenö Staehelin and Ms Karin Jestin, stood down from their positions. Formerly Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Staehelin temporarily led the HD Centre Board between March and November 2012 when the Chairman at the time, Mr Guéhenno, became Deputy Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States on Syria. Ms Jestin had been both a Member and a former Chairman of the HD Centre Board when she stood down in November 2012. Ambassador Staehelin and Ms Jestin have contributed enormously to the organisation over the past six years, supporting the HD Centre through its development and providing it with the necessary strategic guidance. The HD Centre and its staff would like to convey their sincere gratitude to both of them for their dedication, contribution, and the time they have devoted to the HD Centre over the last few years.



#### Mr Jean-Marie Guéhenno - Chairman

Mr Guéhenno was elected Chairman of the HD Centre Board at the end of 2010. From March to November 2012, he temporarily stood down from the Board when he was appointed Deputy Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States on Syria. He had previously served as the United Nations' Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations between 2000 and 2008. Mr Guéhenno is the current Arnold Salzman Professor of Professional Practice at Columbia University and a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. A former French diplomat, he held the position of Chairman of the Institut des hautes études de défense nationale between 1998 and 2000, and he was a Member of the Cour des Comptes in Paris from 1976 to 2000. Mr Guéhenno is an Officer of the 'Légion d'honneur' and a Commander of the 'Bundesverdienstkreuz'. He resumed his role as a Member and Chairman of the HD Centre Board in November 2012.



#### Ambassador Ellen Margrethe Løj – Vice Chair (as of 2013)

Ambassador Løj joined the HD Centre's Board in 2012 after serving for four years as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Liberia. Before that she spent 35 years in the Danish Foreign Service including serving as Ambassador to the Czech Republic in 2007 and as Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York from 2001 to 2007. While in New York, she represented Denmark on the United Nations Security Council from 2005 to 2006. During her diplomatic career, she also served as State Secretary with responsibility for Denmark's relations with Asia, Africa and Latin America from 1996 to 2001 and as Ambassador to Israel from 1989 to 1992. In addition to being on the Board of the HD Centre, Ambassador Løj is also the Chair of the International Board of Directors and Members Assembly at Plan International.



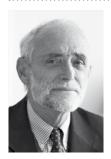
#### Mr Jermyn Brooks - Chairman of the Audit and Finance Committee

Mr Brooks is the former Executive Director and Chief Financial Officer of the anti-corruption civil society organisation Transparency International. He was on Transparency International's Board of Directors from 2003 to 2006 and was elected again for three years in 2011. His main focus is supporting the organisation's work to improve corporate transparency and integrity. Mr Brooks also chairs the Board of the Global Network Initiative. He is a former worldwide Chairman of Price Waterhouse and took a key role in the merger negotiations which resulted in the company becoming PricewaterhouseCoopers in 1998. Mr Brooks has been a member of the HD Centre's Board since 2011 and he is the current Chairman of the Audit and Finance Committee which reviews the financial management of the organisation on behalf of the Board.



### Mr Vidar Helgesen - Chairman of the Operations Committee

Mr Helgesen has been the Secretary-General of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) since 2006. He was Norway's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2001 to 2005. Between 1998 and 2001, he served as a Special Adviser to the President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Geneva. He holds a law degree from the University of Oslo and has practised as an Attorney-at-Law. Mr Helgesen has been a Member of the HD Centre's Board since 2008 and he is the current Chairman of the Operations Committee which assists the Board in supervising the organisation's operational work.



### Dr Jakob Kellenberger

Dr Kellenberger had spent more than a decade as the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross when he joined the HD Centre's Board in 2012. A former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Head of the Directorate of Political Affairs in the Swiss Foreign Ministry from 1992 to 1999, he has also served in Swiss embassies in Madrid, Brussels and London. Between 1984 and 1992, he headed up the Office for European Integration, serving first as a Minister and later as an Ambassador with responsibility for relations with the European Union and the European Free Trade Association. Dr Kellenberger holds a Doctorate Honoris Causa from the Universities of Basel and Catania. He is an Honorary Counsellor of, and teaches at, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. He also teaches in the Law Faculty at the University of Salamanca in Spain. Dr Kellenberger is an Honorary Member of the American Society of International Law, as well as a member of the Advisory Panel for Swiss Re and of the Council for the Future of Europe.



### Ms Irene Khan

Ms Khan is the Director-General of the International Development Law Organization (IDLO), a position she formally took up on 1 January 2012. An international thought leader on human rights, gender and social justice issues, Ms Khan was Secretary General of Amnesty International from 2001 to 2009. Prior to that, she worked for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for 21 years at its headquarters and in various field operations. She was Visiting Professor at the State University of New York Law School (Buffalo) in 2011. Ms Khan is Chancellor of Salford University (UK), and a member of the UNAIDS High Level Commission on HIV Prevention. She sits on the Boards of several international human rights and development organisations. Ms Khan received the Sydney Peace Prize in 2006 for her work to end violence against women and girls. Her book, *The Unheard Truth: Poverty and Human Rights* has been translated into seven languages. Born in Bangladesh, Ms Khan studied law at the University of Manchester and Harvard Law School.



#### Ambassador Ravmond Loretan

Ambassador Loretan is Chairman of the Board of the Swiss broadcasting corporation (SRG SSR) as well as a founding partner of the consulting firm Fasel Balet Loretan Associés. A former Swiss Ambassador and Diplomatic Secretary to the Swiss Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Loretan also worked as personal adviser to the Minister of Defence and of Justice and Police. He was Ambassador of Switzerland in Singapore and Consul General in New York, and served as Secretary-General of the Swiss Christian Democratic Party from 1993 to 1997. In addition to being a Member of the HD Centre Board since 2011, Ambassador Loretan is also Chairman of the Genolier Swiss Medical Network Group, as well as a Member of the Boards of several other companies.



### Dr Ghassan Salamé

Dr Salamé is the Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs and Professor of International Relations at Sciences Po in Paris. Dr Salamé was a Senior Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General from 2003 to 2006, and Political Advisor to the United Nations Mission in Iraq in 2003. From 2000 to 2003, he was Lebanon's Minister of Culture, as well as Chairman and Spokesman of the Organisation Committee for the Arab Summit (March 2002) and of the Francophone Summit (October 2002) in Beirut. Dr Salamé has been a Member of the HD Centre Board since 2011 and presently sits on the Board of various organisations including the International Crisis Group. He is also the founding Chairman of the Arab Fund for Arts and Culture (Beirut).



# Mr Steimer has been the Chairman of the Board for the Banque Cantonale Vaudoise since 2002. He is also the Chairman of the Foundation Board of the Swiss Finance Institute as well as Vice-Chairman of the Bank Council of the Swiss National Bank and of the Swiss Federal Railways. From 1983 to 2002, Mr Steimer held various positions with Credit Suisse Group in domestic and international banking including roles as Head, Geneva Region; Member of the Executive Board, Private Banking and Financial Services; and Chief Executive Officer, Private Banking International. Mr Steimer has been a Member of the HD Centre's Board since 2009 and he is also a Member of the Boards of economiesuisse, Avenir Suisse, ACE Ltd and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zürich.



#### Dr Javier Solana - The HD Centre's Honorary President

Since 2010, the HD Centre has also been honoured to have Dr Javier Solana as its Honorary President. Dr Solana is the former Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union and former High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (1999 to 2009). He was Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) from 1995 to 1999, and Spain's Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1992 to 1995. Dr Solana is currently President of the ESADE Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics, Distinguished Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution, and a Member of the Boards of the International Crisis Group, the European Council on Foreign Relations, and Human Rights Watch.

**Governance** and Finances

d are committed to re a, and to collab Herry Support (for increases for the HD Centre and its role in international peacemaking

In 2012, the HD Centre's work attracted funding from a broad range of governments and organisations, receiving support from 27 different donors. This breadth of support indicates continued strong interest in the HD Centre's work and its approach to peacemaking.

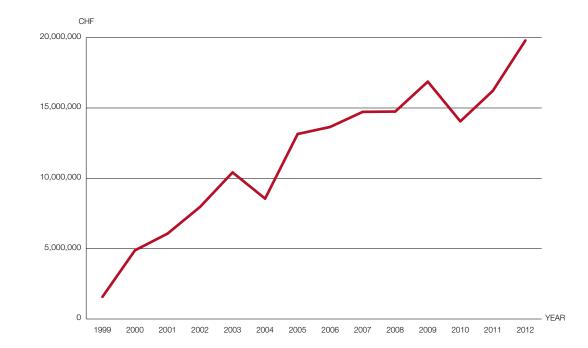
> Overall levels of funding for the organisation increased from CHF 16.2 million in 2011 to CHF 19.8 million in 2012. This reflects a growing interest in peaceful conflict resolution enabling the HD Centre to respond quickly to rapid changes in global dynamics and to develop targeted work in those places where peace is absent, fragile or threatened.

> > To ensure the most effective use of its resources, the HD Centre continues to monitor the impact of its work and regularly reviews its regional programmes in order to develop effective ways to foster peace.

### The strategic division of the HD Centre's budget

The HD Centre's ability to undertake this range of work across several regions is made possible by the generosity of its donors. The institutional support it receives from donors including the governments of Norway, Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark, allows the HD Centre to engage early in developing crises and respond to opportunities in an attempt to affect the course of long-standing conflicts; oversee the strategic direction of the organisation; ensure good governance; and provide essential core services. This group of institutional donors expanded to include the United Kingdom in late 2012 and the Adessium Foundation in early 2013.

In 2012, Switzerland also contributed CHF 250,000 to the HD Centre's Consolidation Fund for the six year operating period from 2012 to 2017. The Consolidation Fund is designed as a multidonor instrument aimed at enabling the HD Centre to respond to unexpected events including reacting rapidly to new peacemaking opportunities and better accommodating donor grant constraints. It is controlled by the HD Centre's Board.



During the year, the HD Centre increased the number of donors who provide support for operational projects, helping the organisation to move forward its efforts to resolve specific conflicts. The HD Centre continued to receive project support from the European Union as well as the governments of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Ireland,

Liechtenstein, Singapore and the United States. The organisation also received project support from Humanity United, the Foundation for the Third Millennium, the Open Society Institute and George Soros, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and The Charitable Foundation. In ad-

continues to monitor the *impact of its work.* dition, in 2012, new project support was received

To ensure the most

effective use of its

resources, the HD Centre

from the United Nations as well as the German Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, the Institute for Inclusive Security, PeaceNexus and the United States Institute of Peace.

The City of Geneva offers significant in-kind support by providing the HD Centre with the Villa Plantamour to use as its headquarters and, most importantly, as a unique place for parties in conflict to meet in peace. The Villa's position, close to many other international organisations, also enables it to contribute to, and benefit from, the

> international peacemaking aspirations of the city and those working in it.

> The HD Centre is grateful to all those who supported its work in 2012 and continue to support its development as an independent mediation organisation. This has

enabled the HD Centre to generate ambitious and positive plans for work in 2013. The organisation continues to seek new supporters, particularly from the private sector, in order to increase its impact on the peaceful prevention and resolution of conflicts through dialogue.

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Design, layout and printing: - www • messaggio.eu • com

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