

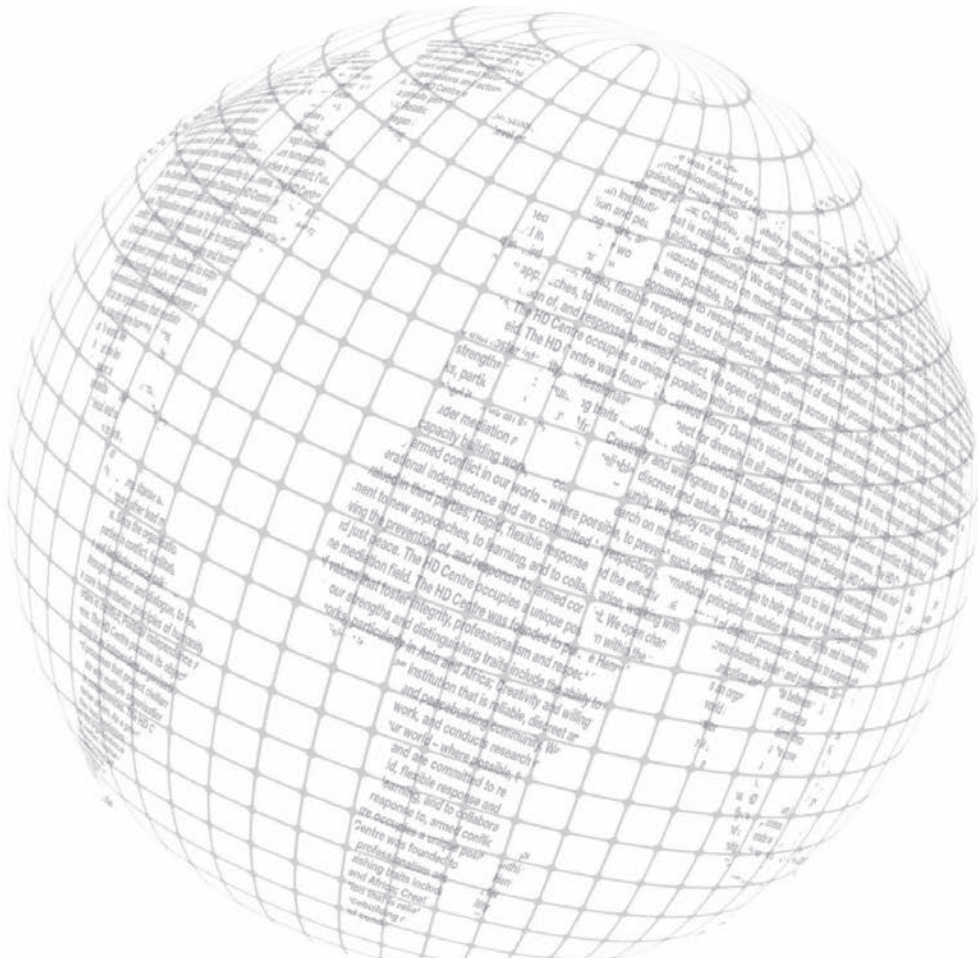


Centre for  
Humanitarian  
Dialogue

*Mediation for peace*

# The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in **2017**

## Annual Report



# Credits

**The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD)** is a private diplomacy organisation founded on the principles of humanity, impartiality and independence. Its mission is to help prevent, mitigate, and resolve armed conflict through dialogue and mediation.

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# Table of Contents

<b>The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue</b>	
Mediation for Peace .....	4
<b>A Tribute to Dr Surin Pitsuwan .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2017 Operations in Perspective .....</b>	<b>8</b>
Middle East and North Africa .....	12
Africa .....	15
Eurasia .....	22
Asia .....	24
<b>Finding their Place at the Table</b>	
A detailed look at the work of HD's 'insider' mediators .....	26
<b>Highlight on HD's 2017 Publications .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>HD Governance – The Board .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Funding and Finances .....</b>	<b>37</b>

# The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

## *Mediation for Peace*

**T**he Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) is a private diplomacy organisation which works to prevent, mitigate and resolve armed conflicts and crises through dialogue and mediation. Founded on the principles of humanity, impartiality and independence, the organisation is driven by a simple vision: *Mediation for peace*.

Wars, uprisings, political crises, contested electoral processes, or potentially violent political transitions – every situation is unique. In each case, HD works with the stakeholders to find the solutions which best fit the context. In some instances, HD opens channels of communication with, and mediates directly between, conflict parties at the highest level, providing a confidential space for them to explore options for a negotiated settlement or for humanitarian access. At other times, HD supports or facilitates dialogue with a wider range of representatives, including civil society as well as national and community leaders.

HD may also step back to discreetly facilitate the work of other mediators. The organisation may work collaboratively with third parties to support their work as lead facilitators, or provide technical support to processes led by other entities.

HD will engage with any group or actor provided they can contribute to preventing or ending armed conflict and violence. The organisation is able to draw on experience in all areas of dialogue and mediation.

Across its operations, HD looks for creative options for managing conflicts and crises, with a clear focus on the impact of its initiatives. It invests in tailor-made interventions which are measurably effective and support the establishment of inclusive and lasting peace.

### **Leading on mediation expertise**

HD also plays a leadership role across the mediation sector in promoting discussion around



**Photo:** Representatives of the signatories of the Algiers Agreement attend a workshop co-organised by HD in Bamako to discuss the Agreement's dissemination and difficulties around its appropriation, June 2017. © MINUSMA/Sylvain Liechti

emerging challenges as well as sharing insights drawn from its own operational experiences. The organisation's peacemaking interventions are supported and strengthened by HD's Mediation Support and Policy Programme which combines the cross-cutting functions of providing mediation expertise and support to the organisation's projects and other peacemaking actors, as well as expertise and support for the organisation's strategy, monitoring, evaluation and learning.

### **A solid track record**

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Over the past three years, HD has facilitated almost 40 agreements across the world, including peace and conflict management accords, violence reduction or local settlements, as well as deals to enable humanitarian access. HD also continues to help conflict parties achieve interim declarations and joint commitments. These results, and the trust which conflict parties and stakeholders place in the organisation, put HD at the forefront of international efforts to prevent, mitigate and resolve armed conflict. They also reflect the organisation's broad reach and expanding role, as well as its capacity to adapt to evolving sources of conflict and insecurity.

### **Discretion and responsiveness**

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As a private entity, HD can react quickly and flexibly to emerging crises or outbreaks of violence, and can take more calculated risks than larger organisations or actors working through formal diplomatic channels.

One of HD's greatest values lies in its capacity to intervene quietly and discreetly. Its discretion and confidential approach allow it to engage in situations where official actors and those in conventional diplomacy circles may not. These attributes also allow HD to engage on issues that may seem insoluble to others and, most importantly, with actors – such as rebel movements, armed groups and extremist organisations – which are the hardest to reach and remain elusive to many in the peacemaking community.

**“** *HD will engage with any group or actor provided it can contribute to preventing or ending armed conflict and violence.*

### **A decentralized approach**

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To remain efficient in a rapidly evolving international context, HD has established a decentralized structure. It has five regional hubs covering Africa, Francophone Africa, Asia, Eurasia, as well as the Middle East and North Africa. This agile structure gives HD the capacity to respond rapidly to emerging crises or conflict situations, as well as to create unique regional networks and develop deep knowledge of local contexts. The regional hubs are supported by a lean headquarters in Switzerland, which provides executive oversight and corporate support.

### **Ensuring the inclusiveness of peacemaking initiatives**

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For almost 15 years, HD has been working pragmatically to support more inclusive peace processes. Building on its capacity to work with diverse actors and its niche as a private organisation with access to high-level dialogue processes, HD is working to ensure the meaningful contribution of women, young people and civil society to peace processes.

The participation of an inclusive range of representatives can bring significant benefits to a peace process. It is often through the involvement of these groups that innovative ideas and new perspectives emerge and inform the outcomes of peacemaking efforts. Fostering inclusion can take many forms depending on the peace process and the political space available for civil society representatives, women and young people to participate.



# A Tribute to Dr Surin Pitsuwan



**Photo:** ASEAN Secretary General Surin Pitsuwan at the opening of the 44th ASEAN Foreign Minister Meeting in Nusa Dua, in Indonesia's resort island of Bali, 19 July 2011. © Reuters/Murdani Usman

It was with great sadness that HD learned of the death of the organisation's Board Member and long-time supporter, Dr Surin Pitsuwan, on 30 November 2017.

## **Surin Pitsuwan – An advocate of peace**

If there was one man in recent history who managed to overcome some of Southeast Asia's obstacles and project the region's vitality and importance, it was Surin Pitsuwan of Thailand, who passed away of a heart attack on 30 November 2017 at the age of 68.

Surin was best known as a gregarious, always obliging, and highly articulate statesman who first came to prominence as Foreign Minister of Thailand in the 1990s, and later served as

Secretary-General of the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) from 2008-2013.

Southeast Asia is a hard region for anyone to straddle. There is no common language, sovereignty is strongly asserted, and there are multitudes of deeply-felt enmities. Surin presented a credible, assured face to the world in a region that often confuses and confounds its international partners. He was frequently consulted by major powers in search of answers. His outward idealism and optimism for the region, however, belied a deep sense of pragmatism; he had a keen sense of the obstacles, whether it was reforming government or effective regional action.

Surin's lasting legacy will be how he overcame these obstacles to do some good. As

Thai Foreign Minister in the late 1990s, Surin was confronted by violence in East Timor. While ASEAN, as a whole, was reluctant to get involved, with some of its member states resisting intervention, Surin resorted to what he called “quiet diplomacy” to see what could be done.

As he put it much later: “We mobilized those who were willing and able, and therefore avoided the need for a full consensus, which would have been impossible to achieve”. As a result, Thailand became the first ASEAN nation to join a coalition of foreign peacekeepers that went into East Timor in September 1999.

Surin was also extremely vital in the Aceh Peace Process which HD steered from 1999 to 2003 between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the leadership of the Free Aceh Movement. HD became officially responsible for facilitating the peace process between representatives from both sides and Surin was one of the key ‘Wise Men’ who were instrumental in bringing the peace process to fruition.

When Cyclone Nargis hit Myanmar in May 2008, Surin was only a few months into his job as ASEAN Secretary-General. He had already started to raise hackles in the capitals of some member states by pointing out that part of his mandate was to provide good offices to help resolve disputes. Most of his ASEAN ministerial colleagues were steeped in the principle of non-interference, and regarded Surin as a risky operator.

However, the devastating tropical storm which swept across the densely-populated delta region of southern Myanmar, killing tens of thousands of people, presented a clear case for a need for outside help. Amid the Myanmar Government’s reservations about allowing unprecedented external humanitarian interventions in its country, Surin’s swift diplomacy (triangulated between regional capitals, the major powers and the UN) resulted in a creative tripartite relief effort led by ASEAN.

Surin managed to leave his mark on the ASEAN, establishing the organisation’s Humanitarian Assistance Center. Set up in the wake of Cyclone Nargis, today the Center is

operating on the ground in Myanmar’s Rakhine State, where it is delivering modest amounts of aid.

Surin also backed the idea of establishing an ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, which he originally hoped would provide a platform for dispute resolution in the region.

After leaving ASEAN in 2013, Surin embarked on a ceaseless whirl of international engagements which helped him to highlight South-east Asia’s vitality on the world stage. He advised the Sasakawa Peace Foundation and Nippon Foundation in Japan, and served on the boards of International IDEA in Sweden and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

In these roles, Surin continued to use quiet diplomacy to promote peace and reconciliation. At the time of his death, he was helping other senior ASEAN statesmen to devise a strategy for engaging with Myanmar to address the humanitarian crisis in Rakhine State, and had been approached by the UN to assume the role of Special Envoy.

Having served as a Member of Parliament for almost two decades, he was as comfortable on the stump in his home town of Nakhorn Si Thammarat (where his mother still runs an Islamic college) as he was at the podium at international conferences.

The need to help recover Thailand’s mantle as a democracy drove Surin, in the last year of his life, to contemplate a run for the elected governorship of Bangkok, where he lived with his family. Many friends questioned this course of action, but Surin was characteristically bullish about the future. He regarded his final mission as helping Thailand return to democracy. And perhaps misguidedly, he considered that local elections, such as the one in Bangkok, could pave the way. He cannot be faulted for trying. Many others have simply enjoyed the international circuit and turned their backs on a difficult situation.

*This tribute is based on an obituary originally written by HD’s Regional Director for Asia, Michael Vatikiotis, for the Nikkei Asian Review on 1<sup>st</sup> December 2017. The full obituary can be read online at <https://asia.nikkei.com/Viewpoints/Michael-Vatikiotis/Statesman-who-raised-ASEAN-s-international-profile>.*

# 2017 Operations in Perspective

**A**t the end of 2017, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres issued a “red alert” to the international community, urging states to: “Narrow the gaps. Bridge the divides. Rebuild trust by bringing people together around common goals”. Guterres’ appeal pointed to core attributes of mediation which have been pursued by HD in nearly two decades of preventing, mitigating and resolving armed conflict through dialogue and mediation.

At a time when escalating tensions between powers, the global spread of sectarian extremism, as well as proliferating wars between state and non-state armed groups are severely straining international mechanisms for tackling emerging security threats, private diplomacy continues to have a pivotal role in bridging gaps in international peacemaking. Starting from a cast iron commitment to the principles of independence and impartiality, in 2017 HD pursued 40 projects in more than 30 countries. In doing this, the organisation engaged with parties to the world’s most dangerous and destabilising conflicts which account for both a high percentage of casualties and the movement of 60 million people who have been forced to flee violence across borders or within their own countries.

Operating largely beyond the reach of formal diplomatic channels, HD made progress in nearly all its projects in 2017. The organisation built confidence and engaged with the hardest-to-reach groups whose participation can end or prevent violent conflict. Throughout the year, the organisation kept a hard-headed focus on delivering tangible results and achieved progress as part of a wide spectrum of activities which saved lives, lowered tensions and improved living conditions for people in conflict areas from Syria to the Sulu Sea:

- In **Syria**, HD’s efforts contributed to the inclusion of armed opposition groups in the Geneva and Astana talks, during which four big de-escalation zones were agreed upon and established. They were preceded by a series of local ceasefires – some of which were facilitated by HD – that contributed to lowering levels of violence around Damascus and in the south of the country. HD also managed, through discreet meetings, to highlight the importance of finding solutions to the sensitive issue of the Syrian Kurdish ‘autonomous administration’;
- In **Iraq**, HD’s reconciliation efforts contributed to the resumption of relations between representatives of Abu Ghraib and the Iraqi state which has allowed the Iraqi army to remove unexploded ordnance from Abu Ghraib and permitted the return of up to 30,000 people so far;
- In a meeting of all **Libyan** mayors and heads of local authorities, convened by HD and recognised by the UN as “historic”, representatives agreed to a joint call for unity to end the seven-year conflict in order to prevent further fragmentation;
- HD’s unique network of contacts opened up access for health workers to hard-to-reach and insecure areas of **the Central African Republic and Afghanistan**, and for the delivery of medicines to civilians in **Libya**;
- A cessation of hostilities agreement mediated by HD between two armed groups in the province of Nana-Mambéré in the **Central African Republic** demonstrated there are possibilities for breaking the cycle of violence which has paralysed the country since 2013;
- To reduce insecurity in the border areas between **Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso**,



HD opened channels of communication between the three States, the armed groups active in the area, and the local communities they are defending;

- HD's mediation between the Government of **Mali** and armed groups led to the set-up of interim authorities in Gao and Timbuktu. Initially planned in the framework of the 2015 Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation, the measure had been resisted by dissident armed groups;
- Inclusive networks of local and national leaders from pastoral and sedentary communities in the **Sahel**, which have been set up and supported by HD since 2015, have led to a dramatic decrease in conflict across pastoral areas. 108 conflicts have been resolved by these networks since January 2017;
- With HD's support, the Presidents of the Federal Government of **Somalia** (FGS) and of **Somaliland** (SL) have committed to resuming their stalled political talks.
- In **Moldova**, HD provided a channel for dialogue between top-level representatives

from Moldova and the break-away region of Transnistria, offering conflict parties an informal space to brainstorm creative ideas and suggest solutions to issues that may otherwise stall, or be too publicly politicized in, the formal negotiation process led by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

- In the **South China Sea**, dialogue facilitated by HD between claimant states including China, Malaysia, Vietnam and the Philippines produced an informal agreement which is intended to govern interactions between the region's maritime law enforcement agencies;
- In **the Philippines**, clan leaders and local officials, assisted by HD, resolved 11 clan conflicts in the violence-prone province of Sulu.

This broad range of operations was undertaken by a total staff of about 150. They include a small management team in Geneva which leads the strategic oversight of operations as well as sector-wide critical reflections on areas such as the monitoring and



**Photo:** Children in Mosul's Old City, which has been laid to rubble, February 2018. © IRIN/Tom Westcott

evaluation of mediation practice. HD's network of regional offices co-ordinates the work of its small, agile project teams. Regional operations are reinforced through the provision of surge capacity by HD's Geneva-based **Mediation Support** team. This decentralised structure operated on a total budget of CHF34 million in 2017 and enabled HD to respond quickly to emerging needs and opportunities.

During 2017, the organisation also continued to foster reflection and collaboration among

mediators through the **Oslo Forum**, which HD co-hosts with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Over 100 high-level decision-makers, senior mediators and members of conflict parties came together to consider the impact of great power rivalry on conflict resolution.

The Forum's sessions included discussions between Colombian Foreign Minister María Ángela Holguín and FARC-EP Head Rodrigo Londoño, as well as exchanges with a variety of prominent leaders including former UN



**Photo:** Opening Plenary session of the Oslo Forum 2017 with (from left to right) Norwegian Foreign Minister, Borge Brende, Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno L.P. Marsudi, former US Secretary of State John F. Kerry, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and



Secretary-General Kofi Annan, UN Special Envoy for Syria Staffan de Mistura, former US Secretary of State John Kerry, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini, former South African President Thabo Mbeki, and Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif. The depth and frankness of these discussions consolidated the Forum's reputation as the foremost gathering of peacemakers.

Reaching out to a global audience, HD also published a report on the outcomes of the

Forum and three background papers and interviews with former distinguished participants.

In 2017, HD also continued to strengthen the monitoring and evaluation of its operational effectiveness through a system of peer reviews and learning workshops for its staff from different regions. A donor-practitioner roundtable involving representatives from key donors and other mediation organisations served as an additional forum for critical reflection on how to measure the impact of peacemaking efforts in the most effective manner.



Security Policy Federica Mogherini, and Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, Norway, 13 June 2017.

Credit: Stine Merethe Eid; © HD

HD strengthened partnerships with international organisations as well, including the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Centre of Competence on Humanitarian Negotiation, which comprises the ICRC, the UN's World Food Programme among other international organisations. HD also continued to build collaboration with research and academic bodies, including Geneva's Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and the Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

Additionally, HD's Mediation Support team provided surge capacity for regional operations deploying staff to various operational locations in 2017, including Myanmar and Thailand, and began assisting colleagues in its Somalia programme on issues of process design. Strategic advice and guidance on impartiality and road maps were likewise provided to various operations under the organisation's Africa programme, while HD's specialists on inclusion supported activities in five countries, including Syria, Libya, Mali, Senegal and Nigeria, to develop strategies for broadening participation in peace processes to women, civil society groups and young people. During the year, HD's Executive Director, David Harland, was also invited by UN Secretary-General Guterres to join an 18-person High Level Advisory Board on Mediation. This invitation recognises the value of HD's practical knowledge and strategic perspective as well as what it can offer the mediation sector. HD's Senior Adviser for Africa, Alice Nderitu, was also honoured when she won the inaugural Global Pluralism Award, recognising her tireless efforts to promote pluralism in conflict prevention and mediation as well as inclusion in peace processes.

## **Middle East and North Africa**

2017 saw deepening involvement by HD in some of the Middle East crises which featured at the forefront of international concerns. **Libya** experienced some of the deadliest clashes since the downfall of the Qaddafi regime in 2011, yet HD's engagement with a broad spectrum of influential actors still produced significant results.

In May, HD brought together a wide range of influential political, security, tribal, social and business leaders from all regions who achieved valuable convergence around a number of strong principles. Among those, they agreed on the need to stabilise the country before trying to negotiate a long-term political settlement and they recognised that there are key national institutions which need to be ring-fenced against the prevailing turmoil. They also agreed that local authorities enjoy a degree of legitimacy and need to be allocated more resources to contribute further to stabilising areas under their control.

Building on that recognition, HD brought together nearly all Libyan mayors and heads of local authorities in December 2017. This was the first meeting with such a comprehensive and inclusive group of serving authorities since 2011. It also convened and facilitated the first structured and constructive dialogues with influential parties who have been excluded from the political process since 2011, including former Qaddafi regime officials and revolutionary armed groups. This engagement has elicited a pledge from Libyan stakeholders to pursue peaceful dialogue for a solution to the crisis, and produced a series of confidence-building measures.

HD regularly briefed international stakeholders concerned by the destabilising regional impact of Libya's internal conflicts, particularly European governments, regional states, the United States and Russia. HD also continued to support the United Nations mission in Libya, including after Dr Ghassan Salamé was appointed as the new UN Special Representative and set out to reinvigorate its mediation efforts.

Throughout 2017, HD also held regular meetings with a broad cross-section of political, military and tribal leaders in Libya (including from militias) to foster a constructive approach to ending the crisis and increasing access for humanitarian agencies. As in 2016, HD's contacts and network in the eastern part of the country enabled the delivery of medical aid to Benghazi by air to tackle an outbreak of tuberculosis in the city.

The aid operation – which was orchestrated from Tunisia – was made possible thanks to the direct intervention of Tunisian President Beji Caid Essebsi. This reflects the high-level contacts HD continues to maintain in **Tunisia**. The organisation also made use of these networks in helping the country manage its contacts with neighbouring Libya, a sensitive dimension of the government's efforts to maintain internal stability and insulate itself against the violent turmoil across the border.

Demonstrations sweeping across Tunisia at the start of 2018 underscored the social and economic stresses still confronting its political leaders, who have all risen to office since the 2011 Arab Spring. HD helped identify and facilitate discreet contacts between representatives on both sides of the Tunisian/Libyan border, which led to the reopening of the Ras Jdir crossing point, the main artery for the movement of trade and people which is crucial to the economy of central and southern Tunisia. Having previously worked with political stakeholders to avert violence during Tunisia's 2014 elections, HD also maintained contact

with them in 2017 on stabilisation measures ahead of municipal elections which are due to take place in 2018.

In **Syria**, the seventh year of deadly conflict presented a particularly complex and challenging environment for mediators. HD contributed to the downturn in fighting experienced in parts of the country but peace remained elusive. Ferocious military offensives continued to inflict heavy civilian casualties; half a million people remained trapped in siege-like conditions; and conflict parties came no closer to agreement on a political settlement which is needed to prepare the way for peace and reconstruction.

HD maintained intensive contacts with all stakeholders in the Syrian crisis to explore openings for de-escalating the conflict. HD's contacts with both the armed opposition and the Government of Syria, as well as with relevant Western capitals, enabled the organisation to help broker deals that ended fighting in several areas of Syria, notably around Damascus and in the south.



**Photo:** People walk with their belongings as they flee the rebel-held town of Hammouriyeh, in the village of Beit Sawa, eastern Ghouta, Syria, March 2018. © Reuters/Omar Sanadiki



“*Taking advantage of the defeat of ISIS in Iraq, HD steadily deepened its engagement in the country, building connections between Sunni communities and tribes, the Shia-led government and Shia-dominated Popular Mobilisation Forces, in order to avert the prospect of Iraq plunging into another cycle of sectarian violence.*”

In some cases, these deals provided for the evacuation of opposition fighters to other areas they controlled and allowed for a considerable reduction of violence in some specific locations. HD also contributed suggestions for the drafting and monitoring of ceasefire agreements which were taken up in talks on de-escalation convened by Russia, Turkey and Iran in Astana.

HD worked with humanitarian agencies as well, facilitating contacts with conflict parties to open up access for aid deliveries to displaced people. Talks organised by HD between the Syrian Union of Medical Care and Relief Organisation (UOSSM) and Jordanian authorities led to the delivery of medical supplies to inhabitants of the Rukban camp located on Syria's border with Jordan.

HD liaised closely with UN Special Envoy for Syria, Staffan de Mistura, and his team as well as with European officials on developments in 2017, and held meetings in the United States and Russia on policy issues and the implementation of de-escalation agreements. As military operations by multiple actors progressively drove the Islamic State (ISIS) from its strongholds in east and northeast Syria, governance of the liberated areas became a source of growing tensions between the Syrian Kurdish administration and the Arab communities, as well as between the Syrian Kurdish administration and Turkey. HD convened discreet bilateral meetings to identify mechanisms

for managing those tensions and discuss these governance issues which were not addressed adequately by international peacemaking processes in 2017.

Taking advantage of the defeat of ISIS in Iraq, HD steadily deepened its engagement in the country, building connections between Sunni communities and tribes, the Shia-led government and Shia-dominated Popular Mobilisation Forces, in order to avert the prospect of Iraq plunging into another cycle of sectarian violence. Amid deepening international concerns that the defeat of ISIS would give way to Shia militias taking brutal revenge on Iraq's Sunnis, HD convened government officials in a series of dialogues addressing the grievances of Sunnis in Anbar, Ninawa, the Baghdad Belts and Salaheddin. These exchanges reestablished the authority of Baghdad officials and Sunni community leaders in these areas and yielded tangible results as a follow-up committee set up with HD's support took action on specific issues.

A dialogue between government officials and representatives of Sunni tribes in Abu Ghraib led to the first visit by a delegation of Zawba tribal leaders to Baghdad's Green Zone since 2003. It also led to the deployment of army engineers to clear unexploded ordnance from Abu Ghraib, making it possible for thousands of displaced people to return to the area.

A meeting HD organised between representatives from the Ninewa and Mosul governorates as well as officials from the Prime Minister's Office provided an opportunity to address grievances and critical needs for recovery and stabilisation for people who previously had no channel to the Baghdad leadership. HD also arranged a first meeting between inhabitants of Sinjar and officials from the Prime Minister's Office which led to the latter opening a representative office in Sinjar.

In addition, HD conducted monthly visits to Iraq to consult with the Government and local leaders on mediation-related needs, and liaised closely throughout the year with the UN and international stakeholders including the European Union, the United States and Russia.

## Africa

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HD's experience in the Middle East and Africa underscored the value of peacemaking work at the local and community level to national level stabilisation efforts. Inter-communal dialogues and a Peace Management Network established by HD in central **Nigeria** had already contributed to a significant reduction in violence between Muslim and Christian communities and between villagers and nomadic herdsman in Plateau State in 2016.

In 2017, HD pursued a wide range of activities in the area – including organising quarterly dialogues between communities in Jos and in southern Plateau State – to build confidence in dialogue as a mechanism for solving disputes. It also helped set up a Peace Commission in Kaduna State and a Peace-building Agency in Plateau State launched by the respective State Governments. In December 2017, HD supported the setting up of a conflict early warning and early response system to help monitor developments in the region and enable local stakeholders to design appropriate responses.

As state security forces battled Boko Haram's still active insurgency in Nigeria's north eastern Borno State in 2017, HD continued to lay the foundations for conflict management in local communities. It strengthened a network of local Muslim leaders, bridging the differences between Sufi and Salafi leaders to forge a common stand on religious issues as a basis for dialogue around Boko Haram's ideological underpinnings, and to promote tolerance and reconciliation.

The organisation arranged for a group of Borno religious leaders to take part in a workshop in Niger with experts from the Lake Chad region and Kenya to give them comparative experience in addressing the insurgents' ideology. HD also conducted a mission to assess needs in Gwoza town, a former headquarters of Boko Haram, which involved consulting local communities, displaced people and the military. It then convened a series of inter-faith dialogues to rebuild trust between communities.

HD is also dealing with the impact of Boko Haram's presence in neighbouring **Niger**, where insurgent attacks in the south eastern Diffa region have displaced a quarter of a million people, disrupted the economy, and created tensions between communities facing restricted access to local resources.

Following up on a mandate from the Niger Government's High Authority on Peace Consolidation, HD is helping to set up a transitional justice programme to address the situation of former Boko Haram members who surrendered voluntarily to authorities, and deal with tensions over moves to reinsert them into communities. HD carried out a study of local perceptions in communes affected by the reinsertion programme, and helped arrange the first inter-ministerial conference which agreed on a roadmap for transitional justice.

The project was part of HD's widening engagement in **the Sahel** where the organisation is addressing the destabilising effects of cross-border conflicts involving both jihadist and non-jihadist armed groups. When a lack of communication among the parties stalled the implementation of the Algiers Agreement and increased security risks in **Mali**, HD continued to maintain close contact with all key parties in order to uphold the conditions and implementation of the Agreement. HD published detailed research on the dynamics of conflict in the central area of the country which stimulated public debate and provided a basis for initiating complementary mediation processes there.

The organisation also brought together three networks of religious leaders to address conflicts opposing the different branches of Islam, and trained them in conflict resolution so they can contribute to the national peace process. As part of HD's initiative, groups of women and young people have also met to identify ways to increase their engagement in order to promote an inclusive peace process.

Most national and international initiatives in Mali have focused on the signatories of the Algiers Agreement, overlooking the predicament of isolated and divided communities in border areas of **Mali, Niger and Burkina**

**Faso** which are exposed to armed groups moving at will across the three countries' highly porous frontiers. As part of its support for the Malian peace process, HD consequently launched a mediation process between national authorities, non-jihadist and non-signatory armed groups as well as representatives of frustrated communities in the border areas of those countries.

The organisation completed a baseline study in 2017 which identified and mapped local conflicts and armed groups in the concerned regions. Through discussion with ministers in each country, HD mobilised the support of national authorities at the highest level and set up complementary local, national and regional frameworks for dialogue to prepare the way for the cessation of violence and the delivery of public services.

In a further initiative to stabilise the border areas, HD continued to support networks of community leaders among pastoralists and sedentary farmers from the three countries which had been established in 2015. Tensions rose following Niger's declaration of a state of emergency in provinces bordering Mali in response to rising violence and criminality. Clashes between Nigerien forces and the Fulani community occurred as a result.

The networks, which HD ensured were inclusive of women and young people, provided a framework for strengthening links between the communities and central authorities, and delivered tangible results in tackling disputes over access to natural resources. The number of conflicts in the area dropped by almost one third in 2017, far exceeding expectations. In Burkina Faso, communities also agreed on demarcating a 90-kilometre long corridor for the movement of livestock in order to prevent conflicts during transhumance.

In 2017, HD also expanded its engagement in the Sahel region in support of a dialogue process between Sahelian youth organisations and state institutions which seeks to address the growing generational gap within the G5 Sahel countries (Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mauritania) and the conse-

quent threat to social and political cohesion. In a bid to ease the involvement of young people in the design of social and economic policies at the local, national and regional levels, HD set up five national and 25 local dialogue mechanisms in each region across the five countries, bringing together 1,250 representatives from youth organisations and about 50 representatives from ministries and state institutions. The conclusions and recommendations which stemmed from these dialogues have been used to fuel the development of an Integrated Strategy for Youth





from the Sahel countries, and will also be used in the dialogue process between the Sahelian governments and international partners on the development of co-operation programmes better suited to the needs of young people in the region.

Further west, HD has continued to support the peace process aimed at ending Africa's oldest insurgency in **Senegal's** Casamance region. HD provided strategic advice on the structure of the peace process to the government and to three of the four factions of the *Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques*

*pour la Casamance (MFDC)*. However, progress towards a settlement has been slow as the three factions are currently undergoing a process of reunification. HD conducted workshops for members of the MFDC's political wing and sessions for civil society representatives, including women and young people, to encourage their active engagement in the peace process.

In **The Gambia**, HD is facilitating dialogue between political parties as the country seeks to heal divisions following the end of President Yahya Jammeh's 20-year regime. Building on



**Photo:** People returning from Barra are seen at Banjul Port, a day after President Yahya Jammeh departed Banjul, Gambia for exile, January 2017. © Reuters /Afolabi Sotunde

bilateral contacts with political parties and working with The Gambia's Inter-Party Committee, HD brought political parties from across the political spectrum together in meetings that led to an agreement on a dialogue process and an action plan. The latter seeks to follow up on a Memorandum of Understanding signed in March 2017 by the country's political parties which includes commitments to eschew political violence and intimidation, accept the outcome of transparent and credible elections, and collaborate with the Gambian Independent Electoral Commission on the conduct of successful elections.

In the **Central African Republic**, a cessation of hostilities agreement mediated by HD between two armed groups in the western province of Nana-Mambéré in late 2017 provided a rare success in a year which saw escalating casualties and displacement as a result of violent conflict in much of the country. HD is working closely with President Faustin Touadéra's administration to restore and build the central government's capacity and develop a programme of transitional justice.

The organisation provided training for local peace committees and for both government personnel and leaders of armed groups on a UN-backed programme of disarmament, demobilisation, rehabilitation and reinsertion. HD's extensive contacts with armed groups also enabled access by teams of health workers in areas often too insecure for humanitarian aid.

Armed groups operating at will in 80% of the country, however, continued brutal attacks on communities while conflicts between farmers and pastoralists led to further bloody clashes. Against this background, the agreement brokered by HD between armed groups in Nana-Mambéré following an eleven month mediation process, showcased the potential of local peacemaking initiatives. Along with an unconditional ceasefire, the Agreement banned the use of weapons, attacks on villages and the stealing of cattle as well as providing for free movement of people; free access to hospitals, schools and public buildings; and support for the return of people driven out by past violence.



**Photo:** An armed fighter belonging to the 3R armed militia displays his weapon in the town of Kouli, Central African Republic, April 2017.  
© Reuters/Baz Ratner



In **Burundi**, HD is supporting the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in an initiative which seeks to prevent ethnic and political violence through the creation of protected spaces for dialogue. Addressing the past is the only subject the Government has agreed to engage on with the opposition and the international community. Several workshops were held in 2017 which brought together representatives of the security forces and political parties. Progress has been made and a large number of testimonies have already been gathered by the Commission.

Amid escalating turmoil in the **Democratic Republic of Congo**, HD maintained close contact with political parties and key international stakeholders in 2017, exploring possible initiatives which could help to defuse the explosive tensions building up over President Joseph Kabila's delay in holding elections. HD previously advised the opposition coalition, the *Rassemblement*, on negotiations with the Government leading to a December 2016 Agreement on holding elections in 2017.

The death of the *Rassemblement's* leader, Etienne Tshisekedi, in February 2017, however, gave rise to internal divisions within the opposition, and led the Government to postpone elections to 2018. HD has offered to mediate between all political actors to avert potential conflicts in the run-up to the elections while, at the same time, reassessing options for further engagement in light of the changing political dynamics and security environment.

In the meantime, HD developed new activities to support efforts to revive the peace process, and mitigate the impacts of the conflict, in **South Sudan**. The 2015 Agreement to end the conflict quickly gave way to surging violence which has turned the world's youngest nation into Africa's biggest humanitarian disaster. Against a background of proliferating armed groups, forced displacement of millions, the threat of famine and lethal attacks on aid workers, HD focused on working with South Sudan's neighbours and regional partners to build regional consensus

“ In the CAR, a cessation of hostilities agreement mediated by HD between two armed groups provided a rare success in a year which saw escalating casualties and displacement.

on the conflict and to improve the impact of humanitarian assistance.

Further north, a roadmap for discussing approaches to end persistent conflicts in Darfur, as well as the Blue Nile and South Kordofan States in **Sudan** had previously been agreed between the government and a loose alliance of opposition parties known as the Sudan Call. In 2017, HD continued to work with the opposition parties involved in the Sudan Call to build their capacity for participating in the process. An internal rift within the SPLM-N (Sudan People's Liberation Movement – North), the largest armed group in the opposition alliance, stalled progress on peace talks in 2017. HD continued to hold regular discussions with the parties on ways to engage constructively with the African Union High Level Implementation Panel which brokered the roadmap and, as a result, helped to maintain commitment to the dialogue process.

**Somalia** experienced the worst terrorist attack the world has witnessed in several years when a single bomb blast in Mogadishu in November 2017 killed more than 500 people. Yet Somalia's Federal Government and Somaliland both managed peaceful elections of new Presidents in 2017. HD continued to work with political actors at the highest levels in the country, within the Federal Member States and Somaliland, to build structured dialogue processes. These processes achieved some important successes in 2017 and prepared the way for more constructive relationships between them in the future.

HD also expanded its work to include facilitating dialogue to defuse the ongoing violence in the city of Galkayo resulting from tensions between the Galmudug and Puntland States.

“ Somalia’s Federal Government  
and Somaliland both managed  
peaceful elections of new Presidents in 2017.



**Photo:** Somali women sing as they celebrate the election of President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed in the streets of Somalia’s capital Mogadishu, February 2017. © Reuters/Feisal Omar





HD fostered good working relationships between governors and mayors in the two states and started a community dialogue process in Galkayo bringing together women, young people, elders, business owners and local administrators.

## Eurasia

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In **Ukraine**, fighting continues on an almost daily basis since the conflict first erupted in 2014. The largely stalled official Minsk peace process in 2017 increased the need for, and value of, the informal initiatives HD is pursuing. Among those, the organisation finalised a study on the ecological risks of the conflict in the Donbass region and helped identify measures to prevent an ecological catastrophe. HD also continued to try and help the Minsk process succeed through the provision of creative ideas by international experts on issues such as security, transitional justice, trade and decentralization.

HD also saw tangible results in the dialogue process it established in 2017 between representatives from **Moldova** and the break-away region of Transnistria, the first such high-level dialogue process between the conflict parties in 15 years. There currently exists few, if any, sustainable channels for dialogue between them that could lead to lasting practical solutions. HD's work in Moldova has therefore offered high-level representatives on both sides an informal space to brainstorm creative ideas and suggest solutions to issues that may otherwise block, or be too sensitive in, the formal OSCE-led process, thus indirectly contributing to the latter. HD's dialogue initiative delivered rapid results when the Moldovan Parliament passed a law which enables residents from the Transnistrian region to receive Moldovan civil status documents through a simplified procedure. This has already benefitted thousands of people in the unrecognized region of Transnistria.

HD has also worked for some years with experts and influential figures from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan as well as neighbouring countries to explore and encourage approaches to







**Photo:** A woman cleans up debris near her house damaged by recent shelling in the rebel-held town of Yasynuvata, Ukraine, December 2017. © Reuters/Alexander Ermochenko



tackling wider threats to regional security in **Central Asia**. In 2017, the experts continued to research and discuss problems which affect the region or might affect it in the future, including regional instability, and tried to identify collective solutions for resolving them.

## Asia

The security outlook across Asia was greatly affected by concerns about the possibility of hostilities erupting in disputed areas of the **South China Sea**. To address this concern, HD was active in moving forward discussions between China and its neighbours in the 10-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) aimed at building maritime confidence and reducing the risk of clashes between rival claimants to the resource-rich area. HD's initiative has focused on developing a set of Common Operating Principles (COPs) to govern interactions between maritime law enforcement agencies, among which the greatest number of encounters occur. The COPs gained the informal approval of China, Vietnam, Malaysia and the Philippines in the course of 2017, and were featured at a number of official meetings involving the claimant states. HD's constant shuttling between states

in the region influenced the policies they formulated on the issue. Malaysia, working closely with HD, gained agreement for an ASEAN-China Coastguard Workshop. For its part, Indonesia, after inviting HD to give a presentation on the COPs, included them as part of its maritime strategy. HD's work attracted further official interest and approval in presentations to an ASEAN Regional Forum workshop and a meeting of heads of ASEAN coast-guard services.

The appreciation that HD has garnered across the region for this initiative underscores the breadth of its networks and the diverse range of its activities. HD's engagement with China is more broadly focused on averting or managing conflict in regions which are of increasing economic and strategic importance to Beijing. In 2017, as China opened its first overseas military base in Djibouti, highlighting its deepening commitments in Africa, HD convened a roundtable meeting with Chinese scholars and experts on peacemaking processes in Africa. HD's Regional Directors for Africa also held meetings with the current and former Chinese Special Envoy to Africa, along with a member of China's Export Import Bank and a number of Chinese scholars,



**Photo:** Philippine soldiers, accompanied by journalists, patrol Marawi which was under siege by Islamist militants in May 2017.  
© IRIN/Dennis Jay Santos

helping to develop understanding of conflict trends across the continent.

In keeping with the organisation's ability to establish discreet contact with hard-to-reach groups, HD's project teams made progress in two sensitive and confidential processes in Asia. They established relations with a new and potentially deadly insurgency in the region, and succeeded in strengthening contacts between one of the region's most intransigent underground organisations and the government it is fighting. The resulting backchannel communications between the belligerent parties contributed to a substantial reduction of violence over the year in the affected territory. Meanwhile, in many parts of the region, HD engaged with a wide spectrum of military authorities, political leaders and armed groups, helping to address decades-old insurgencies, obstacles to democratic governance and the aspirations of communities struggling for autonomy.

HD is supporting efforts by the civilian-led government in **Myanmar** to end decades of insurgency by concluding a Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement with 21 ethnic armed groups. By 2017, eight of the groups had signed this Agreement. HD maintained close bilateral contact with the government, the Tatmadaw (army) and armed groups, and advised the teams monitoring the ceasefire. As signatories moved forward with implementing the Accord, HD shifted its attention to the armed groups which have not signed the ceasefire agreement. The organisation made first contact with elusive members of the 'Northern Alliance', a formation of seven of the country's most powerful non-signatory armed groups.

By the end of 2017, the peace process was overshadowed by the crisis that erupted in Rakhine State after attacks on border posts by the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) in August and the consequent security crackdown which drove more than 680,000 Rohingya Muslims into Bangladesh. Before the crisis, HD had built up effective working

relations with federal and state authorities, as well as Rohingya community leaders and Rakhine civil society representatives. It also provided advice to the Kofi Annan-led Advisory Commission on Arakan State which was largely taken up in the Commission's interim and final reports.

After the crisis erupted, with international access to the area cut off, HD worked on multiple fronts, compiling reliable information on what was happening on the ground. The organisation was in active contact with the United Nations and interested governments, at multiple levels, and was also consulted by the Myanmar authorities before the Vice-President appeared at the General Assembly.

After more than a decade of activity in **the Philippines** helping to bring about agreement between the government and major Moro groups on the island of Mindanao, HD received a formal government mandate in February 2017 to work with stakeholders on implementing the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro. Failure to implement the accord has created new opportunities for Muslim extremists and another eruption of major violence. This was brutally demonstrated when pro-Islamic State militants seized hold of the city of Marawi in May and fought off government forces for five months.

Throughout the year, HD focused much of its effort on achieving convergence between leaders of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the breakaway Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), organising 22 dialogue sessions between them. It also promoted the greater involvement of young people, religious leaders and women's groups in peacemaking efforts, limiting the intrusion of extremism in the region. By giving mediation training to clan leaders and local officials, HD also strengthened local capacity to avert violence. The training built on the proven success of HD-trained local mediators in defusing clan conflicts in Sulu. In 2017 alone, these local mediators addressed 20 clan conflicts and resolved or reached a ceasefire in 11 of them.

# Finding their Place at the Table

*A detailed look at the work of HD's 'insider' mediators*



*In "The Inside Story – The impact of insider mediators on modern peacemaking" released by HD in 2017, Paul Dziatkowiec raises awareness of the advantages of using 'insider mediators' in peace processes and how their work relates to the traditional notion of the mediator as an 'outsider'. By profiling several of HD's insider mediators through a series of interviews, Dziatkowiec showcases their significant contribution to preventing and resolving conflicts, capturing their motivation, approaches and most significant successes.*

*The essay which follows provides a glimpse into "The Inside Story" and the crucial role of insider mediators in today's international peacemaking efforts.*

**T**he word 'mediator' may conjure up images of a renowned figurehead – possibly a world leader – flying in to launch a peace process and single-handedly orchestrating peace between two warring factions. The realities of mediation in the modern world, however, are very different.

For a start, there are rarely just two sides. Modern wars are often a miscellany of conflicts involving a wide range of groups in areas which may or may not be contained within national boundaries. Even conflicts which are ostensibly between a state and its opposition may not necessarily have clearly definable sides since opposition forces, in particular, are often fragmented.

This makes one-size-fits-all peacemaking a risky and ultimately futile business; applying models across conflicts rarely works. In addition, short-term international interventions are proving insufficient for addressing today's conflicts. There is ultimately no substitute for local knowledge and strong relationships on the ground. To paraphrase the old saying, trust takes mere seconds to break, and forever to repair – but it is built up over years.

This implies that any mediation process is likely to draw in a variety of actors, some of whom may be from different countries, and many of whom may be from the various communities of the country in conflict.

Mediators were once viewed as neutral intermediaries, whose legitimacy "... depends in part on the fact that they are unbiased and that their lives do not intersect with the lives of the disputants."<sup>1</sup> Neutral 'outsiders' were, therefore, assumed to most effectively fit the mould of the mediator.

In many parts of the world, however, communities in conflict prefer to deal with insiders who know the situation, have established relationships of trust, and stay committed. In addition, outside intervention is not always possible, let alone desired. For these reasons, sustainable peace often depends on the involvement

<sup>1</sup> Maiese (2005)



**Photo:** Tunisian Republican Party Secretary-General, Maya Jribi, signs the Charter of Honour on the fair conduct of elections in Tunisia in the presence of Naoufel Omeyya Seddik, HD Special Adviser for the MENA region and one of the organisation's 'insider mediators', July 2014. The Charter, signed by the main parties across the political spectrum, contributed to peaceful elections in the country in 2014. © HD

of people who are part of the conflicted society's fabric.

It may not be surprising, then, that the international community is increasingly recognising the value of so-called 'insider mediators' – nationals from the countries in conflict who know the communities and the culture surrounding these conflict situations.

As a small, private diplomacy organisation, HD has been fostering the peacemaking potential of these insider mediators for some time, relying greatly on their expertise to find creative and appropriate solutions to resolving conflict.

### **Insider mediators and their role in peacemaking: opportunities and challenges**

Insider mediators take on a wide variety of functions and roles in a peace process, often behind the scenes. Such roles range from

using their knowledge and experience to analyse the conflict; liaising with the parties and shuttling between them; providing technical advice; helping the parties define their positions; and identifying the need to develop negotiation skills among the parties in order to facilitate productive talks.

While part of being an insider mediator entails classic mediation activities such as brokering ceasefires, it is just as likely to involve helping to design peace processes which are more sensitive to local cultures or engaging with stakeholders from across society to build support for a national dialogue process or the implementation of an agreement.

The insider mediators' most valuable asset is their intimate understanding of their country, cultures and the conflict, as well as knowledge of local languages or dialects. As HD's Indonesia Country Representative, Shienny Angelita, explains in *'The Inside Story'*, this



“If you spend more time with one side than the other, there are always questions raised. You must try to be professional, share your time equally, and give the same quality of advice to all sides.

—Shienny Angelita, HD’s Indonesia Country Representative

regional and cultural knowledge “. . . is the backbone of an insider mediator’s profile, which no amount of thematic experience or inherent talent can replace”.

Inside knowledge ensures that mediators are aware of the type of approach which is likely to be acceptable to the parties involved. In Thailand, for example, a confrontational style would not be appropriate as people do not like to lose face. As such, “pointing fingers can be counterproductive”, Jan Suphaphong, HD’s Country Representative in Thailand, explains. Similarly, in Myanmar, “. . . outsiders often come with the wrong attitude and approach; above all, many lack the humility that is expected here,” says Nilar Oo, HD’s Myanmar Deputy Country Representative. This inside knowledge also contributes to the mediators’ credibility which can be reinforced by knowledge acquired during the process.

In addition, insider mediators often have a broad network of local contacts and are able to develop this network as the peace process demands. In Mali, Abdelkader Sidibe, HD’s Head of Mission and a Malian national, had existing links to many of the relevant stakeholders in the process, thanks to his background as the grandson of a regional chief. Similarly, Jan Suphaphong’s previous experience of working with Thai civil society and political actors ensured that she was not perceived as a threat, enabling her to quickly establish new contacts which contributed to her effectiveness as an insider mediator.

Building this extensive network also entails fostering trust and respect to gain the parties’ confidence in return. As Shienny Angelita put

it: “Sometimes we put our own safety at risk – for example, by travelling without security to show we trusted the conflict parties. We put ourselves in their hands, and as a result we were perceived as genuine.” This, of course, also takes great courage and a willingness to take risks – both attributes which are clear across the insider mediators’ profiles in the publication.

Peace processes rely on momentum, and insider mediators – with a strong personal stake in peace in their societies – bring a sense of energy, motivation and commitment to seeing the process through to peace. Their willingness and ability to engage in a process over the long term often distinguishes them from outsider peacemakers. As underlined by David Lambo, one of HD’s former Senior Advisers who passed away in 2017, ensuring





that there is no relapse in the conflict is “as important as the initial mediation and dialogue process itself”. Commitment can also inspire the conflict parties to engage in, or commit further to, the process.

Insider mediators must also be willing to stay in the shadows so that the parties can take credit for their agreements. This relative anonymity may mean stepping back when necessary and accepting that their work takes place in the background, preparing the way for the main actors. It may also entail insiders having little to no recognition at all. In Thailand, for example, Jan Suphaphong sees her work as “laying the groundwork’ for higher-level talks to take place”.

The way in which a person’s insider status is gained or defined –either through their background or their professional or political

“ *When you show your commitment, they tend to respond, to put their own best foot forward.*”

—David Lambo, one of HD’s former Senior Advisers

experience – has an impact on their claims to impartiality as a mediator. However, insider mediators do not need to have a history of impartiality in order to be conscious of the need to avoid bias. As underlined by David Lambo, “As a peacemaker, your only ‘preferred’ outcome is an end to violence. . . . If your instinct is that one approach is more likely to achieve this than another, then you are within your rights to say so – you can tell the parties: ‘if you go on like this, the situation will get worse’ .”



**Photo:** Theerada Suphaphong speaks during a workshop on conflict resolution, jointly organised by HD and the Joint Staff College of the Royal Thai Armed Forces, 28 March 2016. © Jasmin Lutzi

“ Sometimes the stakeholders need to hear the opinion of the international community, or they seek international approval or respect.

—Naoufel Omeyya Seddik, Special Adviser, MENA region

### Insider or outsider? Insider identity and the role of outside mediation

Coming from another country can sometimes give outside mediators a different perspective and a particular credibility which insiders may not always be able to replicate. With some exceptions, an international perspective may also support an outsider's claim to impartiality and support their ability to convey international perspectives.

This provides outsiders with a different power and one which can enable them to ask the 'hard questions'. This power, however, is not the preserve of outsider mediators; it can also be accessed by bringing in outside experts as part of a peace process. Nilar Oo considers this access to outside expertise particularly important in Myanmar: "Outsiders are a valuable source of expertise. As our country continues its transition, some people presume that we need outside expertise. This doesn't necessarily mean they're impressed by outsiders, just that they want to learn from them."

Jan Suphaphong also highlights the value of international expertise in her experiences of conflict resolution in Thailand, reiterating the need for such expertise to be imparted in a culturally-sensitive way: "International experts often bring a certain gravitas, when they have relevant experience to share – provided that they do it in a humble rather than a bullying way. Outsiders are not taken seriously if they adopt a preaching tone."

The term 'insider mediator' in itself can be problematic as it cannot fully encapsulate the variety of backgrounds these mediators are drawn from or the range of roles they can play in a peace process. As highlighted in the

publication, insider mediators have very different reasons for being considered insiders, but are often also considered outsiders in other respects.

As HD's Head of Mission in Mali, Abdelkader Sidibe, for example, may be considered an insider mediator because he is working, as a Malian, to bring peace to his own country. While he is the grandson of a regional Chief and so seems well-placed as an insider, he is also a member of the Peul community which is not significantly involved in the conflict in northern Mali. To the local communities he is involved with, he could, therefore, be considered an outsider.

Determining whether someone is an insider or an outsider is therefore not clear-cut and inevitably depends on both the situation and the perceptions of people in and around the conflict.

### The best of both worlds

*The Inside Story* offers a fascinating glimpse into the world of insider mediators and demonstrates how successful peacemaking efforts today require a combination of internal and external expertise and experience.

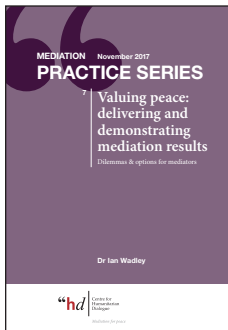
It also sheds a light on HD's hybrid approach to peacemaking, which seeks to make the best use of the combined skills and qualities of the organisation's 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in its dialogue and mediation initiatives – a method which has helped the organisation adapt to the fast-changing nature of conflict in a flexible and holistic manner.

'The Inside Story' is available as a free download from HD's Library through the following link: <https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/The-Inside-Story-The-impact-of-insider-mediators-on-modern-peacemaking.pdf>.

# Highlight on HD's 2017 Publications

As part of its continuing efforts to support and foster mediation and peacemaking, HD produces reports, papers and publications on the issues, debates and innovations surrounding global mediation practice. The organisation believes that continually examining peacemaking issues is essential in the evolution of this field of work.

Below is a selection of the organisations' 2017 publications.

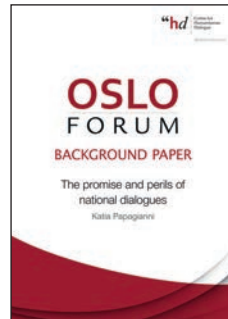


## *Valuing peace: delivering and demonstrating mediation results*

Dr Ian Wadley

HD's Mediation Practice Series was initiated in 2008 with the aim of drawing on experiences and insights among the broader mediation community to offer options for decision-making around challenging aspects of peacemaking.

In the seventh issue in the series, Dr Ian Wadley considers the tools which exist to effectively assess and assure the value and impact of peacemaking efforts. He compares Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) practices and outlines a new adaptive model which uses critical peer reviews to encourage reflection on, and adaptation of, a mediation approach. It enables those closest to field operations to articulate progress in their initiatives, even when the prospects for a final resolution seem remote. Importantly, it allows mediation practitioners and donors to demonstrate the value of their work.

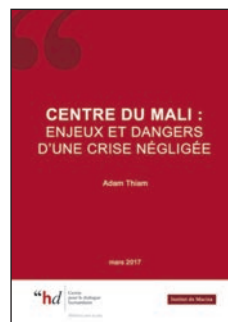


## *The promise and perils of national dialogues*

Dr Katia Papagianni

Originally produced as a background paper to guide and inform discussions at the Oslo Forum, *The promise and perils of national dialogues* argues that peacemakers need to have realistic expectations about the extent to which national dialogues can contribute to ending conflicts and to launching political transitions.

Dr Katia Papagianni contends that national dialogues can strengthen and legitimise deals which have already been struck. However, a failure to clarify whether a national dialogue is intended to resolve a dispute or promote political transformation can lead to overly ambitious agendas for such dialogues, as well as inefficient decision-making mechanisms and a lack of flexibility in the process. All of these factors can prevent national dialogues from being successful.



## *Centre du Mali : Enjeux et dangers d'une crise négligée*

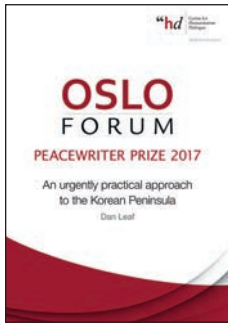
Adam Thiam

In the HD publication *Centre du Mali: Enjeux et dangers d'une crise négligée*, author Adam Thiam sheds light on the root causes of the issues plaguing Mali's central region. Based on surveys carried out



with the region's local population, the publication identifies the socio-economic, political and cultural factors contributing to the increasing tensions within central Mali.

In an attempt to draw the attention of Mali's decision-makers and influential actors towards the fragility of the country's centre, the author calls for more conflict prevention strategies in this oft-neglected region.



*An urgently practical approach to the Korean Peninsula*

Dan Leaf

In January 2017, HD launched the Oslo Forum Peacewriter Prize, an essay competition which seeks

to encourage bold and innovative responses to today's peacemaking challenges. The first winning essay, *An urgently practical approach to the Korean Peninsula*, was included in the briefing material for the Oslo Forum in 2017.

In his essay, author Dan Leaf argues in favour of a 'federated' approach to one of the most significant current challenges to international security: the crisis between South and North Korea. He suggests that the range of contentious issues linked to this crisis should be dealt with separately, removing the interdependencies – particularly with regard to denuclearisation – which currently preclude even small successes in the region.

For more HD publications, please visit:  
<https://www.hdcentre.org/publications/>

# HD Governance – The Board

**H**D is supervised by a Board which is the supreme authority of the Foundation. The Board meets twice a year and has set up three committees: an Audit and Finance Committee, which reviews the financial management of the organisation; an Operations Committee, which is responsible for reviewing HD's programme of work; and a Nominations Committee, in charge of identifying suitable candidates for Board membership. Each member sits on the Board on a voluntary and private basis.

The Board currently has 13 members. In 2017, Mr Jean-Marie Guéhenno's nine year term on HD's Board, including several years as its Chair (2010-2016), came to an end. HD wishes to express its deep gratitude to Mr Guéhenno for his commitment to the organisation and his expertise in overseeing and guiding HD's mission over the last decade. His insight and experience have helped HD stay at the forefront of evolving trends in the field of peacemaking.

In late 2017, HD also learnt with great sadness of the sudden death of Dr Surin Pitsuwan, a prominent statesman from Thailand who had been a member of its Board since 2013. Before joining the Board, Dr Pitsuwan had served as one of HD's 'Wise Men' in the Aceh Peace Process which the organisation steered from 1999 to 2003. HD would like to pay tribute to Dr Pitsuwan for his dedication and the expert contribution he made to many of HD's ongoing projects in Asia.

In December 2017, HD welcomed a new member to its Board, in the person of Grace Forrest. Ms Forrest is a Founder of the Walk Free Foundation and a Director of the Minderoo Foundation which invests in local and international ventures to protect and support underprivileged people and communities. Ms Forrest brings with her extensive field experience of,

and insight into, issues of modern slavery and mass movements of people, as well as expertise in strategic communications.



**Ambassador  
Pierre Vimont**

**Chair of the Board**

Ambassador Pierre Vimont is a Senior Associate at Carnegie Europe where his research focuses on the European Neighbourhood Policy, transatlantic relations and French foreign policy. From 2010 to 2015, Ambassador Vimont served as Executive Secretary-General of the European External Action Service of the European Union. Prior to this, he worked for 38 years in the French diplomatic service. During this time, he served as Ambassador to the United States from 2007 to 2010; Ambassador to the European Union from 1999 to 2002; and Chief of Staff to three former French Foreign Ministers. Ambassador Vimont holds the title of Ambassador of France, a dignity bestowed for life on only a few French diplomats. He is also a Knight of the French National Order of Merit.



**Mr Espen Barth Eide**  
**Vice Chair of the Board  
and Chair of the  
Operations Committee**

Mr Espen Barth Eide is a Member of the Norwegian Parliament where he represents the Labour Party. Prior to his election in September 2017, he was United Nations Special Adviser on Cyprus from 2014 to 2017, as well as Managing Director and Member of the Managing Board of the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Geneva from 2014 to 2016. He currently

co-chairs the WEF's Global Future Council on International Security. Mr Eide previously served as Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2012 to 2013. During his 10 years in the Norwegian Government (2000-2001 and 2005-2013), he also held the positions of Minister of Defence, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Deputy Minister of Defence. Before joining the government, Mr Eide was a senior researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). He also directed NUPI's Department of International Politics from 2003 to 2005.



**Mr Jermyn Brooks**  
Chair of the Audit and Finance Committee

Mr Jermyn Brooks is the former Executive Director and Chief Financial Officer of the anti-corruption civil society organisation Transparency International. He served on Transparency International's Board of Directors from 2003 to 2006 and again from 2011 to 2014. Mr Brooks continues to support Transparency International's work to improve corporate transparency and integrity. He was the initial independent Chair of the Global Network Initiative from 2011 to 2014. Mr Brooks is also 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 Neil Janin**  
Chair of the Nominations Committee

Mr Neil Janin is a Director Emeritus of McKinsey & Company and currently counsels senior executives on matters of strategy and leadership. He is the Chairman of the Board of the Bank of Georgia, and a member of the Board of Ipsos SA. He also sits on the Boards of a number of non-profit organisations. Mr Janin has spent 27 years with McKinsey & Company, conducting engagements in every area of organisational practice – design, leadership, governance,

performance enhancement, culture change and transformation. Before joining the management consulting firm, Mr Janin worked for Chase Manhattan in New York and Paris, as well as Procter & Gamble in Toronto.



**Ms Sarah F. Cliffe**  
Board Member

Ms Sarah F. Cliffe is the Director of the Center on International Cooperation at the University of New York.

Prior to that, she was Special Representative for the World Bank's World Development Report on Conflict, Security and Development, as well as Special Adviser and Assistant Secretary-General of Civilian Capacities to the United Nations. Ms Cliffe has extensive experience of working in countries emerging from conflict and political transition. She was the Chief of mission for the World Bank's programme in Timor-Leste, led the Bank's Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries Group, and was also its Director of Strategy and Operations for the East Asia and Pacific Region. Ms Cliffe has also worked for UNDP in Rwanda, the South African Government, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.



**Ms Grace Forrest**  
Board Member

Ms Grace Forrest is a Founder of the Walk Free Foundation, a Director of the Minderoo Foundation, and

currently works as a communications strategist on the Global Slavery Index. She previously worked as a researcher at the Legatum Institute, specialising in modern slavery and mass movements of people. Ms Forrest has spent extensive time on the ground documenting the reality of modern slavery throughout Southeast Asia and the Middle East. She is a member of the Council of Advocates of the Freedom Fund, an Ambassador for the Humanitarian Group and The Freedom Hub, and member of the Board of Advisors of Freedom United. Ms Forrest has represented the Walk Free Foundation around the world,



including in meetings at the United Nations and at the Vatican.



**Ms Ameerah Haq**

**Board Member**

Ms Ameerah Haq was Vice Chair of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations for the United Nations (UN) as well as UN Under-Secretary-General for Field Support from 2012 to 2014. She has nearly 40 years of experience with the UN, including 19 years in the field. Ms Haq was the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG) in Timor-Leste, and served as Deputy SRSG and UN Resident Coordinator in Sudan, Deputy SRSG and UN Resident Coordinator in Afghanistan, as well as UN Resident Coordinator in Malaysia and Laos. She has also held senior positions within the UNDP. Ms Haq currently gives guest lectures at many universities in the United States and Europe, and has been speaking at numerous events involving think tanks and research institutions.



**Dr Jakob Kellenberger**

**Board Member**

Dr Jakob Kellenberger was President of the International Committee of the Red Cross from 2000 to 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. From 1984 to 1992, he headed the Office for European Integration with responsibility for relations with the European Union and the European Free Trade Association. Dr Kellenberger teaches at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva and in the Law Faculty at the University of Salamanca in Spain. He is the President of the Board of swisspeace, an Honorary Member of the American Society of International Law, and a member of

the Advisory Panel for Swiss Re and the Council for the Future of Europe.



**Ms Irene Khan**

**Board Member**

Ms Irene Khan is Director-General of the International Development Law Organization (IDLO). 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 the field. She was Visiting Professor at the State University of New York Law School (Buffalo) in 2011. Ms Khan sits on the Boards of several international human rights and development organisations. She 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.



**Ambassador  
Raymond Loretan**

**Board Member**

Ambassador Raymond Loretan is a founding partner of the consulting firm Fasel Balet Loretan Associés and Chairman of the Diplomatic Club of Geneva. He also served as Chairman of the Board of the Swiss broadcasting corporation (SRG SSR) from 2012 to 2015. 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 also served as Secretary-General of the Swiss Christian Democratic Party from 1993 to 1997. Ambassador Loretan is the Chairman of the Swiss Medical Network Group, as well as a member of the Boards of several other companies and foundations.



**Professor  
'Funmi Olonisakin**

**Board Member**

Professor 'Funmi Olonisakin is Vice-President and Vice-Principal International of King's College London, where she also teaches on security, leadership and development. She also served as the founding Director of the African Leadership Centre. Professor Olonisakin was Director of the Conflict, Security and Development Group at King's College from 2003 to 2013. Prior to this, she worked in the Office of the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict. She is a member of the Advisory Group of Experts on the UN Secretary-General's Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture, and of the Advisory Group of Experts for the UN Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security. Professor Olonisakin also chairs the International Advisory Council of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute.



**Ambassador  
Herman Schaper**

**Board Member**

Ambassador Herman Schaper holds the Peter Kooijmans Chair for Peace, Law and Security at Leiden University in The Hague and is a Member of the First Chamber of the Dutch Parliament. Prior to this, Ambassador Schaper had a distinguished career with the Dutch Foreign Ministry, serving as Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the United Nations in New York (from 2009 to 2013) and Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to NATO (from 2005 to 2009). He has also held several other positions at the Ministry including Deputy Director General for Political Affairs, Director of the Security Department, and Director of the European Department. From 1981 to 1982, Ambassador Schaper was a Member of the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament for the political party D66.



**Mr Olivier Steimer**  
**Board Member**

Mr Olivier Steimer is the Vice-President of the Bank Council of the Swiss National Bank. In addition to HD's Board, Mr Steimer also sits on the Boards of Directors of the Bank Lombard Odier & Co Ltd, Chubb Ltd and Allreal Holding AG. He was also the Chairman of the Board for the Banque Cantonale Vaudoise from 2002 to 2017. From 1983 to 2002, Mr Steimer held various positions with the 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.



**Dr Javier Solana**  
**Honorary President**

Dr Javier Solana was the Secretary General of the Council of the European Union (EU) and High Representative for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy from 1999 to 2009, as well as Secretary General of NATO from 1995 to 1999. Prior to that, Dr Solana was Spain's Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1992 to 1995. Dr Solana currently serves as President of the ESADEgeo-Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics, Distinguished Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution, Chairman of the Aspen Institute in Spain, Senior fellow at the Hertie School of Governance, and visiting Professor at the London School of Economics.

# Funding and Finances

In 2017, HD's income reached just over CHF 34 million. This funding continues to support the organisation's strong and diverse portfolio of operations. Grants came from 25 government, private foundation, organisation and individual donors including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, the European Union, France, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Peace Support Fund, the Bosch Foundation, the Hoffmann Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Global Pluralism Award, Humanity United, the Minderoo Foundation, the Third Millennium Foundation, the United Nations, and the City of Geneva.

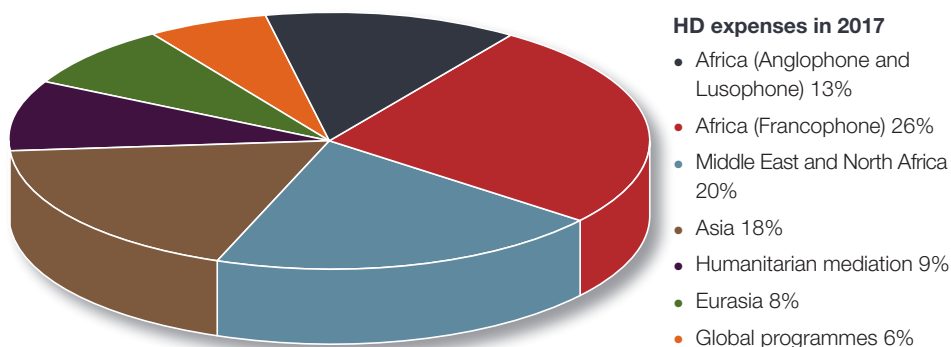
HD's income is made up of targeted project funding and flexible core support which are fundamental to the organisation's operations.

A majority of HD's funding is tied to its initiatives in the five regions where it is active. In 2017, HD's regional activities in Francophone Africa and in the Middle East and North Africa represented 46% of HD's spending. This reflects the organisation's expanding engagement in these regions with ongoing operations in Burundi, the Central African Republic,

Mali, Senegal, Iraq, Libya, and Syria as well as extensive activities in the Sahel region.

A small number of strategic partners including Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland (HD's host country) as well as the Hoffmann, Minderoo and Bosch Foundations, provided unearmarked or development funding. The flexibility offered by this type of support is vital to safeguard HD's independence, improve its effectiveness, and guarantee the functioning of the organisation. It allows the organisation to provide lean and efficient corporate services from its headquarters and regional offices. It also allows it to direct such funding as needed to areas which are essential to its operational effectiveness, including field analysis and project evaluation. The flexibility offered by institutional funding also contributes to HD's effectiveness by ensuring it has the resources to respond quickly, and in an agile way, to any given crisis or conflict. HD is particularly grateful for this critical support.

HD is also honoured that Andrew Forrest has become a Global Patron of the organisation and wishes to thank him for his support. Mr Forrest is Co-founder and Chairman of the Minderoo Foundation, a philanthropic entity through which he protects and supports







**Photo:** Villa Plantamour, HD's headquarters. © HD





underprivileged people and communities. As an Adjunct Professor at China Southern University, Co-Chair of the China Australia Senior Business Leaders' Forum, and a Councillor on the Global Citizen Commission, Mr Forrest brings with him an extended network in Asia and the Pacific which complements HD's own network in the region.

Finally, HD is grateful to the City of Geneva for having provided the organisation with the use of the Villa Plantamour for its headquarters, as an in-kind contribution to its activities, for the last 19 years. The Villa is located at the heart of the international community in Geneva, close to the United Nations' European headquarters, diplomatic Missions and many international organisations. It provides HD with an exceptional working environment and a discreet setting from where it can lead its peacemaking work.

[www.hdcentre.org](http://www.hdcentre.org)

