



ANNUAL REPORT 2019

# MEDIATION FOR PEACE

 **20 YEARS**  
1999 – 2019  
*Mediation for peace*

“**hd**”

Centre for  
Humanitarian  
Dialogue

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

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# MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR OF THE BOARD

**2019 marked the 20th year of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.** It's been quite a journey. When the organisation was founded in the last year of the last millennium, we were in many ways at the zenith of "the unipolar moment," where a dominant group of predominantly Western states had set the tone, and where global institutions increasingly promoted the virtues of a liberal international order.

A few decades back, the end of the Cold War had led to a deep transformation of how international security was perceived. We had shifted from perceiving global security as strategic competition among strong powers, to perceiving security problems, quite on the contrary, as stemming more from *weakness* than from *strength*. Where local or regional skirmishes in Asia, Africa or Latin America had previously been interpreted as mere extensions of a great game, they were now to be understood in their own right, and often from a transitory perspective.

Looking back, it was a fundamentally optimistic narrative: the destiny of all nations was to move towards openness, democracy and tolerance; should some run into trouble along the way, they would need our assistance. The purpose of aid, dialogue, persuasion, sanctions or, for that sake, intervention, was to bring their development back on track, towards this pre-destined outcome.

Mediation, peacebuilding and state-building efforts were not just about arriving at any settlement. On the contrary, their purpose was to arrive at settlements that reflected this broad universalist vision of power distribution, human rights and good governance. The primary expression of achievement would therefore be holding successful elections that could establish representative government, after which international involvement could wind down. So spoke the narrative about the final victory of the liberal order.



**“The core of HD’s business is to combine professionalism with being trusted as an honest broker by the relevant actors.**”

The 1990s had thus opened with a strong belief in cooperation and shared values. However, as the decade drew to an end, we learned that it wasn't that easy in practice, having experienced severe setbacks in Somalia, Rwanda and the Balkans, just to name a few. The international community, however, was still reasonably aligned. If, for instance, a permanent member of the Security Council took an active interest in a particular conflict, it would, as a general rule, be allowed to do so by its P5 peers, and at least not be exposed to outright rejection.

In this climate of continued alignment, now combined with a hard-learned understanding of the difficulties of preventing war and building peace in practice, professional mediation was in high demand. In came HD, which quickly became the leading private mediation organisation, specialising in conflicts that were out of reach of traditional diplomacy.

Over the years, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue expanded geographically, thematically, and in size. It built ever-stronger professional skills. 20 years on, we are now involved in no less than 45 mediation projects around the world, with a staff of more than 300, and with 17 offices. In the course of these two decades, we have seen both great progress and major setbacks on the road to peace, but the organisation has steadily strengthened

its global reputation as a professional, discrete facilitator of dialogue and mediation in some of the world's most protracted conflicts and least accessible areas.

As time went by, the geopolitical climate changed repeatedly. After 2001, the “Global War on Terror” became a competing narrative to that of tolerance, human rights promotion and democracy building. Efforts to build open and tolerant states now started to compete with efforts aimed at strengthening surveillance, authority and control. At times, the two purposes aligned, but this was not always the case.

Then, as the “unipolar moment” came to an end, strategic competition between great powers came back. Its consequences are now spilling over and into areas like global trade and technology. Yet again, regional or global great powers ask the local parties to any conflict: “Whose side are you on?” before deciding who to support. Countries marred by internal strife have become, yet again, the battleground of foreign players with highly diverging visions of what an acceptable end-state looks like. Examples abound, but few are as striking as Syria or Yemen. As a consequence, the UN Security Council has been nowhere near the level of cooperation that characterised early post-Cold War relations.

One of the drivers of this change are the shifts in geopolitical and geo-economic power, with more than 50% of the global GDP now being generated in the non-OECD world. However, the liberal international order is not only challenged from without but is also questioned at its very core. Is the West itself indeed becoming less Western, as polarisation and protectionism grows? Are we, as the Munich Security Conference recently suggested, living in an age of “Westlessness”? Are we at the cusp of a new deep division of the world? Or are we on the road to a new equilibrium in global politics, where mutual accommodation between key players, led by China and the US, will become the norm? And what should the rest of us make of all this?

Paradoxically, this geopolitical rollercoaster ride has but made the work of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue even more important. It is precisely because genuine mediation and peace-making efforts require shielding from the icy winds of geopolitical competition that we need a solid, independent private mediation organisation like HD more than ever before. The core of HD's business is to combine professionalism with being trusted as an honest broker by the relevant actors.

**In the course of these two decades, we have seen both great progress and major setbacks on the road to peace, but the organisation has steadily strengthened its global reputation as a professional, discrete facilitator of dialogue and mediation in some of the world's most protracted conflicts and least accessible areas.**

As will emerge from this Annual Report, the organisation has also continued to expand in scope. Today, its work ranges from highly localised conflict mediation in the Sahel to inter-state dialogues more akin to traditional diplomacy, but where key actors still want us to be involved. We have entered into the turbulent waters of mediation in cyber conflicts, even hoping to link our established field of knowledge to the establishment of best practices and escalation avoidance in one of the fastest-growing domains of conflict today. The ever-more obvious effects of climate change have not escaped our line of work now either, as the relationship between climate change and conflict becomes more acute. Climate-induced changes in livelihoods and migration patterns lead to new demands for mediation, and HD strives to turn such shared challenges into areas of cooperation rather than conflict.

At the time of writing, in May 2020, the world has been going through a major global pandemic that has, once again, demonstrated the interconnectedness of our lives and the paramount importance of strong, common action – and in the absence of shared responses, we all become worse off on our own. It also reminds us that at times, the unexpected “black swan” moments completely redefine the entire agenda. Again, HD has become engaged, as conflict and health are as deeply related to each other as conflict and climate change. I think it is safe to say that this theme will figure prominently in next year's report.

It is with great pride that I chair the Foundation Board of this great organisation as it turns 20. The following pages present where we stand today, what 2019 has brought, and where we are headed in the next year and the decades to come.

— **Espen Barth Eide**  
Chair of the Board

# ABOUT HD

**The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) is a private diplomacy organisation based in Geneva and founded on the principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence.** Its mission is to help prevent, mitigate and resolve armed conflict through dialogue and mediation. HD demonstrates its greatest value by working beyond the frontier of traditional diplomacy, engaging conflict parties that can be hard for others to reach, and addressing issues that may be insoluble via other channels.

HD is currently pursuing more than 45 mediation and dialogue initiatives in over 40 countries, through five regional hubs and with more than 300 staff based mostly in the field. The organisation is a leader within the private diplomacy sector and has become a significant 'unofficial' actor in peacemaking worldwide.

## WHAT WE DO

HD uses its limited resources with care by focusing on what it does best: practicing quiet diplomacy within a specific, and relatively narrow, operating space. The organisation mediates between governments, non-state armed groups and opposition parties, providing a trusted and confidential space to explore options to prevent the escalation of tensions and conflict, limit the human suffering caused by war, and develop opportunities for peaceful settlements. The ultimate beneficiaries of its actions are the victims of war.

HD engages impartially with any actor relevant for the peaceful resolution of a conflict or crisis, working with stakeholders to identify solutions that are adapted to each context. This impartial and inclusive approach allows the organisation to engage effectively in a variety of contexts, including uprisings, political crises, contested electoral processes, localised conflicts and potentially violent political transitions. Where HD has received a mandate to support the prevention, mitigation and resolution of conflict, its role may include:



**Photo:** Community mediators in the Sahel region. © HD



- **Facilitation and mediation:** HD offers a range of services to help connect conflict parties in their search for a settlement. Where discretion is key, the organisation supports them to establish channels of communication (sometimes as a first step to a formal peace process), to prevent a flare-up in an ongoing conflict, or to achieve a humanitarian objective. In many instances, the unofficial and informal character of HD's engagement can be particularly important.
- **Dialogue:** In other contexts, HD may support or manage either confidential or public multi-stakeholder dialogue processes in support of peace, often as a complement to a formal peace process. Elite bargains are often not possible or legitimate, at least not by themselves, and often not effective. Instead, a movement from war to peace requires a broader consensus.
- **Advice:** HD may also take on an advisory role, working with one or more parties to a conflict, helping them to move away from armed violence. Advising is often unilateral, but open to all sides of the conflict, relies heavily on trust, and depends on the same principles of impartiality that inform multi-party engagements.
- **Mediation support:** Where HD is not the lead third party, it may provide technical, expert and logistical support to others, either to conflict parties or to another third party such as a mediator. Where a lead mediator is operating, HD will never compete – the HD Charter requires the organisation to put the interests of the peace process above all other considerations.

HD also plays a leadership role across the mediation sector in promoting discussions on emerging challenges and sharing insights from its operational experiences. HD's Mediation Support and Policy Programme combines the cross-cutting functions of providing technical and process design expertise, supporting strategic planning, facilitating critical reviews and learning for the organisation's projects, and sharing insights from HD's frontline engagements with the wider peacemaking community.

## MEASURABLE RESULTS

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HD is a results-driven organisation, committed to demonstrating its concrete contribution to peace. Where it is able to carry a process through to its ultimate goal, HD's work may lead to formal peace or conflict management settlements, which represent some

**HD's capacity to intervene quietly and discreetly is one of its most distinctive characteristics and a significant advantage in sensitive conflict environments.**

of the organisation's most valued and tangible peacemaking results. However, HD's efforts also produce many valuable interim results along the pathway to peace. These include:

- establishing first contact with hard-to-reach conflict actors or raising difficult issues with the belligerents;
- establishing channels of communication and building trust between parties;
- brokering unilateral or joint declarations; and/or
- mediating interim agreements for violence reduction or humanitarian access.

## HD'S APPROACH

### Flexibility, responsiveness and entrepreneurship

As a private entity, HD can react quickly and flexibly to emerging crises. The organisation remains agile, able to move swiftly and globally when the moment is right, and to respond and adapt to unpredictable events. Its approach requires unusually high levels of entrepreneurship; HD therefore recruits and develops innovative and motivated people who combine experience, expertise and exceptional networks with creativity and professionalism. The organisation also encourages its people to develop and launch creative initiatives for peace, while operating within a firm accountability framework.

### A decentralised approach

To sustain efficiency in a rapidly evolving international context, HD has established six regional hubs covering Asia, Eurasia, Anglophone and Lusophone Africa, Francophone Africa, Latin America and the Middle East and North Africa. These hubs have the agility and capacity to respond rapidly to emerging conflict situations, and each maintains unique regional networks and deep knowledge of local contexts. They are supported by headquarters in Switzerland, providing executive oversight and corporate support.



**Photo:** David Harland announces ETA's final declaration of disbandment. © HD







**Photo:** Mahbouba Seraj, Habiba Sarabi, Orzala A. Nemat and Maha Yahya at the Oslo Forum 2019. © HD

### **Low profile and risk-taking**

HD's capacity to intervene quietly and discreetly is one of its most distinctive characteristics and a significant advantage in sensitive conflict environments. Its low-profile and confidential approach allows it to engage in situations that may be inaccessible to official actors and those in conventional diplomacy circles. Its capacity to maintain a low profile and assume a number of risks is intrinsically linked to HD's ability to work as an effective mediator. As such, its default mode will always remain discretion.

### **A principled approach in a crowded field**

HD's principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence are vital to the ethos and functioning of the organisation. HD operates effectively by applying – and being known to apply – these principles rigorously. Its reputation for impartial and independent engagement allows it to maintain access to all sides in a conflict and to cultivate trusted relationships in situations of extreme tension. As the field of mediation becomes increasingly crowded, it is ever more important that HD continue to uphold its principles.

### **Accountability and quality assurance**

Flexible, decentralised and autonomous activities require particularly strong accountability mechanisms. To guarantee a high level of accountability, HD's projects undergo peer reviews at key decision points led by the organisation's central monitoring and evaluation team. HD has been developing innovative monitoring and evaluation approaches for its peacemaking work since 2013, including the use of expert mediation advisers, peer-to-peer learning exchanges, critical peer reviews, and independent verification of reported peacemaking results.

### **Inclusive peacemaking**

Building on its capacity to work with diverse actors and with access to high-level processes, HD supports the meaningful participation of women, young people and civil society in peace processes. The participation of an inclusive and diverse range of representatives can bring significant benefits to a peace process. It is often through the involvement of different groups that innovative ideas and new perspectives emerge that inform the outcomes of peacemaking efforts.

# BUILDING ON TWO DECADES OF PEACEMAKING

**HD started life 20 years ago with five staff working from a Geneva loft.** It started 2020 with more than 300 people, most of them working in the world's worst conflicts and many smaller ones stretching from Central America to the Sulu Sea. Its Geneva lake-side headquarters steered seven operational directorates and 17 field offices engaging with armed extremists, community leaders and global powers to avert conflicts and mitigate their impact. At the age of 20, HD stands at the forefront of the fast growing sector of private diplomacy.

Its growth underscores the value of its mission; the scores of peace or conflict prevention agreements HD delivered in the process provide powerful validation of its methods. Twenty-six agreements achieved by HD in 2019 alone saved lives, replaced violence with dialogue, enabled peaceful elections, or discreetly opened paths for life-saving aid to reach civilians trapped in brutal conflict.

HD's first sponsors envisaged a high-level forum to debate the response of humanitarian actors to conflict. HD's pioneering staff wanted something more than debate. Taking their cue from Henry Dunant, founder of the International Red Cross, they called instead for "New Prevention" that set out "to prevent, or at least to alleviate, the horrors of war" using tools of dialogue and mediation beyond the scope of conventional diplomacy.

The vision was tested within weeks when HD received a mandate from Indonesia in 1999, to mediate in its near 30-year struggle for independence by Aceh rebels. HD brokered a truce, then a fully-fledged ceasefire monitored by several hundred troops contributed by regional neighbours.

Changing conflict dynamics after the collapse of Communism and the post-9/11 war on terrorism reinforced the point. As wars between states gave way to intra-state conflicts between governments and often small but potent armed groups, headline

**Amid the growth and change, HD's core values have remained constant. It has kept notably a hard-headed focus on delivering tangible results that improve people's lives. And it is careful to engage only where it can add value.**

peace agreements proved increasingly rare and fragile. In the years following Aceh, and now active in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, HD gained recognition as a small, agile agency effective at finding and engaging the groups that were hardest to reach and to provide a discreet and deniable back-channel for contacts with conflict parties.

It opened confidential contacts with the Basque separatist group ETA that would culminate more than a decade later with its unilateral and unconditional handover of 3.5 tonnes of arms and explosives in 2017 and dissolution of the armed movement the next year. It served as humanitarian adviser to United Nations mediators in Sudan and later engaged with a broad spectrum of armed groups in Darfur. HD made the first contacts with communist insurgents in Nepal and began its long-standing and continuing involvement in efforts to bring peace to the Philippines' troubled island of Mindanao.

To support its broadening engagement, HD soon needed to move from an ad hoc portfolio to a more structured and decentralised institution with a clearly defined methodology. It opened an Asia office in 2006. An Africa office in Nairobi followed in 2007 which would later split into two operations addressing Anglophone and Francophone Africa respectively, matching the multiple conflicts opening across the continent. By then HD had formed separate hubs to address burgeoning engagements in the Middle East and Eurasia. An initiative launched in Nicaragua in 2019 kicked off HD's operational engagement in Latin America giving it a global reach.

HD's composition and methods also evolved. With decentralisation it took on "insider mediators", employing nationals with contacts and deep local knowledge. To maintain operational coherence and standards, HD also pioneered methods of monitoring and evaluation of its operations that have attracted interest and buy-in from diplomatic and non-government entities.

Amid the growth and change, HD's core values have remained constant. It has kept notably a hard-headed focus on delivering

tangible results that improve people's lives. And it is careful to engage only where it can add value. The quality of HD's networks, analysis and rigorous project monitoring shows clearly in the many and diverse agreements for ending, mitigating or preventing conflict that it has brought to life in the past 20 years.

They span local ceasefires in Syria's civil war that allowed more than 100,000 people to evacuate frontlines, to the facilitation of health access in conflict affected parts of Asia and Africa. HD has kept alive contact and cooperation across the line of conflict in Ukraine and initiated discussion among South China Sea claimant states on regulating conduct to prevent incidents at sea. HD-trained mediators are resolving local conflicts amid the world's fastest growing insurgency in the Sahel and ending clan conflicts in the Sulu archipelago. Its work with armed groups in Central African Republic and Myanmar has lowered violence and its work with political parties facilitated peace and inclusion in Tunisia.

HD led the formation of an international contact group to support the mediation facilitated by Malaysia in the Philippines and advised UN mediators in Sudan. It burnished its professional peace-making credentials advising and providing the secretariat supporting Kofi Annan's successful mediation in Kenya in 2007. Since then it has worked closely with the UN, the OSCE and other multinational entities in Syria, Ukraine, Moldova and Libya. HD's discretion and professionalism in these roles has dispelled the suspicion it encountered from some international organisations in its formative years. When UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres formed a high-level advisory board on mediation in 2017 as part of a "surge for peace," he asked HD to take part.

Those results reflect advantages HD has brought to peacebuilding as a small, agile organisation able to take risks avoided by governmental organisations and quickly adapt to changing needs in volatile conflict settings. Yet HD also understands the limits of its niche role. It gives absolute priority to the interests of peace and has a track record of support to other peacemakers.



Photo: © HD



# HD MILESTONES

1999

In September 1999, HD started its first project in Aceh, Indonesia, to mediate the conflict between the Government of Indonesia and the third iteration of the Free Aceh Movement.



2003

HD organised the first Mediators' Retreat, a small gathering bringing together mediation practitioners to professionalise the practice of mediation. This later became known as the annual Oslo Forum.



2010

HD brokered an agreement on the protection of children in the Darfur conflict between the UN and a Sudanese armed group, the Justice and Equality Movement.





## 2012

After supporting a 16 month-long peace process, HD facilitated the conclusion of the Nakuru County Peace Accord, addressing issues between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities in the Kenya Rift Valley.



## 2014

Key Tunisian political actors signed the Charter of Honour for Tunisian Elections and Referenda, after HD discreetly and informally facilitated dialogue between the political actors involved in the democratic transition process.



## 2016

Key political, social and community leaders from Libya endorsed the Humanitarian Appeal for Benghazi to call for establishing the necessary conditions for the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance. HD supported the process leading to this appeal.

## 2015

HD was granted the formal status of “international body” by the Swiss government.





2019

The Bangsamoro Organic Law was ratified, establishing the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao in the Philippines, where HD was active in supporting the peace process for over 15 years.



2018

Announced at HD's headquarters, ETA's final declaration stated the group has disbanded forever, putting an end to almost 60 years of violent confrontation in the Basque-claimed regions of northern Spain and southern France.

The Government of Mozambique and the country's main opposition party, Renamo, signed the Maputo Accord for Peace and Reconciliation. As part of a small mediation team, HD played a discreet role supporting the negotiations and agreement.



**Our partners from ETA to the Bangsamoro**

ETA, the Basque separatist revolutionary organization for national liberation, hereby affirms the Bangsamoro peace plan, following the ratification by the House of Representatives of the Bangsamoro Organic Law and the ratification by the Senate of the Bangsamoro Organic Law, as a contribution to the peace process in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.

ETA has completely renounced all of its objectives.

ETA has renounced the use of violence and the use of arms. It will no longer represent political positions, promote the independence of any territory, or demand the independence of any territory. It will no longer represent the interests of any territory, nor will it demand the independence of any territory.

ETA was born in a time when the Basque Country was struggling, through the chaos of Francoism and the search for a political solution, and now, 60 years later, thanks to all the work carried out by many citizens and the change of many generations, the Basque nation is also able and wants to be the master of its own future.

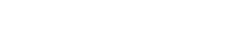
ETA wishes to be a pillar of the conflict between the Bangsamoro and the Spanish and French states, the quest for the end of political violence. In light of the Bangsamoro Organic Law and the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law, ETA has renounced the use of violence and the use of arms. It will no longer represent political positions, promote the independence of any territory, or demand the independence of any territory.

From now on, the main challenge will be to build a process, as a people, based on the acknowledgment of facts, government transparency and democracy, always closer and offering transparency, in order to strengthen the relationship between the Basque people and the Basque Government. The main goal will be to bring into effect the right to decide, in order to achieve recognition of our institutions, leaving our independence people and work for us to be used in the establishment of a Bangsamoro State.

We have made this, but not because, in order to foster a new historical phase. ETA was born both the people and as a resistance force into the present.

OSKAR GILBERTO, ANTONIO MARTÍN, IÑIGO GILBERTO, HERRERA GILBERTO  
AS IS AN INSTRUMENTALITY TO THE BANGSAMORO ORGANIC LAW

In the Bangsamoro, 3 May 2018  
Luisito T. Amador  
ETA



# 2019 OPERATIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

“ A wind of madness is sweeping the globe.

UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres issued this warning as the institution he leads turned 75. “Escalation is back. Arms are flowing and offensives are increasing.”

HD at 20 has proven its particular value operating beyond the boundaries of conventional diplomacy, filling critical gaps in international peacemaking by governments and multilateral institutions. In the world of “growing instability and hair-trigger tensions” that Mr. Guterres described, those gaps are rapidly widening. Conflicts are not only proliferating, they are more fragmented and more protracted. Deepening East-West polarisation has weakened the authority of the UN and its Security Council. Resurgent geopolitics, meanwhile, has shut down many established channels of communication once available to states and conflict parties.

For HD, the consequence is increasing demand for the impartial, independent mediation and discreet back-channel contacts that powers big and small and conflict parties of every hue now trust it to provide. HD conducted more than 45 projects in 40 countries in 2019, delivering more than 26 measurable agreements ranging from ceasefire to peace and conflict management accords and negotiated access for humanitarian assistance.

Some remain confidential. Among those that are public, Sunni tribal sheikhs in **Iraq**'s Anbar province reached a 13-point security agreement with the Prime Minister's office that allowed over 2000 displaced families to return home and public services to resume. **Mozambique**'s Government signed a historic agreement with Renamo pledging to end decades of hostilities and hold peaceful elections. **China** and ASEAN convened their first Track 1 meeting of maritime law enforcement agencies marking a major step towards adoption of common operating principles. This has helped to avert dangerous confrontation in the South China Sea.

The diverse spectrum of agreements was indicative of changing conflict dynamics. Escalating regional and great power tensions also increase the obstacles of reaching comprehensive peace accords. Atomised conflicts and easy access, even for small groups, to potent new technologies and abundant supplies of



Photo: Rebels surrender firearms for Bangsamoro territory in Mindanao. © EPA-EFE/STR

weaponry lower the chances such deals will last. Four years after the Algiers peace accord agreed by **Mali's** warring groups in 2015, armed conflict is reaching new heights. HD, working with local communities in 2019, was able to broker a series of agreements ending conflicts that had taken a heavy toll in life and property.



## NEW FRONTIERS

HD's response to emerging threats took it across new geographic and thematic areas in 2019. Mounting cyber-attacks starkly expose a new frontier of warfare that remains ungoverned by norms or guidelines let alone international treaties, posing a major threat to international security. The UN has two processes under way considering the issues from a global perspective but has no timeline for producing conclusions. HD focused on addressing specific issues identified by states with cyber warfare capabilities.

In 2019 it engaged with China, Russia, the United States, Middle Eastern countries and European and other governments, identifying gaps in cyber diplomacy that HD can fill. With high levels of tension and distrust between major cyber powers and few competing initiatives, HD found states interested in dialogues to identify confidence building measures and operational guidelines. Among specific outcomes, it reached agreement in principle with cyber authorities in Oman on setting up a regional platform for exploring cyber issues that was expected to lead to a number of dialogues in 2020.

Addressing the nexus between poverty and conflict, HD explored possibilities for channelling micro credits to nascent, employment-generating businesses in Mindanao in the Southern Philippines. The project aims to deliver an economic dividend to local clans that signed on to conflict management accords and provide incentives to avert a lapse back into violence.

With rising tensions between China and the United States becoming a key source of global security concern, HD has identified glaring gaps in levels of bilateral engagement that both governments readily admit require filling to help manage the risks of conflict. HD has stepped forward to convene groups of experts with official backing to consider how best to manage heightened risks in the field of maritime security and also at the sharp end of the growing field of artificial intelligence in weapons technology.

HD's moves to take on new challenges are indicative of HD's continuous evaluation of how and where it can work and make a difference. Most HD staff are deployed in the field, working in small, agile project teams reporting directly to regional directors. It is an organisational structure designed for a world in which wars between states had largely given way to atomised intra-state conflicts. Its decentralised model has given HD operational flexibility to deal with violent and volatile conflicts occurring mostly at sub-national levels.

## PRACTICE AND PARTNERSHIPS

HD's small management team in Geneva provides strategic oversight and critical evaluation of HD projects that have established it as a sector leader. It also undertakes quality control, ensuring decentralised operations remain aligned with HD policy and global best practice.

HD has pioneered sector-leading approaches to evaluating performance through critical peer reviews and independent validation of its results, increasing the number of reviews in 2019 and expanding the model to include engagement with donors. Through annual donor-practitioner roundtables, HD continues to define and expand the consensus on sector-specific monitoring and evaluation approaches for peacemaking engagements. As staff numbers rose, HD also stepped up peer-to-peer learning and training to uphold its professional culture and standards.

As a leader in private diplomacy, HD has continued to engage proactively with its peers in the sector. The two-day Oslo Forum retreat co-hosted with Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in June 2019 attracted 125 mediators, high level officials and diplomats, nearly half of them women, to share experiences and perspectives on the theme "Rebooting mediation: connecting tracks, processes and people." A report capturing key lessons from the meeting, together with other publications on mediation practice, also formed part of HD's wider collaboration and partnerships promoting best practice with research institutes and mediators around the world.

HD and the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs jointly launched a "Digital Mediation toolkit" examining the impact of digital technologies on mediation. A year-long exploratory study on multitrack approaches to peace processes conducted by HD, in partnership with swisspeace, CSS ETH Zurich and the



Photo: Lyse Doucet, Smail Chergui, Ine Eriksen Soreide and Anwar bin Mohammed Gargash at the Oslo Forum 2019. © HD

Folke Bernadotte Academy led to a publication on “Reflections on Multitrack Approaches to Peace Processes.” HD acted as focal point in preparing the launch of the UK DFID-funded Smart Peace consortium and collaborated on training programmes with the Clingendael Institute and Geneva Institute.

In addition to HD policy and practice, HD’s Geneva headquarters also maintains surge capacity providing operational back-up to help project teams respond to changing circumstances or to mobilise expertise on specific issues such as security sector reform. The mediation support team has led HD’s efforts to promote inclusion as a critical component in delivering durable conflict management and prevention solutions.

Networks of women peace monitors set up in Nigeria’s Middle Belt states have contributed to the success of inter-communal dialogues in curbing violence. In Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, HD

**HD conducted more than 45 projects in 40 countries in 2019, delivering more than 26 measurable agreements ranging from ceasefire to peace and conflict management accords and negotiated access for humanitarian assistance.**

consulted and integrated representatives of women and youth from the affected communities, along with community leaders, local armed groups and state authorities, to ensure inclusive mediation of local conflicts. HD was able to capture the voice of women in Libya’s National Conference preparations by pro-actively encouraging their participation in physical and digital dialogue platforms. HD’s Myanmar team engaged with a range of women’s groups





in Muslim majority Rakhine State and with the Women's League of Burma, made up of 13 ethnic minority women's organisations supporting the peace process. During more than a decade of work on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines, HD has engaged with women and youth groups developing their skills in conflict resolution.

## HUMANITARIAN MEDIATION

Also based in Geneva, HD's Humanitarian Mediation project engaged with conflict parties in adding a focus on humanitarian issues to negotiations on tackling conflicts that have contributed to unprecedented global levels of displacement.

HD does not deliver humanitarian assistance but its contact with armed groups and community leaders enabled international humanitarian organisations to deliver medical and other aid to communities in high-risk environments in parts of Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Two informal dialogues with South Sudan conflict parties convened by HD in Dar Es Salaam and Kampala in 2019 led to a communication and coordination protocol that enabled aid organisations to respond to acute humanitarian needs in previously inaccessible Equatoria province.

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The access achieved in these environments attests to the quality of HD's contact networks and its agility. Those qualities were at a premium in **Libya** in 2019 as violent upheavals torpedoed the United Nations action plan for relaunching political negotiations through a National Conference and the ground-breaking work of HD mobilising political and security actors and local communities to take part in it.

In the first months of 2019 HD conducted scores of meetings with key political, military and social actors preparing recommendations to push the political process forward at the National Conference. The military offensive launched by Khalifa Haftar attacking Tripoli ten days before the conference was due to open derailed that approach. Growing foreign involvement added further complexity as Janjaweed militia from Sudan's Darfur region and Russian mercenaries weighed in on General Haftar's side and Turkey sent troops and Syrian mercenaries to support the government. While international attention was riveted on this confrontation, numerous clashes erupted across other regions, notably between the southwestern Morzuk's Tebu and Ahali communities.

As fighting escalated, HD pursued a series of parallel tracks. It conducted missions to Tripoli, Misrata and Benghazi engaging with high-level actors to find ways to de-escalate the conflict. It focused on some small confidence-building steps, facilitating the release of prominent individuals who had been abducted for political leverage or extortion. It also brought together some 45 social media activists and dignitaries from all parts of the country to analyse root causes of the crisis and propose practical initiatives for regaining trust in national institutions.

Throughout the year, it provided feedback and analysis to support the efforts of UN Special Representative Ghassan Salamé. HD similarly maintained contacts and briefed international stakeholders, including Germany, France, Italy, Egypt, Turkey, US, Russia, the UK, the European Union and the African Union, to help keep their responses aligned with realities on the ground. At the request of the European Union, it organised a visit of civil society activists from eastern Libya to Brussels to brief high-ranking EU officials on developments. HD then brought influential Libyan actors from all sides of the divide to Geneva, Cairo and Tunisia for a multilateral dialogue that developed recommendations for consideration at the Berlin conference in January 2020.

Neighbouring **Tunisia**, meanwhile, approached elections in 2019 amid mounting social and economic grievances that has eroded trust in political leaders and threatened to unravel the fragile consensus that emerged after its 2011 regime change. HD had previously facilitated and promoted a Charter of Honour signed up to by political parties that allowed 2014 elections to pass peacefully. Drawing on the high-level contacts it developed in that initiative, HD again conducted low-key shuttle diplomacy between political parties defusing tensions and working out compromise solutions to difficult issues as well as developing a communications campaign to raise awareness of the charter and the code of conduct it laid down for political actors.

HD faced greater tension and complexity in **Lebanon**, where internal political, sectarian and generational divides, stoked by regional violent conflicts, pose the gravest threat to its stability since its ruinous civil war in the 1990s. A weakening economy and the inability of government to deliver public services ignited mass social protest that transcended sectarian identities and added a deepening sense of crisis. Many among the emerging generation of leaders are largely disconnected from each other and remote from the country's security challenges. Against this background, HD focused discussions with all political parties on

**In Iraq, HD also promoted contacts between the Baghdad Shia-led government and Sunni communities that generated action to tackle local grievances and stabilise regions emerging from the traumatic onslaught by Islamic State.**

long-standing issues, ranging from the maritime border dispute with Israel which is holding back access to valuable offshore hydrocarbon reserves, breaking through sectarian barriers, setting up a judicial committee to tackle corruption and addressing the severe social and economic impact from more than a million Syrian refugees in Lebanon. HD saw progress on these tracks in building consensus between Lebanese parties in bilateral discussions and multilateral meetings in Beirut and Geneva, updating governments of France, Germany and Switzerland on developments. HD also responded swiftly to an upsurge of mass protest that dominated the national political agenda from October, providing a channel between the president and protesters. In addition, HD brokered an agreement on security and other arrangements for Ain al-Hilweh, the largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. The camp has been walled off by the Lebanese security forces from the surrounding community, with no agreement between Palestinian leaders in the camp and the surrounding Lebanese communities on many issues. The Charter set provisions on the movement in and out of the camp, both for people and for goods.

Mass anti-government protests similarly hijacked national politics in **Iraq** in the last quarter of 2019, prompting the resignation of the government. By then, however, HD had achieved significant results. It had fostered dialogue among established and emerging Sunni leaders identified as well connected to their constituencies. It also promoted contacts between the Baghdad Shia-led government and Sunni communities that generated action to tackle local grievances and stabilize regions emerging from the traumatic onslaught by Islamic State.

HD organised a conference in Anbar governorate attended by local Sunni communities and the Baghdad Operations Command, leading to opening of the Baghdad wall significantly easing movement and delivering immediate improvements in the quality of life. A second conference in Anbar in December produced agreement that allowed the resettlement of hundreds of families previously



**Photo:** Militants, reportedly from the Misrata armed group, prepare their weapons and ammunition before heading to the frontline. © EPA-EFE / Stringer





displaced by conflict. In northern Nineveh governorate, meetings organised by HD addressed the plight of Yazidi minority in Sinjar and in troubled Tel Afar city it tackled sensitive issues of treatment of Sunnis suspected of ISIS involvement. HD convened several meetings outside Iraq bringing Sunni leaders together with government officials, security actors and parliamentarians.

Violent protests against poor services and corruption had flared in the southern city of Basra in 2018. HD followed up in 2019 organising a conference to take stock of its stabilisation and development needs, and arranging a visit by officials from the European Union and United Nations supporting local projects. The exercise also provided HD with insight into the non-sectarian grievances that flared in Baghdad and other cities in the closing months of 2019 and on into 2020, highlighting critical challenges that lie ahead.

HD was active on several fronts in **Syria** in 2019 drawing on a unique contact network reaching all the main actors to try to and prevent the resurgence of armed conflict, particularly in areas controlled by the government and in northeast Syria. In regular visits to the northeast, HD engaged with leaders of the Kurdish Autonomous Administration, civil society and tribal leaders. Turkey's October incursion into northern Syria provided impetus for the government and Kurdish leadership to strike a military deal, but a difficult gap persisted between their positions on governance arrangements and HD did not actively mediate between them.

HD, however, conducted discreet shuttle diplomacy between the Kurdish administration and Turkish authorities and produced policy papers with recommendations aimed at de-escalating tensions and stabilising the region previously controlled by ISIS. Accepted by both parties as a trusted adviser, HD negotiated a ceasefire between Turkey and Kurdish authorities in the Tal Tamer area. HD also created a local conflict resolution mechanism in the former ISIS stronghold of Deir Ezzour providing a platform for Arab residents to air grievances with the Kurdish administration. Detention of families in Al-Hol was high on the list and HD's mechanism was able to bring about the release of some 600 people in December.

HD has started work in **Yemen** in support of the UN-led peace process, using its experience of connecting with hard-to-reach groups and areas to sound out expectations and grievances of communities excluded from any political process for more than a decade. Amid continuing hostilities, HD held a series of encounters with actors from all sides in the conflict both inside Yemen, in

particular in Marib and Jawf provinces and in neighbouring countries taking stock of how conceptions of governance, untested by any electoral process for more than a decade, have evolved.

The November agreement ending hostilities between the UAE-backed Southern Transitional Council and the internationally recognised government backed by Saudi Arabia froze the fighting in Aden but has yet to be implemented. It also leaves many questions about future governance unanswered, on which HD is focusing its attention. Throughout its consultations, HD was in regular contact with the UN Special Envoy's team and briefed interested European ministries on the progress of its mission.

## AFRICA

The intensity and devastating human cost of Middle East wars largely eclipsed the conflicts unfolding in francophone West Africa in recent years but in 2019 that changed. European discomfort over the flow of migrants from one of the world's poorest regions has given way to serious alarm over skyrocketing violence by jihadist groups stretching from Mauritania across the Sahel to Sudan. Media reporting has focused attention on setbacks to Western military counter-terrorism initiatives but in the process have also underscored the urgent need for a more-than-military response. Against that background, 2019 also saw a significant increase of HD's footprint in the region – and significant results at all levels of conflict resolution.

In **Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso** and **Central African Republic**, HD brokered 14 peace agreements in 2019 including provisions for reconciliation, security, justice, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants, and setting up mechanisms for monitoring the peace. Alongside these agreements, which have proven effective in reducing and preventing violence, HD conducted local mediations paving the way for a more active role of communities in the management of political affairs, and sometimes establish a much-needed dialogue with their respective state authorities.

**Mali** exemplified the scale of the challenge to national authorities in the Sahel from jihadist attacks and the intercommunal violence that they exacerbate. More than 600 civilians are estimated to have died in Mali in the first half of the year alone. Four years after the peace deal hammered out with Tuareg groups in the north, intensifying violence forced government to pull back from vast areas of central Mali, ending delivery of public services. In 2019

the government mandated HD to mediate the deployment of public services and the reopening of schools, involving negotiation channels between communities, armed groups and governmental authorities in the central Mopti and Segou regions. Among other initiatives, HD continued to support six networks of religious leaders in the communities to lower tensions and engage them actively in violence prevention efforts.

Over the last five years, HD set up and trained a vast network of local agro-pastoral mediators that now extends across the **Sahel** from Mauritania to Chad and has become a reference point for resolution of local conflicts. Violent clashes between herders and farmers over access to water and other natural resources have steadily intensified as a result of climate change, demographic pressures and wider conflicts. HD continued to build up the network of mediators and more than a thousand mediators were active in brokering 129 agreements in 2019.

**In the Central African Republic, HD was embedded in the African Union mediation team that brokered a peace agreement between the government and 14 armed groups in February 2019.**

In the **Central African Republic**, HD was embedded in the African Union mediation team that brokered peace agreement between the government and 14 armed groups in February 2019. Even if residual violence persists, this agreement led to a significant reduction in armed confrontation and established a concrete framework for the management of security and a transitional justice mechanism. A further agreement signed by six armed groups in the eastern Bria region in April after intensive negotiations led by



**Photo:** Community mediators in the Sahel region. © HD



**Photo:** A member of security forces stands guard outside a court in the northern city of Kaduna. © Reuters / Afolabi Sotunde

HD aimed at ending local violence that claimed many lives and fueled hostility between Christian and Muslim communities. In the process of talks, HD negotiated humanitarian access to several prefectures enabling aid organisations to provide immunisation and other services in local communities.

After years of shuttle diplomacy in **Senegal**, HD was able to convene a first round of talks between the southern fronts of the Casamance rebels and representatives of the government. HD also received a mandate in Cameroon to support Swiss-led mediation to end the conflict between the government and anglophone separatists in the northwest of the country. The government's willingness to negotiate remained unclear but HD's efforts were invested in putting together a viable negotiation platform representing the many armed and political groups fighting in the name

of "Ambazonia." By the end of the year, HD had extended its operations into **Togo**, training local peace committees supporting a network created by the government to check increasing community-level conflicts.

HD invested additional resources in providing advisory services to governments of francophone Africa: In Niger and CAR it delivered technical advice and support for transitional justice processes. A law drafted by HD and adopted by Niger authorities prepared the ground for amnesty of former jihadists and for payment of compensation to victims of jihadist attacks. And in the five countries of the G5 Sahel, HD convened talks between 1,250 youth associations and their respective governments started producing strategic public policies in support of youth entrepreneurship.

The political environment in **Burundi** proved even more challenging as President Pierre Nkurunziza's administration tightened its control took an ever more defiant attitude toward international actors. HD engagement providing technical support to Burundi's Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) stalled as a new team took charge at the end of 2018 but it was able to maintain a rare level of contact with all parties at a time when authorities have shut down most dialogue with external actors.

Attacks by Boko Haram splinter groups intensified in **Nigeria's** northeast Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states where HD worked on violence prevention initiatives and peaceful reintegration of communities displaced and deeply traumatised by conflict. Communities are divided along ethnic and religious lines, and the continuation of the 10-year old conflict suggests that there is no shortage of recruits into the extremist forces. HD has promoted dialogue among Muslim and community leaders and with the support of key religious leaders from various sects it launched an "Alternative Narrative" document published in a variety of languages in 2019. This has helped in fostering inter-religious harmony between communities in North East Nigeria, and pushing back at the ideas and beliefs promoted by Boko Haram.

Serious violence also erupted in Nigeria's Middle Belt states, long prone to clashes between religious groups as well as between farmers and pastoralists. Peace management networks set up in Jos and Kaduna states with support from HD achieved significant results. HD broadened the networks to Benue State in 2019, holding meetings with community and religious leaders to build local support as well as building awareness of an online Community Early Warning, Early Response system that has proved effective in helping networks monitor and respond to developments. HD expanded its mediation efforts in the Middle Belt of Nigeria, initiating a dialogue process to resolve the endemic farmer-herder clashes which would have claimed thousands of casualties and culminated in the destruction of property. In December 2019, these efforts culminated into the signing of an initial Agreement between the communities involved in the crisis to pursue dialogue as a means to ending the conflict and for HD to lead the process. HD also provided support to Nigeria's electoral commission in the run up to presidential and gubernatorial elections in Benue, Kaduna, Plateau and Nasarawa states, delivering peace messaging and other activities that helped to achieve a largely peaceful outcome.

Deadlines for setting up a transitional government of national unity in **South Sudan** came and went without results in 2019.

**HD remained heavily engaged in Somalia where Federal Government of Somalia's relations with Somaliland and Federal Member States were dogged by tensions and insecurity that risked escalation in the build-up to parliamentary and presidential elections in 2020 and 2021.**

The paralysis in a political process designed to end five years of devastating civil war only added to the urgency of action to address the continuing humanitarian crisis with more than half the population dependent for their survival on foreign aid. HD, with support from Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia and from the UN mission in Sudan, pursued an initiative for an informal humanitarian dialogue to improve security for deliveries of aid.

A meeting of representatives of the government, opposition, donors and aid organisations organised by HD's Nairobi office and its Geneva-based Humanitarian Mediation team in Dar es Salaam in March produced an emergency protocol on communications and access that opened space for medical aid to Equatoria. This included training for community health workers in Ebola preparedness and response in areas controlled by the opposition National Salvation Front along the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo, which had been largely closed to relief agencies creating one of the worst humanitarian situations in the country.

HD remained heavily engaged in **Somalia** where the Federal Government of Somalia's relations with Somaliland and Federal Member States were dogged by tensions and insecurity that risked escalation in the build-up to parliamentary and presidential elections in 2020 and 2021. HD continued its shuttle diplomacy between the Federal Government of Somalia and Somaliland to restore the dialogue that broke down in 2015. After months of preparatory work, HD persuaded the two sides to discuss the issue and a meeting it convened in June was attended, for the first time since the breakdown, by both parties and by international stakeholders.

HD also facilitated contacts between Somaliland and Puntland in a bid to end armed clashes over the disputed border town of Tukaraq. Tensions remained high but the two sides agreed to suspend hostile action, de-escalate military activity and work on a long term resolution of the dispute. HD's third area of activity involved working with the Ministry of Interior, Federalism and Reconciliation

to implement a National Reconciliation Framework and defuse friction between the Federal Government and Federal Member States which accused it of meddling in their internal affairs.

After decades of conflict between **Mozambique's** government and Renamo rebels, 2019 proved a landmark year when the two sides signed a Cessation of Hostilities agreement and, a week later, the historic Maputo Accord for Peace and Reconciliation, paving the way for a peaceful general election. HD had supported mediation efforts since 2014 but the agreements were the culmination of a peace process that started in 2017. HD worked as part of the team that facilitated constant communication between party leaders and provided technical expertise for a complex process that involved passing an amnesty law and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in which elements of the Renamo force were incorporated into the army and police.

As **Zimbabwe** transitions into a post-Mugabe era, HD connected with high-level interlocutors in the ruling ZANU-PF and opposition Movement for Democratic Change in a bid to launch a dialogue that averts the risk of violent confrontation. HD has enjoyed success forging relationships between some members of the rival parties but a stand-off between President Mnangagwa and opposition leader Nelson Chamisa over the outcome of 2018 elections has kept plans for more wide-ranging engagement with war veterans and youth leaders for the moment on hold.

## EURASIA

After seven years of hostilities in the Donbass, **Ukraine** is approaching a critical tipping point. The positions of the Kyiv government and Russian-backed rebels controlling the Donbass have become steadily more entrenched and implementation of the Minsk peace process has stalled while polarisation between Kyiv and Moscow has deepened in step with the deepening chill between Russia and the West. The election of a new president in Ukraine in mid-2019 has opened a glimmer of a chance to reset relations. HD, after years of discreet back-channel engagement with all sides, has continued to develop lines of engagement that can provide a platform for resolving the conflict.

HD convened unofficial dialogues among officials from the Normandy 4 countries plus the United States as well as conducted wide-ranging consultations with officials and policy-makers in Kyiv, the Donbass and Moscow on critical issues such as peace-keeping, amnesty and possible governance arrangements for disputed territories. It backed up those talks with policy

papers commissioned from international experts that were shared with parties to the conflict and presented arguments that were reflected in public comments by policy makers. Following HD's long-standing dialogue efforts across the line of conflict, HD began to make progress in the areas of addressing ecological hazards, reconnecting economic links and developing reconciliation initiatives. In its ecological track, the participants established



**Photo:** A veteran holding a mace shouts anti-government slogans during a protest of a group of war veterans in Moldova. © EPA-EFE / Dumitru Doru

an early warning system, helped set up an ecological monitoring operation by the OSCE and has recently agreed to develop joint plans for closing one critically at risk coal mine area. In the economic track HD seeded ideas which were picked up by the administration for reducing barriers for transporting goods across the line of contact and for establishing free trade zones. The joint group on reconciliation meets regularly and recently produced a



well-received publication documenting stories of victims on both sides of the line of contact.

HD took a number of other steps to probe opportunities opened up by the election of a new administration in Kyiv. It arranged three meetings of officials or experts from Ukraine, Russia, Germany, France and the US to consider steps that could be taken to inject momentum in the Minsk peace process, passing on their suggestions to policymakers on both sides.

In **Moldova** HD continues to support the official OSCE led dialogue process between Moldova's Parliament and Transnistria's Supreme Soviet.

In **Serbia** and **Kosovo**, HD has been supporting the official EU led negotiation track to normalise relations between the two countries.

## ASIA

With big power muscle-flexing on the rise in Asia, HD activity has ranged from exploratory engagement on sources of geopolitical tension in Northeast Asia to more tried and tested approaches to tackling conflicts between governments and armed groups in Southeast Asia. Evidence of the former was the discussions HD facilitated between experts from China and the United States on emerging risks in the rapidly evolving military applications of artificial intelligence which are outpacing existing security doctrines. Despite bilateral tensions, seminars on this issue convened by HD considered a range of possible confidence building measures and mechanisms for crisis management that were welcomed by both governments. HD similarly facilitated talks between maritime law experts to explore differing interpretations of law that underpin growing tensions over the South China Sea and measures that could avoid escalation.

Fishing boats and coastguard vessels, not warships, were the main instrument used by rival South China Sea claimants, including **China, Malaysia, Vietnam** and the **Philippines**, to assert their positions in 2019. In the past two years, HD facilitated discussions between the claimants' maritime law enforcement agencies on Common Operating Principles designed to avoid clashes that could trigger more serious confrontations. The process gained momentum in 2019 when HD shared draft COPs at the first official meeting of ASEAN's and China's maritime law enforcement agencies and experts from the five countries meeting later in Beijing agreed guidelines for putting the COPs into practice. HD has also brought scientists and policymakers from

**HD, which provides technical support to the peace process helped the two Fronts in the Southern Philippines finalise a common development plan and worked on creating formal and informal mechanisms for resolving or preventing local conflicts.**

the five countries to develop a common approach to managing the marine environment and check the rapid depletion of fish stocks. Some four million fishermen around the region depend on these stocks and convergence on this shared interest by the rival claimant states adds another dimension to cooperation that can lower tensions over these contested waters.

HD also engaged with China in its capacity as the most influential international stakeholder in **Myanmar**. Beijing's particular interest is stability along the economic corridor linking China to the India Ocean but as a neighbour and regional power it has influence with some of the ethnic armed organisations locked in decades-old hostilities with Myanmar's Tatmadaw (army). De facto leader Aung San Suu Kyi made the conclusion of a Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement the priority of her government but the already slow process stalled after two of the 10 armed groups that had signed it withdrew. The end of 2018 and 2019 saw escalating insurgencies in Rakhine and Shan states. Conflicts between some of the armed groups added further obstacles to peace. In contacts with some of the hardest-to-reach groups outside the ceasefire, HD was able to facilitate a cessation of local hostilities enabling humanitarian access and the return of some families displaced by fighting. Additionally, regular dialogue with the government, Tatmadaw and national ceasefire signatories on security sector reform restored impetus to discussions on the wider peace process.

Meanwhile efforts to bring peace to the **Philippines** island of Mindanao reached a milestone in 2019 with the formal transfer of authority to the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. This built on agreements between the government and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and between the MILF and Moro National Liberation Front, bringing a drop in casualties and a rise in economic growth. However, risks of further conflict remain. HD, which provides technical support to the peace process helped the two Fronts finalise a common development plan and worked on creating formal and informal mechanisms



**Photo:** Cambodian police prepares for potential return of self-exiled opposition leader.  
© EPA-EFE / Kith Serey





for resolving or preventing local conflicts. In Sulu, HD and local mediation partners Tumikang Sama-Sama Inc. helped the MNLF and the Philippines army draft proposals for a formal coordination mechanism which was submitted to both parties for approval. HD also worked on opening channels of communication to enable communities in the Bangsamoro area take up grievances with authorities instead of resorting to violence.

The crackdown on political opposition in **Cambodia** in 2018 and 2019 heightened tension and the risk of violence and left limited room for HD's efforts to lower the levels of political polarisation. HD maintained contact with members of parliament from the ruling party and with opposition party members, including those overseas using a small network of insider mediators.

An election in **Indonesia** held back plans for exploratory meetings between government leaders and representatives of the Papuan community but HD continued to work with its partners, the Papua Peace Network (PPN) and the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), preparing the ground for a dialogue on resolving a long-running pro-independence insurgency. Around 100 people died in anti-Indonesian riots in August and September in what

was the worst outbreak of Papuan violence in decades, which dampened the outlook for a dialogue between the two sides. The re-election of President Joko Widodo presented an opportunity to intensify cooperation with a range of government departments and revive plans for dialogue. HD has also supported efforts through local media outlets in Papua to build support for dialogue on the ground in Papua.

## LATIN AMERICA

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After closely monitoring developments in Latin America for some years, HD started its first project in the region in **Nicaragua**, where protests against the Government on specific issues, in mid-2018, extended to the expression of wider political discontent and were adopted as an opportunity to operate a major political change. This led to a violent confrontation with police forces and a political crackdown. Over months, HD developed a relationship of trust with various among the key stakeholders and, at different stages, secured different roles to prevent further violence and contribute to a peaceful and negotiated solution to the political crisis.

# HD GOVERNANCE — THE BOARD

**HD 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 2019, Mr Jermyn Brooks' term on HD's Board came to an end. HD would like to express its gratitude Mr Brooks for his valuable contributions to the organisation and his dedication in supporting HD's peacemaking work and institutional development over the past years.

In 2019, HD also welcomed Professor Dewi Fortuna Anwar and Dr Joanne Liu as new members of its Board as the organisation continues to grow and expand its operations internationally in the near future.

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**MR ESPEN BARTH EIDE**  
**CHAIR OF THE BOARD**

Mr Espen Barth Eide is a Member of the Norwegian Parliament where he represents the Labour Party. Prior to his election in September 2017, Mr Eide 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 in Geneva from 2014 to 2016. He 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) and also directed NUPI's Department of International Politics. He joined HD's Board in 2013, was Vice-Chair in 2015 and was appointed its Chair in 2019.



**AMBASSADOR PIERRE VIMONT**  
**VICE-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 thirty-eight years in the French diplomatic service. During this time, he served as

Ambassador to the United States (2007 to 2010); Ambassador to the European Union (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, and he is also a Knight of the French National Order of Merit. Ambassador Vimont joined HD's Board in 2015, was Chair from 2016-2019 and was appointed as its Vice-Chair in 2019.



**MS SARAH F. CLIFFE**  
**CHAIR OF THE  
OPERATIONS COMMITTEE**

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 worked for the last twenty-five years in countries emerging from conflict and political transition, including Afghanistan, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea Bissau, Ethiopia, Haiti, Indonesia, Liberia, Mali, Rwanda, South Sudan, South Africa, Somalia, and Timor-Leste. At the World Bank, her work covered post-conflict reconstruction, community-driven development, and civil service reform. Ms. Cliffe was the Chief of Mission for the Bank's programme in Timor-Leste (1999 to 2002). She led the Bank's Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries Group (2002-2007) and was also the Bank's Director of Strategy and Operations for the East Asia and Pacific Region (2007 to 2009). Ms. Cliffe has also worked for the United Nations Development Programme in Rwanda, the Government of South Africa, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, as well as for a major management consultancy company in the United Kingdom on public sector reform issues. She joined HD's Board in 2015.



**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, as well as that of a number of non-profit organisations. He spent twenty-seven 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. He has been a Member of HD's Board since 2013 and chairs its Nominations Committee in charge of identifying suitable candidates for membership.



**MR ARMIN SLOTTA**  
**CHAIR OF THE AUDIT AND  
FINANCE COMMITTEE**

Mr Armin Slotta has more than 30 years of experience with PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) during which he built strong expertise working with multinational organisations and companies, advising leaders and managers worldwide. From 2015 to 2017 Mr Slotta managed PwC Germany's innovation programme as well as the firm's Foreign Business Network which supported German clients in developing and delivering strategies abroad,

in particular, in developing markets. Until 2015, Mr Slotta was a member of PwC Germany's Assurance Leadership Team during which time he managed several business units including the network's Capital Markets and Accounting Advisory Services. From 2013 to 2019, he also served as Vice-President and Treasurer of the American Chamber of Commerce in Germany; and in 2019, he joined the Transparency International Secretariat as a Senior Advisor to the movement's Business Integrity Programme. Mr Slotta joined HD's Board in 2018.



**PROFESSOR DEWI  
FORTUNA ANWAR**  
**BOARD MEMBER**

Prof Dewi Fortuna Anwar is a Research Professor at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) where she also held the position of Deputy Chairman for Social Sciences and Humanities from 2001 to 2010. A member of the Indonesian Academy of Sciences, Prof Anwar is also the Vice Chair of The Habibie Center (THC) in Jakarta, after having served as Chair for THC's Institute of Democracy and Human Rights. Between 2010 and 2017, Prof Fortuna Anwar served as Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs to Indonesian Vice President Boediono, and then as Deputy for Government Policy Support to Indonesian Vice President Jusuf Kalla. From 1998 to 1999, she also held the positions of Assistant to the Vice President for Global Affairs/International Relations and Assistant Minister/State Secretary for Foreign Affairs during the Habibie presidency. Prof Anwar sits on the Boards of several organisations including the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the Center for Information and Development Studies in Jakarta as well as the organisation Shift and the Asia Society which are both based in New York. Prof Anwar obtained a BA and MA from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London and a PhD in Politics from Monash University in Australia. Prof Anwar joined HD's board in 2019.



**MS GRACE FORREST**  
**BOARD MEMBER**

Ms Grace Forrest is a Founder of Walk Free, an international human rights group focused on the eradication of modern slavery. Since its formation in 2011, it is now one of the leading anti-slavery organisations in the world. Ms Forrest has spent extensive time working in South East Asia and the Middle East, using photography and storytelling to share the stories of survivors of modern slavery, with a current focus on refugee communities. She regularly represents Walk Free at international forums, including events at the United Nations and at the Vatican. Ms Forrest is a director of the Minderoo Foundation, a member of the Council of Advocates of the Freedom Fund. She previously worked at the Legatum Institute as a research analyst on global people movement. In 2018, Ms Forrest was appointed The United Nations Association of Australia's youngest ever Goodwill Ambassador for Anti-Slavery. That same year Ms Forrest was awarded Nomi Network's Abolitionist award for her work to end modern slavery, won GQ Australia's award for Humanitarian of the year and was selected as one of ten global leaders in One Young World's Young Leaders Against Sexual Violence initiative. Ms Forrest joined HD's Board in 2017.



**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 over 39 years of UN experience including 19 years of field experience. She was the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste. Ms Haq has also 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 UN Development Programme. Ms Haq is a mother to a son aged 36 and a daughter aged 34. Following her retirement, Ms. Haq has been a guest lecturer at many universities in the US and Europe, as well as speaking at many think tanks and research institutions. As of December 2019, Ms Haq is the Chair of the Global Board of BRAC, an NGO started in Bangladesh by the late Sir Fazle Hasan Abed, and currently the largest international NGO in terms of staff. She joined HD's Board in 2015.



**DR JAKOB KELLENBERGER**  
**BOARD MEMBER**

Dr Kellenberger was President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) 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. 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 teaches in the Law Faculty at the University of Salamanca in Spain. In addition to being a member of HD's Board since 2012, Dr Kellenberger is President of the Board of Swisspeace, an Honorary Member of the American Society of International Law, as well as a member of the Swiss Re Strategic Council. Dr Kellenberger was awarded the Grosses Verdienstkreuz mit Stern in 2012 and appointed Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur in 2013.



**DR JOANNE LIU**  
**BOARD MEMBER**

Dr Joanne Liu has served as International President of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) from 2013 to 2019. At the helm of MSF, she has been a leading voice on medical humanitarian crises, namely in Ebola outbreak of West Africa, attacks on hospitals and forced displacement crisis. Dr Liu's role builds on a career of field-work with MSF, including over 20 medical-humanitarian field assignments. She trained at McGill University School of Medicine, and holds a Fellowship in Paediatric Emergency Medicine, as well as a Master's in Health Leadership. Dr Liu's operational work has ranged from introducing comprehensive care for survivors of sexual violence, to developing a telemedicine platform for connecting doctors in rural areas with specialists worldwide. Dr Liu remains a practising doctor, both in the field with MSF and also through hospital shifts in her home town of Montreal. She believes strongly in MSF's unique ability to operate in the field whilst delivering high-quality, patient-centred care. Dr Liu joined HD's Board in 2019.



**AMBASSADOR**  
**RAYMOND LORETAN**  
**BOARD MEMBER**

Ambassador Raymond Loretan, Chairman of the board of a leading health and hospitality company in Switzerland, joined the diplomatic service in 1983, served as Diplomatic Secretary to the Swiss Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and as Personal Adviser to

the President of Switzerland (1990) and Minister of Defence, then of Justice. He was then Ambassador of Switzerland to Singapore and Consul General in New York. In 2007, he joined the private sector and serves as Chairman or Member of the Board of several Swiss companies and foundations. He was also Secretary-General of the Swiss Christian Democratic Party from 1993 to 1997, Chairman of the Board of the Swiss broadcasting corporation (SRG SSR) from 2012 to 2015 and is President of the Diplomatic Club of Geneva since 2016. He joined HD's Board in 2011.

Extra-Ordinary Professor in the Department of Political Sciences of the University of Pretoria. She has positioned her work to serve as a bridge between academia and the worlds of policy and practice. Her most recent research has focused on "Reframing narratives of Peace and State Building in Africa" and on "Future Peace, Society and the State in Africa". She has been a Member of HD's Board since 2013 and also chairs the International Advisory Council of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute.



**DR 'FUNMI OLONISAKIN**  
**BOARD MEMBER**

Professor 'Funmi Olonisakin is Vice-President and Vice-Principal International of King's College London, where she teaches Security, Leadership and Development. She also served as Director of the African Leadership Centre, which she founded in order to build the next generation of African scholars and analysts generating cutting-edge knowledge for security and development in Africa. Prof Olonisakin also served as 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 (UNSG) on Children and Armed Conflict. She is also one of seven members of the Advisory Group of Experts on the Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture by the UNSG, and sits on the Advisory Group of Experts for the UN Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security. In January 2016, Prof Olonisakin was appointed as



**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 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 (2009 to 2013) and Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to NATO (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 Member of the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament for the political party D66. He has published extensively on Dutch foreign policy, European security, transatlantic relations, NATO and the United Nations. Ambassador Schaper joined HD's Board in 2015.

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**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.



**MR ANDREW FORREST**  
**GLOBAL PATRON**

Mr Andrew Forrest is one of Australia's most active philanthropists and successful business leaders. Mr Forrest is Chair of Fortescue Metals Group and Chairman and Co-founder of the Munderoo Foundation. He recently completed a PhD in marine ecology and is passionate about ocean conservation. In 2019, he was announced as an IUCN Patron of Nature and is a member of the United Nations Environment Programme Scientific Advisory Committee on the Assessment on Marine Litter and Microplastics. He is a Global Patron of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, was the recipient of the Australian Sports Medal and the Australian Centenary Medal and was the inaugural winner of the EY Entrepreneur of the Year Alumni Social Impact Award. He co-founded Walk Free to end modern slavery and Generation One to create parity of opportunity amongst all Australians.



# FUNDING AND FINANCES

**HD continued its steady growth in 2019, with its income reaching CHF 41.2 million.** HD receives a combination of strategic support and targeted project funding which are both fundamental to its operations. Strategic support is a vital way of safeguarding HD's independence, improving its operational effectiveness and driving growth and innovation. It enables HD to maintain a critical degree of flexibility in the planning and ensure continuity in implementation of its work. Faced with fast changing conflict dynamics, flexible funding allows the organisation to rapidly respond to emerging opportunities or threats to human life, and establish and maintain trusted lines of communication. Constituting the majority of HD's income, targeted project funding enables the organisation to maintain a global and diverse portfolio of projects: in 2019, HD worked on more than 45 projects in some of the world's most violent and fragmented conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Eurasia and Asia.

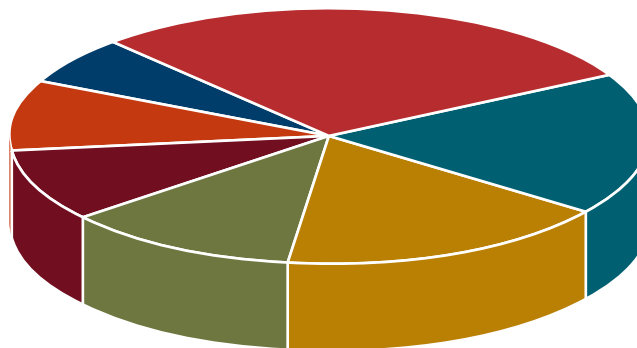
HD was born with unearmarked funding from Switzerland and Red Cross institutions. Within its second year, and with its Aceh project running, the funding pattern for its first decade was set. Strong Nordic support with core funding from the UK added to HD's Swiss roots. Half way through this early period Norway signed a multi-year framework agreement. Combined, this strong support from a small group of donors ensured HD could develop its Track 1 mediation model and helped establish modern private diplomacy's early track record.

As this model spread and donors saw the increased need for sustainable, multi-track initiatives from non-state actors, HD's second decade was underscored by impactful funding from the EU, Germany and the Netherlands, the latter in the form of a Strategic Partnership. Private funding has grown. Despite a retreat by the UK from unearmarked support, HD now counts on over ten major donors with Australia and Canada adding important programme funding.

Today, HD maintains its strong Swiss roots – enabling it to mediate from an impartial, neutral perspective and base in Geneva; depends on reliable funding from Scandinavian countries that push HD to excel and build better, more inclusive and sustainable programming; is driven by most powerful backing from the EU and Berlin; and remains financially strong and nimble with its Dutch partnership and Canadian programme support. Key private donors help HD innovate and develop and an agreement in 2020 with Australia cements HD Asia's capacity to operate effectively in the Asia Pacific region.

HD is grateful to all those who have contributed to its work throughout the last two decades. Their financial, and in some cases political and strategic support, has enabled HD to grow and develop, and to bring its vision and expertise to nearly all the world's major conflict zones. Not least, HD is grateful to the City of Geneva for providing the organisation with the use of the Villa Plantamour as its headquarters, providing HD with an exceptional, neutral and discreet setting from where to lead its peace-making work.

## HD PROJECTS' EXPENDITURES IN 2019



### Key

- Francophone Africa—29%
- Middle East and North Africa—18%
- Asia—17%
- Anglophone and Lusophone Africa—12%
- Humanitarian mediation—9%
- Eurasia—9%
- Mediation support—6%

## FUNDING AND FINANCES EXTRACTS OF HD'S AUDITED FINANCIAL STATEMENTS (2019)

### Balance sheet

IN CHF	31.12.2019	31.12.2018
Current assets	38 056 433	30 992 642
Non-current assets	9 176 562	13 529 983
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>47 232 995</b>	<b>44 522 625</b>
Current liabilities	33 731 401	25 558 199
Non-current liabilities	9 383 364	15 575 433
Equity	100 000	100 000
Consolidation and contingency funds	4 018 231	3 288 993
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND EQUITY</b>	<b>47 232 995</b>	<b>44 522 625</b>

### Income statement

IN CHF	2019	2018
<b>INCOME</b>		
Total income	41 238 450	37 822 672
<b>EXPENSES</b>		
Personnel expenses	15 630 426	13 671 198
Professional fees	8 953 950	8 939 254
Travel and transportation	12 691 063	11 254 372
General and office expenses	2 560 282	2 366 510
Depreciation	35 867	20 855
Net financial expenses	637 625	1 062 630
Total expenses	40 509 212	37 314 818
<b>YEAR-END RESULT</b>	<b>729 238</b>	<b>507 854</b>





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