

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in 2018

Strategy: HD aims to be the leading global private **diplomacy** actor.

HD's efforts to help **prevent** and **resolve armed conflict**, and to **mitigate the suffering** it causes, should lead the field. HD's results will be measurable against **objective criteria**.

This will be achieved by maintaining a **clear focus** on the organisation's greatest **mediation** and **dialogue** with actors and issues beyond the frontier of traditional **diplo-**

end, from **2019–2023**, HD will: adapt to the evolving landscape; refine its **method**;

and **effective** organisational structure; deliver and demonstrate valuable results;

entre- **peneurial engagement** and **organisational flexibility**; strengthen accountabili-

quality assurance; ensure **global** reach while maintaining a low

profile; be a **principled** and **collegial** actor in an increasingly

crowded field; deepen partnerships which can lead to **peace**.

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Its mission is to help

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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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Message from the Chair of the Board

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in our unstable world

Our geopolitical environment has become, in recent years, ever-more unstable and disorderly. Over the last sixty years, Western influence – American and European – largely shaped the global international order that followed the devastation of World War II. But this hegemony is now disputed: an increasing number of emerging state powers, both global and regional, are challenging what they see as the currently unfair rules of the international system.

Simultaneously, numerous non-state actors are finding their way into the multiple crises proliferating in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. They too are defining, in their own way, the new rules of the geopolitical game. Put together, these different and divergent forces have resulted in a troubled and complex world shaped by a growing number of conflicts which are increasingly diverse in nature. These range from inter-state competitions to insurrections led by small armed groups, intertwined with the new drivers of destabilisation – climate disorder, information technology and population growth.

In this new unruly context, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue – ‘HD’ as we like to call it – has deepened and expanded its endeavours as a key proponent of private diplomacy – the diplomacy that goes where official diplomacy cannot. From the traditional patterns of mediation to the more innovative tracks of informal dialogue and confidential contacts, HD has, in the last ten years, extended the scope of its interventions and evolved into a more mature organisation with robust business processes and a clearly defined peacemaking methodology.



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Today, it is recognised by all sides as a valuable partner, both effective and flexible, maintaining a strong focus on the operational dimension of its work and on having the strongest possible impact within its niche. Its particular added value is timely since today's conflicts often seem out of hand, notably for official diplomats confronting a disorderly international landscape and seeking help in their quest for peace and stability. This is where HD can step in, with its capacity to reach out to all actors: both the established players and those who are controversial or especially hard to reach.

This annual report bears testimony to HD's evolution and growing involvement in some of the world's most conflict-riven regions. From humanitarian access in South Sudan, to

a comprehensive peace agreement in southern Philippines, to conflict prevention in the South China Sea, positive results are evident. In Spain, HD helped to achieve the disarmament and disbanding of the Basque armed group, ETA. And in the Sahel, HD has facilitated several peace agreements and ceasefires in its quest to help stabilise an increasingly volatile region. These interventions are just a few of the considerable success stories within a long trail of actions. Many more stories are untold, and have to remain so in order to preserve access to all parties in sensitive discussions. Yet the examples in this report explain much about the ‘HD way’ of breaking new ground and extending its reach.

Additionally, this report provides the background to HD’s new strategy for the coming five years. Committed to being a multi-track actor, capable of talking to Presidents and shadow fighters alike, HD is focusing its expertise on where its added value can make the most difference. This will require more co-ordination and decentralisation, more peer reviews and more quality management; but this approach is the natural evolution for an organisation that must adapt constantly to an ever-changing environment.

“ *More than ever, growing exposure and increased presence in many regional conflicts call for flexibility, discretion and a willingness to talk to whoever can contribute to peace.* ”

For HD, these steps are a logical consequence of its ongoing development. More than ever, growing exposure and increased presence in many regional conflicts call for flexibility, discretion and a willingness to talk to whoever can contribute to peace. However, this has remained, throughout the years, the personal touch of HD: its own brand and its genuine specificity. We can only trust that, in the future, HD will continue to enhance, improve and become more resilient – prepared to face the hazardous times that lay ahead.

— **Ambassador Pierre Vimont**
Chair of the Board

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) is a private diplomacy organisation based in Geneva, Switzerland and founded on the principles of humanity, impartiality 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.

Founded in 1999, HD began with a single project in Aceh, Indonesia, and a team of six people based in Geneva. Twenty years on, it is pursuing more than 40 mediation and dialogue initiatives in over 25 countries, through five regional hubs and with more than 200 staff based mostly in the field. The organisation is now a leader within the private diplomacy sector and has become a significant 'unofficial' actor in peacemaking worldwide.

What we do

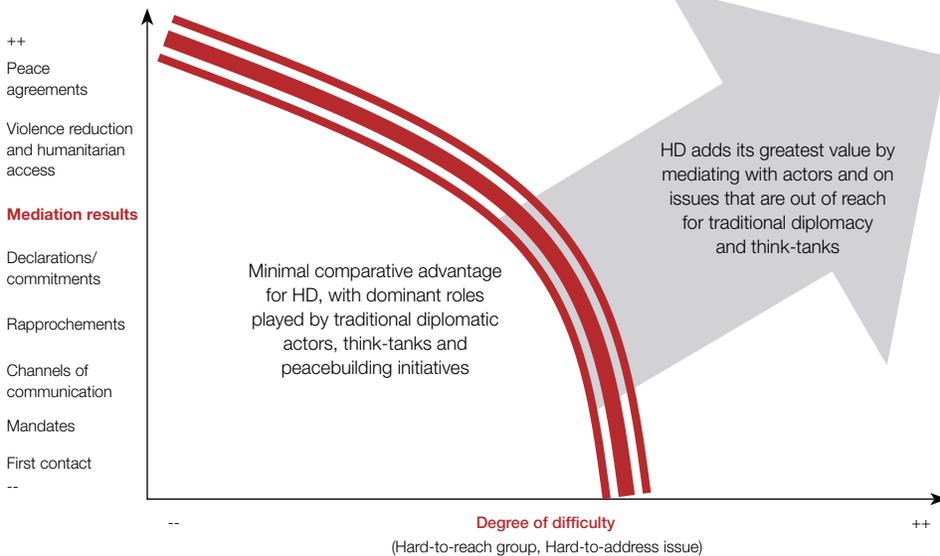
HD uses its limited resources with care by focusing on what it does best: practising quiet diplomacy within a specific, and relatively narrow, operating space. The organisation mediates between governments, non-state armed groups and opposition parties, providing a trusted and confidential space to explore 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 which are best 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. HD's successful involvement may lead to various operational roles for the organisation:

- **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 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; 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, and relies heavily on trust, but depends on the same principles of impartiality that inform multi-party engagements.
- **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's added value – Working outside the frontier of traditional diplomacy



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 mediation expertise and support to the organisation's projects and to others in the peacemaking community, with support to HD's strategy, monitoring, evaluation and learning processes.

Measurable results

HD is a results-driven organisation, committed to demonstrating the impact of its contribution to peace. Where it is able to carry a process to its ultimate goal, HD's work may lead to formal peace or conflict management settlements which represent some of the organisation's most valued and tangible peacemaking results. Prior to these however, HD's work produces many valuable interim results along the pathway to peace. Those may 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; 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 consequently recruits and develops innovative and motivated people who combine experience, expertise and exceptional networks with creativity and professionalism. HD 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 five regional hubs covering Africa, Francophone Africa, Asia, Eurasia, 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.

Low profile

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 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 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 conflict parties and to cultivate trusted relationships in situations of extreme tension. As the field of mediation grows increasingly crowded, it becomes ever-more important that HD continues to uphold its principles.

Accountability and quality assurance

Flexible, decentralised and autonomous activities require especially strong accountability mechanisms. To guarantee a high level of accountability, HD's projects undergo periodic reviews led by the organisation's monitoring and evaluation team. HD has been developing adaptive monitoring and evaluation approaches since 2013, including the use of expert mediation advisers, peer-to-peer learning exchanges, critical peer reviews, and independent validation of reported peace-making results.

Ensuring inclusive peacemaking

Building on its capacity to work with diverse actors and as a private organisation with access to high-level processes, HD supports the meaningful contribution of women, young people and civil society in 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 different groups that innovative ideas and new perspectives emerge and inform the outcomes of peacemaking efforts.



Photo: Community mediators in the Sahel region. © HD

From 1999 to 2018 – What next? HD's 2019–2023 Strategy

HD's evolution since its inception has been marked by the constant need to adapt to an evolving conflict landscape. From a founder-led organisation focused on developing a niche for discreet, impartial mediation undertaken by independent private diplomacy actors, HD has grown into a mature institution with clear principles, a defined and adaptive peacemaking method, robust business processes, and initiatives which cover the spectrum of conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution activities.

The organisation's evolution over the last ten years has been marked by the decentralisation of its activities through regional hubs, as well as the increasing use of 'insider mediators' (nationals from the countries in conflict, who know the local communities and share the cultural context) which have allowed HD to develop a hybrid approach to peacemaking combining the skills of both 'outsiders' and 'insiders' in its initiatives. HD has also developed and refined its tools to prevent conflict, mediate humanitarian access, and engage with multi-actor and multi-layer processes in response to today's dominant trends in warfare.

In the coming period, HD will continue to adapt to the evolving nature of conflict. The defining features of modern conflict – fragmentation and the resurgence of geopolitics – are being compounded by other factors including the rise of populism and organised crime, and the weaponisation of social media and cyberspace. Actors within the field of peacemaking are also changing. Global norms, including those against warfare, are eroding and the multilateral system has weakened. As the pattern of warfare is changing, so too are the pathways to peace.

HD's new five-year strategy (2019–2023) will focus on adapting to this changing conflict environment and refining the organisation's methods accordingly. Approved in late 2018 by HD's Senior Management Team and Board, the new strategy builds on HD's 2015–2018 strategy, seeking to consolidate the organisa-

tion's work around its highest-value mediation processes, while investing further in organisational systems to match its institutional growth. In this way, HD will not seek to address every conflict and its causes, but will rather focus on getting better at what it does best already, distinguished by its discretion, flexibility and professionalism, and by the results it achieves. In the next period, its strategic goals will include:

- **Focusing on niche projects beyond the frontier of traditional diplomacy:** HD will consolidate its activities where the organisation has its greatest added-value – engaging conflict parties which are hard to reach, and facilitating mediation on issues that may be insoluble by other means. The organisation will reject any initiative that may jeopardize the impartial and independent reputation required for this work.
- **Ensuring global reach:** HD will invest to ensure it has the expertise and capacity to engage wherever it is called upon to do so, including through innovative initiatives which address new frontiers in mediation. HD will, in particular, develop a new programme to explore cyber warfare and the use of information technology.
- **Remaining a principled and collegial actor in an increasingly crowded field, committed to humanity, impartiality and independence:** To maintain its reputation, HD will continue its collaborations in pursuit of peace, including with humanitarian agencies, think-tanks, academia, and other networks and institutions. HD will also enhance its efforts to contribute to professional standards in the field of peacemaking, and to share insights with others in the field.
- **Maintaining leadership in evaluation and learning:** HD will develop its sector-leading adaptive evaluation and learning approaches further to help assure the quality of its operations and maintain a unified professional culture with reliable management and robust operational systems.

HD's 2019-2023 Strategy is available at:
<https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/HD-Strategy-2019-2023.pdf>

2018 Operations – Making peace in a changing landscape of conflict

Geopolitics became more turbulent in 2018, challenging peace-makers with fast-changing conflict dynamics. Escalating big-power tensions, surging populism and unabated fears of transnational terrorism eroded the norms and multilateral institutions that have anchored international relations since World War II. Emerging threats from climate change and new technologies further strained the established mechanisms of international governance and peacemaking.

As the United Nations (UN) and other multilateral agencies turn increasingly to private diplomacy for support, HD remains at the forefront of that response. Building on the expertise acquired from 20 years devoted to preventing, mitigating and resolving conflict through dialogue and mediation, HD was active in 25 countries in 2018. This involvement spanned the world's most violent conflicts and addressed mediation gaps in new geographic and thematic areas demanding greater global attention and skills beyond the frontier of traditional diplomacy.

HD continued its rigorous focus on delivering concrete, often life-saving, results in countries and communities struggling with the reality or threat of violence. In 2018, HD delivered or supported more than 18 agreements, ceasefires or measures that brought warring parties together at national, regional or local levels, created platforms for dialogue across conflict lines or opened up humanitarian access to communities battered by conflict.

The unilateral and unconditional decision to dismantle its structures announced by the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) separatist movement in **Spain** in May 2018 ended almost 60 years of violence that claimed hundreds of lives. It also marked the culmination of HD's

longest-running project (see side box). The 15 years of tenacious and discreet engagement with ETA and its political wing exemplified HD's low-key posture and ability to work unseen on a high-profile national and regional security issue.

HD also worked in areas wracked by active conflict. In **Libya**, the organisation ran the preparatory phase of the National Conference Process, an unprecedented exercise in nationwide consultation which gave fresh impetus to the UN-led peace process. HD also consolidated its reputation as a leading mediation and peacemaking organisation throughout Francophone Africa with more than 100 agreements reached between farmers and herders in the **Sahel**, and three ground-breaking settlements between communities in **Mali**. In the **Central African Republic (CAR)**, support for the peace process made important headway that led to the milestone Khartoum peace deal in February 2019.

In Europe, progress between **Moldova** and the breakaway region of Transnistria marked an important step towards ending a long-frozen conflict. And in Asia, HD helped to bring about a joint agreement on development between the two main Moro fronts on **the Philippines'** island of Mindanao, seen as crucial in preventing further violence and protecting a newly-declared autonomous region.

The diverse range of agreements negotiated by HD with national leaders, regional parties and local communities underscored its ability to adapt to a changing landscape of conflict. International efforts to conclude comprehensive peace accords in **Libya**, **Syria** and the **Sahel** have struggled to survive, putting greater emphasis on local ceasefires, humanitarian access deals and community confidence-building measures as interim stepping stones to durable stability. Issue-focused agreements

mediated by HD in **Mali**, **Niger** and **Burkina Faso** tackled the battle for control of natural resources between farmers and migrant pastoralists. And in **Nigeria's** Middle Belt, HD extended its bottom-up inter-communal dialogue efforts to Benue State to address endemic farmer/herder conflicts, while rolling out a community-based conflict early warning system to ensure the sustainability of existing peace agreements in neighbouring Plateau and Kaduna states.

HD's core competencies – finding and engaging with parties beyond the reach of conventional diplomacy – are well-suited to these conflict realities. Building on these contacts, HD works to lead mediation initiatives, support international peace efforts by the UN or multilateral bodies, or simply provide a discreet and deniable channel of communication across lines of conflict to explore approaches to de-escalating or preventing violence. Its core attributes have also provided HD with a

The end of ETA

On 3rd May 2018, the Basque separatist organisation, ETA, announced in a final official statement, that it had decided to end its journey, as a result of which decision “it had completely dismantled all of its structures”, “put an end to all its political activity”, and would “no longer express political positions, promote initiatives or interact with other actors”.

ETA's final statement was officially addressed to HD in Basque, Spanish, French and English, and was made public, by its Executive Director, David Harland, during a ceremony held on 3 May 2018 at the organisation's headquarters in Geneva.

The armed nationalist and separatist organisation ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, which means ‘Basque Country and Freedom’) was founded in 1959 by radical Basque nationalists as a clandestine armed movement. The group's demands evolved over the years from cultural, social and economic issues, to the political right to self-determination and an independent Basque state. ETA waged a devastating campaign of violence to seek these goals for more than half a century, leaving the Basque region and Spain deeply polarised and wounded. The movement's disappearance in 2018 put a definitive end to years of attacks which killed more than 800 people, wounded

over 7,000, drove thousands into exile and saw another 80 kidnapped.

ETA's decision in 2018 to cease to exist was unprecedented. It is the first time that a major armed movement has unilaterally and unconditionally disarmed and dissolved itself. ETA's final declaration of 3rd May 2018 also marked the end of a long and difficult process for HD in which the organisation worked quietly, with steady commitment over many years. In 2004, HD was requested by the Spanish Government and ETA to discreetly facilitate talks between them to seek lasting peace. Following the breakdown of these talks in 2007, more work ensued. In 2011, ETA declared a permanent end to armed violence, and in 2017 it unilaterally disarmed, handing over more than 3.5 tons of weapons and explosives. A year later, ETA announced its dissolution and ceased to exist. There has been no further violence since.

HD's engagement in the resolution of the Basque conflict is a clear demonstration that long-term commitment and effort are often needed to achieve peace. HD's success in this case is an example of its ability to stay engaged over many years, to work discreetly in often very adverse conditions, and to deal with groups and issues that are difficult to tackle through more traditional mediation and diplomacy.

Photo: Executive Director, David Harland, announced that HD had received ETA's official final declaration that the group had disbanded forever, on 3rd May 2018. Credit: Gianni Camporota, © HD

strong foundation for engaging with Western capitals at a time when the evolving landscape of conflict has put the mutual benefit of co-operation into sharper relief. HD's work in 2018 in **Libya, Syria, Ukraine** and the **South China Sea** attests to its strengthening contacts and understanding with capitals and policymakers of major global powers.

In an increasingly crowded mediation sector, HD has kept a sharp focus on deploying its resources where it can add measurable value to efforts to reduce, mitigate and prevent violence. HD invests core funds in conducting assessments of conflicts that provide valuable insights into their possible trajectory and help identify potential entry points for timely and effective engagement. In 2018, as a result of a lengthy exploratory phase, HD added **Latin America** to its global portfolio. The organisation began providing discreet mediation support to a lead third party in a process of dialogue between a government and its opposition in one of the region's most complex conflict situations.

HD is applying the same rigour to assessing the possibilities for mediation in cyberspace. Away from public scrutiny and unchecked by global norms, formidable capabilities for cyber warfare are being built while social media platforms are skilfully being weaponized to mobilise support, attack enemies, or traffic weapons and people. HD is assessing both the utility of setting up mechanisms for dialogue to avert escalating cyber hostilities and ways in which interested governments could engage in this process. At the request of the UN Secretary-General, it also started to work with the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs on producing a **digital toolkit on peacemaking and new technologies**.

HD similarly remained at the forefront of reflections on evaluating and reporting results in the field of mediation. The organisation convened the fourth **donor-practitioner roundtable** on the topic, continuing a constructive dialogue between donors and key practitioners that began in 2014. This process of consultation



Photo: Lyse Doucet, Yousuf bin Alawi bin Abdullah, Ine Eriksen Soreide, Ali Akbar Salehi and Robert Malley at the 2018 Oslo Forum. © HD

allows HD to share insights from the development of its own Adaptive Monitoring and Evaluation system, while helping to build consensus in support of the best innovative approaches from across the sector.

HD also works with the wider mediation community in reflecting on practice in the mediation field. The annual **Oslo Forum**, which HD co-hosts with Norway's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), brings together high-level policymakers, diplomats and key actors in peace processes in a discreet environment that permits frank discussions of contemporary conflicts and mediation practice. UN Secretary-General António Guterres, Somalia's Prime Minister Hassan Ali Khairi, Head of the European Union External Action Service Helga Schmid, and Algerian Foreign Minister Abdelkader Messahel were among 100 participants attending the 16th Forum in June 2018 which focused on the overarching theme, 'The End of the Big Peace? Opportunities for mediation'. Sessions ranged from headline conflicts in

Libya, Syria and Yemen to controversy over local agreements and the impact of counter-terrorism legislation on mediation. The presence of (former or current) representatives of conflict parties from Syria, South Sudan, Colombia, Ireland and the Philippines enriched debate on requirements for transition out of conflict. Lessons learned in the Forum are shared with the wider mediation community through a report on discussions and a series of accompanying papers produced by HD.

An **Asian Mediation Retreat** was also convened in Beijing by HD, the Norwegian MFA, and the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), bringing together more than 40 regional scholars and experts for lively debates on regional conflicts and thematic issues. In the process, the retreat explored the extent of China's interest in the tools of conflict resolution and mediation, and provided an opening for representatives from countries in the region to air their concerns at a time when China is becoming increasingly active there.



HD also continued to cultivate **partnerships with international organisations**, co-operating with the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Mediation. It collaborates with the International Committee of the Red Cross on the Centre of Competence on Humanitarian Negotiation, and participates in the Smart Peace consortium funded by the United Kingdom to develop innovative approaches to conflict resolution, focusing on Nigeria, the Central African Republic and Myanmar. HD is also collaborating with the Clingendael Institute on training in negotiation for conflict parties, and partnering a research project on sanctions and mediation led by the UN University, swisspeace and the Geneva-based Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.

Cross-regional support

In addition to framing policy and providing management oversight, HD's headquarters offers operational support to its regional operations and a base for global projects.

In 2018, HD's Mediation Support and Policy Programme provided assistance to a number of the organisation's projects on peace process design, sequencing confidence-building measures, building roadmaps for political processes and negotiations, as well as supporting national dialogues in Somalia, Myanmar and Libya. Surge capacity was also provided to HD's Nairobi and Myanmar teams, helping to tailor their interventions to often fast-changing contexts. Several internal learning events aimed at further professionalising mediation work were organised in Dakar for HD's Francophone Africa teams and in Indonesia for its Asia teams. HD also convened a learning workshop on insider mediation and dealing with armed groups for its mediators in Asia.

In line with the development and refining of its sector-leading Adaptive Monitoring and Evaluation system, HD oversaw ten peer reviews and strategy reflections for its own projects in 2018, as well as four peer reviews

for key partners in the field of peacemaking. HD's peer review approach to evaluating the impact of its peacemaking work delivers important benefits to the organisation's operations and the wider sector, offering a space for critical reflection on a project's direction and challenges. It allows staff to benefit from the experiences of colleagues from other regions,

“ HD's Humanitarian Mediation Programme used the organisation's contacts and experience in some of the most fiercely-contested conflict areas to enable humanitarian access and engage conflict parties in dialogue on addressing the needs of civilians isolated by fighting.



bringing into the discussion non-HD people with relevant expertise and, contributing to a culture of debate and shared analysis.

Since 2015, HD has also been developing a team of inclusion specialists to support the involvement of women, youth and civil society in the process of making and sustaining peace. HD's specialists have supported project

teams in around 20 countries so far and, in 2018, their work centred mainly on **Nigeria's Middle Belt states** where women play an influential role in community dialogues that reduce and prevent violence. They also managed a dialogue between youth associations and member states of the **G5 Sahel** aimed at redefining youth policies, and were instrumental



Photo: Men unload boxes of nutritional supplements from an helicopter prior to a humanitarian food distribution carried out by the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) in Thonyor, Leer county, South Sudan, February 2017. © Reuters/Siegfried Modola

in ensuring the co-ordination of youth and women's organisations under an umbrella platform to promote peace in Casamance in **Senegal**. In **Bangladesh** and **Malaysia**, HD convened a series of focus group sessions with female Rohingya refugees to get their perspectives on conditions for their safe, voluntary and dignified return to Myanmar.

HD's Geneva-based **Humanitarian Mediation Programme** similarly undertook cross-regional initiatives using HD's contacts and experience in some of the most fiercely-contested conflict areas. The programme worked to enable humanitarian access and engage conflict parties in dialogue on addressing the needs of civilians isolated by fighting. HD does not deliver humanitarian aid but its networks have helped open up access for the delivery of humanitarian services in Afghanistan, Somalia, Syria and the Central African Republic. In 2018, HD also assessed conditions for such support in Iraq and Yemen.

Middle East and North Africa

Seven years of violent turmoil in **Libya** showed no sign of abating in 2018. Armed clashes in Tripoli in August and September (and around southern oilfields in early 2019) starkly exposed the failure of the Libya Political Agreement negotiated by the UN in 2015, or the Government of National Unity formed out of it, to provide any foundation for peace. The only positive news to emerge from Libya in 2018 concerned HD's interventions and co-operation with the UN under the Action Plan launched by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSBG), Ghassan Salamé, in 2017.

The main thrust of HD's work (acting on a mandate from SRSBG Salamé) was to conduct the preparatory phase of the National Conference Process: an ambitious, nationwide consultation intended to break the political paralysis that has been exploited by armed groups and others to pursue their own agenda (see side box). A European Council on Foreign Relations tweet rated the initiative as 'the most important development in Libya's recent history'.

HD conducted 77 meetings throughout the country, at which Libyans discussed the root causes of the conflict and its solution: issues on the agenda included resource management, security, governance, decentralisation, elections and the constitutional process. HD also held two events with key political and military actors to build consensus around the National Conference Process conclusions, and extensively briefed foreign governments on developments.

HD's contribution was publicly recognised by SRSBG Salamé in a briefing to the UN Security Council in July, acknowledging the consultation as the first occasion on which many communities had been consulted on the country's governance. The unprecedented process was seen as providing bottom-up momentum for change that would weaken the grip of entrenched elites and limit the space for external meddling.

Syria, shattered by seven years of war, remained convulsed by deadly conflict that enabled the Assad regime to tighten its grip on the country's most populated central heartland and left him in no mood to compromise or engage constructively with the UN-led peace process.

HD, employing its unique network of contacts on both sides of the war, brokered two local ceasefire agreements providing for the evacuation of residents from the besieged suburb of Eastern Ghouta, where violent air and ground assaults had killed hundreds of civilians, and from northern Homs. HD's initiatives focused on saving lives and achieved that objective. They reduced the intensity of conflict in those areas, opened humanitarian access to areas previously under siege, and created a model for other ceasefires in the south. Local ceasefires proved controversial with some international actors however, being perceived by some as a step enabling the regime to consolidate its territorial hold.

Although attracting particular scrutiny, the ceasefires were only one dimension of HD's work in Syria in 2018. Keeping up with the shifting realities on the ground, the organisation

Libya's National Conference Process

HD has been mediating in Libya since April 2011, in an effort to find durable solutions to the country's long-running crises.

In early 2018, the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for Libya, Ghassam Salamé, formally requested HD's support in preparing the National Conference, one of the key pillars of the UN Action Plan for Libya.

As a result, on 5th April 2018 HD launched a series of local consultations across the country, as the first phase of the National Conference Process (NCP). Designed in close collaboration with the SRSG and all major Libyan stakeholders, the consultations aimed to hear Libyans' views on what should be done to exit from the crisis and create a broad constituency for change to overcome the impasses in the political process.

The consultation process sought to engage citizens from all of parts of Libyan society, particularly those excluded from previous political dialogues, to discuss key issues relating to the conflict and the future of the Libyan state. In total, 77 consultations were held over 14 weeks at 43 different locations in Libya, as well as with diaspora groups abroad. More than 7,000 Libyans participated, a quarter of whom were women. For many communities, this was the first time they had been actively engaged in the political process and consulted on the future of their nation.

The consultations were held by Libyan institutions and stakeholders such as municipalities, universities, student unions, civil society organisations, community leaders as well as local security and military figures. They convened both local communities and influential stakeholders around a common discussion and purpose. The process was also closely followed by the Libyan media, with most meetings broadcast live on several TV channels.

“ *The consultation process sought to engage citizens from all of parts of Libyan society, particularly those excluded from previous political dialogues.* ”

Social media was used to great effect, with 131,000 people following the process on Facebook and 1,800 on Twitter. 30% of submissions were received online, through a dedicated platform (<http://multaqawatani.ly/>). Information on dates and locations of meetings, visual content from past events, meeting reports, and information about how Libyans could organise their own events or participate online were posted on the NCP website (<http://multaqawatani.ly/>). Overall, digital communication overall reached 1.8 million people. The variety of channels through which Libyans could contribute helped to increase inclusivity and ensure the transparency of the process.

On 9th November 2018, HD published the final report summarising key findings from these consultations. It highlighted the main areas of consensus, including a desire for unification of Libyan institutions, fair distribution of Libya's national resources, stronger local governance to preserve national unity, and the importance of swiftly ending Libya's transition. The report was presented to the United Nations Security Council, shared with the most senior Libyan political leaders, and published online. The results of these consultations will inform the next steps of the country's political transition.

The final report of the NCP's consultative phase is available in Arabic and English online: https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/NCP-Report_Jan-2019_EN_Online.pdf

maintained dialogue with relevant parties to address and mitigate the dangers of conflict between: pro-Turkish Arab and Kurdish forces; government and Kurdish forces, notably in eastern Syria; as well as government and opposition forces, particularly in the south. Throughout the year, HD continued to liaise closely with the UN mediator and other international stakeholders from Europe, the United States, Russia, Turkey and Iran.

As the international war against Islamic State (IS) wound down in the region, HD continued its work in **Iraq** in support of stabilisation and reconciliation. The initiative focused on improving relations between the state and communities, which had been tense in the past. Dialogue sessions to address local grievances were organised in Anbar, Diyala, Ninawa and

Sinjar governorates. While progress was hampered by Iraq's elections (followed by the formation of a new national government), the discussions nevertheless produced concrete benefits for local communities.

In western Anbar province, HD held a major conference with about 200 leading social, tribal, political and security officials from the province in a successful attempt to connect them to their local and central government. This also strengthened the previously very weak ties between the Anbar Governor and the Prime Minister's office.

A similar dialogue in the eastern Diyala province focused on strengthening the ties of Sunni tribal and local leaders with the central government and the National Security agency,



Photo: Syrian refugees prepare to return to Syria from the Lebanese border town of Arsal, Lebanon, June 2018.

© Reuters / Mohamed Azakir

in order to address their grievances but also empower them against the infiltration of IS in their areas. In Sinjar, HD negotiated and facilitated the return of a central government presence, as well as providers of services such as electricity and water.

Concurrently, HD was involved in supporting the first 'post-Islamic State' Iraqi elections. The organisation maintained dialogue with a new generation of rising grassroots politicians – with greater legitimacy and popularity – on their participation in the election process. HD's initiative produced concrete results, including the signing of a Charter of Honour by all Iraqi media to avoid incitement against the political process. HD also encouraged cross-sectarian alliances to avoid repeating past experiences of sectarian competition, and supported post-election negotiations and alliances to facilitate the formation of the government.

HD also widened its engagement in the Middle East and embarked on efforts to bridge **Lebanon's** political divides and bring together the rising generation of leaders likely to take up positions of power and influence over the next three to five years. The initiative fills an important gap at a time of deepening political tensions that are paralysing the government of this strategically-located country which is under severe strain from the impact of the war in neighbouring Syria.

HD convened three multi-party dialogues in 2018 to address electoral law, the maritime boundary dispute and the crucial issue of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. The organisation won a commitment from more than 40 rising members of more than 25 political parties and interest groups, including all the main parties, to participate in regular HD-led mediation sessions addressing key political, economic and national security issues. It has also gained commitments from a number of leading female political consultants and advisers to join a separate small mediation group led by HD. Putting principles into practice, the organisation contributed to cooling hostilities between two political parties which played out in the media but threatened to escalate into violent confrontation.

Africa

Nearly four years after the signing of the Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in **Mali** that was supposed to bring peace, the country is following Libya down a path to mayhem, wracked by tensions expressed between communities through self-defence armed groups, as well as between communities and the state. A stream of jihadist attacks have eroded the reach of government administration, spreading insecurity from the north to the centre, and made the UN peacekeeping mission the deadliest in the world for blue-helmeted troops. Yet, as in Libya, HD provides a rare beacon of hope. Three agreements facilitated by HD in 2018, and a slew of deals at the local level, underscored the breadth and depth of its engagement.

A first agreement was signed in August between the Fulani and Dogon communities in Koro, in the region of Mopti, whose militias have been a means of spreading instability. A second regional agreement was signed in the eastern province of Gao between rival Tuareg groups – the Idoufane and the Ibogolitane – whose conflict has been a major driver of armed violence. HD also mediated a cessation of hostilities between two other rival Tuareg communities, the Daoussahaq and Imajgan, and more than 100 local agreements between farmers and herders whose constant battles fuel national instability. Mediation supported by HD also led the Dan Nan Ambassagou armed group from Koro to make a unilateral commitment to a ceasefire.

The organisation's work in Mali, however, is just one part of a much wider engagement in **the Sahel**, where HD is addressing an upsurge of conflict fuelled by a toxic mix of poverty; intensifying competition for scarce resources; a flood of weapons and the impact of marauding jihadists, particularly in the borderlands between **Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso**. HD has established networks of community leaders in the three countries with the capacity to mediate local and cross-border agreements as well as prepare the way for negotiations between local armed groups and

national authorities. At the same time, the organisation has been facilitating greater co-operation and co-ordination between the three governments on their conflict management strategies in border areas (see side box).

In a region where people aged under 30 comprise almost two-thirds of the population, HD has worked on building connections between the youth of the Sahel and national authorities, as an essential component of stabilisation efforts. The organisation set up a network of 1,250 youth representatives from the five Sahel G5 countries (**Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mauritania**) to tackle issues of concern in dialogue between them and with national and local authorities. HD also facilitated inter-ministerial meetings in the G5 countries to identify priority issues for debate in 2019, following which it conducted a second series of meetings with youth groups to collect their perceptions and proposed solutions. HD also ran a series of meetings with youth leaders and selected elders in each region to build their capacity to mediate inter-generational tensions.

The organisation also pursued a number of projects focused on conflict reduction in areas roiled by Boko Haram's brutal insurgency. Its attacks in the Diffa region of **Niger** since 2015 have displaced a quarter of a million people, triggering a state of emergency and the arrest of thousands of alleged members. Niger mandated HD to mediate conflicts between communities in support of its Crisis Exit Plan for the Diffa region. In 2018, the organisation trained Community Peace Committees to facilitate inter-communal mediation processes, and mediated directly between the Peulh and Arab Mahamid pastoral communities in a number of localities where tensions threatened to erupt into violence.

Northeastern **Nigeria**, however, has taken the brunt of Boko Haram's attacks and experienced an upsurge of violence in 2018, much of it attributed to the 'Islamic State West Africa Province', a splinter group. Building on an earlier pilot project, HD worked with religious leaders to develop an 'Alternative narra-

tive' as a basis for dialogue and reconciliation. It also widened the scope of its conflict prevention efforts to engage with security forces, in particular the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) militia, whose future role will be crucial to any prospect of ending conflict in the area. HD pursued a dialogue with representatives from the military and the CJTF, as well as traditional leaders and those from other communities, to consider the post-insurgency role of the CJTF. It also convened a workshop which resulted in recommendations which will shape future engagement on the issue.

Violence also flared-up in 2018 in Nigeria's Middle Belt states, which have a long history of clashes between different religious groups and, more recently, between farmers and pastoralists. Community dialogue processes and peace management networks set up by HD in Kaduna and Plateau States have achieved significant results over the past five years, preventing violent clashes. In 2018, HD continued its work in those states, rolling out an early warning/early response system, and extending some activities to Benue State (see side box). The organisation also provided support to authorities in all three states to avert violence in the build-up to Presidential elections in 2019, and held preparatory meetings between farmers and pastoralists in a number of local government areas in Benue State. They were designed to establish a partnership on a number of issues, including a highly-sensitive government bill on grazing rights which critics fear could lead to serious violence.

Further west, HD supported the peace process in **Senegal** in a year when it faced a flare-up of violence. At times, this was related to the country's decades-old insurgency by the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques pour la Casamance (MFDC) and, at other times, linked to criminality. After years of dissent, the political wings of the three southern factions of the MFDC gathered, with HD's support, under a provisional committee, with the aim of linking with the combatant wings to create a single unified entity and prepare for talks with the Government.

Transborder mediation in the Sahel region

HD has been present in Mali since 2011 addressing the various sources of tension and conflict which are destabilizing the country and the wider region. The organisation has been mediating inter-communal conflicts and facilitating an intra-religious dialogue in the north and centre of the country, as well as supporting the implementation of the 2015 'Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation in Mali' which put an end to the 2012 Tuareg rebellion in the north of the country.

In order to support the implementation of the Agreement, the regional dimension of the crisis must be taken into account. Several armed groups which have emerged following the 2012 conflict, are moving along the porous border strip separating Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. Weaknesses in the three States and their armies, coupled with the limited presence of state authorities in border areas, have prevented them from efficiently containing armed violence and responding to the concerns of local communities. The social fabric has also deteriorated significantly since the 2012 crisis in Mali, and armed groups are fuelling inter- and intra-communal conflicts to protect their own community's interests and ensure their survival.

In late 2017, HD launched efforts to reduce sources of conflict in the transborder area at the request of the national authorities of all three countries. The organisation initially focused on empowering community representatives to reach out to, and open up channels of dialogue between, government representatives, armed groups and representatives from the affected communities, to allow each of them to express their grievances. In parallel, and at the parties' request, HD offered support to facilitate cessation of hostilities agreements and understandings between armed groups and national authorities. HD has also supported the communities in their own efforts to resolve communal conflicts and facilitated dialogue among the three states to encour-

age better co-ordination of their respective mediation approaches.

HD's efforts yielded significant early results in 2018 with the signing of a peace agreement between Fulani and Dogon communities from the area of Koro in the central region of Mali. The Koro Agreement, which followed a three-month mediation process led by HD, put an end to more than a year of deadly conflict between both communities, relating in particular to accessing natural resources. As part of this understanding, the parties committed to addressing possible future issues through dialogue and mediation.

The signing of the Koro Agreement in August built on HD's facilitation of a unilateral ceasefire signed on 2nd July 2018 by the Dan Nan Ambassagou armed group in the same region. The ceasefire contributed to increasing the Fulani and Dogon communities' confidence and thus to securing the negotiation process between the two sides. The Koro Agreement was also closely followed, in September 2018, by the facilitation of a complementary unilateral ceasefire, signed by another leader of the Dan Nan Ambassagou armed group, which further reinforced the dynamic of peace between the Fulani and Dogon communities in the central part of the country.

Since the signing of the Agreement, leaders from both communities have continued to play active roles in the stabilization of the area, mitigating the impact of periodic outbursts of violence between members of their communities and preventing violent confrontations from evolving into fully-fledged conflicts. Malian authorities are also expected to provide greater security in the region in the near future in support of the leaders' stabilization efforts.

For its part, HD has been pursuing shuttle diplomacy efforts at community level in the regions of Mopti and Bamako as well as seeking to expand its mediation efforts to new regions in 2019.

Photo: Community mediators in the Sahel region. © HD

While peace seemed more distant a prospect in the **Central African Republic (CAR)** in 2018 – where persistent attacks by armed groups pushed up the numbers of internally displaced people – support for the peace process made important headway leading to the milestone Khartoum peace deal in February 2019. HD worked at the heart of the peace

process, drafting parts of the agreement, providing strategic and technical advice to the President and government officials, engaging with the leaders of the CAR's 14 armed groups to prepare them for dialogue with the government, passing messages to the parties and the mediator, and suggesting solutions during difficult parts of the negotiations. As a member

Conflict Early Warning and Early Response system in Central Nigeria

HD has been involved in the central area of Nigeria, known as the Middle Belt, for the last seven years, in an attempt to help address the recurrent cycles of ethno-religious tensions and conflicts which have wracked this region for decades. HD has taken a bottom-up approach to addressing conflict, setting up and institutionalizing inter-communal dialogue processes in northern and southern Plateau State as well as in southern Kaduna State. The three processes involved helping affected communities to identify solutions to address their issues, and to build trust and confidence. The processes yielded joint agreements for peaceful coexistence, and were followed by the establishment of structures, pioneered by the communities themselves, to monitor the implementation of the agreements and ensure their sustainability.

In an effort to safeguard the relative peace established between the communities through these processes, HD set up a Conflict Early Warning/Early Response (CEWER) system which involves 300 representatives from the community groups engaged in the inter-communal dialogue processes. On 19th December 2018, a milestone was reached in the implementation of the CEWER system when HD set up and launched the Situation Room in Jos, Plateau State, which serves as a co-ordination body for the 300 local representatives.

These representatives, known as Peace Monitors, are in charge of monitoring and assessing the security situation in their own localities and reporting incidents to HD through the CEWER Situation Room for onward dissemination to relevant authorities. In collaboration with local and state governments, the security agencies and the communities, the Peace Monitors have established strategies for addressing security concerns and safeguarding the achievements of the dialogue processes. They have consequently become the first line of response in addressing and mitigating inter-communal conflicts in the region.

In parallel, HD has fostered and nurtured strategic partnerships with various governmental agencies including the Directorate of State Security (DSS), a civilian security contingent known as Operation Rainbow which is supported by the Plateau State Government, as well as the Nigerian Police and the Military in each of the three states, so as to ensure timely responses to early signs of conflict reported through the CEWER system.

HD is currently setting up a fourth inter-communal dialogue process in neighbouring Benue State to address endemic farmer/herder conflicts and help the Government shape its approach to addressing the problem. HD also plans to establish a network of Peace Monitors in Benue State, following the successful completion of the ongoing inter-communal dialogue process.

Photo: A woman carries a child as she walks at the Abagena IDPs camp in Benue State, Nigeria, 2018. © Reuters/Afolabi Sotunde

of the Strategic Committee on Demobilization, Disarmament, Reintegration and Repatriation (DDRR), HD also advised the national pilot project, formally launched towards the end of 2018, which led to the successful reintegration of 480 former combatants. In an environment of tension and insecurity, HD also succeeded in concluding a verbal agreement with the Siriri armed group which opened the way for humanitarian access to the western district of Gamboula and a significant reduction of violence in the area.

A violent past also overshadows **Burundi** as it prepares for Presidential elections in 2020. After brutally crushing opposition to President Pierre Nkurunziza's controversial election in 2015, the government has rebuffed international efforts to engage, threatening to turn the country into a sealed state. HD started working in Burundi in 2014 in a bid to keep channels of communication open and avert an eruption of political or ethnic violence. Conditions are currently not conducive to dialogue between the government and the opposition so HD is supporting the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in an attempt to maintain one of the only remaining spaces for public dialogue. HD supported the Commission in bringing political and military leaders together to discuss the past, and in collecting the testimonies of over 68,000 Burundians on the various conflicts they have endured since independence.

HD also focused attention on improving the operating environment for humanitarian efforts in **South Sudan** to alleviate the massive needs created by five years of civil war. The fighting has displaced millions of people, left more than half the population severely food-insecure and taken the lives of 14 aid workers in 2018 alone. Despite the scale of suffering, there is minimal substantive dialogue between all the conflict parties on humanitarian issues. With a mandate from South Sudan's government and opposition, HD worked on creating a community of interested parties to plug the gap. After conducting research on conflict dynamics in the Central Equatoria State in mid-2018, HD organised an informal humanitarian dia-

“ *Building on its long-established relationships in Somalia, HD sought to preserve the gains made in promoting federalism and national reconciliation in the last two years in the face of rising local and regional tensions.* ”

logue in Dar es Salaam in October, hosted by the Tanzanian Government. Participants – including from the government, the main armed opposition groups, and the international aid community – agreed a number of measures to address humanitarian needs.

In 2018, HD also closely monitored developments in **Sudan** and continued to foster cohesion among a loose alliance of opposition parties called the Sudan Call to make them more effective partners in any future negotiations with the Government. The project was implemented against a background of deepening public frustration and impatience with deteriorating economic conditions. HD convened meetings of Sudan Call leaders to draw up a coalition agreement giving the group a clear structure and to prepare an action plan setting out agreed policy positions on key issues. Its initiative in Sudan concluded at the end of August.

Building on its long-established relationships in **Somalia**, HD sought to preserve the gains made in promoting federalism and national reconciliation in the last two years in the face of rising local and regional tensions (including between Puntland and Galmudug over the important trading centre of Galkayo).

HD focused its efforts on two dialogue processes, between the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and Somaliland, and between the FGS and Federal Member States. HD invested considerable effort in shuttling between the FGS and Somaliland in preparation for a resumption of direct talks. While this resumption was delayed, HD deepened its engagement with both sides and retained the mandate

to continue facilitating preparations between the two parties.

HD was also active in shuttling between the FGS and Federal Member States to tackle disputes over the federal state structure and other points of tension. As part of this process, HD facilitated a series of confidence-building measures relating to the Galkayo dispute, which achieved a significant lowering of tensions.

A more positive mediation narrative continued in **Mozambique** in 2018 where HD has been supporting peace talks between the Government and Renamo, the former rebel movement. These progressed to an advanced stage despite the unexpected death of Afonso Dhlakama in May, who had headed Renamo for almost four decades. In support of the Swiss-led mediation, HD helped to facilitate discussions between the two sides which contributed to cementing the peace process and helped the parties reach agreement on two core issues: decentralisation and military affairs, including Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). HD also provided support to the structure of the process, including expert assistance on DDR and governance.

Eurasia

The conflict in **Ukraine** remained frozen in 2018. With flurries of shelling across the line of conflict, peace talks stalled, the economic closure of the rebel-run Donbass region tightened, and civilians on both sides were increasingly cut off from each other. In this tense context, HD maintained confidential and informal channels of communication, and kept alive initiatives that have found common ground and scope for practical co-operation, and could contribute to an eventual resolution of the conflict.

Emblematic of these were HD-facilitated joint efforts to avert an ecological disaster involving chemical and nuclear waste. Disputes over the transit of gas from Russia to Europe through Ukraine have contributed to worsening relations but the potential for mutual benefits could

reverse the trend. HD convened a meeting of experts from both sides on the issue, starting a process expected to continue in 2019.

HD also worked on sensitive issues linked to decentralisation and national reconciliation. Discreet meetings with civil society representatives from both sides considered transitional justice initiatives that led to concrete projects. HD also brought together high-level international experts to consider strategic priorities and options for unblocking the Minsk process. These were conveyed to senior decision-makers in relevant countries.



In contrast to the general East–West chill, relations between **Moldova** and the break-away region of Transnistria thawed. No substantive discussions on a political settlement to resolve Transnistria’s 1990 unilateral declaration of independence had taken place for more than a decade, creating significant hardship and economic loss for civilians on both sides of the divide. But HD’s persistent engagement with lawmakers in Moldova’s Parliament and Transnistria’s Supreme Soviet during the past two years were rewarded in 2018. The parties made demonstrable pro-

gress on a series of cross-border initiatives that provided a significant boost to the official peace process led by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

Increasing trust and confidence emerging from the talks facilitated by HD delivered tangible benefits in legislation, tackling issues that have bedevilled relations between the two sides. Moldova’s Parliament approved laws in 2018 which eased procedures for acquiring Moldovan documents, while the Supreme Soviet facilitated the operation of Romanian-language schools located in Transnistria.



Photo: A man walks past a tank which is part of the exhibition ‘Tears of Donbass’. The latter displays military equipment, vehicles and weapons captured during a military conflict with the Ukrainian armed forces, in Donetsk, Ukraine. © Reuters/Alexander Ermochenko

Photo: A Myanmar border guard stands near the Taung Pyo Letwe reception camp overlooking the border with Bangladesh, in Rakhine state, Myanmar, May 2018.
© Reuters/Michelle Nichols

In **Tajikistan**, twenty years after the agreement that ended the country's civil war, political repression and economic decline are fueling radicalisation that threatens to destabilise the wider region. These trends have given greater impetus to HD's efforts to engage with the country's leaders on addressing these concerns.

Asia

The political leverage **China** has acquired with its fast-growing investments in the economies of Asia, Africa and beyond, is clearly visible. Forty African presidents and ten prime ministers attended the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in Beijing in September 2018. Less apparent is a nuanced understanding among Chinese policymakers of the conflicts, and associated risks, to which these interests are exposed, or the options available to protect them. HD is consequently engaging with Chinese policymakers and academics to consider the possibilities for contributing constructively to conflict management and reduction. An Asian Mediation Retreat co-hosted by HD in Beijing in October demonstrated that China is ready to engage on mediation issues and is open to sensitive discussions about internal conflicts in the region. Workshops at the event looking at Myanmar's peace process, the Rakhine crisis and the Horn of Africa exposed Chinese experts and policymakers to the perspectives of different stakeholders and helped create better mutual understanding.

HD's engagement with China also moved forward on other tracks in 2018 as it contributed to discussions on managing relations between China and Southeast Asian states over the South China Sea. HD continued to mobilise support among participating countries for developing Common Operating Principles for their maritime law enforcement agencies, designed to avoid the risk of random clashes that could escalate into bigger confrontations. In 2018, those discussions widened to consider management of marine resources. China and member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are among





the world's ten worst plastic polluters and their governments have acknowledged the need to protect their marine environments. HD convened two workshops in Beijing and Kuala Lumpur but participants have yet to reach consensus on whether to focus on plastics, fisheries or marine protected areas.

Another area of engagement with China has developed in the context of HD's support to **Myanmar's** troubled peace process with 21 ethnic armed organisations (EAOs). Only 10 of these have signed a National Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) that is central to a peace process which de facto leader Aung San Suu Kyi identified as a priority for her administration. The ethnic groups that have not signed include some of the most powerful armed entities in Myanmar. Some of these remain engaged in active hostilities with the Myanmar military (Tatmadaw), eroding the legitimacy and sustainability of the process. Moreover, an emerging insurgency by ethnic Rakhine has added to the complexity of stabilising Rakhine State in the aftermath of the military campaigns that drove out some 750,000 Rohingya Muslims in 2017.

In 2018, HD helped to sustain negotiations around the NCA, facilitating dialogue on both the process and substance of the peace process. Early in the year, two groups – the New Mon State Party and Lahu Democratic Union – signed the NCA. HD had been supporting and advising the New Mon State Party through the final stages of negotiation. In concert, China continued to play a significant role in bringing some of the non-signatory EAOs into discussions with the government. In addition to promoting contacts between armed groups and the government, HD worked to calm tensions between some of the armed groups.

HD pursued a separate track in Rakhine State which is now grappling with two major sources of tension. The conflict evolved from inter-communal tensions between ethnic Rakhine and Rohingya Muslims to a tripartite conflict between the Rohingya, the Rakhine as well as the central government and Tatmadaw.

Supporting peace in Muslim Mindanao, Philippines

HD has been supporting the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements to help end the long-running conflict between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro armed movements in the region of Muslim Mindanao, in the south of the Philippines, for 15 years.

2018 was a momentous year for peace in the country with the long-delayed signing of the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) by President Duterte in July. The BOL was originally provided for in the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro signed by the Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in 2014. The signing of the BOL in 2018 paved the way towards a successful plebiscite on the law in early 2019, and the consequent creation of the new Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM).

However, the adoption of the BOL and transition to a new government in Muslim Mindanao were beset with many issues. These included working out how the MILF would manage its role as head of the newly-established BARMM interim government, and how the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) – the second most powerful armed group in the troubled southern area – could be meaningfully included in the interim government and in discussions on the future of the Bangsamoro region. In this uncertain context, HD continued to accompany the parties to help lock in the peace.

The organisation facilitated dialogue between the MILF and the MNLF Jikiri group – one of the two main MNLF factions – to help foster unity and co-operation between them, and identify potential areas of collaboration. This process was considered key as the MNLF is also represented in the newly-established

BARMM interim government. On 18th October 2018, the dialogue resulted in an agreement between the two sides on the drafting of a single comprehensive socio-economic plan for the BARMM. This unified plan seeks to embody a shared vision for the development of the region that can ‘address the needs and aspirations of the Bangsamoro people’, and represent a common contribution to a future that “belongs to all peoples in the Bangsamoro, regardless of ethnicity or tribe, religion, or political affiliation”.

Throughout 2018, HD also continued to support local conflict mediation efforts in Sulu, which remains a volatile territory exposed to recurrent cycles of violence. Clan conflicts persisted in 2018 against a backdrop of heavy militarisation and the continued presence of armed groups, including the two major MNLF factions (Misuari and Jikiri) and the Islamic State-affiliated Abu Sayyaf Group. In an attempt to reduce the potential for violence, HD, through its local partner the Tumikang Sama-Sama, facilitated the creation of an informal security co-ordination mechanism between government security forces (the local army and police) and armed groups, in particular the two MNLF factions dominant in this area. The mechanism enables the parties to discuss ways to avoid unwanted encounters during law enforcement operations, diffuse or de-escalate rising tensions and mitigate the effects of violence on local communities. It was put to use in early 2019 in the aftermath of a bombing in Jolo, bringing together representatives from all sides to discuss key concerns such as the military lockdown of the city. Aside from serving as a channel for communication between the parties, the mechanism also aims to boost confidence among local communities.

Photo: Muslim women gesture as they join hundreds of peace advocates in a peace march towards the House of Representatives in Quezon City, metro Manila © Reuters/Ezra Acayan

There is now a growing challenge from the ethnic Rakhine who are aggrieved by decades of perceived government neglect. The cause of the ethnic Rakhine has been taken up by the well-resourced Arakan Army in a succession of attacks on the Tatmadaw. HD, working through its network of contacts with the state's government and parliament, persevered with creating space to consider possible options for tackling the root causes of the crisis. While the security forces' typically fierce counter-insurgency measures overshadowed those initiatives, HD also convened meetings with representatives of the Tatmadaw and influential military veterans to discuss civilian protection strategies.

Pending concrete outcomes from these initiatives, HD's unique access and perspective have helped it to shape the international approach to the Rakhine crisis by contributing to the work of the Rakhine Advisory Commission chaired by Kofi Annan. HD also continued a discreet channel of informal dialogue between experts from Myanmar and Bangladesh following previous rounds of a regional dialogue on the plight of Rohingya Muslims which it had begun in 2012. Additionally, the organisation continues to provide analysis and offer suggestions to improve the situation in Rakhine State to affected regional actors such as China and ASEAN countries.

HD achieved more tangible results in **the Philippines**, supporting the implementation of the long-delayed Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) signed by the Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in 2014 (see side box). The Agreement, which seeks to put an end to decades of conflict in the southern region of Mindanao, had left open the possibility of violence in areas controlled by Mindanao's other major armed party, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), which remained outside the CAB. In 2018, HD focused on achieving convergence between the two Fronts, facilitating discussions between them on a unified plan for Mindanao's socio-economic development. The agreement reached between the Fronts in October provides a more favourable environment for the roll-out of the new autonomous government, underpinning the broader peace accord. HD, working in partnership with the Tumikang Sama-Sama Inc. (TSS), also made solid progress towards an agreement between the MNLF and security forces on a security co-ordination mechanism that would greatly reduce the risk of inadvertent clashes. It additionally continued to work on reducing clan conflicts in the violence-prone Sulu area.

The lost art of peacemaking

This is a summary version of an essay written by HD's Executive Director, David Harland, and published as a Background Paper for the 2018 Oslo Forum. To access the full paper and complete list of references, visit: <https://www.hdcentre.org/publications/the-lost-art-of-peacemaking>.

In the twenty years which followed 1988, most major armed conflicts were resolved by agreement – with life-saving results. But the world is no longer making many peace agreements. The United Nations (UN), in particular, has almost lost an art that it once mastered.

Twenty years of progress, despite bumps

During the 20-year period beginning in 1988, the UN led the way: on processes ending the Iran–Iraq war and in Namibia (both 1988); and in political settlements on Lebanon (1989), Nicaragua (1989) and Cambodia (1991). Like UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar before him, his successor Boutros Boutros-Ghali steered landmark agreements, ending civil wars in El Salvador (1992), Croatia (1995) and Guatemala (1996). In almost all of these early processes, UN diplomacy was typically personalised, discreet, emphatically neutral and informed by a deep knowledge of the context.

A string of peacekeeping disasters in the 1990s did nothing to slow UN diplomatic efforts. The 1993 ‘Black Hawk Down’ episode in Somalia precipitated the departure of US forces and the collapse of the UN mission. However, the international community concluded that no-one could bring peace where there was ‘no peace to keep’. After the 1994



genocide in Rwanda, international debate focused on what could have been done to prevent it given the events which preceded it. At the root of all this, however, was the absence of a viable peace agreement.¹

While Bosnia was seen as another case of there being no peace to keep, the 1995 massacre at Srebrenica added to growing friction between the United States (US) and the UN. However, the appointment of Kofi Annan – the US’ preferred choice – as Secretary-General in 1997 saw another decade in which the UN remained central to ending wars, or implementing peace agreements, at varying distances from off-stage US power. Peace was brokered in Tajikistan (1997), East Timor (1999), Kosovo (1999), Sierra Leone (1999), Afghanistan (2001), Angola (2002), Liberia (2003), Sudan (2005) and Nepal (2006).

The UN was not alone during this productive period of peacemaking. The US engaged directly at times, brokering the Dayton Accords ending the Bosnian war (1995) and supporting the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland (1998). And more exotic actors also played a role. The Community of Sant’Egidio,

¹ David Harland, *Never again: International Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, July 2017, pp. 23-26.

a Catholic lay association, was central in the Rome Agreement which ended the war in Mozambique (1992).² The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) mediated the end of the most violent phase of war in Aceh, Indonesia (2002), followed by a further agreement (2005) brokered under the auspices of the Crisis Management Initiative.

The end of the line?

Things began to go wrong in 2007. During a conference in Munich, Russian President Vladimir Putin denounced 'uni-polarism' and US domination of the international system. In the same year, veteran Finnish mediator Martti Ahtisaari's proposal for Kosovo split the UN Security Council. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon eventually brokered a new arrangement that prevented the crisis from escalating further but did not lead to an agreed settlement.

Since 2008, the number of successful peace agreements has declined.³ International mediation failed to prevent a bloody dénouement to the civil war in Sri Lanka (2009), and likewise failed in Libya (2011). While the UN continues to mediate conflict, recent processes have not generally led to successful outcomes. South Sudan's independence in 2011 was soon followed by a relapse into conflict; agreements attempting to end conflicts in Darfur (2011) and Libya (2015) have been partially successful at best; and wars continue in Yemen and Syria.

Peacemaking since 2008 has also largely been led by non-UN actors. The Basque group ETA ended its armed struggle in 2011, with no role for the UN. An International Contact Group supported the Philippines in a 2014 agreement to end long-running war in the south. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe brokered agreements in Ukraine (2014 and 2015); and the ceasefire

2 Mario Giro, *The Community of Saint Egidio and its Peace-making Activities*, The International Spectator, Italian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 33 (1998), pp. 85-100.

3 Stina Höglblad, *Peace Agreements 1975 – 2011: Updating the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset*, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2011.

in Myanmar (2015) was directly negotiated between the parties. Cuba and Norway played the main support roles in negotiating peace in Colombia (2016). Despite considerable successes, however, those actors have not replaced the UN, and their roles remain limited.

What's gone wrong?

Wars have been starting, or re-starting, at a roughly similar rate for the past thirty years.⁴ If there has been no reduction in the number of wars, then what can explain the declining number of successful peace agreements? There are several possible reasons.

The prevention of new wars and the resolution of old ones is still heavily influenced by a small number of powerful countries. If those countries are willing to co-operate, through the UN or otherwise, and see war as a 'public bad' rather than an arena into which the political competition between states is extended, then much can be achieved. This was often the case during the last decade of the 20th century, but has now changed. The recent return of geopolitics is apparent between Russia and the West, China and the US, as well as Sunni and Shi'a. The situations in Syria, Ukraine and Somalia also indicate that proxy wars, which had largely disappeared during the post-Cold War era, are back.

Conflicts are becoming increasingly fragmented and atomised. The challenge posed to traditional hierarchical organisations by networks of physically dispersed individuals is nowhere more evident than in the pattern of insurrection. Many violent conflicts have emerged from popular uprisings enabled by social media. These were initially seen as specific to the Arab world but have subsequently included many non-Arab cases, from Ukraine to Venezuela. Whether successful or not, and whether Arab or not, these 'Twitter revolutions' have been characterised by a huge proliferation of groups,

4 Marie Allansson, Erik Melander & Lotta Themnér, *Organized Violence, 1989-2016*, Journal of Peace Research 54 (4), 2017; and Joakim Kreutz, How and when Armed Conflicts End: Introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset, Journal of Peace Research, version 2, updated in 2015, pp. 243-250.

Photo: Syrian flag flutters at a military check point in Al-Khaldieh area in Homs, Syria, September 2018. © Reuters/ Marko Djurica



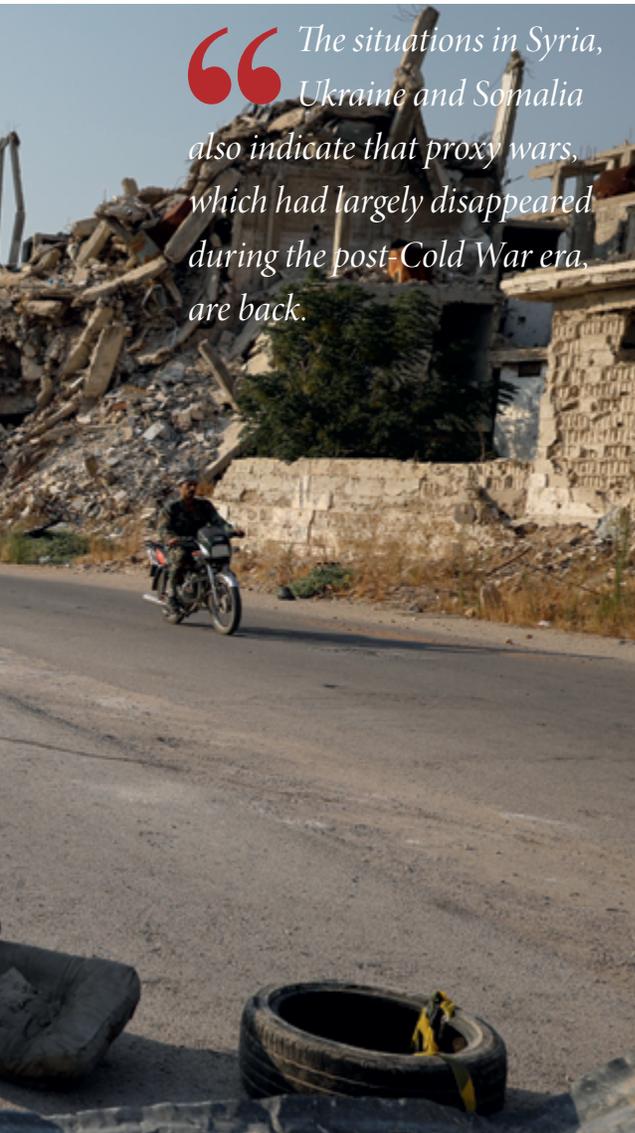
many of them lacking any clear organisational shape, often with undefined or rapidly changing agendas, and some of them leaderless.⁵

It is also significant that many recent and current conflicts extend across national borders. The number of inter-state conflicts has remained roughly steady over the past generation, as has the number of purely internal ones, but the number of ‘internationalised

5 Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham & Lee J. M. Seymour, *A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars*, *Perspectives on Politics*, 10 (2), 2012, pp. 265-283.

internal conflicts’ has surged over the last decade.⁶ This is partly related to resurgent geopolitical factors, but is also linked to new communication technologies which enable jihadi groups to recruit in one country for operations elsewhere. Another enabling factor is the changing ‘business model’ of armed insurgency. Whereas in the Cold War most armed groups received some direct support from an external sponsor, most armed groups must

6 United Nations, World Bank, *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*, World Bank, 2018.



“ The situations in Syria, Ukraine and Somalia also indicate that proxy wars, which had largely disappeared during the post-Cold War era, are back.

now sustain themselves through some form of trafficking, which is necessarily trans-boundary.⁷

Challenges to peacemaking principles

These explanations, however, seem incomplete. The same factors affect all peacemaking efforts, yet it is largely UN peace efforts that have waned. So what did the UN do differently when it was more productive, and what

⁷ James Cockayne, *Hidden Power: The Strategic Logic of Organized Crime*, Hurst & Company Limited, 2016.

enables other actors to succeed? Four features of the more successful phase of UN peacemaking stand out as having eroded over time.

First, the UN has not maintained its former levels of political independence. Its early peacemaking successes relied, above all, on its ability to position itself as an ‘honest broker’. By the mid-1990s however, this positioning was already under strain, and this strain grew to a degree which challenged the good faith foundation of UN mediation efforts.

A second explanation lies in a loss of openness in the UN’s approach to peacemaking. Where previously the UN had heard from all those who were needed for a war to end, this approach was later replaced by a proscription policy, resulting in reduced levels of inclusion and openness. Lakhdar Brahimi, for example, was unable to bring the Taliban into the Bonn Agreement to end war in Afghanistan in 2001. Similarly, Alvaro de Soto quit as UN Middle East Envoy when he was barred from speaking with Hamas.⁸

UN mediations are also no longer as discreet as they were. Early UN mediations were often conducted in secret. From Hammarskjöld’s negotiations with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1954 and 1955 to Ban Ki-moon’s efforts to unravel the Kosovo crisis, UN room for manoeuvre has often been inversely proportional to the level of public attention. Both politics and technology are now preventing such discretion.

Last but not least, UN mediations were formerly more agile than they are today. Before the mid-1990s, UN envoys were usually supported by a small personal staff. Now, much larger ‘special political missions’ include numerous advisers. Each of these advisers has a mandate and budget designed to ensure that their issue is incorporated into any final peace agreement, and each one has developed a set of institutional interests of their own.⁹

⁸ Alvaro de Soto, *End of Mission Report*, May 2017, pp. 5, 34-36.

⁹ Report of the High-level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, *Uniting our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People*, United Nations, June 2015, p. viii.

The largest current UN peacemaking efforts face challenges in all four of these areas. The Office of the Special Envoy for Syria, for example, is working on the ‘Geneva process’ under a mandate which undermines the involvement of the Syrian Government. The UN also accepted Turkish demands to exclude the most powerful Kurdish party. The ‘Geneva process’, therefore, involves no substantial participation by either of the two parties that dominate the country.¹⁰ Nor is it either discreet or agile: the UN Special Envoy is under constant media scrutiny, and opposition representatives to the official process have proliferated which has resulted in large, formal meetings. All of which has made the space for real mediation very small.¹¹

By contrast, some non-UN actors seem to have retained features of earlier UN mediation efforts – they come with less defined views of the outcome, they are open to all parties needed for peace, and they can sometimes operate with minimal public scrutiny. Some have also adapted to the growing complexity of conflicts by developing multi-layer processes, or processes that can pivot quickly from discreet to inclusive, and from unofficial to official.¹²

What are the prospects for future peacemaking?

Third parties have long had a role in the prevention and resolution of armed conflict. While such mediation has always been intricate in practice, the principles that support it are reasonably simple. The third party must be: trusted by the parties to the conflict and able

to keep confidences; willing and able to engage with all those whose exclusion from a process might prevent a successful outcome, and willing and able to adapt to the context of the conflict.

The UN has a number of advantages as a peacemaker, not least because it was created by the world’s governments to promote “international peace and security”, including through the “peaceful settlement of disputes”, which explicitly includes mediation.¹³ It is also unusually well placed to help implement the agreements it brokers. Uniquely among would-be mediators, the UN developed an approach and related capacity which helped push the number of conflicts, and the number of people killed in conflict, to the lowest level in recorded human history. For all the criticism levelled at the organisation, this was an historic achievement.¹⁴

But, over the past decade, peacemaking successes have become rarer. Much of this can be ascribed to structural factors, such as membership of the now sharply-divided Security Council. And some can be ascribed to exogenous factors, such as the growing complexity of conflict which calls for a more layered response. Some actors have found ways to address some of these issues but have not entirely filled the gap left by the UN. Further progress requires a better combination of efforts by both the UN and other actors in the peacemaking field.

— David Harland

Executive Director,
Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

10 Action Group for Syria, *Final Communiqué of the Action Group for Syria (Geneva Communiqué)*, June 2012.

11 Khaled Yacoub Oweis, *Sieges and Ceasefires in Syria’s Civil War: Lessons Learned as Regional Players Undermine New Approach by UN Mediator*, German Institute for International and Security Affairs [Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik], SWP comments, May 2015.

12 See, for example, with reference to Tunisia: Tatiana Monney & Jorge Valladares Molleda (Eds.), *Dialogues on Voluntary Codes of Conduct for Political Parties in Elections*, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and International IDEA, 2017, pp. 108-111.

13 United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, October 1945, article 33.

14 Joshua Goldstein, *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*, Dutton/Plume [Penguin], 2011, pp. 4-12.

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 12 members. In 2018, Mr Olivier Steimer's and Ms Irene Khan's terms on HD's Board came to an end. HD would like to express its gratitude to both of them for their valuable contributions to the organisation, in their respective areas of expertise, as well as for their dedication in supporting HD's peacemaking work and institutional development over the past ten years.

In 2018, HD also welcomed Mr Armin Slotta as a new member of its Board. With more than 30 years of experience with PricewaterhouseCoopers, Mr Slotta's expertise in auditing and on financial matters will be extremely valuable to HD as the organisation continues to grow and expand its operations internationally in the near future.



**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 (2007-2010); Ambassador to the European Union (1999-2002); 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 and was elected as its Chair in 2016.



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, 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, and was appointed its Vice-Chair in 2015. Mr Eide also heads the Board's Operations Committee.



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 the organisation'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. He has been a member of HD's Board since 2011 and also chairs its Audit and Finance Committee.



Mr Neil Janin

Chair of the Nominations Committee

Mr Neil Janin is a Director Emeritus of McKinsey & Company and he 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 of a number of non-profit organisations. He 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. He has been a Member of HD's Board since 2013 and also chairs its Nominations Committee.



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 worked for the last 20 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 (1999-2002). 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 (2007-2009). 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.



Ms Grace Forrest

Board Member

Ms Grace Forrest is a founding Director of the Walk Free Foundation, an international human rights group which

seeks to end modern slavery. She has spent extensive time on the ground working with survivors and documenting slavery conditions throughout Southeast Asia and the Middle East, with a current focus on refugee communities. Ms Forrest is also a representative of the Freedom Fund Council of Advocates and a Director of the Minderoo Foundation. In 2018, she won the Nomi Network's Abolitionist Award and GQ Australia's Humanitarian Award for her work to end modern slavery. She was also appointed Goodwill Ambassador for Anti-Slavery by the United Nations Association of Australia, as well as one of ten members of the 'Young Leaders Against Sexual Violence initiative' launched by One Young World (OYW). The initiative works to create tangible change in preventing sexual and gender-based violence worldwide. 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 served as Deputy SRSG and UN Resident Coordinator in Sudan, Deputy SRSG and UN Resident Coordinator in Afghanistan, and 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 35 and a daughter aged 33. Since her retirement, Ms Haq has been a guest lecturer at many universities in the US and Europe, and has also spoken at a number of think-tanks and research institutions. She joined HD's Board in 2015.



Dr Jakob Kellenberger

Board Member

Dr Jakob 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 led 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 at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva and 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 and an Honorary Member of the American Society of International Law. He is also a member of the Advisory Panel for Swiss Re and of the Council for the Future of Europe. Dr Kellenberger was awarded the Grosses Verdienstkreuz mit Stern in 2012 and appointed Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur in 2013.



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. He 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 and a member of the boards of several other companies and foundations. He joined HD's Board in 2011.



**Professor
'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. Professor Olonisakin 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 on Children and Armed Conflict. She is one of seven members of the Advisory Group of Experts on the Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture appointed by the UN Secretary-General, and sits on the Advisory Group of Experts for the UN Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security. In January 2016, Professor Olonisakin was appointed as 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 '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.



**Ambassador
Herman Schaper**

Board Member

Ambassador Herman Schaper 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 (2009–2013) and Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to NATO (2005–2009). He 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. 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.



Mr Armin Slotta

Board Member

Mr Armin Slotta has more than 30 years of experience with PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) during which time

he developed significant expertise working with multinational organisations and companies, advising leaders and managers worldwide. Mr Slotta managed PwC Germany's innovation programme (2015–2017); over this period, he developed solutions based on mega trends and technology changes. In parallel, he managed PwC Germany's Foreign Business Network which supported German clients in developing and delivering strategies abroad, particularly in developing markets. Until 2015, Mr Slotta was a member of PwC Germany's Assurance Leadership Team. As part of this role, he managed several business units including the company's Capital Markets and Accounting Advisory Services, and its Audit Unit in Frankfurt and Rhein-Main. He currently

also serves as Vice-President and Treasurer of the American Chamber of Commerce in Germany. Mr Slotta joined HD's Board in 2018.



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

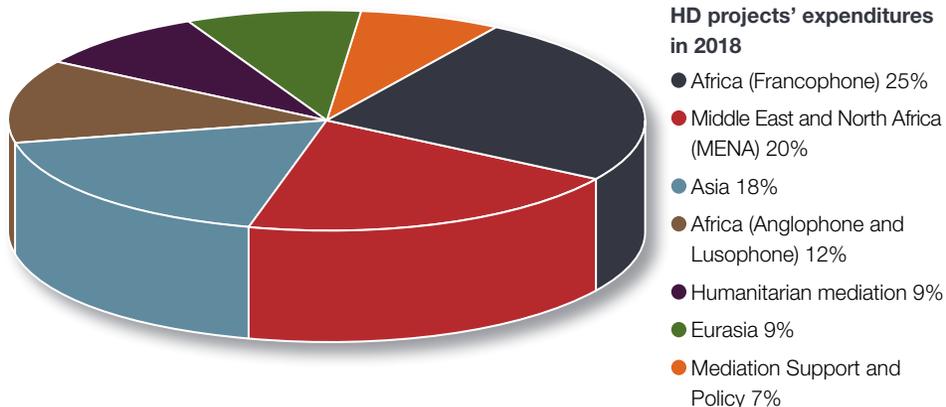
Mr Andrew Forrest is the founder and Chairman of the Fortescue Metals Group, the world's fourth-largest iron ore producer. Along with his wife Nicola, Mr Forrest is also the co-founder and Chairman of the Munderoo Foundation, an Australian philanthropic organisation which takes on tough, persistent issues with the potential to drive massive change, including ending modern slavery and Indigenous disparity. Mr Forrest is a Councillor of the Global Citizen Commission, which produced a series of human rights recommendations to update the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These were presented to the United Nations Secretary-General in April 2016. Mr Forrest was appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) in 2017 for distinguished service to the mining sector, the development of employment and business opportunities, as a supporter of sustainable foreign investment, and for philanthropy. In 2018, he received the EY Entrepreneur Of The Year Alumni Social Impact Award which recognised the "lasting and exceptional legacy" of his philanthropic work.

Funding and Finances

HD receives a combination of strategic support and targeted project funding, and these are both fundamental to its operations. Strategic support is a vital way of safeguarding HD's independence, improving its operational effectiveness and driving innovation, while targeted project funding enables the organisation to maintain a global and diverse portfolio of projects. In 2018, HD worked on more than 40 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 is particularly grateful for the support it receives from its donors and partners, including Australia, Canada, Denmark, the European Union, France, Germany, Ireland, Liechtenstein, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Bosch Foundation, the Hoffmann Foundation, Humanity United, the Minderoo Foundation, the Paung Sie Facility, the Republic and Canton of Geneva, the Third Millennium Foundation, and the United Nations.

HD is also grateful to the City of Geneva for having provided the organisation with the use of the Villa Plantamour as its headquarters for the last 18 years. The Villa, located at the heart of the international district of the city, provides HD with an exceptional and discreet setting from where it can lead its peacemaking work. The city offers the organisation access to many financial, philanthropic and technological networks which can help HD to catalyse innovative responses to the world's evolving challenges.



Extracts of HD's audited financial statements (2017 and 2018)

Balance sheet

In CHF	31.12.2018	31.12.2017
Current assets	30 992 642	21 988 271
Non-current assets	13 529 983	758 042
TOTAL ASSETS	44 522 625	22 746 313
Current liabilities	25 558 199	19 660 375
Non-current liabilities	15 575 433	204 799
Equity	100 000	100 000
Consolidation and contingency funds	3 288 993	2 781 140
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND EQUITY	44 522 625	22 746 313

Income statement

In CHF	2018	2017
INCOME		
Total income	37 822 672	34 220 851
EXPENSES		
Personnel expenses	13 671 198	12 439 588
Professional fees	8 939 254	7 801 075
Travel & transportation	11 254 372	10 745 933
General and office expenses	2 366 510	2 287 381
Depreciation	20 855	17 225
Net financial expenses	1 062 630	389 617
Total expenses	37 314 819	33 680 820
YEAR-END RESULT	507 854	540 031

HD's Mission:

Prevent, **mitigate** and resolve **armed conflict** through **dialogue** and **mediation**. HD's Values: **Humanity, Impartiality, Independence**. **The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue**

is a private **diplomacy organisation** based in Geneva and founded on the principles of **humanity, impartiality** and **independence**. Its **mission** is to **help prevent, mitigate and resolve** armed conflict through **dialogue** and **mediation**. HD demon-

strates its **greatest value**

by working beyond the frontier of

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hard for **others to reach**, and facilitating **mediation** on **issues** that may be **insoluble** via **other channels**. HD's Mission:

Prevent, mitigate and resolve armed conflict through **dialogue and mediation**. HD demon-

strates its greatest value by **working beyond** the frontier of traditional **diplomacy, engaging conflict**

with actors and **issues** beyond the **frontier**

HD's Mission: Prevent, mitigate and resolve. value: **macy**. To this maintain a lear

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and collegial actor in crowded field; deepen which can lead to **peace** making value: **The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD)** is a diplomacy organisation based in on the principles of **humanity and independence**.

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