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Action Plan from the Global Policy Dialogue on Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance

مخرجات ةمادتساو ، يئاقولا لمعلا لوح ةيملاعلا ةسايسلا راوح
ةيملاعلا ةمكوحلاو ملاسلا

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يحوي هذا الملف جملة مخرجات للتحديات ؛ ةيملاعلا ةمكوحلاو ، ملاسلا ةمادتسا ، يئاقولا لمعلاب ةقلعتملا ةطبترملا
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The Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, based at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, is an interdisciplinary research and study center that conducts original and rigorous research on the causes, impact and responses to conflict, humanitarian crisis, state fragility and transitions in the Middle East and North Africa.

The Stimson Center, based in Washington, D.C., is a nonpartisan policy research center working to protect people, preserve the planet, and promote security & prosperity. Stimson's award-winning research serves as a roadmap to address borderless threats through concerted action.

Contents

I. Objectives and Context

This **Action Plan** synthesizes the discussions and recommendations of the **Global Policy Dialogue on Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance**, which was convened by the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, the Stimson Center, and the Doha Forum on 17 December 2018. It coincided with the 18th edition of the Doha Forum, which took place from 15 to 16 December 2018. The dialogue's forty participants—representing diverse global and regional policy-making, scholarly, activist, and practitioners' perspectives—gathered to respond collectively to major global policy challenges associated with the theme of preventive action, sustaining peace, and global governance; to better understand current global and regional responses (including those championed by United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres); and to consider and refine major global and regional governance innovation initiatives and the strategies to bring them to fruition. Special attention was given to initiatives that are most relevant to current crises within the Greater Middle East today. The dialogue concluded with discussions about new global efforts, such as *Together First: A Global System that Works for All*, the *UN 2020 Initiative*, and the knowledge-based *Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform*, to advance a peacebuilding innovation agenda between now and 2020, the 75th anniversary of the United Nations.

THE CONTEXT: From Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria to Libya and Yemen, major ongoing conflicts across the Greater Middle East continue to cause immense human suffering and material damage, embroiling countries politically, economically, socially, and militarily. Among the multiple root causes of violence are weak governance structures, radicalization, an influx of foreign terrorist fighters (including Daesh and Al-Qaeda), and regional political polarization, as well as low levels of socio-economic development and environmental factors. In seeking to help local actors manage and address the root causes of violent conflict across the Greater Middle East, global and regional bodies—including the United Nations, the World Bank, and the Arab League—have applied political, economic, and social assistance approaches and tools. Together with Middle Eastern countries and extra-regional partners, these bodies seek to transform local conflict dynamics in an effort to build more stable, prosperous, and resilient states and societies. They are also instrumental in fulfilling the international community's 2005 commitment at the United Nations to the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) norm that includes the Responsibility to Prevent and Rebuild.

In conflict-affected states and regions worldwide, large gaps in security, justice, and governance are readily identified but hard to fill. Multiple, concurrent, and recurring intrastate conflicts, exploited by international terrorist and criminal organizations, have reversed the global trend of reduced political violence since the end of the Cold War. This has fueled refugee movements and human suffering, particularly in the Greater Middle East. At the same time, the growing roles of women, civil society organizations, and businesses, whose voices are amplified through modern communications technologies, offer new opportunities for effective peacebuilding and governance reform and renewal, and transitional justice. Responding to these threats, challenges, and opportunities, the Albright-Gambari Commission, the Independent Commission on Multilateralism, and UN Secretary-General António Guterres, among others, have offered a range of insights and well-designed proposals that had informed deliberations at the Global Policy Dialogue on Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance.

BROADER OBJECTIVES OF GPDs: The **Global Policy Dialogue (GPD)**, beginning with a focus on state fragility and preventing and responding to violent conflict and with special reference to the Greater Middle East, is a key vehicle to catalyze the formation of a network or community of practice for global governance renewal, innovation, and reform, using current reform proposals as points of departure. This series of meetings will seek to:

- **Establish broad areas of consensus on priority reform innovations** vis-à-vis a specific regional-global governance policy challenge, informed by, for example, proposals found in the reports of Albright-Gambari Commission on Global Security, Justice & Governance (2015) and the Independent Commission on Multilateralism (2016).

- **Provide fresh ideas and perspectives**, as well as help to build greater regional and global support, for official reform efforts, such as, for example, the implementation of the **United Nations Secretary-General's report on "Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace" and the UN/World Bank report on "Pathways for Peace**."

- To engage a broad network of organizations and individuals committed to growing a **coalition of states and non-state actors interested in achieving critical reforms within the UN system**, in particular by 2020, the United Nations' 75th anniversary.

The Global Policy Dialogues will consider these and other ideas for better responding to the causes and consequences of recurring violence and weak states. The meeting at the Doha Institute's Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies gave special attention to conflicts in the Greater Middle East (including Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Yemen) and the need for enhanced cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and regional organizations, particularly in fulfillment of the international community's 2005 normative commitment to a "Responsibility to Protect/Prevent/Rebuild" (a subject that remains under-discussed in the Greater Middle East region). It also considered how to best group and approach diverse non-state actors in the region, including violent extremist groups.

Subsequent Policy Dialogues on "Global Security, Justice & Economic Institutions" and the "Global Climate Governance Architecture" will follow in June 2019 at the Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. and in November 2019 in Seoul, respectively. Together, the three-part series aims to advance a global consensus around several of the best recommendations for improving international responses to deadly conflict and weak states, challenges inherent in the hyperconnected global economy, and runaway climate change. A new knowledge-based *Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform* (http://www.globalsecurityjusticegovernance.org/) will communicate activities to advance such innovative reform ideas in the run-up to the September 2020 UN Leaders' Summit.

The Global Policy Dialogues' "theory of change" is rooted in the conviction that greater results can be achieved when (1) individual states and non-state actors recognize that their priority issues or institutional reforms can benefit from a global systemic, coalition-supported effort; (2) greater opportunities arise for deal-making and exploiting linkages and synergies between issues; and (3) momentum for reform is, therefore, generated and sustained. Balanced attention toward gaining the confidence of powerful "insiders," including the UN Secretary-General, and powerful "outsiders" from civil society, the media, and the business community, will be a hallmark of the **development of new knowledge and advocacy networks utilizing the new Platform**. Each of these actors is critical to leveraging institutions and individuals with the ability to affect changes in global governance.

II. Working Group #1: The Responsibility to Protect, including Prevention, Rebuilding, and Mitigating the Norm's Abuse

Facilitators: Ellen Laipson and Reem Al-Forassy

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) Working Group gave attention, in the Global Policy Dialogue's **first break-out session**, to the major challenges facing the implementation of the R2P norm since its adoption at the 2005 United Nations Summit, including in the areas of prevention, rebuilding, and mitigating the norm's abuse. The Working Group also considered the effectiveness of current global and regional efforts to improve the operationalization of the Responsibility to Protect. Where possible, participants were encouraged to speak to R2P's relevance (or lack thereof) to conflicts and conflict transformation in the Greater Middle East.

Discussion Questions:

1) Is there currently general agreement on the signs and factors of a potential mass atrocity event?

2) Do the UN and regional organizations maintain tools for effective early warning? What about tools for effective early action (e.g., preventive diplomacy/mediation) and rebuilding?

3) Should mass casualty attacks by extremist non-state terrorist organizations fall outside the scope of R2P and purely within counter-terrorism and CVE frameworks for analysis / action?

Key Takeaways (that were further discussed/refined in the subsequent plenary session):

⇒ The Responsibility to Protect should be viewed holistically—rather than mainly through a security lens that focuses on military forces as key actors. It must also act as an effective tool for early warning and early action too. Only when a state fails to uphold its obligation to protect its own citizens should outside support from external partners be considered.

⇒ The purpose of R2P is generally understood worldwide and is indirectly reflected in many programs and processes. At the same time, the suspicion harbored by many states toward R2P, which view it as an attack on their political legitimacy, signals a major challenge that must be overcome at the United Nations and within regional bodies. Given these political sensitivities, the group discussed how much can be achieved without explicit reference to the term Responsibility to Protect. In this sense, and to improve R2P's application in major conflicts, such as Syria and Yemen, a significant obstacle that needs to be overcome involves the communications gap between all relevant stakeholders.

⇒ Polarization surrounding R2P remains a serious challenge, and as one major consequence, Syria has paid a heavy price. With reference to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, polarization is exacerbated by religious, economic, and political divisions. The Palestine case further illustrates the frustration the region has with the norm of R2P, which—when no seeming action appeared to be undertaken, in the past, when the personal safety of civilians was threatened—created a "sense of no confidence" in the notion of protecting vulnerable civilians. Around the world, we find other humanitarian crises and mass atrocities, such as in Sri Lanka and Myanmar, where R2P was not invoked. Venezuela may soon rise to the level of Syria's humanitarian crisis in recent years, and similar to Syria, political disagreements among the Great Powers may impede efforts to protect vulnerable civilians. Some participants argued that the world is governed by power and narrowly defined interests, raising the concern

that R2P is being employed to enhance power and defend those interests rather than for publicly-stated purposes.

⇒ Sometimes an outside (R2P) intervention can be subtle at the national level, yet its felt impact may still be significant at the local level. These success stories should be highlighted and prescribed as best practices internationally. In addition, another category of actual interventions may reflect the same spirit as R2P but may not invoke or be publicly called an "R2P intervention." Increasingly, this is how the United Nations may be expected to "get things done" and fulfill its obligations, in accordance with both the R2P norm and the UN Charter more broadly speaking, to protect civilians when a state (which bears primary responsibility) fails to fulfill this solemn commitment to its own citizens.

⇒ Within the MENA region, the Arab League or the Gulf Cooperation Council have proved inadequate as regional institutions in effectively responding to people's basic grievances and ensuring their personal security. They need to play a more supportive and sometimes leading role in protecting civilians.

In the **second break-out session**, the Responsibility to Protect Working Group discussed new and innovative reform ideas in connection with the challenges to the R2P concept's implementation and weaknesses in current global and regional responses identified in the morning break-out session, giving attention to:

- Relevant reform proposals from recent global and regional initiatives, including the Albright-Gambari Commission & Independent Commission on Multilateralism.
- New ideas for consideration by the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace Report and the UN/World Bank Pathways for Peace Report.
- How to build consensus on and advance a select number of reform proposals.

Discussion Questions:

1) As recommended by the Albright-Gambari Commission, should there be greater investments in early warning capabilities and R2P action plans for an approach to atrocities prevention that involves all UN agencies and programs? Should all international actors seeking to prevent, react to, and rebuild after mass atrocities be asked to set concrete and achievable goals?

2) In line with Brazil's earlier "Responsibility While Protecting" recommendation, should UN mission monitors be embedded in all forces participating in R2P implementation?

3) As the ICM recommends, should the UN Secretary-General launch a fundraising drive for prevention initiatives? As recommended at the Doha Regional Dialogue on Sustaining Peace, should a Global Conference on Preventive Diplomacy be convened?

4) What else is missing, and how can consensus/progress be advanced on a few proposals?

Chief Reform & Innovation Recommendations (that were further discussed/refined in the subsequent plenary session):

- A more **incremental approach to change** is needed in conflict-affected countries and regions (consistent with the Global Policy Dialogue Background Brief's Working Group One Proposal 2 introduced by the Albright-Gambari Commission: *Specify the responsibilities and objectives of R2P mission participants*; the Independent Commission on Multilateralism's Proposal 4: *Invest in Prevention and the Positive Power of Human Rights*; and the Pathways for Peace Report's Proposal 7: *Encourage*

prevention by supporting greater inclusivity in decision-making arenas). This should include **"localizing" or internalizing the norm of prevention**—a central element of the broader R2P norm—among people and actors at the community level through training and other outreach efforts. Spreading the "Responsibility to Prevent" depends on a role for religious institutions and formal education too. The state must assume a leadership role in initiating and overseeing implementation of this proposed incremental approach that emphasizes local level actors.

- The **semantic classification of R2P cases should be undertaken with caution and skill**. For example, within the MENA region, the Iraq intervention (starting in 2003) was not an R2P case, although sometimes referred to as such; R2P was invoked in the case of Libya (from 2011), but the international community's subsequent mixed experience in the execution of this outside intervention has stirred innumerable debates about whether the R2P norm was, in effect, applied/enforced.

- In returning to the "basic fundamentals" on why R2P is needed (rather than focusing on lower-down tactical or operational levels where R2P has failed to be implemented effectively), more advocacy is needed for efforts (e.g., ACT Code of Conduct and France/Mexico Initiative) **to decrease or suspend the use the veto in cases where mass atrocities are threatened**. Additional measures should also be developed to ensure the accountability of the Security Council's veto-wielding five permanent members (*note: Russia has invoked the veto 35 times since 1991, including 12 times with respect to Syria*).

- At the same time (and consistent with Background Brief Proposal 1, introduced by the Albright-Gambari Commission, seeking to: *Improve conflict analysis and crisis warning and focus the entire UN system on R2P implementation*), where possible (e.g., in situations where effective regional and sub-regional organizations exist), the **United Nations should shift from playing a central leadership to more of a supportive role in implementing the R2P norm** (*note: the first and second pillars of R2P emphasize the primacy of the state in applying the R2P role and international actors assisting states in fulfilling this commitment*). This recommendation reflected the suspicion, held by some Working Group members, toward a possible foreign-led imposition of the R2P norm, as well as the wide-spread regional (MENA region in particular) and global mistrust of the Responsibility to Protect (e.g., leading to calls for the additional norm of "Responsibility While Protecting", as advocated in Proposal 3 of the Background Brief).

- More attention should be given—including by governments, the international media, and civil society—to ongoing **mass atrocities in the world** (beyond the MENA region, Africa, and Myanmar) **that do not receive sufficient international attention**, such as in Venezuela and Brazil (which, in some ways, builds upon Background Brief Proposal 5, presented by the Independent Commission on Multilateralism, to: *Strengthen the UN's capacity to prevent and resolve conflict*; and the Pathways for Peace's Report Proposal 6: *Foster a social and political environment where the deep drivers of conflict can be addressed*).

III. Working Group #2: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding, Peacekeeping, Transitional Justice & Rule of Law Promotion

Facilitators: Sultan Barakat and Aziza Mohammed

The Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Working Group gave attention, in the Global Policy Dialogue's **first break-out session**, to the major challenges facing peacebuilding after protracted violent conflict in fragile states and regions, including in the related areas of peacekeeping, transitional justice, and rule of law promotion. The Working Group also considered how effective current global and regional efforts to improving post-conflict peacebuilding, peacekeeping, transitional justice, and rule of law promotion. Where possible, participants were encouraged to speak to the relevance (or lack thereof) of internationally supported peacebuilding efforts to conflicts and conflict transformation in the Greater Middle East.

Discussion Questions:

1) Is there a general international consensus on the objectives of post-conflict peacebuilding?

2) Are women's concerns adequately represented and address in post-conflict governance?

3) Do the UN and regional organizations require greater peacekeeping capacity and willingness to engage hostile forces both for self-protection and to protect civilians from physical harm?

4) Over the past three decades, how have the more than thirty truth and reconciliation commissions (of varying scope and powers) helped victims and brought greater accountability?

Key Takeaways (that were further discussed/refined in the subsequent plenary session):

⇒ The pendulum has swung away from interest in multilateralism. The current climate (in which we are undertaking this initiative) does not necessarily have the same public support and optimism surrounding the United Nations. There was natural constituency for the United Nations that has faded. Today's reform dialogue needs to be focused on implementation strategy (and "lessons from the field") as much as theories and new ideas for change. Without a strong implementation strategy, there is little point in reform. Many proposals for UN reform focus on the "bureaucratization of practice" rather than much needed flexible and collaborative problem-solving arrangements. In order to create a United Nations that can deliver, we need to win the war of ideas and communicate better.

⇒ For scholars and practitioners, the objectives of peacebuilding are wide. In his 1992 "An Agenda for Peace", then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali argued that "peacebuilding [is] action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict." For peacebuilding to succeed, the United Nations must mobilize and coordinate international assistance in support of democratic governments with functioning institutions and services.

⇒ Regional organizations play important roles in peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding, but they are often politically fraught and lack capacity. Within many regional organizations, there is too often a regional hegemon who seeks control, multiple members who may be in conflict with one another, the presence of authoritarian governments, and a general lack of capacity. Regional organizations can also fall prey to the domestic politics of its Member States, and *ad hoc* "coalitions of

the willing" have also demonstrated their limitations in the conflict space. However, regional organizations, in particular, remain important in fostering peace in conflict-affected societies in culturally-sensitive, legitimate, and relevant ways.

$\Rightarrow$ Women are disproportionately affected by conflict, yet they are not meaningfully engaged in post-conflict recovery. They are sometimes engaged only as an extension of a male relative, to be seen publicly but hidden away as soon as possible. Sometimes the empowerment of women is seen as "Westernization." It is imperative to donors that women be engaged; however, sometimes engagement is not genuine, and as soon as western eyes turn away, the women return to a lower place in public life. Without the meaningful engagement of women, durable peace is unachievable. Youth, who are also at the center of so much conflict and turmoil (including as combatants), need to be engaged in decision-making and reconstruction too. In this regard, the international community should get behind the Youth, Peace, and Security Agenda detailed in UN Security Council Resolutions 2250 (in 2015) and 2419 (in 2018), both linked to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda detailed in UN Security Council 1325 (2000).

$\Rightarrow$ There are difficult trade-offs between transitional justice and peace. Political imperatives to persuade combatants to lay down their arms may not be conducive to transitional justice. For instance, in Iraq, Egypt, and Libya, the vetting processes that followed the wars were more conducive to political revenge and economic spoils than creating the conditions for just security. The political isolation law in Libya contributed to a crisis in 2014. Transitional justice processes spark fear in belligerents rather than creating an environment for peace. Meanwhile, transitional justice is the only way to ensure lasting peace. The military needs to be engaged and needs to be backed by civil society to ensure stability. At the same time, participants discussed whether or not transitional justice belongs in the Middle East at all, because it does not necessarily take into account ideas of God's will and compensation.

$\Rightarrow$ *Could mediation be the answer?* Conflicts have reasons and causes that may follow specific life cycles and mechanisms. Stakeholders need to be held accountable, and mediation can be a key instrument to facilitate progress. The African Union is developing a new mediation framework. In Afghanistan, the full impact of civilian casualties from a bombing or air strike is beyond the comprehension of Western partners, but mediation can keep these tragedies from escalating to an intractable and deadly conflict.

In the **second break-out session**, the Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Working Group discussed new and innovative reform ideas in connection with the challenges to peacebuilding's (and the associated concepts of peacekeeping, transitional justice, and rule of law promotion) implementation and weaknesses in current global and regional responses identified in the morning break-out session, giving attention to:

- Relevant reform proposals from recent global and regional initiatives, including the Albright-Gambari Commission & Independent Commission on Multilateralism.

- New ideas for consideration by the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace Report and the UN/World Bank Pathways for Peace Report.

- How to build consensus on and advance a select number of reform proposals.

Discussion Questions:

1) As recommended by the UN Secretary-General, is it time to consider assessed contributions for civilian-led peacebuilding and the Peacebuilding Fund (similar to UN peacekeeping)?

2) As proposed by the Albright-Gambari Commission, could a New Civilian Response Capability (e.g., with more experienced mediators, including women) enhance peace operations?

3) What mix of institutions, actors, and incentives may help the pursuit of rule of law and transitional justice measures, while promoting stabilization, recovery, and peacebuilding?

4) What else is missing, and how can consensus/progress be advanced on a few proposals?

Chief Reform & Innovation Recommendations (that were further discussed/refined in the subsequent plenary session):

Working Group #2 participants went through the entire list of recommendations presented in pp. 15-17 of the Global Policy Dialogue's Background Brief—to examine the pros and cons of each proposal.

- They expressed concerns about Proposal 1 (*Source*: UN Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace): *Consider assessed contributions for civilian-led peacebuilding and the Peacebuilding Fund (similar to peacekeeping)*. Although they felt ready to implement the idea, the fear of rejection by the United States loomed large. They expressed a strong desire **to engage the private sector in this new funding model**.

- Proposal 2 (*Source*: Pathways for Peace Report): *Provide the means for a minimum basic service delivery of development work throughout periods of open conflict*. A strong concern was voiced about making sure development continues in high risk areas: yes, development could prove critical to preventing vicious cycles of violence, but **dependency upon these services and rent-seeking with external service providers may ensue and should, therefore, be avoided**. However, the Working Group recognized that local resilience should not serve as an excuse to international partners to not provide humanitarian and development aid, thereby increasing the burden on conflict-affected host states when external assistance is most needed.

- There was a great deal of consensus around Proposal 3 (*Source*: Pathways for Peace Report): *Strengthen institutions that act as mechanisms to support & encourage preventative diplomacy*. Preventative diplomacy refers to early diplomatic action taken "to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts, and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur" (UN Secretary-General, "Agenda for Peace", 1992). For instance, the UN Secretary-General plays an essential and personal role in preventive diplomacy through the provision of "good offices" to all parties. Mediation is a process whereby a third party assists two or more parties, with their consent, to prevent, manage, or resolve a conflict by helping them to develop mutually acceptable agreements. Within the United Nations, the establishment of regional political offices—the UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS), the UN Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), and the UN Regional Center for Preventive Diplomacy in Central Asia (UNRCCA)—have helped international efforts to respond to the increasing regionalization of conflict. Given their

standing presence, ability to deploy, and relationships with most key stakeholders across the region, **these regional UN offices offer alternatives to peacekeeping operations and have proved to be effective**. They respond to widespread concerns about the lack of local capacity and forums for mediation, as well as encourage a more comprehensive approach to preventative diplomacy. At the same time, this overall **proposal would benefit from a rapid deployment capability**.

- The Working Group's morning session expressed deep support for Proposals 4 and 5 (*Source*: Independent Commission on Multilateralism): *Increase accountability for gender equality programming* and *adopt a unified, holistic, and coherent approach to empowering women*; and Proposal 8 (*Source*: Albright-Gambari Commission): *Strengthen the role of women in peace processes*. These proposals bear in mind compelling evidence that women's physical security and gender equality in society are associated with broader peace and stability in states. **To break Women, Peace & Security out of its silo, the UN should implement UNSC Resolution 1325 within the context of development, human rights, humanitarian action, and peace & security agendas at large**. Special Representatives of the Secretary General should routinely report to the Security Council on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace & Security within their country or region of operation and encourage the further development of National Women, Peace & Security Action Plans in countries where they do not exist. Participants recognized that the culture in many countries, including within the Greater Middle East, failed to empower women, and that change could only come from a concerted effort to improve gender equality. Empowering women in fragile states is instrumental to promoting peace and stability, not only because of increased women's physical security, but also because it unlocks economic development potential by activating previously wasted human capital.

- The Working Group expressed modest (and nuanced) support for Proposal 6 (*Source*: Albright-Gambari Commission): *Establish a New Civilian Response Capability to meet rapid deployment needs for civilian specialist skills*. It recognized that one of the key drivers of instability and inability to prevent and respond to crises is a vacuum of local capacity in fragile peacebuilding environments. By deploying these international professionals to cope with urgent demands on the ground, the proposed UN Civilian Response Capability could offer not just a rapid response to immediate humanitarian and development needs**, but it would be poised to invest in building critical local capacities through its strategic partnerships with regional and other peacebuilding actors beyond the UN system**. The Working Group further recognized the UN's unmatched wealth of skilled personnel and its primary concern for engaging with and investing in local actors, as well as the drawbacks from sourcing critical civilian skills solely from the private sector.

- Access to justice was recognized as a priority by the Working Group, and consequently, Proposal 7 (*Source: Albright-Gambari Commission): *Consider transformational justice as a postwar alternative that addresses not just the results but also the roots of violence"*, gained considerable traction among participants. They positively viewed the proposal as potentially recognizing **the importance of local customs and tools to promote justice in war-torn societies**. Participants noted that traditional justice processes sometimes exclude the most vulnerable or minorities, and so this proposal's ability to implement a new approach to justice and resolve differences is important to

creating stability during and after a conflict. They stressed that acknowledgement of wrongdoing, compensation, and political accountability are extremely important in many cultures. However, it is up to each community to determine when transformational justice can take place. For example, it took some six hundred years of occupation and a few decades of justice to begin addressing victimhood and survivors of crimes in Northern Ireland. **Any justice initiative needs to revive the cultural relationship between people and the land**. This proposal appealed to participants because transformational justice also seeks to resolve the question of former combatants and political party members. Leveraging local leadership, maintaining an open dialogue with all parties, and integrating local customs would improve implementation.

In conclusion, and by way of new approaches to post-conflict peacebuilding, peacekeeping, transitional justice, and promoting the rule of law, the participants highlighted the need to have **a special focus on youth**. They are the current combatants in many conflicts and also the future of a country. The participants outlined the idea of establishing new ways to engage youth in post-conflict reconstruction, peacebuilding, and governance processes. Additionally, youth should be reframed as a solution rather than a problem. Youth represent an incredible engine for positive change, and any initiatives that engage and mobilizes youth can be transformational in a post-conflict landscape. In particular, the international community should work to advance the Youth, Peace, and Security Agenda outlined in UN Security Council Resolutions 2250 (in 2015) and 2419 (in 2018).

IV. Working Group #3: Strengthening the Peacebuilding Commission and International Criminal Court

Facilitators: Richard Ponzio and Joris Larik

The Peacebuilding Commission and International Criminal Court (PBC-ICC) Working Group gave attention, during the Global Policy Dialogue's **first break-out session**, to the major challenges facing the PBC since its establishment in 2005 and the ICC since the entry into force of the Rome Statute in 2002. The Working Group considered the effectiveness of current global efforts to improve the functioning of the Peacebuilding Commission and International Criminal Court. Where possible, participants were encouraged to speak to the PBC's and ICC's relevance (or lack thereof) to conflicts and conflict transformation in the Greater Middle East.

Discussion Questions:
1) How effective are the UN Peacebuilding Commission and International Criminal Court in helping to avert and prevent the recurrence of protracted violent conflict?
2) Is it time to revisit the Commission's relationship with the UN Security Council and General Assembly, its basic authorities (e.g., lack of a prevention mandate), and its current limited focus?
3) How have the mandate and capabilities of the International Criminal Court, as well as its limited links to the UN Security Council, stymied efforts to promote international criminal justice?

Key Takeaways (that were further discussed/refined in the subsequent plenary session):

⇒ While an important innovation in global governance, the Peacebuilding Commission has met mixed success in its first thirteen years due to the recurrence of violence in several of the initial countries on the PBC's agenda, including Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, and especially the Central African Republic, where after six years of PBC involvement a UN peacekeeping mission was introduced, in 2014, to stem the violence.

⇒ Moreover, the Working Group felt that the Peacebuilding Commission's "blurred mandate" (e.g., is it mainly just a toothless advocacy body or one equipped to do effective coordination and resource mobilization?) continued to create difficulties in the PBC finding its niche vis-à-vis the UN Security Council and the General Assembly. Through field visits led by PBC Member States, the Peacebuilding Commission has demonstrated some utility in facilitating substantive conversations with local stakeholders, which could, for instance, be employed within a broader prevention and early warning (and early action) effort.

⇒ Concerns were also expressed about the PBC's overall ability to engage positively and harness the ideas, capabilities, and networks of civil society groups, operating at international, national, and local levels.

⇒ For the International Criminal Court, it is critical that the ICC quickly shed its image as a body focused on Sub-Saharan Africa. On the road to the ICC's universalization, recent efforts to increase the number of ratifications of the Rome Statute by Asian countries, represent a welcome new development.

⇒ Unlike earlier *ad hoc* tribunals (e.g., for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda), it is important to understand that the International Criminal Court is a "court of last resort", based on the principle of "complementarity". It will only step in if national courts are unwilling or unable to conduct fair and effective prosecutions.

⇒ Regrettably, the Working Group felt that the ICC's ability to bring suspects to justice is still too limited. With no arrest power, the ICC is dependent on countries—many of which are not signatories—and regional organizations to turn over suspects when it can be politically dangerous, or when the indicted leader is still in power.

In the **second break-out session**, the Peacebuilding Commission and International Criminal Court Working Group discussed new and innovative reform ideas in connection with the challenges facing both the PBC and ICC and weaknesses in current global responses identified in the morning break-out session, giving particular attention to:

• Relevant reform proposals from recent global and regional initiatives, including the Albright-Gambari Commission and Independent Commission on Multilateralism.

• New ideas for consideration by the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace Report and the UN/World Bank Pathways for Peace Report.

• How to build consensus on and advance a select number of reform proposals.

Discussion Questions:

1) As proposed by the Advisory Group of Experts (AGE), should the PBC advise the Security Council on the peacebuilding dimensions of a peace operation, such as by ensuring that

mandates, benchmarks, and peace operation reviews reflect the requirements for sustaining peace?

2) As recommended by the Albright-Gambari Commission, should the Peacebuilding Commission be upgraded to a new "Council" (replacing the Trusteeship Council) with new coordination, resource mobilization, and prevention authorities (a new "Peacebuilding Audit")?

3) As the Albright-Gambari Commission proposes, should the Security Council support ICC action against perpetrators and adopt a protocol for guiding its referrals to the ICC.

4) What else is missing, and how can consensus/progress be advanced on a few proposals?

***Chief Reform & Innovation Recommendations** (that were further discussed/refined in the subsequent plenary session)*:

- In line with the Global Policy Dialogue Background Brief's Working Group Three Proposal 3 (*Source*: Albright-Gambari Commission): *Create a stronger Peacebuilding Council to replace the Peacebuilding Commission*, the Working Group felt strongly that, similar to the Human Rights Commission's transformation into an empowered Council (with new tools) in 2005/06, it is time for the Peacebuilding Commission to be upgraded into an enhanced Council. **With newly mandated authorities to lead on policy development, coordination, resource mobilization, and prevention in second and third-order conflicts not taken up by the UN Security Council, the new Peacebuilding Council should replace (*de facto* if not *de jure*) the Trusteeship Council, whose work, for all intents and purposes, concluded in 1994 when the island of Palau was taken off of the UN's Trusteeship System.** Especially in light of the difficulties in achieving a more representative UN Security Council, an empowered Peacebuilding Council will allow more capable UN Member States to contribute directly to the UN's primary mission of promoting and safeguarding international peace and security. The upgraded PBC should also establish a new mechanism for more effective civil society engagement, modeled on both the European Union's Civil Society Dialogue Network and the Coalition for the International Criminal Court.

- The Working Group also endorsed the Background Brief's Proposal 4 (*Source*: Albright-Gambari Commission): *Entrust the new Peacebuilding Council with a conflict prevention mandate*. Specifically, participants backed the need for **a new "Peacebuilding Audit" tool, modeled on the Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review** (UPR) instrument for tracking the human rights situation of all UN Member States. Unlike the Background Brief's Proposal 4's suggestion that "[i]n consultation with (and beyond countries currently on the agenda of) the Security Council, both the Peacebuilding Council and the Secretary-General should determine a country's suitability for a peacebuilding audit", the Working Group felt strongly that all countries—similar to the Human Right's Council's UPR—could benefit from having basic early warning indicators monitored on a periodic basis, including through the rigorous work of renowned peacebuilding experts and scholars. This would be consistent with current efforts to track the ten target indicators of all countries progress toward meeting their Sustainable Development Goal #16 commitments.

- Building on the Background Brief's Proposal 6 (*Source*: Albright-Gambari Commission): *Enhance Working Relations between the UN Security Council and International Criminal Court*; and Proposal 7 (*Source*: International Commission on

Multilateralism): *Systematically pursue justice*, the Working Group presented a four-part ICC engagement strategy with intergovernmental organizations, including:

a) **UN Security Council** (strengthening the case for the UNSC to support ICC action against perpetrators, including enforcing ICC arrest warrants through sanctions; and identifying Focal Points within the Secretariat's Security Council Affairs Division to bring to the UNSC's attention regular updates on important ICC matters);
b) **Regional Organizations** (backing up UNSC-led support to ICC action against perpetrators and enforcement of the ICC's Rome Statute, and ensuring coordination with relevant regional court systems);
c) **International Court of Justice** (ensure a proper division of labor between the ICJ and ICC, including in connection, for example, with ICJ Advisory Opinions); and
d) **ICC's Assembly of State Parties (ASP)** (strengthen relations with ICC Member States and facilitate the recruitment of new Member States willing to adopt/ratify the Rome Statute through the annual meeting of the ASP).

- The Working Group also proposed a corresponding three-part International Criminal Court engagement strategy with non-governmental organizations, including:

a) **Knowledge Hubs** (e.g., encouraging working groups of scholars focused on the ICC through existing international and national associations of international law and international relations specialists);
b) **Non-Governmental Advocacy** Organizations (continue to go from "strength-to-strength" in ensuring effective civil society engagement in the work of the ICC through the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, first established in 1994);
c) **Journalists** (ensure a steadier stream of balanced and fact-based news coverage about the ICC through a more aggressive media outreach strategy).

V. Opening Session, Luncheon Keynote, and Special Dinner Panel Discussion on "Women, Peace & Security: *What is the Next Frontier?*"

Opening Session

H.E. Dr. Khalid Fahad Al-Khater, Director of the Policy and Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar:

Growing levels of conflict have made the Middle East the least peaceful region in the world. We are all aware of the cost in lives lost, the impact on the economy, and the lost opportunities. Conflict in the Middle East has a contagion effect for neighboring regions and beyond. Each outbreak of conflict increases the likelihood of further crises. Qatar's attempts to find peaceful resolutions have succeeded in part, but institutions have failed. **A flagrant disregard for international norms appears to have been endorsed by actors both expected and unexpected.** We are witnessing a troubling increase in authoritarianism. By reinforcing authoritarianism, political solutions and willingness to engage with them are found wanting.

In spite of the illegal blockade of Qatar, we continue to espouse peacebuilding and strong relationships. Qatar has worked in the heart of the region to mobilize humanitarian support and to achieve a just peace. Too few resources are being brought to bear on peaceful approaches to international relations. **Peacebuilding cannot occur through the barrel of a gun or by excluding those who have expressed their legitimate rights.** Too many approaches to the region are based on outdated narratives. This is why Qatar is trying to use evidence-based solutions in its engagement with the region. There is no single template for peacebuilding. That being said, every approach to peacebuilding can be improved with a commitment to multilateralism. The Middle East has a great number of women and youth. **Any peacebuilding effort that succeeds will need to have women and youth as a major focus**.

<u>H.E. Hekmat Khalil Karzai, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan</u>

With regard to peacebuilding in Afghanistan, at my earlier research institute (Afghanistan Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies), we tried to build networks and relationships between the different parties. We provided pro-bono legal services and had good relationships with the government, the Taliban, and the general Afghan population. In six years, we had represented 6000 Taliban detainees. In 2013, I joined the political campaign of Dr. Ashraf Ghani and was later offered the position of Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan. In this role, I was the lead negotiator for all peace efforts and instrumental in engaging regional countries. Currently, the United States has made peace in Afghanistan a major priority. Only today, there was a meeting between the Taliban and the United States Government here in Doha.

Peace is possible, but it will take an enormous effort and a recognition of local realities. In Afghanistan after the Bonn Agreement, transitional justice became an extremely important element in ethnic politics. Any efforts to make peace needs to be sensitive to local cultures. Local ownership of issues is essential in order to prevent spoilers. In Afghanistan's Kunar Province, for example, fifty innocent people were killed by a drone strike. The Western powers did not acknowledge the breadth and depth of the tragedy. **Without access to justice, how can these or any other Afghans find lasting peace?** Family mediation is very effective. Culturally sensitive, bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding are key.

Luncheon Keynote

<u>Michèle Griffin, Senior Policy Advisor to UN Secretary-General António Guterres, Executive Office of the Secretary-General, United Nations Secretariat</u>

Keynote Address on "The Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace: Where do we go from here?"

The UN Secretary-General recognizes that the sources of crisis are many and inter-linked. He is urging us to think beyond conflict prevention to crisis prevention more broadly. The costs of failed prevention are unsustainable, in both human and economic terms. Crises spiral and metastasize more rapidly than in the past. Big powers get drawn into conflicts they cannot control. Through Agenda 2030, the Paris Agreement, the Sendai Framework and the Sustaining Peace resolutions. UN Member States have given us a strong mandate to support them in building resilience and tackling risk. The three streams of UN reform (namely, peace and security, development, and management reforms) are now underway. The progress achieved in these reform efforts, thus far, is necessary but not sufficient to tackle today's global

challenges. There remain bigger questions about whether UN governance, structures, and funding are fit for contemporary challenges and the needs of the future.

Although people are questioning multilateralism, the United Nations is needed more than ever. The most pressing global problems are beyond the capacity of any single country to solve alone. The UN machinery may have been devised for one set of problems but it can be used flexibly even for problems we have not foreseen. For example, the international community's Ebola response employed the UN's rapid deployment peacekeeping machinery when the World Health Organization did not have the capacity. This showed the value of a global organization with such a broad span of capacities and mandates, which can be used in innovative ways if its members have the will to do so. The Secretary-General has also placed strong emphasis on working more effectively with local actors, who often have the best solutions to their own problems. However, without adequate funding, the UN will be limited in its ability to convene Member States and function as an effective operational actor in a country or region in crisis.

Special Dinner Panel Discussion on "Women, Peace & Security: What is the Next Frontier?

<u>Professor Reem Al-Ansari, Qatar University School of Law; Ms. Raghad Al-Saadi, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-Turkey; Ms. Ellen Laipson, Director of the Center of Security Policy Studies, George Mason University; Ms. Reem Al-Forassy, Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies; and Professor Sultan Barakat, Director of the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (moderator)</u>

Despite recent advances for women in connection with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace & Security, the structural characteristics of many wars continue to inhibit a meaningful role for women in peace negotiations. Separately, but equally important, is the need to protect women as civilians, who are often subjected to unspeakable atrocities and harassment during a violent conflict. Among other issues, the panel discussed the benefits of "mainstreaming women's issues", versus measures such as quota systems, which in the case of Iraq had the unintended consequence of elevating women in the public service with connections to powerful men (rather than a system based on merit). **Fortunately, we are beginning to witness a paradigm shift, where women are increasingly being empowered as present and future leaders** (with the full support of their families in a growing number of societies). Women's dangers and hardships suffered in conflict situations are also starting to be better appreciated, and new technologies are under development to promote and empower women in high-risk environments.

Yemen, as a society, highly respects its women and holds them in high status. Yet their high status has not translated into high investments in women and achieving a prominent role for them in civil life. On the whole, they are still considered dependent individuals, incapable of managing their lives let alone managing societal disputes. **Still, and somewhat surprisingly, war has empowered women in Yemen economically, socially, and politically.** In 2014, one survey found that Yemen had only 1000 NGOs; recently, the Capital Secretariat announced 5000 NGOs in Yemen today, with the majority managed by women. Women are now able to (more easily than men) move between governorates to implement projects, viewed by conflicting parties as peaceful citizens. However, this could only represent "temporary empowerment." Mindsets and power structures are still the same in Yemen. As a result, greater emphasis should be placed on endorsing the constitutional reforms issued in the

country's 2015 National Dialogue that **ensures women equal rights with their male counterparts**.

VI. Way Forward: Advancing Recommendations on the Road to 2020 (UN 75)

Multilateralism is in crisis, and geopolitical tensions are on the rise. On the road to reform in the run-up to the 75th anniversary of the United Nations in 2020, which will represent a starting point for global governance transformation, the concluding plenary session underscored two new global network opportunities for sustained civic engagement: **Together First: A Global System that Works for All** and the **UN 2020 Initiative**. Together First (launched at the Paris Peace Forum in November 2018) is a global movement that is campaigning for a multi-stakeholder summit in September 2020 to mark this occasion to discuss, adopt, and initiate the reforms we urgently need and to unite around a shared vision for the future. Together First goes the extra mile to reach out to different stakeholders and the business community, and it will soon initiate a series of "Risk Commissions" on global governance renewal and maintain a living website where people can exchange ideas, make connections, and work for positive global change (*see Annex C below for further details*).

Similarly, the UN2020 Initiative (started in 2016, following the March 2016 University of Ottawa Conference "Global Governance in the 21st Century") calls for effective and inclusive preparatory processes—at national, regional, and global levels—for a UN2020 summit that will be a catalyst for a renewed, innovative and reformed United Nations system, capable of addressing the global challenges of the 21st Century. At the Doha Forum (15-16 December 2018), a UN2020 letter was presented to the President of the UN General Assembly, María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés, stressing the importance of a **complementary bottom-up consultative approach (involving communities and local stakeholders), alongside more traditional, top-down intergovernmental consultations** in the period leading to the expected September 2020 Leaders' Summit.

During the Global Policy Dialogue on Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance's concluding plenary discussion, **participants considered concrete ways to work together informally on specific actions, for the period 2019-2020, in the run-up to the expected UN Leaders' Summit in New York**—timed to coincide with the UN's 75th anniversary commemoration. Examples of actions discussed that could be undertaken collectively include:

⇒ **Social media** (including an interactive, multi-lingual web platform that showcases, for example, public campaigning tools, information on network partner institutions, and global public and expert e-consultations) and in-person public awareness-raising activities and social mobilization campaigns.

⇒ **Regular public outreach** through television, radio, print media, and social media.

⇒ **Op-eds**, substantive policy reports, and public speaking.

⇒ **Direct outreach** to government, business, civil society, and international organization leaders, including UN Mission, G20, & regional organization member state consultations.

⇒ A specialized **"Youth Engagement Track"** to target and harness the talents and idealism of students and young professionals.

⇒ Support for the **UN 2020 Initiative, Together First, and Global Town Halls** designed to engage citizens and their civic organizations in ensuring that the United Nations' Leaders' Summit in September 2020 New York focuses on critical new tools, networks, norms, and institutional reforms for improved global governance to meet the challenges of growing mass violence, runaway climate changes, and cross-border economic shocks.

The Global Policy Dialogue participants also learned in the concluding plenary session about a new **Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform** (*see Annex E* and http://www.globalsecurityjusticegovernance.org/), which constitutes a diverse, global multi-stakeholder knowledge network to advance progressive global governance innovation and renewal. It will house up-to-date policy research, including related to the **UN Secretary-General's current reform efforts** (*see Annex F*), and read-outs from consultations worldwide feeding into the expected September 2020 UN Leaders' Summit, such as this Action Plan.

Any signs and appearances to the contrary (including from the Brexit referendum in the UK and rise of populist forces elsewhere), people around the world are not rejecting democratic institutions or contemporary forms of global and regional governance. Rather, they are decrying the uncertainties caused by fast moving technological advances, coupled with rapid demographic shifts. 2020 is fast approaching, and not all of the reforms proposed in this Action Plan need to achieve the same level of progress at the same speed. To start with, regions, such as the Greater Middle East, must be fully engaged in this global reform and modernization effort. **The United Nations represents a visionary idea that is more than a specific set of institutions, so it can surely be reimagined.** In the years ahead, we must act collectively for a united purpose.

Annexes

Annex A: Global Policy Dialogue Agenda

**Global Policy Dialogue on
"Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance"**

*Contributing multi-stakeholder perspectives on the
Road to the 2020 United Nations Summit (UN 75)*

Monday, 17 December 2018 at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies

Co-Sponsors: The Stimson Center, the Doha Forum, and the Center for Conflict and
Humanitarian Studies at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies

Program (*The meeting will employ the not-for-attribution Chatham House Rule.*)

8:00am: Departure from Doha Sheraton Hotel

8:30am: Check-in, Continental Breakfast

9:00 am: Welcome by Co-Conveners (including welcome remarks by H.E. Alya Ahmed bin
Saif Al-Thani, Permanent Representative of the State of Qatar to the United Nations, and
H.E. Dr. Khalid Fahad Al-Khater, Director of the Policy and Planning Department, Ministry
of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar)

9:25 am: Introductions by Participants

9:35 am: Program / Methodology introduced by the Facilitating Partners

9:40 am: Small Group Discussion I: *Three Working Groups*:
- Red Dot (Room X) i. Responsibility to Protect, including Prevention, Rebuilding, and
  Mitigating the Norm's Abuse
- Blue Dot (Room X) ii. Post-Conflict Peacebuilding, Peacekeeping, Transitional
  Justice & Rule of Law Promotion
- Green Dot (Room X) iii. Reform and Strengthening of the Peacebuilding Commission
  and International Criminal Court.

11:00 am: coffee/tea

11:15 am: Small Groups Report Back and Discussion

12:15 Luncheon (*until 1:00 pm*) and Keynote Address on "The Secretary-General's Report
on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace: Where do we go from here?" by Michèle Griffin,
Senior Policy Advisor to UN Secretary-General António Guterres, Executive Office of the
Secretary-General, United Nations Secretariat

2:00 pm: Small Groups Discussion II. Groups will discuss reform innovation ideas for their
same group's topic from the morning, with particular attention given to:

18

- Relevant reform proposals from recent global and regional reform initiatives, incl. the Albright-Gambari Commission and Independent Commission on Multilateralism.
- New ideas for consideration by the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace Report and the UN/World Bank Pathways for Peace Report.
- How to build consensus on and advance a select number of reform proposals.

3:30 pm: coffee/tea

3:45 pm: Small Groups Report Back and Discussion

5:00 pm: Way Forward: Concluding plenary discussion on specific actions for advancing a reform agenda on "Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance"

- How can current global governance reform efforts be strengthened through enhanced global multi-stakeholder partnerships (e.g., through new coalition-building efforts, such as the *UN2020 Initiative & Together First: A Global System that Works for All*)?
- How should the expected Leaders' Summit at UN Headquarters in September 2020 and its preparatory process be organized to maximize the substantive contributions of the largest number of well-informed state and non-state actors? What lessons can be adapted from the Post-2015 Development Agenda (SDGs), the 2015 Paris COP (UNFCCC), and other major multilateral forums and agreements in recent years?
- Toward which reform proposals from this Global Policy Dialogue on Preventive Action, Sustaining Peace, and Global Governance could the new "Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance" best amplify and encourage deliberation by 2020?
- How can efforts focused on preventive action and sustaining peace be linked closely to broader global governance reform initiatives and generate mutual benefits?
- How can global and regional support be strengthened and sustained for the recommendations of the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace Report and the UN/World Bank Pathways for Peace Report?
- What specific activities should have highest priority and be undertaken by whom (e.g., within the proposed global network/platform)? How should the network/platform be structured (e.g., as a basic, on-line knowledge platform in support of global civil-society driven coalition-building efforts, such as the *UN2020 Initiative* and *Together First*)?

5:45 pm: Summary and Concluding Remarks by the Co-Conveners

6:00 pm: Reception at the Guest House Villa

7:00 PM: Dinner with a special moderated panel discussion on "Women, Peace & Security: *What is the Next Frontier?*" with Professor Reem Al-Ansari, Qatar University School of Law; Ms. Raghad Al-Saadi, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-Turkey; Ms. Ellen Laipson, Director of the Center of Security Policy Studies, George Mason University; Ms. Reem Al-Forassy, Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies; and Professor Sultan Barakat, Director of the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (moderator)

9:00pm: Departure to Doha Sheraton Hotel

Annex B: Participants

1. Adriana Erthal Abdenur, PhD, Coordinator of the Peace & Security Division, Instituto Igarapé (Rio de Janeiro)

2. Reem Al-Ansari, Professor of Law, Qatar University College of Law

3. Reem Al-Forassy, Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, The Doha Institute for Graduate Studies

4. Khalid Fahad Al-Khater, PhD, Director, Policy and Planning Department, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar

5. Ghanim Al-Najjar, Professor/Non-Resident Scholar, Kuwait University/Carnegie Middle East Center

6. Fadi Abi Allam, President and Executive-Director, Permanent Peace Movement, Lebanon

7. Raghad Al-Saadi, Principal, Polar Lights Prime and former Humanitarian Access Officer, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (Turkey)

8. Mahad Awale, Country Director for Somalia, One Earth Future

9. John Akel Ballout Jr., Ambassador of Liberia to Qatar

10. Sultan Barakat, Director/Professor, Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and University of York

11. Neven Bondokji, Senior Researcher, West Asia North Africa (WANA) Institute

12. Richard Caplan, Professor, Centre for International Studies, Oxford University

13. Mark Evans, Director, Democracy 2025 Initiative and Professor, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

14. Michèle Griffin, Policy Adviser, Executive Office of the Secretary-General, United Nations

15. Humayun Hamidzada, Director, Afghanistan Peace Research Project, York University Centre for Asian Research (Toronto)

16. Marwan J. Kabalan, Head of Policy Analysis, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies

17. Hekmat Khalil Karzai, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Kabul)

18. Ahmed Labnouj, Head of MENA Programs, Interpeace (Tripoli)

19. Ellen Laipson, President Emeritus of The Stimson Center and Director, Center for Security Policy Studies, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University

20. Joris Larik, Assistant Professor, Leiden University and Senior Researcher, Just Security 2020 Program, The Stimson Center

21. Michael Liu, Founder and Executive-Director, Chinese Initiative on International Law (Beijing and The Hague)

22. Tarek Megerisi, Political Analyst and Researcher, European Council on Foreign Relations

23. Abdulfatah Mohamed, Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar

24. Aziza Mohammed, Consultant, Just Security 2020 Program, The Stimson Center

25. Leila Nicolas, Associate Professor, Lebanese University and MENA Expert

26. Ewa Polano, Ambassador of Sweden to Qatar

27. Richard Ponzio, Director of the Just Security 2020 Program and Senior Fellow, The Stimson Center

28. Saji Prelis, Director, Children & Youth Programs, Search for Common Ground (Doha)

29. Brittany Roser, Program Officer, International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (New York)

30. Muhammed Yasir Saleti, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (Turkey)

31. Salman Shaikh, Founder and CEO, The Shaikh Group and former senior United Nations official

32. Leonhard Simon, Project Manager, Munich Security Conference Foundation

33. Darynell Rodriguez Torres, Executive Director, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (The Hague)

34. Boyoung Yeom, Representative, Embassy of Korea, Korean Foreign Ministry

35. Professor Beverley Milton-Edwards, Queens University (Belfast)

36. Radwan Ziadeh, Director, Damascus Center for Human Rights Studies in Syria

TOGETHER FIRST

A GLOBAL SYSTEM THAT WORKS FOR ALL

SHARED PROBLEMS

From climate change to nuclear weapons, cybercrime to terrorism, the risks we face cross national borders. Our solutions must be global. How do we build a global system that works for us all? And how can we ensure that everyone is part of that conversation?

SHARED SOLUTIONS

Together First will launch a multi-stakeholder agenda for dealing with the risks that humanity faces. Our interactive web portal will:

- Identify workable ways to address global risks and enable the whole world to join the conversation
- Prioritise the leading ideas to produce a 'to-do' list for the international community
- Mobilise individuals, NGOs, states and businesses to make these solutions a reality

COUTNDOWN TO 2020 – OUR OPPORTUNITY TO ACT

The UN's 75th anniversary in 2020 must be the starting point of a global governance transformation. **Together First** is campaigning for states, civil society and business to mark this occasion with a world summit – to discuss, adopt and initiate the reforms we urgently need, and to unite around a shared vision for the future.

TOGETHER FIRST

A GLOBAL SYSTEM THAT WORKS FOR ALL

WHO WE ARE

Together First is a movement of global citizens, coordinated by a network of over 100 experts, practitioners, civil society activists and business leaders from all regions of the world. We are committed to making the best ideas for global governance a reality. In 2019, we will launch a series of multi-stakeholder risk commissions to identify, refine and prioritize actions to address the most pressing challenges we face, and to produce a priority agenda for world leaders to take forward in 2020 and beyond.

GET INVOLVED

We are actively looking for partners and donors. To find out more and to sign up, visit
www.together1st.org

We are grateful for the support of the Global Challenges Foundation

Annex D: UN 2020 Initiative

The Crisis in Multilateralism and the Road to 2020

As many world leaders and other commentators have noted, multilateralism - the idea of addressing global problems through greater international cooperation - is in crisis. At this September's opening of the 73rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary-General António Guterres warned that the UN "is under fire precisely when we need it most." The President of the General Assembly, Ecuador's María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés, also stressed that multilateralism "is the only possible response to the global challenges we face."

The year 2020 will mark the 75th anniversary of the United Nations. It will also be the occasion for several multi-year reviews of major treaties and processes, and a time to take stock of the UN's role in the world. Support is growing for using the occasion of the UN's 75th anniversary to develop potential synergies among these high-level reviews, and to develop progressive improvements to global institutions and policy.

The President of the General Assembly and Member States must develop formal processes during the 73rd session of the United Nations that will ensure a successful 2020 Summit and initiate effective measures to strengthen the organization.

The UN2020 Project was initiated by a coordinating group of civil society representatives including CIVICUS, The Stimson Center, The Workable World Trust, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (New York) and the World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy. The group is consulting actively with government representatives, UN officials and other stakeholders.

Annex E: Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform
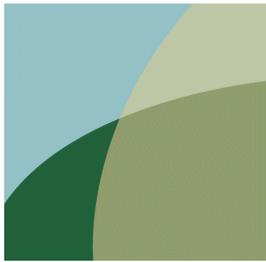
*Launched on Armistice Day (November 11, 2018) at the inaugural **Paris Peace Forum***

Please visit (and register for future updates) here:
www.globalsecurityjusticegovernance.org

The Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform is an initiative of the Stimson Center's Just Security 2020 Program. In seeking to advance the recommendations of the Albright-Gambari Commission on Global Security, Justice & Governance, Just Security 2020 aims to build a more capable United Nations and other global institutions to better cope with existing and new global challenges, in the face of growing mass violence in fragile states, the threat of runaway climate change, and fears of devastating cross-border economic shocks and cyber-attacks. Effective problem solving requires both global collaboration and attention to serious deficits of justice as well as security, to create what we call "just security." The program gives particular attention to initiating and influencing preparations for a Leaders Summit in September 2020 in New York on United Nations renewal, innovation, and reform (visit: http://un2020.org/).

From 2014 through 2016, the Stimson Center, in collaboration with partner institutions from around the world, led a program of research and advocacy designed to jumpstart discussion and development of the tools and reforms needed to build more effective and legitimate responses to global governance problems of the 21st century. The initial launch of the Commission's Report "Confronting the Crisis of Global Governance", on June 16, 2015 at the Peace Palace in The Hague, generated extensive international media coverage. The subsequent United Nations Headquarters launch was keynoted by UN Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson, followed by similar pubic events in Abuja, London, Ottawa, Tokyo, and elsewhere.

Since April 2016, the goals of the Stimson Center's Just Security 2020 program are to:

1) convene global policy dialogues to promote consensus on priority global governance reform innovations in the areas of peacebuilding and conflict management, climate governance, and global cyber-economic management;

2) conduct research, policy analysis, and outreach to refresh and refine the findings and recommendations of the Albright-Gambari Commission and pair them with other global governance renewal and reform innovations; and

3) develop a Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform to promote results of the project's research, coalition-building, and advocacy agenda.

In June 2016, an inaugural global policy dialogue on Coping with Violent Conflict & State Fragility was held at the United Nations with Professor Ibrahim Gambari on the one-year anniversary of the Commission's Report, in cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Mission of the United Arab Emirates to the UN. In July 2017, a second global policy dialogue on the United Nations' Sustaining Peace Agenda was convened in New York with the participation of twenty UN Missions and the Office of the President of the UN General Assembly, in cooperation with the Mission of Qatar to the UN and the Savannah Center for Diplomacy, Democracy, and Development (Abuja). In addition, a peacebuilding experts dialogue was co-convened by the Stimson Center and Alliance for Peacebuilding in December 2017 in Washington, D.C. to feed ideas into the April 2018 UN High-Level Meeting on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace, alongside eight other public events on sustaining peace and global governance reform convened at the Stimson Center between 2016 and 2018.

Research from leading international scholars for the Albright-Gambari Commission was updated, in 2018, in *Just Security in an Undergoverned World*, published by Oxford University Press, which features a Foreword by Secretary Madeleine Albright and Professor Ibrahim Gambari. This companion volume to the Albright-Gambari Commission report was undertaken to further inform evidence-based and forward-looking discussions on improving global institutions, examined through a unique "just security" conceptual framework.

Global policy dialogues are now under preparation on the themes of preventive action, sustaining peace,

Figure depicting "Intersections of Security and Justice with Multilevel Governance." *Source:* William Durch, Joris Larik, and Richard Ponzio, 'The Intersection of Security and Justice in Global Governance: A Conceptual Framework" in William Durch, Joris Larik, and Richard Ponzio (eds.), *Just Security in an Undergoverned World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 25.

and global governance in Doha, Qatar (December 2018), on global security, justice, and economic institutions in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. (June 2019), and on climate governance in Seoul, South Korea (November 2019). These forums will feed into the new Platform on Global Security, Justice & Governance Reform, which constitutes a diverse, global multi-stakeholder knowledge network to advance progressive global governance innovation and renewal. Example activities to be undertaken by the Platform include:

➢ Employing social media (including an interactive web platform that showcases, for example, public campaigning tools, information on network partner institutions, and global public and expert e-consultations) and social mobilization campaigns.

➢ Conducting regular public outreach through television, radio, and print media.

➢ Directing outreach to government, business, and international organization leaders, including UN Mission, G20 country, and regional organization member state consultations and discussions with UN Secretary-General António Guterres and his team.

➢ Initiating a specialized "Youth Engagement Track" to target and harness the talents and idealism of students and young professionals.

➢ Supporting closely related initiatives, including Together First, UN2020, the Campaign for a UN Parliamentary Assembly, 1 for 7 Billion, and the Global Town Halls Project.

http://www.globalsecurityjusticegovernance.org/
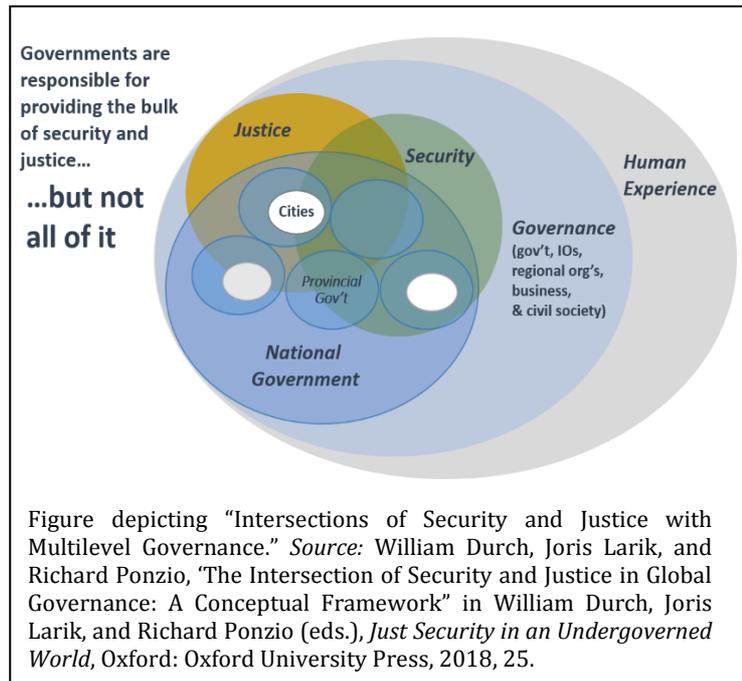
Annex F: Secretary-General's Proposals to Reform the United Nations

Reform of the United Nations Development System
- 1st Report of the Secretary-General: Repositioning the United Nations development system to deliver on the 2030 Agenda: ensuring a better future for all: A/72/124 - E/2018/3
- 2nd Report of the Secretary-General: Repositioning the United Nations development system to deliver on the 2030 Agenda: our promise for dignity, prosperity and peace on a healthy planet: A/72/684-E/2018/7
- Remarks of the Secretary-General on Repositioning of the UN Development System, in the Context of the Quadrennial Comprehensive Policy Review of Operational Activities for Development
- Explanatory Notes
  - A new generation of UN Country Teams
  - The reinvigorated Resident Coordinator system
  - Enhanced Resident Coordinator offices
  - Common business services and back-office functions and enhanced UN-DOCO
  - UN inter-agency Pooled Funds
  - A reinvigorated ECOSOC Operational Activities Segment
  - A Joint Board of NYC-based funds and programmes
- Revised draft: General Assembly resolution on the repositioning of the UN development system, in the context of the Quadrennial Comprehensive Policy Review

Reform of the Management of the United Nations
- Report of the Secretary-General: Shifting the management paradigm in the United Nations: ensuring a better future for all A/72/492 & improving and streamlining the programme planning and budgeting process A/72/492/Add.1
- Remarks of the Secretary-General introducing his management reform proposals to the General Assembly Fifth Committee
- General Assembly resolution 72/266 'Shifting the management paradigm in the United Nations'
- Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on the proposed programme budget for the biennium 2018–2019 A/72/7/Add.24
- Proposed revisions to the Regulations and Rules Governing Programme Planning, the Programme Aspects of the Budget, the Monitoring of Implementation and the Methods of Evaluation (article VII and annex) A/72/73/Rev.1
- Limited budgetary discretion A/72/497
- Review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations A/72/682

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- Report of the Secretary-General: Restructuring of the United Nations peace and security pillar A/72/525
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- Remarks of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly introducing his report on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace

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- United Nations System-wide Strategy on Gender Parity
- Secretary-General's Bulletin: Protection against retaliation for reporting misconduct and for cooperating with duly authorized audits or investigations ST/SGB/2017/2
- Report of the Secretary-General: Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse : a new approach A/71/818 + Corr.1 + Add.1
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