# **PEACE MEDIATION**



**FINLAND'S GUIDELINES** 





#### Increase the Peace!

To stand out from the crowd a small nation needs to be creative. A high-profile and transparent foreign policy as well as close personal contacts in the international arena are invaluable.

Globally, Finland is known to be a reliable, constructive and credible partner. We recognise trends in their early stages – both positive developments and budding conflicts. Luckily, we are also often able to come up with good proposals.

Civilian crisis management is a good example of a Finnish 'best-selling product', as it has become an established practice in the post-conflict reconstruction efforts of international organisations. Moreover, crisis management-related training – both civilian and military – has grown to be one of our national brands.

Peace mediation is a vital element of international crisis management - creating a better world through mediation, negotiations and trust building between parties to a conflict.

The Finnish tradition of mediation goes back years. And there's proof to show for it. President Martti Ahtisaari's remarkable life's work and the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to him in recognition of it have given worldwide exposure to Finland's actions.

This report, compiled by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, illustrates the operating environments and means of international peace mediation in which Finland can strengthen its role. We must have ambitious goals, such as to portray Finland as a great power in peace mediation.

The work of President Ahtisaari needs to be carried on!

Alexander Stubb

Minister for Foreign Affairs

Allen Stubb

# Contents

Peace mediation can increase Finland's clout	7
The mediator brings together, averts and alleviates	8
The UN is a veteran in peace mediation	9
The EU is expanding its own mediation activity	10
Smaller organisations and states also participate in the work	11
Finland can draw on its long experience	<i>12</i>
A window of opportunity is open to Finland	14
Finland strengthens its own peace mediation capacity	<i>15</i>
Finland develops international peace mediation	16
Finland participates in international peace mediation	<i>17</i>

#### Peace mediation can increase Finland's clout

Mr Pekka Haavisto, EU Special Representative for Sudan in the Darfur peace negotiations in 2005-07. Photo: Jussi Ojala



This Foreign Ministry report was commissioned by Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Stubb and prepared in consultation with President Martti Ahtisaari. Many Finnish experts in the field contributed to this work.

#### The report is based on two premises:

- Peace mediation strengthens Finland's input in comprehensive crisis management and prevention of conflicts.
- Relying on its historical experience and expertise, Finland can increase its clout through peace mediation.

The report builds on an effort to launch a debate on the practical means for strengthening Finland's prospects in supporting conflict solution and by doing so to reinforce Finland's foreign policy profile.

The report's recommendations relate to three areas of activity: how to strengthen Finland's own peace mediation capacity; how Finland can help improve international peace mediation structures; and how Finland will directly participate in peace mediation.

### The mediator brings together, averts and alleviates

Peace mediation is about bringing two or more parties together. Its goal is to either prevent a conflict or to solve a violent conflict through negotiations. For the most part, peace mediation refers to a neutral actor 'steering' the process in the right direction.

Peace mediation is the first step on the road to reconciliation. It affects the deep, underlying causes of the conflict and paves the way for long-term support in creating political, economic and social institutions.

Peace mediation augments the range of instruments used in Finland's comprehensive crisis management efforts and development policy.

At its best, peace mediation can prevent conflicts. Well-timed peace mediation may reduce the total cost of post-conflict reconstruction.

Furthermore, peace mediation may end or limit a conflict and its destruction as well as curb and alleviate problems related to refugees and human suffering.

The United Nations, regional organisations, a growing number of individual states and many non-governmental organisations invest heavily in improving peace mediation activities.

Mr Harri Holkeri, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), reporting to the UN Security Council in 2003. UN Photo / Mark Garten



## The UN is a veteran in peace mediation

UN peace mediation can be launched on a Security Council mandate or on the UN Secretary-General's initiative for providing good offices.

The further development of UN peace mediation capabilities was endorsed by the 2005 World Summit. As a result, the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) was established within the UN Secretariat's Department of Political Affairs. The MSU plans, develops and implements UN peace mediation activities. It also manages an on-call Standby Team which can be deployed to a crisis area on short notice.

In 2009, the UN was involved in carrying out mediation activities in 26 crises, ranging from traditional peace mediation (e.g. Cyprus, Western Sahara and Sudan) to internal conflicts (e.g. Guinea and Kenya) or regional disputes regarding natural resources (Central Asia).

Regional organisations and the European Union have expressed interest in UN expertise as regards developing their own peace mediation structures.

In 2009, Finland financed the Mediation Support Unit with USD 200,000.

The OSCE's Chairman-in-Office in 2008, Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Stubb, reporting to the UN Security Council on OSCE-EU cooperation. UN Photo / Devra Berkowitz



### The EU is expanding its own mediation activity

The European Union is in the process of building up its peace mediation capacity. The Concept on Strengthening EU Mediation and Dialogue Capacities was adopted in November 2009. It was prepared on the basis of the European Security Strategy (2003, 2008) and is built on the EU's existing structures. For example, the EU's special representatives play an important role in mediation.

The EU, as a global actor in peace mediation, has access to the various instruments of preventive action: political, diplomatic, civilian and military crisis management as well as trade and development. The EU's major political and economic influence, the comprehensive approach as well as its extensive presence on the ground advance the possibilities for expeditious action.

The EU places emphasis on peace mediation training and hopes to be able to compile a roster of experts ready for mediation processes. The EU aims to develop a more systematic approach to collecting and analysing peace mediation expertise. In all this, the Union closely cooperates with international partners. The EU has established an Informal Mediation Support Group (MSG) that plays a key role in the EU's mediation activities and related networking.

Finland has actively participated in the EU debate concerning the development of peace mediation. Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), a Finnish NGO, has had a central role in launching and supporting the EU's peace mediation development.

A new approach to building the EU common foreign policy was taken in the winter of 2010 when seven Foreign Ministers and Catherine Ashton, the new EU High Representative, met at Saariselkä skiing resort without restrictive schedules. Photo: Eero Kuosmanen



### Smaller organisations and states also participate in the work

President of the Republic Tarja Halonen visited a Finn Church Aid location while attending a conference of women leaders, organised in Liberia in 2009. Photo: Antti Aimo-Koivisto / Lehtikuva



International organisations are also active in the field of peace mediation. In addition to the largest organisations, such as the UN, the EU and the African Union, also the Commonwealth Secretariat as well as certain regional or specialised organisations, such as the Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development in Eastern Africa (IGAD) and the Organization of American States (OAS) are interested in improving their peace mediation capabilities.

Most EU Member State foreign ministries have a unit or person that monitors and coordinates mediation-related activities.

In Europe , active peace mediators have represented the governments of, for example, Austria, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden and Turkey.

There are many successful mediating organisations among NGOs, such as Accord, CMI, Henri Dunant Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, The Carter Center, Kofi Annan Foundation and Swisspeace.

### Finland can draw on its long experience

A large number of Finns, from Sakari Tuomioja to Martti Ahtisaari, have worked in high-level peace mediation assignments. Other renowned Finnish actors in peace mediation include Harri Holkeri, Elisabeth Rehn, Helena Ranta and Pär Stenbäck

President Ahtisaari was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2008 largely in recognition of his achievements in UN mediation. This recognition significantly strengthened Finland's reputation as a country supporting peace mediation.

The Finnish CMI is one of the internationally recognised NGOs engaged in mediation. Finn Church Aid, too, has extensive experience in peace mediation.

In recent years, Finland has participated in peace mediation through the Foreign Service by supporting, among other things, President Ahtisaari's involvement in the Aceh peace process as well as the efforts of CMI to create rapprochement between parties to the conflict in Iraq.

As the OSCE's Chairman-in-Office in 2008, Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Stubb mediated the crisis in Georgia.

MP Pekka Haavisto, as well as Ambassador Heikki Talvitie have acted as EU Special Representatives.

Ambassador Antti Turunen's appointment as the new UN Representative for Georgia as well as MP Pekka Haavisto's assignment as the Foreign Minister's Special Representative to African crisis areas are the most recent indications of Finnish interest in peace mediation.

Finland has extensively supported peace mediation or related activities through development assistance appropriations. Recent examples of this support include:

- The African Union's peace mediation structures (EUR 3 million)
- The peace process in Nepal (EUR 3 million)
- The Conflict Prevention Network of NGOs in East Timor (EUR 175,000)
- Conflict prevention in Central Asia (EUR 150,000)
- Collaborative Prevention and Crisis management in West Africa (EUR 400.000)
- The UN Peacebuilding Fund (EUR 2,000,000)

UN Secretary General U Thant called Sakari Tuomioja as the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General to mediate the conflict in Cyprus in 1963. Photo: Lehtikuva



Finland has also sustained peacebuilding through NGOs. As one of the international NGOs supported, the International Crisis Group's Africa Program received EUR 1,250,000.

In 2010, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs will support CMI by EUR 1.5 million which is to be mainly channelled to peace mediation.

In addition, EUR 400,000 from the total appropriation (over EUR 18 million) reserved for the budget allocation table for civilian crisis management is earmarked for the expenditure item of peace mediation in the Foreign Ministry's 2010 budget.

In all, Finland has annually supported peace mediation with several million euros. In comparison, Switzerland's peace mediation budget is EUR 42.5 million (2010), Norway's EUR 90 million (2009) and Ireland's EUR 715,000 (2009), respectively.

This being the case, peace mediation is one of Finland's potential strengths in comprehensive crisis management. If peace mediation were to be systematically developed, it could become a niche capability for Finland, i.e. a natural task which would fortify Finland's international image.

### A window of opportunity is open to Finland

The renewed international interest in peace mediation and Finnish expertise must be brought together. By making the most of this window of opportunity, Finland will participate in the resolution of international conflicts, and simultaneously reinforce its international role.

By relying on its history and expertise, Finland has every chance of success in developing its profile in the vanguard of peace mediation. This will require consistency and commitment from the Finnish Government. Obviously, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs will have to weigh the strengthening of national peace mediation structures against generally available resources, including the pressure to reduce the size of the Foreign Service.

Finland's systematic support given to UN peace mediation, as well as the positive image this creates, will also support Finland's campaign for membership in the UN Security Council for the period 2013-14.

The following is a list of measures that can strengthen Finland's role as a peace mediator. The recommendations have been divided into three groups: domestic structures, international action and Finnish mediation.

The village elder and the school principal were present when Finnish peacekeepers distributed school supplies to pupils in Afghanistan. Photo: Heikki Saukkomaa / Lehtikuva



### Finland strengthens its own peace mediation capacity

Coordination, monitoring and planning of mediation must be anchored as a cross-cutting element in the activity of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and its missions. Coordination at a sufficiently high level, such as the ambassadorial level, strengthens the national unity of mediation as well as conduct in the international arena. The promotion of peace mediation requires resources which must be on a sustainable and predictable basis. At present, mediation is being financed from several budget items. In practice, funding requirements can be divided into two categories:

- Short-term funding that supports peace mediation and peace processes, but does not necessarily meet the requirements of the OECD's official development assistance, i.e. ODA eligibility. For this purpose, flexibly disbursable 'rapid reaction funds' must be readily available.
- Predictable, long-term funding that is consistent with the principles of development policy. This can entail, for example, financing for international organisations or certain peace processes, which can be disbursed from ODA-funds. This kind of practice is not only in line with the Government's Development Policy Programme (2007) that underscores the interlinkage between development and security; it also follows the Foreign Ministry's guideline entitled Development and Security in Finland's Development Policy. Activity is already quite diverse but can always be improved.

As part of developing its national capacity, Finland must seek partnerships with the 'great powers' of mediation e.g.: Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

In efforts to improve the exchange of information and coordination related to Finland's peace mediation, the activities of the intersectoral security and development working group that is coordinated by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs can be useful; access can be provided to other representatives of the government as well as researchers and NGOs.

In addition to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, different actors in the civil society are also involved in mediation as planners and implementers.

In order to safeguard the continuance and competence of Finnish peace mediation, more research and training is required. It must also be regularly provided to national focus groups. International partnerships can be very useful in this.

A network of Finnish experts ready for mediation processes will be set up, which can also be used to serve the needs of international organisations.

## Finland develops international peace mediation

In addition to the UN, the EU and its peace mediation comprises the key frame of reference for Finnish peace mediation. Finland will continue to invest in the promotion of the EU's peace mediation capacities and development.

The mediation structures of regional and other organisations will be strengthened in accordance with the example of the Africa/Accord/CMI project that Finland already finances.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs seeks to place peace mediation experts to positions in international organisations. Expert and junior professional officer tasks in the UN Headquarters and in the field are examples of such assignments. Finnish candidates are encouraged to apply to serve as EU special representatives. In addition, positions related to peace mediation in the European External Action Service are being sought.

CMI's competence will be utilised in developing the mediation structures of international organisations.

Pursuant to UN Resolutions 1325, 1820 and 1888, Finland supports a more visible role for female mediators, and women's participation in peace processes.

The status of women and children in peace mediation is emphasised. It must be ensured that the peace mediation processes in which Finland participates can tap into practical expertise and that women's expertise in post-conflict peacebuilding processes, often already available in conflict areas, is utilised.

The possibility of developing peace mediation as part of solving conflicts related to natural resources will be studied.

Twenty cars full of international reporters followed Elisabeth Rehn, UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights, on her trip to Bosnia in the winter of 1996. Photo: Martti Kainulainen / Lehtikuva



### Finland participates in international peace mediation

Finland provides direct diplomatic, expert or technical support to ongoing peace processes. This can be done in direct contact with the parties to the conflict or, for example, through a regional organisation or NGO.

Finland supports the efforts of the EU's High Representative in advancing selected peace processes.

Finland provides good services by hosting official or so-called 'track two' negotiations between the parties to a conflict, either in the region or in Finland. Models of this include, for example, the Iraq talks in 2008 which CMI arranged with the Foreign Ministry's support in Finland; Austria's efforts in the Western Sahara process in 2009; or the Turkish-Armenian agreement facilitated by Switzerland in 2009.

The parties to the peace process will be prepared for the negotiations by providing thematic or negotiation training. Furthermore, relevant models as solutions, such as the self-government of the Åland Islands, will be discussed. This aims at creating a structure for the negotiations as well as realistic expectations for the parties.

There is plenty of room in the sphere of peace mediation for different actors: states, international organisations, NGOs and

individuals. Cooperation between the parties is important and state support for the other actors is needed. In order to improve the coordination and dialogue among key actors, i.e. governments and organisations, a group of friends of mediation could be convened.

Mr Antti Turunen, Finland's Ambassador to the OSCE and the present UN Representative for Georgia, gives a statement to the media during the crisis in Georgia in 2008. Photo: OSCE









#### MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FINLAND

Peace Mediation – Finland's Guidelines ISBN 978-951-724-831-0 978-951-724-832-7 (PDF) Layout and design: Ari Selonen Printed at Libris Oy, Helsinki, Finland 2010



