

# Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN - An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR) Training Series:

1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators

## *Documentation Report*

21-22 February 2019 | Makati, Philippines



**Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN –  
An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR) Training Series:**

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## I. Executive Summary

The Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN – An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR) Training Series — 1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators was conducted on 21-22 February 2019 at Makati City, Philippines.

It is the first in a series of trainings that aims to provide a venue where lessons and experiences on peace-building, negotiations, mediation, and reconciliation programs can be discussed, evaluated, and learned from. The training was co-organized by the Department of Foreign Affairs' Permanent Mission of the Philippines to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Philippine Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), and the Ateneo de Manila University through its Initiative for Southeast Asian Studies. It was attended by over 100 participants from ten ASEAN Member States (AMS). Each AMS was encouraged to field a delegation with a mix of participants comprised of ASEAN-IPR Governing Council and Advisory Board members, Government Representatives from relevant agencies (i.e. Foreign Affairs, Defense, Peace), academics from educational institutions offering courses on peace, reconciliation, mediation or related field, and students/would-be peace practitioners.

The two-day training had a total of six sessions which focused on the different facets of mediation as tools for peace processes, peacebuilding and social transformation. A special session with His Excellency Hassan Wirajuda was included to share experiences and best practices during the peace process between the Government of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and the Aceh Peace Process of Indonesia.

The training-workshop included a “Simulation Exercise in Mediation and Reconciliation” where participants were divided into three groups. During the workshop, the delegates were given a sample case study. The case detailed a hypothetical republic and the various factors that were contributing to the conflict in the country. Each group was asked to discuss suggestions and ideas on how to approach peace process concerns, and what kind of competencies should be developed by each AMS, as well as the ASEAN as a regional organization, with regard to facilitation and mediation of conflicts.

## II. Programme

### Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR) Training Series

1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators  
Makati City, Philippines

Time	Session Title	Description
<b>DAY 0 – 20 February 2019 (Wednesday)</b> Arrival of Participants		
<b>DAY 1 – 21 February 2019 (Thursday)</b>		
8:00-8:30	REGISTRATION	
8:30-9:00	<b>OPENING CEREMONY</b>	
	Singing of the ASEAN Hymn	
	Welcome Remarks by Amb. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso (Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN, Philippine Representative to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council (GC)	
	Opening Message by Atty. Jaime G. Hofileña (Vice President for Social Development, Ateneo de Manila University)	
	Message by Amb. Kim Young-chaе (Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN)	
	Keynote Address by Secretary Carlito Galvez, Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity	
9:00-9:15	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	
9:15-10:00	Special Session with H.E. Hassan Wirajuda (Founder of the Institute for Peace and Democracy and Former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia) on experiences during the (1) peace processes between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the (2) Aceh Peace Process.	

10:00-12:00	<p>Session 1: Panel Discussion on Track 1 Mediation Practices – Lessons learned from different Peace Processes</p> <p>Moderator: Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, UN Senior Mediation Adviser</p> <p>Discussants:</p> <p>(1) H.E. Hassan Wirajuda Founder of the Institute for Peace and Democracy, and Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia</p> <p>(2) H.E. Hamid Awaluddin Former Minister of Law and Human Rights of Indonesia</p> <p>(3) Gen. Eduardo Ermita (Ret.) Former Philippine Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process</p> <p>(4) Mr. Jamil Flores Lead Researcher of “Lessons Learned from a Process of Conflict Resolution between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) as Mediated by Indonesia, 1993-1996”</p> <p>[Followed by a group photo with all the participants at the hotel lobby.]</p>	The session compared particular approaches used in different peace processes and assessed how these affected the outcome of the corresponding peace process.
12:00-13:30	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	
13:30-15:00	<p>Session 2: Peace Processes and Peace-building in Southeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula, and the Role of Mediators</p> <p>[Open Forum]</p> <p>Moderator: Dr. Gloria Mercado, Vice-Chair, Philippine Government Peace Implementing Panel, Government of the Philippines (GPH) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) Peace Accords, Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process</p> <p>Discussants:</p> <p>(1) Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer UN Senior Mediation Adviser</p>	This session gave an overview of the various peace processes in Southeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula. It also looked at the different mediation styles adopted in the various peace processes, particularly in brokering negotiations, as well as in facilitating Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), and Transitional justice.

	(2) Dr. Mely Caballero-Anthony Professor of International Relations and Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore  (3) Dr. Lee Jaehyon Senior Fellow, ASEAN and Oceania Studies Program, Asan Institute for Policy Studies	
15:00-15:15	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	
15:15-16:30	Session 3: Legal/Institutional Basis on the Practice of Mediation  [Open Forum]  Moderator: H.E. Bong-hyun Kim, President of the Jeju Peace Institute  Discussants:  (1) Prof. Bilveer Singh Associate Professor, National University of Singapore  (2) Atty. Ray Paolo J. Santiago Executive Director, Ateneo Human Rights Center and the Secretary-General of the Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism	The session discussed the legal platforms, customary practices, and human rights regime in Southeast Asia using a comparative perspective. The session identified both positive as well as challenging contexts that affect the practice of mediation and reconciliation in the region.
18:30	<b>WELCOME DINNER</b>	
<b>DAY 2 – 22 February 2019 (Friday)</b>		
9:00-10:30	Session 4: Sharing of Mediation Experiences in the Southeast Asian Context (a) Local and Community-based experiences and (b) National-levels  [Open Forum]  Moderator: Dr. Tamara Nair, Research Fellow, Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore  Discussants:  (1) Dr. Min Zaw Oo Myanmar Institute for Peace & Security  (2) Ms. Ruby Kholifah AMAN Foundation - Indonesia	The session looked into the real drivers of conflicts on the ground, and discussed (a) how a national-led peace process impacts on the peace and conflict dynamics in the local level, and (b) how local peace-builders mediate and appropriate the broad agreements into local and context-specific realities, and (c) how local and community-based (track 2 and track 3) processes can input to or support track 1 processes.
10:30-10:45	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	

10:45-12:00	Session 5: Mediation and Reconciliation as Tools for Social Transformation  [Open Forum]  Moderator: Ms. Moe Thuzar, Lead Researcher (Socio-Cultural), ASEAN Studies Center, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute  Discussants:  (1) Dr. Emma Leslie Executive Director, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies  (2) Atty. Cecilia Jimenez-Damary Former Member of the Philippine Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission	The session focused on exploring how mediation and reconciliation as concepts and as practices can promote meaningful social transformation in the local context.  The speakers presented case studies on positive gains achieved using this approach.
12:00-13:15	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	
13:15-14:15	Workshop: Development of Training and Advocacy Materials towards Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN  Facilitators: (1) Dr. Jasmin Nario-Galace Executive Director, Centre for Peace Education, Miriam College  (2) Mr. Thomas Koruth Samuel Director of the Research and Publications Division, Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT)  (3) Prof. Jennifer Santiago-Oreta Ateneo de Manila University	Participants were divided into smaller groups and tasked to present the highlights of their discussions.  This session's aims were:  * to enable participants to identify the competencies/capacities and materials needed in peace and reconciliation  *identify possible strategies and methods/approaches to build the necessary capacities
14:14-15:00	Plenary Presentation of the workshop groups	
15:00-15:10	WRAP-UP and CLOSING CEREMONY  Closing Remarks by H.E. Dr. Darnp Sukontasap, Chair of the ASEAN-IPR GC, Representative of Thailand to the ASEAN-IPR GC	
<b>END of TRAINING-WORKSHOP</b>		
DAY 3 – 23 February 2019 (Saturday) Departure of Participants		

### III. Documentation Report

DAY 1 – 21 February 2019



#### A. Welcome Remarks

**H. E. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso, Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN, and Philippine Representative to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council**

Ambassador Elizabeth P. Buensuceso opened the two-day event by welcoming everyone to the first leg of the Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN - Training Series on Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators. The event is the sixth activity initiated by the Permanent Mission of the Philippines to ASEAN and is in collaboration with the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP). The Ateneo de Manila University

is the event's private sector partner through its Ateneo Initiative for Southeast Asian Studies (ADMU-AISEAS). Ambassador Buensuceso also expressed appreciation to the Republic of Korea for their support to the event.

The Ambassador acknowledged the presence of the recently appointed Secretary Carlito Galvez Jr., the Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity, H.E. Hassan Wirajuda, former Foreign Minister of Indonesia, and other experts in mediation. She also lauded the recent plebiscite held in the then-Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao as provided by Republic Act 11054, the newly passed Bangsamoro Organic Law. She expressed her gratitude for the continuing international support to the Bangsamoro Peace Process of the Philippines.

Ambassador Buensuceso noted that the event will allow the participants to listen to experts and participate in discussions and exercises aimed at honing the group's knowledge and skills in the art and science of mediation.

#### B. Opening Message

**Atty. Jaime G. Hofileña, Vice President for Social Development, Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU)**

Ateneo de Manila University's Vice President for Social Development, Atty. Jaime G. Hofileña, welcomed the organizers and participants to the two-day training session. He acknowledged the presence of the members of the Governing Council, Advisory Board and Secretariat of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR); representatives from relevant ASEAN organizations, and representatives from ASEAN Member States and the Republic of Korea; and academics from educational institutions offering courses and trainings on peace, reconciliation, mediation and related fields.



He affirmed the Ateneo de Manila University's (ADMU) commitment in pursuing "peace to people of goodwill." He believed that peace should be mainstreamed in individual societies, in regions, and in the world; and that each person should be steadfast in their commitment to pursue peace at all times - most especially at present, when forces of chaos and turmoil are determined to do their worst.

Atty. Hofileña noted that it is both a privilege and a challenge for ADMU to co-organize the first training session with the Permanent Mission of the Philippines to the ASEAN and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace Process. He wished for the achievement of the Seminar's objective of broadening and deepening the understanding of peace, mediation and reconciliation so that nations of the ASEAN region can help each other in addressing their respective states' peace and reconciliation concerns and in maintaining regional peace. Finally, he asserted the University's commitment to be a resource for community and social development, and hence undertakings such as this event is among the university's way of operationalizing this commitment.



#### C. Message

**H.E. Kim Young-cha, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN**

The Ambassador of the Republic of Korea (ROK) to ASEAN, H.E. Kim Young-cha, conveyed his gratitude towards Ambassador Buensuceso and the Permanent Mission of the Philippines to ASEAN for organizing the training with the support of the ASEAN-ROK Cooperation Fund (AKCF), as well as to the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and the Ateneo de Manila University.

In his message, Ambassador Kim Young-cha cited that the establishment of ASEAN in 1967 has helped nurture the spirit of peace and reconciliation, and build a sense of community among its member states. ASEAN extended this spirit beyond its region by providing a neutral platform to external parties, as exhibited by the holding of the North Korea-US summits in the ASEAN states of Singapore last 2018 and Vietnam in February 2019. He believed that this is not by chance, and that it is the result of efforts to build an ASEAN-centered regional architecture.

The Ambassador conveyed that the current inter-Korean relation is part of a peace and reconciliation process where Korea must nurture the culture of dialogue and cooperation just as ASEAN has done in the last 50 years. This is why the ROK has put great emphasis on cooperation with ASEAN in the area of peace. He expressed his appreciation on ASEAN's constructive role in the inter-Korean affairs. He mentioned key upcoming events, namely, the ASEAN-Korea Commemorative Summit, as well as the first Mekong-Korea Summit, as avenues for ROK to unveil its detailed long-term vision with ASEAN.

The Ambassador shared that the Korean Mission also partnered with ASEAN-IPR last year for a conference where the North Korean Ambassador to Indonesia also participated. He received positive feedback from many young participants that the presence of the North Korean ambassador is a testament of the improvement of inter-Korean relations. He hoped that this year's partnership with ASEAN-IPR would see a new beginning of cooperation, this time, between AIPR and the Jeju Peace Institute.

He concluded by saying that he is confident that the training series will make contributions to the building of community of peace, and hoped to see a new beginning of cooperation between ASEAN-IPR and the Jeju Peace Institute of the Republic of Korea.



#### D. Keynote Address

##### Secretary Carlito Galvez, Jr., Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity

Secretary Carlito Galvez, Jr., the Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity, started his message by giving a special recognition to Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, the former Chairperson of the Government Negotiating Panel on peace talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

The Secretary articulated the Philippine's latest efforts in promoting peace, especially in the Bangsamoro area: the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law in February of 2019; the peaceful conclusion of the plebiscite in areas that will form part of the new Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM); and, the appointment and oath taking of the 80-member Bangsamoro Transition Authority.

Sec. Galvez, Jr. narrated his experiences in the Philippine peace process, from being a young military officer to becoming the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Throughout his career in the military, he has embraced peacebuilding as a way of life. As such, his journey in peacebuilding continues as the appointed Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity.

He discussed that peacebuilding process, from the forging of the peace agreement to the pursuit of reconciliation and unity, is not a one-size-fits all solution. Local culture and community acceptance are key. He highlighted the importance of a more systematic approach to reconciliation instead of piecemeal strategies. Hence, the Secretary noted that the ASEAN-IPR training series is very significant in furthering the peace and reconciliation goals in the region.



#### E. Special Session

##### H.E. Hassan Wirajuda, Founder of the Institute for Peace and Democracy and Former Foreign Minister (2001-2009) of the Republic of Indonesia

Minister Hassan Wirajuda discussed his views and experiences on peace and security in the region, as well as on the role of mediators in peace negotiations. Minister Hassan said there are several key factors that he has observed to contribute in the development of conflict. Particularly identified were: (1) ASEAN states are young nation-states that are continuously facing problems of nation and state building, and for that matter, experience conflicts and disruption; and (2) the rising sense

of nationalism and regionalism, coupled with the phenomena of populism, and identity politics which threaten the notion of 'nation-states.' Given that by definition, nation-states are non-partisan to ethnicity and religion, identity politics that exploit ethnic and religious sentiments directly threaten the cohesiveness of the nation-state. The rise of micro-nationalism, which is based on a growing awareness on one's ethnicity, customs and tradition, language, and religion often lead to separatism.



He then transitioned towards the topic of mainstreaming of peace and reconciliation by citing the conflict resolution processes with the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or GAM) of Indonesia and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) of the Philippines. These two cases dragged for a long time and resulted in the death of thousands, huge destruction of communities, and utilization of vast state resources. The stage for dialogue or negotiation becomes available when the conflicts reach a stage of impasse or stalemate.

However, the level of mistrust is always high, and direct negotiation is impossible. This is where the mediator comes in. Minister Wirajuda expounds that a mediator or facilitator must be strictly neutral in the conduct of their role. Additionally, they must also understand the vision of the state. Mediators and facilitators must be patient but persistent; they must maintain excellent official and personal relations with the delegation of the two panels. Part of the principles of negotiation is not to undermine the counterpart; likewise, in addressing difficulties, the mediator must try to address and uncover the root cause of the underlying concerns. The mediators must also be politically smart. They must know when and what to do in situations when there is imminence of violence and danger to communities affected by conflict.

In the Philippines, Indonesia sent 60 members to the International Monitoring Team (IMT) – a large delegation to monitor the ceasefire (between the Philippine government and the MILF). It worked effectively because of the trust and confidence of the Philippine government to Indonesia (as former mediator to the peace process with the MNLF).

Likewise the Indonesian government also welcomed the European Union to monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Accord (between the Indonesian government and GAM). But being sensitive to the feelings of ASEAN, Indonesia also invited contributions from Thailand, Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines to join the monitoring team.

For the sake of resolving our respective conflicts, the Philippines and Indonesia have never invoked the principles of *non-interference* in domestic affairs with the mediators.

The final lesson shared by the Minister is that a government's openness to reach out and find facilitators for dialogues or negotiations is an important precedent to the work of the eventual facilitators/mediators of peace negotiations. Government-initiated calls for facilitation/mediation signifies receptiveness to having a third-party facilitator/mediator within the negotiations.



#### F. Session 1: Panel Discussion on Track 1 Mediation Practices – Lessons Learned from Different Peace Processes

Moderated by: Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, UN Senior Mediation Adviser

Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer started the forum by introducing the panelists – H.E. Hassan Wirajuda, Founder of the Institute for Peace and Democracy and Former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia; H.E. Hamid Awaluddin, Former Minister of Justice and Human Rights and Lead Negotiator

for the Republic of Indonesia; **Gen. Eduardo Ermita (Ret.)**, Former Philippine Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process; and **Mr. Jamil Flores**, Lead Researcher of “Lessons Learned from a Process of Conflict Resolution between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) as Mediated by Indonesia, 1993-1996.”

Prof. Coronel-Ferrer directed her first question to Minister Awaluddin regarding the minister’s earlier experiences in negotiating conflicts in Poso, Sulawesi and Ambon, Molucca of Indonesia and how relevant they were vis-à-vis his later engagement in Aceh. **Minister Awaluddin** shared that with Poso and Ambon, one of his key learnings is that whenever armed conflict has commenced, the state must intervene regardless of whether the localities have their own mechanisms to settle conflict. He added that, based on his personal experience, conflicts that center around ethnicity is the most difficult to settle. With the conflict in Aceh, the group’s message and mission were clearly against the government. But with the experience in Poso and Ambon, the government had a better understanding on how to address the conflict in Aceh.

Minister Awaluddin noted that the conflicts in Poso and Ambon were related – Christians and Muslims were killing each other; both are being promised an afterlife in heaven if they eliminate someone from the other group. He expounded that their form of mediation was to tell the parties involved that killing anyone, from any group, will send the killer to hell and not to heaven.

The Minister likewise shared that the role of the mediator mattered greatly. President Maïtti Oiva Ahtisaari of Finland, as head of the mediation team, understood the psychological context of the conflict and believed that peace can usher in good things. Thus, it was easy for him to manage meetings and to instruct the parties involved in the negotiation.

On why an international facilitator was chosen, the Minister said the government and the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or GAM) did not trust each other so a third-party facilitator was necessary. A Finnish individual who lived in Indonesia for many years and also knew the GAM leaders residing in Stockholm, Sweden came to the government to offer his services. This paved the way for the formal selection of third-party mediator for the Aceh peace process.

On his relationship with the Vice President and President of Indonesia at the time relative to the peace process, Minister Awaluddin said that it was a simple, straightforward relationship. He got the orders from the Vice President on what to do and not to do. The essence of which was (1) to give everything but independence, and (2) do not change the constitution. After the Minister would return from the negotiations, the Vice President would take him to the President to give him a report. Likewise, Minister Awaluddin also reported any updates on the negotiations to his colleagues – the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chief Military General.

Minister Awaluddin maintained the importance of keeping a tight lid on information about the negotiations. He asserted that no information should leak outside of the negotiating parties, especially not to the press. Once information is given to the press, then it becomes a political issue. And they had political opposition within the government. As such, they never gave a press conference after negotiations. They agreed that the mediator/facilitator would be the only person that could speak to the press. Nonetheless, the facilitator never gave a press conference talking about the substance of the negotiations. Commonly discussed in those conferences were the spirit of the negotiations and the attitude of both parties.

**Prof. Coronel-Ferrer** shared that the experience in Aceh is different from the experience with the Philippine government’s peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), wherein the Malaysian facilitator never spoke to the press but the negotiating parties gave numerous press conferences and public dialogues because of the demand of the public to know more about what’s going on. She then asked Minister Wirajuda if his skills as a negotiator has been useful in his shift in role as a facilitator/ mediator. **Minister Wirajuda** replied that his modality to become facilitator/mediator came from his experiences as a negotiator. The first lesson he has applied was endurance. Listening and being listened

to is crucial. And secondly, how to control the information given to the public on what was discussed in the negotiations.

**Prof. Coronel-Ferrer** asked Gen. Ermita to compare his experiences with regard the 1976 Tripoli Agreement and with the 1996 Final Peace Agreement for the peace process of the Philippine government with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

**Gen. Ermita** narrated the series of events that led to the eventual coming together of the Government of the Philippines, the MNLF and the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) Committee of Four to forge the 1976 Tripoli Agreement. It was in this agreement where autonomy to Muslims of the Southern Philippines was articulated. Ermita then described the various initiatives by the different Presidents to implement the 1976 Tripoli agreement. It was during the administration of President Fidel V. Ramos (1992-1998) when MNLF leadership was convinced to come back to the negotiating table. The OIC designated Indonesia as head facilitator in the negotiations. After 44 months, the Final Peace Agreement was signed with the MNLF in 1996.

**Gen. Ermita** said he believes that MNLF Chairperson Nur Misuari respected the OIC’s decision to have Indonesia facilitate the peace talks. Before the formal process, the Indonesian facilitator established rapport with the parties through constant contact and communication; hence, by the time the formal talks started, he already established his role in the negotiations.

Professor Ferrer then asked **Mr. Flores** to share his observations on the Philippine Government (GRP)-MNLF Peace Process. Mr. Flores worked as a speechwriter for the late Minister Ali Alatas (Indonesian Foreign Minister, 1988-1999) for seven years, and with Minister Wirajuda for nine years. Mr. Flores said that during those years, he felt that he was educated not only on geopolitics but also on the genesis of policy. Due to his extensive experience and collaboration with key figures in various peace processes, Mr. Flores expressed that his role was to synthesize all of the efforts, experiences, learnings that had been done vis-à-vis peace processes and mediation, and hence, the paper he is currently writing.

His main observation is that a peace process is always a long journey. He narrated how Minister Wirajuda intimated to him that the real origin of the Aceh conflict was when the leaders of Aceh joined forces with the ruling Islam in the 1950s-60s. That was the time when autonomy was first offered to Aceh. The issue was not because they wanted to separate from the Republic of Indonesia; the grievance was that Aceh was combined without the people’s consent to the province of West Sumatra, so they wanted out of that combination. From that point to eventually reaching the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding took a long process. Mr. Flores said it is similar with the peace process in Mindanao. The process did not just start with the signing of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement; rather, its starting point could be the resolution passed by the OIC in 1974 advising the Philippine government and the MNLF to negotiate within the confines of the constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.

He articulated that at the start of negotiations, negotiators and mediators did not know all the issues and concerns of both parties. It is a process of learning, and as it moves forward, both parties become better equipped to deal with the issues that created the armed conflict.

**Minister Wirajuda** said that Indonesia has become one of the leading ASEAN member states with a mediating/facilitating role because they themselves are open to third party mediation. Not only have they facilitated others, they are also open to being facilitated by others. These efforts by Indonesia contributes to promoting peace and security for the entire region.

**Prof. Coronel-Ferrer**, in concluding the session, asked the panel on the facilitator’s role in negotiations.

**Gen. Ermita** specifically cited a technique done by facilitators in the peace process with the MNLF. The facilitator would call for a recess in the formal negotiation, and initiate smaller meetings. It was during those mixed, small meetings where the issues that negotiators cannot pass through in the formal table are discussed. He noted that this was effective because it allows for more space in the discussion of issues.

This technique of going out of the formal negotiation table and talking about the issues in other venues (e.g., smaller committee meetings, going to the field for consultations/discussions on the ground, etc.) produced results.

Gen. Ermita continued that the OIC was an effective third-party mediator (as represented by Indonesia) because it had moral suasion on both the MNLF and the Philippine government. He stated that the peace process is not a walk in the park. With the Philippines' experience, it takes a long time to attain peace. Patience and perseverance are needed in order to achieve it. Even with the recent successes in the Philippine peace process, the country is still trying to find the solution for lasting peace in Southern Philippines.

Minister Awaluddin added that as facilitators in negotiations, one must be willing to consider and perform important tactical decisions that could help the negotiating parties arrive at a good arrangement for both parties. He concluded his point by sharing a relevant saying, "In peacetime, children bury their parents because of natural causes. In conflict time, parents bury their children because of the fights."

Mr. Flores' concluding point was to strengthen the mandate of the mediator. As an example, he noted that Indonesia, having had the experience of mediating the MNLF peace process, was in a strong position to take up their facilitator role with the Cambodian peace process.



#### G. Session 2: Peace Processes and Peace-building in Southeast Asia and the Korea Peninsula, and the Role of Mediators

**Moderated by: Dr. Gloria Mercado, Vice-Chair, Philippine Government Peace Implementing Panel, Government of the Philippines (GPH) – Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) Peace Accords**

##### 1. Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, UN Senior Mediation Adviser

Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer began her discussion by narrating the particular roles played by mediators in facilitating various peace processes and the eventual signing of peace agreements/peace accords. She talked about the facilitators that mediated in the many peace processes in ASEAN member states. Some were mediated by UN (e.g. Cambodia and East Timor), some have regional organizations facilitating peace settlements (e.g. OIC through Indonesia for peace process with Philippines' MNLF), others have state facilitated mediation (e.g. Malaysia with the peace process of the Philippine government and the MILF). And then there's Myanmar without foreign mediation intervention, but has local mediation interventions. However, ASEAN as an institution has not yet performed direct mediating roles.

She also discussed the involvement of third parties in peace processes. Different third-party entities can have varying roles, depending on what is needed in the context of the peace process. Third party roles may include, but are not limited to, monitoring, conducting joint security, serving as advisory bodies to the two negotiating panels, etc.

Being a former member and chair of the Philippine government's negotiating panel with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) peace process, Prof. Coronel-Ferrer also detailed the different international third-party entities who participated in the Bangsamoro peace process. She recounted the qualities and experiences of the Malaysian facilitators which helped the peace panels during the stages of negotiations. She highlighted the appreciation of the MILF towards the Malaysian facilitators' involvement which would sometimes move towards mediation, not only facilitation.

The presenter's final points centered on the United Nations and ASEAN relations on mediation. The UN has significant role in various ASEAN mechanisms and forums. Several UN-ASEAN resolutions on cooperation have been made, with the one in 2016 granting ASEAN an observer status in the UN.

##### 2. Dr. Mely Caballero-Anthony, Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Dr. Mely Caballero-Anthony first cited the normative preferences in ASEAN, as codified in the ASEAN Charter, for respecting norms of sovereignty and non-interference. However, she observed that what is happening in ASEAN in as far as peace is concerned is the opposite. ASEAN has in a way become more flexible in the sense that it has been on board with countries' requests for tacit support to peace processes.

Looking forward, she noted that it is important to identify the actors involved in peace processes and the support that has been given. She cited that Aceh benefitted in the strong support of EU. In the Philippine peace processes, there have been a lot of other countries who supported the peace process. As such, can we also rely on ASEAN for financial or resource support for peace processes? She identified possible untapped resources for peace processes. For example, women's groups have transnational/trans-border networks. If the official processes are stalled, there are existing resources that can be tapped for further avenues of negotiation, e.g. the Women Weavers of Peace.

The discussant remarked that one of the agendas for peace process in the future is to increase ASEAN countries' comfort level to do more. Fragmented processes can move towards a more coordinated process. Assistance for disaster and relief could have a more coordinated approach vis-à-vis moving from fragmented processes to a more coordinated one.

Dr. Caballero-Anthony ended her discussion with the following points: ASEAN has to be more mindful not just of the kind of stresses that the region faces as a result of intra-state conflict, but other fragilities and vulnerabilities. If these vulnerabilities are addressed through other mechanisms in ASEAN, it will help sustain or strengthen peace. With the work of the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management AHA Centre or ASEAN-IPR, there is demand for it not just to look at natural disasters, but also complex emergencies. There's no reason why the work of AHA Centre or ASEAN-IPR or those involved in the peace processes cannot feed into the agenda of other vulnerabilities and viceversa.

##### 3. Dr. Lee Jaehyon, Senior Fellow, ASEAN and Oceania Studies Program, Asan Institute for Policy Studies

Dr. Lee Jaehyon presented the current and possible future roles of ASEAN with regard to peace in the Korean Peninsula. His discussion centered on two questions: (1) Why should ASEAN help the Korean Peninsula peace process? (2) What benefits can ASEAN

have in promoting peace in the Korean peninsula? The presenter observed that ASEAN has multiple merits that can make the regional body a strong facilitator for peace within the Korean Peninsula. These include ASEAN member states' historical linkages with Korea, their diplomatic and economic relations, the similarities in the political systems, and from North Korea's perspective, ASEAN is a comfortable partner while also being a neutral region. North Korea is may be too proud to listen to the US and China, and would be more amenable to listen to recommendations from Southeast Asian countries.

Dr. Lee proposes that ASEAN's role in the peace process of the Korean Peninsula should cover both pre-denuclearization and post-denuclearization of North Korea. However, he adds that South Korea has to share information with ASEAN on what is happening between North and South Korea, and North Korea and the United States. Otherwise, ASEAN cannot be a part of this process. Furthermore, Korea has to do its part to concern itself with Southeast Asia's peace and security issues. South Korea has to make contributions relative to peace in ASEAN.

### Open Forum

A **Philippine participant** commented that Dr. Lee's presentation was refreshing since it presented a positive view on what's happening in the North-South Korean Dialogue. She further stated that in ASEAN discussions regarding geo-politics, the Korean Peninsula is always one of the flash points. As a woman diplomat, she shared that she's been very impressed with the role of Kim Jong Un's sister. Tying it in to the points of Dr. Caballero-Anthony, she emphasized how impressive the picture of Kim Jong Un's sister being a part of the Pyongyang Sports Event. In her view, it was very meaningful. She believed that if we can have Kim Jong Un's sister in an ASEAN meeting, it would make a strong statement.

A question from a **Myanmar participant** was raised regarding if North Korea will ever be motivated to denuclearize? Dr. Lee responded that he doesn't know. Nobody really knows if North Korea is truly serious about denuclearization. He said one would have to get into Kim Jong Un's head to know. North Korea poses a threat not just to South Korea but to the whole region. Sanctions can only become meaningful as a tool for so long. There needs to be systemic solutions to this problem.

**Dr. Caballero-Anthony** echoed that the Korean Peninsula presentation presented a refreshing point of view. She added that one of the things that ASEAN has done quite well is that it forces countries to actually talk about the nuclear policy. One of the things that is very crucial in the discussion in the nuclear world is the need to know the development of nuclear policy in other countries. One of the agendas that ASEAN is pushing for is nuclear security. Her final point is that ASEAN member states have shared vulnerabilities with North Korea like food security and health security, and this can be an avenue for ASEAN to engage North Korea.

A question was directed to Dr. Lee on how receptive would North Korea be with peacebuilding activities coming from civil society organizations (CSOs). **Dr. Lee** noted that there is a chance for CSO involvement with North Korea, although the chances of that happening right now is not yet high because North Korea is highly controlled. Once North Korea opens up and initiates the talk, there could be a chance for the civil society groups to engage.

### Closing of Session:

The moderator, Dr. Mercado, summed up the presentations in this session. She highlighted Prof. Coronel-Ferrer's discussion on some historical antecedents of conflict and peace processes, while also highlighting the robust peace processes that are happening around the world, including the role of the mediators and the facilitators. Dr. Caballero-Anthony highlighted the regional and larger landscape of peace building where she pointed out the need to address vulnerabilities and fragilities using existing regional mechanisms such as the networks of women's groups. Dr. Lee's point that while it is important for North Korea to denuclearize, North Korea must be engaged by the various consultative bodies of ASEAN. ASEAN can be the platform since from North Korea's perspective, it is a neutral body that they are comfortable engaging with it. Dr. Mercado wrapped it up by stating that the session has shown how



### H. Session 3: Legal/Institutional Basis on the Practice of Mediation

**Moderated by: H.E. Bong-hyun Kim, President, Jeju Peace Institute**

1. Dr. Bilveer Singh, Associate Professor, National University of Singapore

**Dr. Bilveer Singh** talked about the roles that non-governmental organizations (NGOs)/CSOs can have in conflict mediation and resolution. He said that there is a new culture in the ASEAN region where a number of countries are leaders of peace – the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, to name a few. He elaborated that the kind of NGOs/CSOs culture that these countries have is amazing. To him, it is quite clear that the kind of role the CSOs and NGOs are playing is rising. And, this is not common in other places in the world.

He believes that NGOs face challenges, especially external (or international) NGOs in terms of operating and working in the region. One of the reasons for this is that states may be suspicious of them. Questions commonly asked are: *“Who is funding them? Whose agenda are they pursuing?”* Second, many of the external NGOs/CSOs may not understand the psychology of the conflict and that of the conflicting parties. However, Dr. Singh noted that the Aceh and Mindanao conflicts show that external NGOs can play positive roles in the peace process. Hence, he said that external NGOs can have a vital role in conflict resolution. Additionally, he has found that countries with a strong NGO culture find it easier to facilitate the engagement with internal and external NGOs. While states remain key in conflict resolution, CSOs/NGOs can play important complementary roles.

CSOs/NGOs can perform the following roles in conflict resolution: help build inter-communal links and partnerships; help address the root causes of the conflict; create constituencies of peace especially within those living in the conflict affected areas. Dr. Singh asserted that with CSOs/NGOs' unique skills and immense empathy, there are good reasons for providing legal and institutional basis for their involvement in conflict resolution. He expressed that there is no one-size-fits-all approach on how to do this and that the context is more important than anything else. Still, it is an effective and legitimate resource that may be utilized.

In conclusion, Dr. Singh made the following key points. One, ASEAN has its own culture and approach, but also has its own limitations. He asked 'in what ways can the region make itself better given its existing limitations?' Second, the need for greater role of CSOs cannot be denied. The best way to do this is through socialization, aggregation, and practice. Third, peace education is something that needs to be done. Fourth, non- interference has been a saving grace for ASEAN, but it has also been problematic. It is necessary to have discussions on how to deal with this concern. Fifth, the region has so

mediation can create dialogue spaces and opportunities crucial to achieve a sustainable and lasting peace at the national, regional, and international level.



many legal-based institutions, but how do we move forward with these institutions? Is there a need to develop indicators? Finally, there are many knowledgeable people in ASEAN. If there are conflicts, is there a way to bring people to help before the conflict gets worse? And how will this be done? As his last point, he stated that by working together, ASEAN will have less violence, less refugees, less internally displaced persons; and maybe more peace zones will be enhanced.

2. Atty. Ray Paolo J. Santiago, Executive Director, Ateneo Human Rights Center and the Secretary-General of the Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism

Atty. Ray Paolo Santiago gave an overview on human rights in ASEAN as a foundation or peace. He expounded on some of the major ASEAN documents that significantly pushed for human rights and/or is founded on human rights principles. Identified were: the ASEAN Charter Articles 1 and 2, on Purpose and Principles, respectively; key excerpts from the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration; ASEAN Charter Chapter 7 on Settlement of Disputes, Article 22 on General Principles; and the ASEAN Protocol on Dispute Settlement Mechanism.

Important milestones for human rights in ASEAN were discussed as well. Some of the most notable events were:

- The World Conference on Human Rights and Vienna Declaration and Program of Action in 1993 where ASEAN Foreign Ministers “agreed that ASEAN should also consider the establishment of an appropriate regional mechanism on human rights” in support of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of June 25, 1993;
- The “ASEAN Vision 2020” in 1997, where it envisioned “ASEAN as a concert of Southeast Asian Nations, outward-looking, living in peace, stability and prosperity, bonded together in partnership in dynamic development and in a community of caring societies;” The Bali Concord II: ASEAN Community with three pillars: (1) Political-Security, (2) Economic, and (3) Socio-Cultural in 2004, where ASEAN adopted the Vientiane Action Programme (VAP) which specifically lists down certain Program Areas on Human Rights; and,
- The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration in 2012.

In this presentation, Atty. Santiago aimed to illustrate the different steps that ASEAN has undertaken and the policies and mechanisms which have been created towards achieving the two-fold agenda of establishing human rights and peacebuilding in the region.

#### Open Forum

The first comment zeroed in on how talks may breakdown on the national level, but can still continue happening on the ground. Particularly with Aceh’s experience of having CSOs within and outside Indonesia, these groups built the platform for peace long before the start of the official peace talks in January 2005. As such, he advocated for both top-down and bottom-up processes of peacebuilding. Additionally, the participant posed the question with regard to the legal and institutional basis of human rights in ASEAN, i.e., how can these be transformed and applied in intra-state issues?

A participant from Myanmar seconded the point on the bottom-up process and the involvement of CSOs in peace processes. He stated that within the practice of Buddhism, one has to begin with peace from the heart and then begin to think of world peace. He apprised the body of several updates: an area of research from ASEAN-IPR Governing Council is on the peace process of Myanmar; a 2 billion dollar electricity-generation project in Rakhine will be funded by international donors; and an NGO will build a university in Rakhine to make higher education available in the area.

Dr. Emma Leslie challenged those in CSOs to think about how they could approach creative partnerships with the stakeholders in peace processes. She said that what has been shown to work well is when people suspend egos and competition, and have genuine partnerships with one another by being transparent and by sharing information. Equally important is the willingness of government, non-state actors, and different stakeholders to creatively find ways to partner with CSOs/NGOs. This, she notes, is something that moves people away from a top-down or bottom-up approach but creates a web of stakeholders that work together.

A question was raised on what makes some NGOs more suitable than others to take part in mediation.

Another **Myanmar participant** shared that not all CSOs are created equal. CSOs/NGOs make the most effective contribution in the peace process when the CSOs/NGOs involved are willing and capable of working with stakeholders. Another point he raised was that there usually is a tendency for many donors to support the development projects of CSOs. When this happens, the civil society groups become somehow “independent” entities from the state (in the sense that they also initiate development projects for communities). But peace process, by nature, cannot be independent. He said donors need to be aware of the political complexities especially when a country is experiencing ethno, political, and religious conflict.

**Prof. Singh** thanked the participants for their points and questions. He remarked that the more people buy into the process, the more successful it will be. Particularly for Aceh, it was a long runway – meaning a lot of pre-work was done by different stakeholders; but a short flight – the start of the talks to the eventual signing of MOU only took 8 months. NGOs by themselves are not sufficient. How they would band together to achieve something noble is very important. On the query as to why are some NGOs more accepted than others, he stated that the local factors are important, but also crucial is the efficacy and effectiveness of the particular organization and what they can deliver. It takes a long time, for an NGO to build up its credibility.

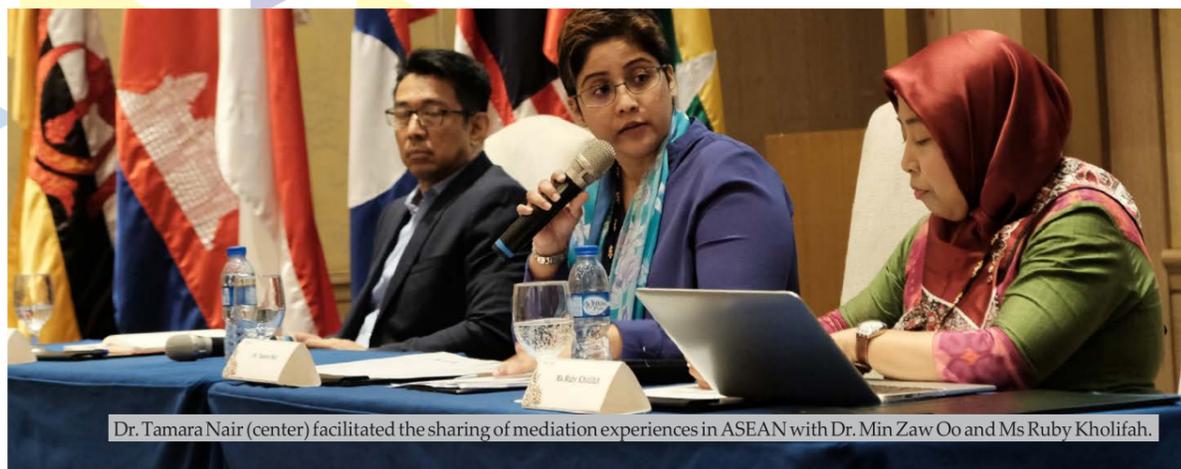
**Atty. Santiago** admitted that he doesn’t have any idea how to transform the “right to peace” to be used within the respective states; nevertheless, he suggested to use the platform of human rights to peacebuilding. However, it was also pointed out that human rights compliance of ASEAN member states varies. The appreciation and application of rights are different. So how can ASEAN, as a community, have a common appreciation of these rights? This is where community building and technical assistance must come in.

With regard to NGOs, he mentioned that there should be an open process of engagements by governments, not only with NGOs/CSOs, but with all stakeholders affected. Having an open process can help the region’s policymakers with finding solutions. He suggested for ASEAN to look into institutionalizing a model of consultation and engagements between CSOs/NGOs and policymakers. Further, he recognized that not all NGOs/CSOs are “saints”. But being able to self-regulate, CSOs/NGOs can provide clearer indications to show that they are working for the benefit of the people. As such, NGOs/CSOs can play a facilitative role but not a gatekeeper role because it becomes a problem when they try to own the process. They become gatekeepers similar to governments. Atty. Santiago believes that this is counter-productive to having a people-centered ASEAN.

#### Closing of Session

**Ambassador Kim Bong-hyun**, as the moderator, closed the session by providing a quick summary of the salient points that were discussed. He emphasized that the role of CSOs/NGOs in mediation is quite important. Nonetheless, CSOs/NGOs should be neutral and maintain impartiality as mediator. Further, he said that, human rights is a critical concept with regard to peace and security since adherence to it is a vital notion for the countries in ASEAN. Ambassador Kim mentioned that human rights, thus, should be further institutionalized among ASEAN countries.

ASEAN can play a significant role in the Asia-Pacific Region for cultivating peace and security and co-prosperity. He concluded that the ASEAN experience and ASEAN way of making, keeping, and building peace is a good example to other regions. Therefore, the Ambassador suggested that this event would be a good contributing platform for spreading new experiences and lessons to other regions.



Dr. Tamara Nair (center) facilitated the sharing of mediation experiences in ASEAN with Dr. Min Zaw Oo and Ms Ruby Kholifah.

## DAY 2 – 22 February 2019

### I. Session 4: Sharing of Mediation Experiences in the Southeast Asian Context (a) Local and Community-based experiences and (b) National-levels

**Moderated by: Dr. Tamara Nair, Research Fellow, Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore**

1. Dr. Min Zaw Oo, Executive Director, Myanmar Institute for Peace and Security

**Dr. Min Zaw Oo** presented on the Myanmar peace process experience. He narrated some events that occurred in Myanmar relative to their peacebuilding efforts. In 2012, there was mistrust and animosity between the government and the armed groups. The government did not accept any offer of mediation, but the armed groups wanted the mediation offered by international groups. An added complication is Myanmar government's closeness to China and the armed groups' preference for Western nations. The process was at an impasse.

At some point, the government decided to create the Myanmar Peace Center, where everyone in the organization is a former rebel (FR). The government recruited former rebels in exile to work on the peace process. This approach created political space. The FRs have extensive experience and relationship with various armed groups. That relationship created an easier political space to communicate between the government and the armed groups. That overcame the element of distrust. This eventually led to multiple bilateral ceasefire agreements, national ceasefire agreements, and the negotiation of 120 points that were finished within 17 months. It is also important to note that the Peace Center was established as a semi-government institution as a way to bypass the bureaucracy and to move the process faster.

The presenter then identified technical inputs that were material to their peace process:  
(1) contextual understanding of the conflict since a lot of the agreements were new

to both the government officials and the rebel groups' leadership; (2) paradigm shift brought about by Myanmar's shift from a 25-year military rule to its current democracy; (3) preparing of multiple options for negotiators in order to overcome deadlocks, and (4) peace logistics or considering how all stakeholders will be comfortable in the process.

2. Ms. Ruby Kholifah, Director, The Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN) Foundation – Indonesia

**Ms. Ruby Kholifah** presented on her experiences in establishing peace in Poso, Indonesia by engaging with women and mothers of the communities. She shared that her discussion is focused on the post-agreement phase where mistrust continued to exist after the formal process.

Her organization has found, through their community-based Women's School for Peace initiatives, that when the mothers are empowered, they empower their husbands, families and the rest of the communities. The learning program that her NGO conducts happen in "village halls." It provides a safe space for women to talk and actively listen to one another. It builds empathy, and as such, their efforts also endeavor to restore Muslim-Christian relations in the community.

She concluded by saying that social media is the new battle ground for peace and cohesion. The prevalence of social media in our everyday lives are being exploited by conflict-promoting groups to radicalize and recruit possible members for their organizations. Social media is also utilized as a breeding ground to strengthen intolerance and extremism. The presenter stated that peacebuilding efforts will do well to include this modern aspect of conflict resolution.

#### Open Forum

The first set of questions posed for the presenters were: (1) In the context of Myanmar, when the peace process was controlled by the government, how does the State see outside groups such as CSOs and ASEAN to contribute to Myanmar peace process? (2) The second participant asked about women's roles not just as peace lovers but also as extremist-influencers. (3) Was there an instance where other women's groups reached out to Ms. Kholifah's organization, or vice versa? Is there a mechanism in the region that can be used in linking with CSOs with similar agenda? (4) Regarding Myanmar, Dr. Oo was asked about his views on the role of women on post-conflict peacebuilding.

**Dr. Oo** stated that in their experience, CSOs that are engaged in organizing initiatives for social change and/or political reform are in better positions to engage in the government-initiated peace process. Many of the CSOs have now become opposition to the military/government (and this affects their participation in the peace process). He added that one of the contributions of ASEAN is the generation of new ideas and perspectives (e.g. via study tours). Initially he wasn't very impressed with study tours, but when the talks were stalled – they included some of the generals to South Africa for a study tour. This showed them that having shared experiences can bond individuals together, which helped with the cultivating of relationships.

As for the role of women in the peace process, it has not yet been talked much about in Myanmar. When Dr. Oo previously recommended for half of the body of the ceasefire mechanism be women, he was surprised that the military was not resistant at all. He said that whenever it comes to women's participation, it can be an easy point of negotiation.

Ms. Kholifah explained that one of the difficult things with working in post-conflict areas is dealing with the daily issues of communities. When their group was in Sulawesi, there was a "pocket money" practice provided by other groups/donors. So, when they first recruited 60 women, they told them that, "We cannot give you money, but we will give you the knowledge and the training." Eventually the number

dropped to 30 but she said that they did not mind. Their group want the dedicated women to contribute and have a positive influence to their community.

She also shared some of the roles of women in the peace process and the collaboration efforts among women's organizations. (a) The Malino peace agreement involved three women, and it gave the message to the local communities that women have an important role in peacebuilding; (b) The establishment of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, where one of the initiatives is to have different countries learn from each other's experiences; (c) Working with women *ulamas* on preventing violent extremism - in one of their activities, women *ulamas* were brought to Patani to share their experiences and learnings with male *ulamas*. Ms. Kholifah observed that they are lucky in Indonesia since they don't have an issue with the term "*ulama*" being used to refer to women scholars. Relative to this, they want to share and convince other countries about the role of female *ulamas* in Islamic history.

Questions were then asked on what type of compromises had been done by women leaders. And as for Myanmar peace processes, what other issues must be dealt with beyond the Rakhine?

**Dr. Oo** conveyed that transitional countries such as Myanmar have tendencies to be more violent. Since 2011, 11 armed groups have risen in the country. The problem is not about recognizing the armed groups, it's that the government and military don't want the armed/paramilitary groups to station in communities. Most killings are not done by the military but mostly by the paramilitary forces. In Rakhine, the government has seen an increase of drug trafficking in the area, and suspect the militants' involvement in drug trafficking.

Ms. Kholifah said that the topic of womanhood/motherhood can bring more inclusivity and commonality in conversations rather than using religion. The topic of womanhood/motherhood brings people to the table and gets them to talk about their common experiences being in conflict. The only restriction they have is that they only run their programs in areas that have both Muslim and Christian women. This way, the women learn of the gender constructs in other religions. Moreover, Ms. Kholifah articulated that interfaith dialogues are not done in a formal setting. Dialogue is in the day-to-day talks where people can discuss any misconceptions they may have of each other's religious views.

A participant asked how are the programs adjusted and evaluated based on its usefulness/applicability to other environments/communities/context? For Dr. Oo, the same participant asked regarding how the presenter views the reconciliation in Rakhine and how the ASEAN can help out?

Another query was posed to Ms. Kholifah on how her organization works with government officials particularly on how to help the local government gain the trust of the communities.

**Ms. Kholifah** highlighted Indonesia's initiative of conducting the first Indonesia Women Ulama Congress. Almost 1,000 *ulamas* gathered to formulate three important *fatuhs*: (1) Prevention of child marriage; (2) Prevention of sexual violence, (3) Prevention of environmental degradation. In events like this, it is not beneficial to bring people in "pro" or "contra or anti" positions. As such, the *ulamas* framed the discussions around the congress attendees' interpretations in the *Qur'an* reflection, that is, on how these three *fatuhs* are interpreted in the *Qur'an*. This made people reflect that the religion mostly agrees on the prevention of these dangers.

For coordinating with the government, she expounded that the national and local governments were aware that they have to work with CSOs. Even the Malino peace agreement requires working with CSOs, so there is no resistance from the local government level. Nonetheless, Ms. Kholifah remarked that the mistake by local governments is that their development planning does not factor in reconciliation in post-conflict areas. It does not take into consideration the lingering mistrust in the community. The government does not see a "quietly" divided community as a threat. They only address the issue when something triggers the conflict due to the unaddressed divide in the area. As for the national government, they help a lot by providing plenty of programs that help sustain the peace. e.g. more programs for women's economic empowerment.

Documentation Report: Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN  
An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR) Training Series:  
1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators

As for ASEAN, the presenter suggested that the best practices and lessons learned from the respective countries have to be shared. This forum is a good starting point but maybe more dialogues outside/ beyond this formal setting is necessary.

On the question about Rakhine, **Dr. Oo** discussed some of the issues and the corresponding solutions provided for the said issues. The repatriation of refugees in Bangladesh needed to be implemented in a systematic way. But this has a number of dimensions: (1) Cooperation between Myanmar and Bangladesh. The Bangladeshi government is seemingly becoming increasingly tolerant of the Myanmar insurgent groups that are operating in their areas; (2) Security. Without security and cooperation between the two nations, repatriation will be difficult. The security cannot be sustained. Bangladeshi government must prevent the flow of weapons to the armed groups. Dr. Oo claimed that this is a only major obstacle in Rakhine: to prevent major insurgency in that area.

After the refugee repatriation, there needs to be a normalization in the communities. The next step that needs to be addressed are the structural issues since some of these individuals do not have citizenship papers, and their rights having been restricted. The issue with this though is acceptance. Every time the citizenship issue is brought up, the government faced strong resistance from Rakhine people. The last point is the bringing in of development to the area.

**Ms. Kholifah's** final point was on the difficulty of working on the national level, particularly with the drafting of the National Action Plan for Women Peace and Security (NAP-WPS); the crafting of the definition of the terms 'conflict' and 'security.' In some areas, there was resistance to accept the classification that they are conflict-affected areas. A lot of countries do not have national-level conflicts, but smaller pockets of conflict in the local levels. Security in the perspective of women was almost absent from the perspective of national defense. Discussions on security is traditionally about territorial security and is framed in a very masculine way. There was a long struggle in negotiating with the government for the definition of these two words, conflict and security, in the national action plan.



Ms. Moe Thuzar (center) facilitates the discussion on Mediation and Reconciliation as Tools for Social Transformation with Dr. Emma Leslie (left) and Atty. Cecilia Jimenez-Damary.

#### J. Session 5: Mediation and Reconciliation as Tools for Social Transformation Moderated by: Ms. Moe Thuzar, Lead Researcher (Socio-Cultural), ASEAN Studies Center, ISEAS-Yusuf Ishak Institute

1. Atty. Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, Former Member of the Philippine Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission

**Atty. Cecilia Jimenez-Damary** presented on the accomplishments and experiences of the Philippine Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). The TJRC was established in 2014 to undertake a study and propose recommendations to both the

Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) panel on appropriate mechanisms to address legitimate grievances of the Bangsamoro People, correct historical injustices, and address human rights violations, including marginalization through land dispossession.

The TJRC came up with two sets of recommendations. The first of which is to set up the National Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission on the Bangsamoro (NTJRCB). The second was a compilation of over 90 specific recommendations addressed mainly to the State resulting from the TJRC's listening process, study groups, workshops and key policy interviews. An integral finding for the entire process is that victims could also be perpetrators of injustice. This is an important element to be considered in the transitional justice and reconciliation efforts to be provided to the localities affected by the conflicts.

The action on the TJRC's recommendations remain to be seen as the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law was only enacted in January 2019.

2. Dr. Emma Leslie, Executive Director, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cambodia

**Dr. Emma Leslie** gave a historical account of the major events that played a role in the development of the conflicts in Cambodia. She provided what she called snippets of the 1500 years of Cambodia's history starting from the origins of animism, Hinduism, and Buddhism prior to colonization; the French colonization; how the confluence of factors and events created a leader like Pol Pot; the Cambodian Civil War, the Khmer Rouge, the continued fighting in Cambodia, and the eventual signing of the Paris Peace Accord.

She then narrated some of the unsuccessful attempts of reconciliation for Cambodia that were orchestrated by the international bodies (i.e., the UN tribunals, and Germany's support for the creation of textbooks on Khmer Rouge). These initiatives proved to be not in tune with what the Cambodians were looking for. Another important aspect of transition and reconciliation according to Dr. Leslie was the Cambodian government's "win-win policy" in 1998 where they offered the still fighting members of Khmer Rouge amnesty and land in exchange for their coming back to the folds of society. This effectively ended the modern-day conflict of Cambodia.

To reconcile Cambodia, Cambodians need to think of what kind of country do the young want that addresses the past, deals with what's happening now, but also builds for the future. For Dr. Leslie, what's fundamental with reconciliation is not just the past (social healing, social cohesion, healing the past), but also questioning what are the roots of where we came from? What needs to change, as we move forward to our desired future? How do we act now as individuals, communities, governments, societies? She added, that if the root cause of the problems came from 1500 years ago, it doesn't give the people an excuse not to deal with it. The people, thus, need to work now on the kind of future they want.

Part of the challenge is how do we start talking about the past towards a positive future? Cambodia has an opportunity – an opportunity for the young to build a new Cambodia that's based on critical thinking and positive nationalism. Reconciliation is talking about positive nationalism – i.e., being proud of who you are, but also proud to be critical of the past to help oneself to move forward on how they would want the future to be, not the kind of nationalism that leads to even more conflict.

On her final note, she pointed out that when people suffer so much, they don't need a lot of trauma healing. What they want to know (and be assured of) is that their suffering will yield to something positive; that in going forward, there is significant social change that resulted from the sacrifice they made. That's what's important about today. We can

try to envisage together how we heal our past, but it is equally important to build a positive, constructive, and proud future where young people can go forward and feel positive about who they are.

Open Forum

A **Philippine participant** asked why is peace so elusive in Mindanao? What guarantees are there that the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) will work and the MILF will not eventually move to seek for independence?

A **Myanmar participant** expounded on Buddhism and their practices in Myanmar and its nexus with peace building, that he believes is composed of reconciliation, peace, and development.

**Prof. Coronel-Ferrer** gave a short background on how TJRC can be applied to the experiences of the conflict-affected people in Mindanao. She explained that TJRC interventions could be decentralized (or locally implemented), but at the same time, there needs to be institutional mechanisms to ensure that the TJRC process is supported and that it will achieve the level of cohesion that have been identified in the TJRC report submitted. She then asked, where should this oversight mechanism be lodged?

A set of questions were raised by **Ms. Kholifah** on how or in what ways do the presenters use the two approaches of human rights and peace building together to help the victims of conflict? How does transitional justice and reconciliation (TJR) in the Philippines deal with compensation? With regards to apology as a political step in dealing with TJR, how was it done in Cambodia?

**Atty. Jimenez-Damary** answered that there are no guarantees with peace. What the peace process does is to attempt to set the conditions that will hopefully establish and develop continuing peace. The change of name from Philippine Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (PAPP) to Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation, and Unity (PAPRU) is an important step since it now includes a more comprehensive scope that goes beyond just the formal peace process. Peace is a step-by-step process, built one block at a time.

Regarding the TJRC, the first thing that they changed was the conceptual framework. Atty. Jimenez-Damary agreed that the TJRC process should not be bureaucratized, but that it would still need institutional support. The TJRC needs clear messages from the state (national, regional, and local-level) and for them to "buy-in" or have ownership of the TJRC process. She hopes that with the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL), there will be more initiative to set-up a national TJRC because the Bangsamoro issues have national impact. Further, the new Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao can set-up their own regional-level TJRC. Local government units can form local-level TJRCs, as well. There has been a drafted executive order on the creation of a National Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission on the Bangsamoro (NTJRCB) that is being finalized before it is submitted to the President for signing.

On the topic of compensation, Atty. Jimenez-Damary disclosed that there are now efforts on the part of civil societies and some parliamentarians to put forward a bill for a special entity that will provide reparations for the victims of the violations in Mindanao, including the Bangsamoro.

**Dr. Leslie** thanked the participant for bringing up the essence of actual Buddhism, not political Buddhism. She conveyed that like one of the Buddhism principles, the ability to express empathetic joy, to try and find the best way to peace and to help each other is what everyone in the Conference aspires for.

She also noted the significance of resilience. It is important to recognize and understand the extraordinary resilience exhibited by those who have been most affected by conflict. Therefore, any transitional justice and reconciliation (TJR) process has to be grounded on the people's reality and what makes sense for them. Conversely, the danger is if something is institutionalized while not being grounded in the root causes of the conflict, then it becomes the next root cause of the next round of conflict. Efforts that don't address something can make the situation worse. That's why there is a need to critique peacebuilding interventions. She cited their efforts at setting up a peace museum. The museum creates a space that by understanding the past, there can be a discussion about the future. For the younger people who don't know their past, the museum is meant not to indoctrinate them but provide an opportunity to know and

critique what has happened, who is (are) responsible, and ask what must be done to move forward.

Further, Dr. Leslie suggested that the notion of separate peacebuilding and human rights approaches is a dangerous dichotomy. She said that the conflict transformation approach must keep people at the center of the process. She asserted that apologies and shared responsibilities are what we are looking for. What happened in Cambodia was brought about by multiple international, national, local, political and cultural factors. This doesn't culminate with a national government apology. The Paris Peace Accord, for example, culminated in 19 countries signing the peace accord. This is important because it is the only agreement in the ASEAN where China, US, India, and ASEAN countries all signed together to say that they recognize this peace in Cambodia, endorse the peace, but equally take some responsibility for it. This, Dr. Leslie believed, is a very significant acknowledgement of shared responsibility.

She concluded by saying that there needs to be a more comprehensive, less linear, web-like systems in looking at the causes of conflict. Thus, an apology for her is about shared responsibility that is far beyond saying sorry.

#### *Closing of Session*

The moderator, **Ms. Thuzar**, praised the session as being powerful in letting the group explore deeper on the importance and relevance of mediation as tools for social transformation and reconciliation. Both the stories that have been shared by the presenters highlighted why reconciliation is important. Their sharing allowed the body to see that there are fragilities that endure and linger. The importance of involving local actors, and going through a listening process where empathy and understanding among/across different entities can truly be a pathway to reconciliation.

Mediation can help bring about important closure that is not just about redressing human rights violations but also leading to inclusive reforms, not just institutional reforms but also, changes in our attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs.



#### **K. Workshop: Simulation Exercises in Mediation and Reconciliation**

**Facilitated by: Dr. Jasmin Nario-Galace, Executive Director, Centre for Peace Education, Miriam College; Mr. Thomas Koruth Samuel, Director of the Research and Publications Division, Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCT); and, Dr. Jennifer Santiago Oreta, Director of the Ateneo Initiative for Southeast Asian Studies (AISEAS)**

During the workshop, the delegates were given a sample case study. The case detailed a hypothetical republic and the various factors that were contributing to the conflict in the country. After which, they were divided into three groups: Group 1 - Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia; Group 2 - Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei; and, Group 3 - Vietnam, Laos, and the Philippines. The delegates were then asked to discuss within their groups their suggestions and ideas on what and how competencies should be developed by the ASEAN and its neighboring

countries with regards to the facilitation and mediation of conflicts.

#### *Presentation of Workshop Results:*

**Mr. Samuel** asked the group presenters on their clusters' answers on what competencies should be developed relevant to facilitation and mediation.

**Group 1** shared that due to the diverse culture and religious beliefs that exist within ASEAN and its nearby countries, a necessary competency to work on is the sensitivity to different beliefs and cultures. Additionally, competency on different languages – primarily on English, should be given attention as well. Facilitators and mediators should also learn how to be thick-skinned in that s/he must be able to welcome different criticisms. Finally, facilitation skills of individuals should be developed.

**Group 2** presented that the emerging idea in their discussion is the promotion of inclusivity among the different sectors involved in conflict. The various stakeholders must be recognized and it should be ensured that they will play an active role in mainstreaming peace and reconciliation.

**Group 3** puts priority on what they believed would be the best for ASEAN. The group said it is important to improve the competencies of those that would become Chair and Secretary-General. The consistency and sustainability of what the ASEAN bodies can do is greatly dependent on a capable Chair and Secretary-General.

As for the individual competencies, they listed diplomacy, communication, negotiation, and mediation. The group's presenter asserted that the ASEAN cannot do away with all these basic skills. Complete competency on these skills should be a minimum requirement for ASEAN individuals in order for ASEAN leaders to be well-prepared to help in conflict resolution and conflict management.

**Dr. Nario-Galace** asked the presenters the following question, "Given all these things you mentioned, what strategies/methods/approach can you suggest to strengthen these capacities?"

**Group 2** outlined three levels of interventions. First is a capacity building program where continuous skills training (e.g., communication, mediation, and negotiation) and thematic conflict studying (e.g., environmental conflict, political conflict) should be employed. It was further proposed that this be done on two levels: one, for senior-level officials/personnel, and the second for the younger generation, women's groups, and other pertinent groups to the conflict.

The group also suggested the establishment of a platform for dialogue of lessons learned and best practices where mediators, peacebuilders and conflict resolution experts/researchers could meet and exchange ideas and experiences. It could be an annual or biennial event for ASEAN to discuss on what is happening or what is/ are the issues that are developing in the region. This will also aid in helping to prevent the repeat of past mistakes.

Lastly, they recommended for a mentoring program to ensure that the experiences of ASEAN will be passed on to the next generations. This, again, can help the younger generations to learn from the mistakes from the past so that they will not repeat them.

**Group 3** listed the following strategies: need to empower women to have a more active participation in conflict resolution; enable the ASEAN Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management (AHA Centre) to play a bigger role and look at disaster management as a possible starting point to provide assistance. The group also suggested to have a listing of NGOs who are already helping out in the different peace processes in the region, and foster networking among these CSOs/NGOs. Through the Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN (CPR), ASEAN can engage with dialogue partners and international/regional organizations that are

already doing work in peace and reconciliation, and exchange ideas regarding their respective experiences.

The group likewise added the recommendations to: strengthen the capacity of uniformed personnel so that their role is not just to put a stop to the violence, but they can also act as mediators; enhance the role of the youth; engage relevant bodies of ASEAN, e.g. ASEAN-IPR, to do case studies on the experiences within ASEAN; establish a mediator's network; provide training of trainers for mediators and alternative dispute resolutions (ADRs), in close coordination with local communities.

Lastly, the group pointed out that what is crucial with all of these proposals are the funding and resources in order to carry out these initiatives.

**Dr. Nario-Galace** asked Group 3, "How different would the mediator's network be from the current women's registry that was formed? Are you suggesting a mediator's network in local communities?"

A member of **Group 3** explained to the body that OPAPP conceptualized an ADR mechanism for communities wherein the community members or local NGOs/CSOs are being trained to conduct community-based ADR to solve their own local problems.

**Group 2** shared to the body their discussions on (1) the ASEAN Women for Peace Registry (AWPR), which had recently been launched, and (2) to tap into the resources of pool of experts who have been involved and engaged in peace processes. Both for the AWPR and for the suggested more expansive pool of experts, the first step is to take a look at the terms of reference of the ASEAN-IPR and see what functions these pools of experts have. From there, assess how it can move forward.

**Group 1** noted that most of their discussed strategies have already been talked about by the other groups. The presenter, then, cited that the political will and commitment needed from the ASEAN Member States are crucial. He also agreed with the previous sentiment that without funding, it will be very difficult to do all of these proposed strategies. There is a need to consider the possible sources of funding – not just government and ASEAN, but private entities as well.

It was also suggested to have a pool of researchers and a collection/catalogue of different research done to help the region as well as in its neighboring states, to expand knowledge and understanding about the various processes happening in the region, while also providing references that can possibly help countries in solving their existing problems.

**Ambassador Buensuceso** interjected that, at the end of the day, it is the bureaucracy of ASEAN that will push forward any and all proposed initiatives. After the AWPR Symposium held in Cebu last December 2018, the ASEAN-IPR sent a survey to all of the participants in that event to identify their existing competencies, as well as the training needs they require. The ASEAN-IPR website now lists these competencies, making it known to the public the kind of expertise available that ASEAN Member States can tap.

As for the Committee of Permanent Representatives to ASEAN (CPR), they have day-to-day contact with the ASEAN dialogue and external partners. Thus, the CPR is available to negotiate ASEAN's existing plans of actions with the aforementioned partners. A vital point is that peace and reconciliation are part of these plans of actions. Each of the ASEAN's dialogue partners are encouraged to set aside some funds to help implement the blueprints, plans of action, etc. Since ASEAN-IPR activities are already included in these mechanisms, there is an opportunity to tap these resources. But one has to know the specifics/guidelines/rules that govern the budget and resources being provided by ASEAN's partners.

The Ambassador then, disclosed how this training series is going to move forward. She shared that organizing a capacity building event of this scale requires a one-year preparation. As such, it was announced that Myanmar has volunteered to take on the second leg of the training session. What can be done in the immediate time is for the participants to present to their respective Ambassadors the proposals/suggestions/ideas they have. The Ambassadors are part of the CPR where they can talk to their co-members and dialogue partners. Eight of them, including Ambassador Buensuceso, are also part of the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council. There are funds that can be accessed but these have guidelines. One is that you cannot use it for national endeavors. All beneficiaries should be from the ASEAN Member States.

Ambassador Buensuceso ended by stating that peace and reconciliation occupies a central place in the agenda of ASEAN. And more importantly, it has champions in Jakarta – the country ambassadors of the ten ASEAN Member States.

For the final discussion point, **Dr. Nario-Galace** asked the presenters, "How are you going to actualize all these capacities and strategies that have been proposed?"

**Group 3** put forward the following suggestions: (1) Codify all this information in a document. It is always helpful to have reference documents where there is information on training mechanisms, ideas on networking with INGOs, etc. (2) Strengthen ASEAN mechanisms and institutions so that they can be more effective in carrying out their mandates. This includes funding and personnel. There is a need to beef up personnel in some institutions so they can do their job better. (4) Recognition of fora such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which is trying to champion preventive diplomacy in ASEAN. (5) Fostering informal exchanges so that ASEAN Member States can have more frank discussions of issues.

**Group 1** presented their recommendation of making good use of information technology (IT), and the internet. Since it is now the information age, people can use strategies/ideas involving these.

**Group 2** proposed two things: First, is the need to equally promote the establishment of a regional response mechanism for humanitarian crises. The presenter noted that there is a Terms of Reference (TOR) for natural disasters mechanisms for humanitarian responses, but none yet for man-made humanitarian crises such as armed conflict and violence. Second, on capacity building, establish a summer school of peace for ASEAN which will tackle basic mediation skills, facilitation skills, peacebuilding and communication skills. The group presenter hoped that countries can collaborate in the conduct of this summer school for ASEAN.

In closing, **Mr. Samuel** shared his learnings from the two-day training session using key phrases:

1. *Passing the baton.* There are things that have been done really well. ASEAN Member States and its neighboring countries should examine how to best pass on knowledge and experiences forward.
2. *Empower women/youth.* The women and youth already play crucial roles in some of the peace processes discussed during the sessions. However, they are still underutilized resources as peace builders.
3. *Fail forward.* Understand where efforts on peacebuilding and related efforts have failed. Use these as lessons learned when formulating the next steps to take.
4. *Be humble.* The best peace builders, the best negotiators have humility – the willingness to learn and the willingness to listen.





#### L. Closing Remarks

**H.E. Dr. Darnp Sukontasap, Chair of the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council, Representative of Thailand to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council**

**Dr. Darnp Sukontasap**, the Chair of the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council, expressed his gratitude to the distinguished guests, presenters, panelists, moderators, and participants of the event. He also thanked the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, the Ateneo de Manila University, and the ASEAN-Republic of Korea Cooperation Fund for hosting the first leg of the training session. He also thanked Ambassador Buensuceso for inviting him to say a few words in what he dubbed as a very useful exercise to promote peace in ASEAN.

In his closing remarks, Dr. Sukontasap briefly chronicled his experiences in peace and reconciliation. He then imparted to the group what he believes are the key elements for successful mediation in varying conflict situations. He stated that effective mediation depends on (a) sincerity, and peace from the heart, support from the people, political will and trust from all the parties concerned; (b) the involvement of all stakeholders in society, adoption of the concept of shared responsibility; (c) utilize the available tools and resources for peace, knowing how to use the right channels, strike the right chords at right timing, and persistence and positive mindset that peace is achievable. He also shared the philosophy that in one mediation, 1:58 minutes should be spent on understanding the problem. And 2 seconds on trying to solve the problem. He quoted one of the moderators of the event in saying that the most efficient mediators are those who are humble and ready to listen.

The chair of the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council declared that what has been achieved in this first meeting is already monumental. Therefore, he congratulated the sponsors and the host country Philippines for this notable event. He stated that he is looking forward to attending the second and the third legs of the training series, of which Myanmar has kindly offered to host the second leg. Dr. Sukontasap expressed his hope that each leg of the training series will be able to produce reports or mediation handbooks that will be useful for negotiators of today and tomorrow. This is because, “we study the past not for the sake of history, but rather to use lessons of the past to help us plan better for the future.”

He ended his message by communicating his personal gratitude to Ambassador Buensuceso for her many contributions to the work of ASEAN-IPR and efforts towards peace in the ASEAN region.



IV. Event Photos



## V. ANNEXES

Annex 1	Welcome Remarks of Amb. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso (Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN, Philippine Representative to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council (GC))
Annex 2	Opening Message by Atty. Jaime G. Hofileña (Vice President for Social Development and Corporate Secretary, Ateneo de Manila University)
Annex 3	Message by Amb. Kim Young-chaе (Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN)
Annex 4	Keynote Address by Secretary Carlito Galvez, Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity
Annex 5	Special Session with H.E. Hassan Wirajuda (Founder of the Institute for Peace and Democracy and Former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia) on experiences during the (1) peace processes between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the (2) Aceh Peace Process.  Speech and PowerPoint presentation of H.E. Hassan Wirajuda
Annex 6	Session 2: Peace Processes and Peace-building in Southeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula, and the Role of Mediators  PowerPoint presentation of Dr. Lee Jaehyon, Senior Fellow, ASEAN and Oceania Studies Program, Asan Institute for Policy Studies
Annex 7	Session 3: Legal/Institutional Basis on the Practice of Mediation  7.1. PowerPoint presentation of Prof. Bilveer Singh, Associate Professor, National University of Singapore  7.2. PowerPoint presentation of Atty. Ray Paolo J. Santiago, Executive Director, Ateneo Human Rights Center and the Secretary-General of the Working Group for an ASEAN Human Rights Mechanism
Annex 8	Session 4: Sharing of Mediation Experiences in the Southeast Asian Context (a) Local and Community-based experiences and (b) National-levels  PowerPoint presentation of Ms. Ruby Kholifah, AMAN Foundation - Indonesia
Annex 9	Session 5: Mediation and Reconciliation as Tools for Social Transformation  9.1. Visual presentation of Dr. Emma Leslie, Executive Director, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies  9.2. PowerPoint presentation of Atty. Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, Former Member of the Philippine Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission

## Annex 1 Welcome Remarks of Amb. Elizabeth P. Buensuceso (Permanent Representative of the Philippines to ASEAN, Philippine Representative to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council (GC))

### WELCOME REMARKS AMBASSADOR ELIZABETH P. BUENSUCESO Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN – An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR) Training Series:

1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators  
Makati, the Philippines, 21-22 February 2019

- Secretary Carlito Galvez, Philippines Presidential Adviser on Peace Reconciliation and Unity;
- Dr. Darnp Sukontasap, Chair of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation Governing Council;
- Members of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation Governing Council and Advisory Board;
- Ambassador Kim Young-chaе, Mission of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN;
- Ambassadors of ASEAN Member States to the Philippines;
- H.E. Hassan Wirajuda, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia,
- H.E. Hamid Awaluddin, Former Minister of Justice and Human Rights of Indonesia
- Secretary Eduardo Ermita, Former Philippine Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process
- Atty. Jaime Hofileña, Vice President for Social Development and Corporate Secretary, Ateneo de Manila University;
- Colleagues from the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process;
- Professor Jennifer Oreta and her team from the Ateneo de Manila University;
- Esteemed resource persons, moderators and facilitators;
- Delegates from ASEAN Member States;
- Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am honored to welcome you all to the first leg of the Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN Training Series on Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace-building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators. This is the sixth activity initiated by the Permanent Mission of the Philippines to ASEAN, in collaboration with the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAAP) and other partners. This time, our private sector partner is the Ateneo De Manila University (ADMU), Ateneo Initiative for Southeast Asian Studies (AISEAS), which is considered to be the leading private university in the Philippines. Of these six, three events focused on the role of women in peace processes and reconciliation. We also partnered with ADMU on the launch of and symposium on the ASEAN Women for Peace Registry (AWPR) which was held in Cebu last year. The AWPR is a means to take stock of ASEAN's women experts in the field of peace and reconciliation and serves as useful resource for ASEAN Member States particularly when certain specializations or expertise in the field of peace and reconciliation are required as we did in this Training. You will see among you women experts from ASEAN who are in this Registry.

All of these activities were held under the framework of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, the ASEAN body mandated to undertake research activities on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution, as requested by ASEAN Member States.

We are honored today by the presence of our distinguished Secretary Carlito Galvez, Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity, who hit the ground running since his appointment in December 2018. We are also privileged to listen to a stalwart in mediation, no less than Minister Hassan Wirajuda himself and many other experts who will share with us their experience, lessons learned, and useful practical advice on how we can hone our skills in the important subject of mediation.

This is one of the most crucial moments in the history of the Philippine peace processes aimed at establishing lasting peace in Mindanao. Only recently, despite the vain and ruthless attacks by those who do not wish our future generation to enjoy the mantle of peace and development, history was being unraveled in the Philippines. The Plebiscite on Republic Act 11054, also known as the Bangsamoro Organic Law, was being held in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. It is the light at the end of the long tunnel for our quest for lasting peace. Unfortunately, international media syndicates were busy with other sad news elsewhere and did not give due importance to the significance of this Plebiscite. We thank all of you, sisters and brothers in ASEAN and elsewhere, who have never



left our side in this long journey. This victory has been long overdue and much has been invested — the lives of our people and the future of our children. There is no more turning back and much work lies ahead of us.

In the next few days, we will listen to experts and participate in discussions and exercises aimed at honing our knowledge and skills in the art and science of mediation. We might not have the stature of a Hassan Wirajuda or an Ali Alatas, but certainly, there will be many opportunities for us to practice what we learned in this Training.

The Training aims to hone the skills of diplomats, and peace and security professionals in the fields of Track 1, local and community-based mediation practices. It will also cover the following topics: Peace Processes and Peace-building in Southeast Asia and Role of Mediators; Legal/Institutional Basis on the Practice of Mediation; and, Mediation and Reconciliation as Tools for Social Transformation.

Mediation has often been defined as a voluntary collaborative process where individuals or parties who have a conflict with one another come together to identify issues, develop options, consider alternatives, and develop an agreement based on consensus. This definition also serves to highlight what is at the core of the ASEAN success story that is all about facilitating open communication to resolve differences in a non-adversarial manner. ASEAN is a region fraught with many challenges and there is no shortage of causes for us to wage conflict among each other. And yet, we choose to live in peace and settle our differences in a peaceful way, a most cherished principle enshrined in the ASEAN Charter.

I thank you all for coming to this important event and wish all of us success in our quest for lasting peace, especially in the employment of mediation as a tool for reaching out to all the parties in our challenges.

**Annex 2 Opening Message by Atty. Jaime G. Hofileña (Vice President for Social Development and Corporate Secretary, Ateneo de Manila University)**

**OPENING MESSAGE  
ATTY. JAIME G. HOFILEÑA  
Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN –  
An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR)  
Training Series:**

1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators  
Makati, the Philippines, 21-22 February 2019

- The Honorable Secretary Carlito Galvez Jr.  
Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity
- Ambassador Elizabeth P. Buensuceso  
Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Philippines to the ASEAN and Philippine Representative to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council
- His Excellency, Dr. Darmp Sukontasap  
Chair of the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council
- and Representative of Thailand to the ASEAN-IPR Governing Council
- His Excellency Ambassador Kim Young-chaeh  
Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN
- Ladies and Gentlemen,

Good morning.

The Ateneo de Manila University community, particularly through its Initiative on Southeast Asian Studies, extends a warm and peace-filled welcome to all organizers of, and participants in, this first leg of a series of training activities for Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in the ASEAN. We understand that among us today are members of the Governing Council, Advisory Board and Secretariat of the ASEAN-Institute for Peace and Reconciliation; representatives from other relevant ASEAN organizations and agencies of various governments of Southeast Asian and other nations; academics from educational institutions offering courses and trainings on peace, reconciliation, mediation and related fields; and students and would-be peace practitioners.

Our University joins all here present in wishing and striving for the realization of “peace to people of goodwill” - if not in all of the earth, at least in the ASEAN region: a peace which emanates from the imperatives of the common good: grounded on what our peoples - the true source of all governmental authority and power - genuinely want and need, and not based on the mere arbitrary preferences and dictates of political leaders, or the conveniences of economics and development.

Peace should indeed be mainstreamed - the norm; the “peace that was meant to be” - in individual societies, in regions, and in the world as collectives of its peoples. And we should all be steadfast in our commitment to pursue peace at all times - most especially at present, when forces of chaos and turmoil are determined to do their worst. On that point, allow me to share with you portions of our University President’s recent message to the 11th cohort of graduates of an Asian Peacebuilders Scholarship Programme which the University runs together with the United Nations’ University for Peace, which might find resonance with us as well today:

*“We gather with hope during these strange and worrisome times when the world seems to have lost faith in nations coming together, in leaders and institutions and economies that are responsive to the needs of people. We seem to live in fear of the other, the foreigner, those who are different from us, who live and believe differently from us. It is a world in which conflict, violence and human rights violations are no longer limited to war zones and conflict areas. These happen in big, developed cities like Paris, France and small towns like our own Arakan in North Cotabato.*

*“Even if we are more connected now than ever, we are also more disconnected and polarized. Even if we are changing fast in a time of disruption and obsolescence, we seem to be going around in circles. And we may know more now, and yet we know that in all this explosion of data and information, we also know less.*

*“This may seem to be the worst of times, and yet these are the best of times to be a builder of peace. The stars shine strongest when the night is darkest.”*



It is at once a privilege and a challenge for ADMU-AISEAS to co-organize, with the Permanent Mission of the Republic of the Philippines to ASEAN and the Office of the Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity, this initial training session, captioned Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators.

With all of you, organizers and participants alike: we do hope for a resounding achievement of this session's basic objective of broadening and deepening the understanding of stakeholders on peace, mediation and reconciliation so that we, in the SEA region, can help each other in addressing our respective states' peace and reconciliation concerns and in maintaining regional peace. Our University is committed to be a resource for community and social development, and partnerships and undertakings like this is our way of operationalizing this commitment.

Mabuhay ang kapayapaan! May we all prove to be worthy channels of peace.

### Annex 3 Message by Amb. Kim Young-chaе (Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to ASEAN)

#### CONGRATULATORY REMARKS

AMB. KIM YOUNG-CHAE

**Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN –  
An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR)**

**Training Series:**

1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators  
Makati, the Philippines, 21-22 February 2019

Excellencies, Ministers, Ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a pleasure for me to return to Manila. I served in the Korean Embassy to the Philippines about 20 years ago. It happened that the Philippines was country coordinator of Korea at that time. That was the beginning for my understanding about ASEAN and its unique working procedures with dialogue partners. My wife delivered my son in Makati Medical Center, so I named him Philip after Philippines.

I am honoured to attend today's ASEAN-IPR training series on mainstreaming peace and reconciliation. I would like to extend my particular thanks to Ambassador Elizabeth and Philippine Mission to ASEAN for organizing our gathering with the support of AKCF. My appreciation also extends to the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and Ateneo de Manila University.

Excellencies,

Peace and reconciliation has been a huge issue in our region in inter-state as well as inter-community relations. I think that genuine peace and reconciliation starts by respecting differences while appreciating commonalities. ASEAN's motto "unity in diversity captures this spirit. When ASEAN was established in 1967, we had many internal and regional problems, one of which was the territorial issue between the Philippines and Malaysia. ASEAN, however, was able to nurture the spirit of peace and reconciliation, and build eventually the sense of community among member states. ASEAN extended this spirit beyond its region by providing a neutral platform to external parties. The first NK-US summit was held in Singapore last year and the second will be in Vietnam next week. I think it is not by chance that NK-US summits are consecutively held in ASEAN. This may be the result of ASEAN's efforts to build ASEAN-centered regional architecture.

While the Philippines has made efforts to bring permanent peace and reconciliation with local groups, the Korean peninsula suffered from the division and lack of trust. Broadly speaking, the current inter-Korean relationship is part of peace and reconciliation process in that we need to nurture the culture of dialogue and cooperation just as ASEAN did for the last 50 years. This is why we put great emphasis on cooperation with ASEAN in the area of peace. We appreciate ASEAN's constructive role in the inter-Korean affairs.

As you may know, this year, we celebrate the 30th anniversary of ASEAN-Korea dialogue partnership. I am personally grateful that ASEAN member states including the Philippines accepted wholeheartedly our proposal to have the commemorative summit in Korea. We are now in full preparation of the summit, which will be held later November, back-to-back the first Mekong-Korea summit. This will be the moment for Korea to unveil its detailed long-term vision with ASEAN.

The Korean Mission to ASEAN had a joint project with ASEAN-IPR in Jakarta last year. In the conference, the North Korean Ambassador to Indonesia participated together with me. I was told later that many young participants were impressed to witness the concrete sign of the improvement of the inter-Korean relations. Today's training series is our second collaboration with ASEAN-IPR. I am sure that this training series will make contributions to the building of community of peace. I also hope to see a new beginning of cooperation between ASEAN-IPR and Jeju Peace Institute. I am very delighted in the presence of Executive Director of ASEAN-IPR Ambassador Rezlan and President of Jeju Peace Institute, Ambassador (H.E. Bong-hyun Kim). The two ambassadors will have fruitful sideline meetings.

Before closing my remarks, I would like to express my deep appreciation to Secretary Galvez and our friends from the Philippines for coming here today. I wish all of you a fruitful and enjoyable time today and tomorrow.

Thank you very much.

**Annex 4** **Keynote Address by Secretary Carlito Galvez, Philippine Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity**

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

**SECRETARY CARLITO GALVEZ**  
**Mainstreaming Peace and Reconciliation in ASEAN –**  
**An ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (ASEAN-IPR)**  
**Training Series:**

1st Leg: Approaches in Peace Processes and Peace Building in Southeast Asia and the Role of Mediators  
Makati, the Philippines, 21-22 February 2019

Greetings of Peace and solidarity!

I have to specially mention Professor Miriam Coronel, former Chairperson of the Government Negotiating Panel who skillfully navigated the arduous task to reach a mutually beneficial peace agreement.

I stand before you today with so much pride and honor because in the coming days, the nation will witness the passage of a new era that will put to rest the decades of conflict, with the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law last January 21 and some geographical expansion last February 6.

So tomorrow at 5:00PM, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte will officially receive from the Commission on Election the results of the Bangsamoro Organic Law plebiscite and preside the oath taking of the 80 members of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority.

More than 50 years of war and in its midst, I grew as a young military officer asking, if for whom the bells toll? A heart wrenching question indeed for an idealistic officer witnessing the thousands of lives lost not only from the combatants and soldiers alike, but the innocent civilians – children, women, elders who were caught in the crossfire, notwithstanding the destruction of properties.

The Philippine peace process journey is also the story of my career as a professional soldier who embraces peace building as a way of life. I served in different peace mechanisms like the Ceasefire Committee, Adhoc Joint Action Group, the Marawi Military Operations, among many others. In all those roles, I made sure that I maintain a balance between military operations and the general welfare of the civilians.

Fast forward, as the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, protecting the citizenry was a shared mission but the continuum of peace building mainstreamed into military operations is an institutional vision.

When the President asked me to take on the Peace Adviser portfolio the very day I hung my military uniform after 35 years of dedicated and, modesty aside, untainted service, he emphatically told me, “Charlie, I will give you a free hand to reform the agency to make it responsive to the compelling challenges of the implementations of peace accords and the equitable distribution of peace dividends.

When my appointment paper came out, it carried “Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity - a more expansive role that signals a framing of sustained and comprehensive peace.

So I am happy to address you today, as you come together to share our individual and collective efforts to achieve peace and reconciliation. However, we all know that our communities have sharply differing historical and political narratives. The need to focus on dealing with the past in order to forge genuine reconciliation and then foster unity is so important because research has shown that countries having experienced a civil war have up to a 50 percent chance of relapsing into conflict within 10 years.

Knowing this makes our coming together here even more relevant, more responsive as we aim to compile ASEAN’s experiences and best practices on peace, conflict management and conflict resolution underscoring the fact that peace process, mediation, and reconciliation experiences are as varied and as complex as our respective countries in the ASEAN.

When Johan Galtung coined the term “Peacebuilding”, he suggested that “peace has a structure different from, perhaps over and above, peacekeeping and ad hoc peacemaking... the mechanisms that peace is based on should be built into the structure and be present as a reservoir for the system itself to draw up... more specifically, structures

must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur.”

Another scholar in the field of peace studies, John Paul Lederach further expands the concept where “peacebuilding is more than post accord reconstruction” and that an integrated approach must consider the complex and multi-dimensional nature of peace building that relies on broad social participation.

We should all understand that building peace and sustaining the peace involves the full array of approaches, processes and stages needed to transform conflict not only to achieve “negative peace or the absence of armed conflict” but to get to the extreme end of the spectrum, that is “positive peace or a structural transformation towards socio-political and economic system capable of fostering justice and ensuring self-sustained peace.”

Grounded on these ideas, I am grateful that I began my term as adviser to the president with an expanded mandate beyond the peace process to include reconciliation and unity. Thus, the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace, Reconciliation, and Unity (OPAPRU) shall serve as the dedicated institution to lay the foundation and mechanism for sustainable peace in the country.

The process of building peace operates within the framework of a viable transformative approach that does not merely mean ending conflict or war but is also oriented towards the building of relationships (reconciliation) and the formation of new patterns, processes, and structures (unity).

While we begin by ending conflict and ensuring that our societies do not relapse into conflict through addressing its root causes, peace cannot happen without reconciliation and reconciliation takes many forms – from healing to transitional justice to reparation. Thus, we envision OPAPRU to take the lead towards sustainable peace through reconciliation and unity of all Filipinos.

Our mission shall be to cultivate an infrastructure for peace building through the design and development of integrated strategies that entail better coordination and collaboration among various agencies.

We realize that reconciliation and unity could be a long and difficult journey whose timeline can take not months or years but generations. We know that only the stakeholders can decide to reconcile with one another. We recognize that reconciliation efforts that work in one community or country may have shattering consequences in another, that in reconciliation, one size does not fit all and local culture and acceptance are key. We subscribe to the merits of a more systematic approach to reconciliation instead of piecemeal strategies.

This makes the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation training series very significant at this point. We certainly need to put our acts together to mainstream peace and reconciliation in the same way that the “women, peace, and security agenda or UN resolution 1325” has led to the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in peace operations. And I understand that it is also the viewpoint of this gathering.

So while the roads to peace, reconciliation and unity can be long and grueling, at OPAPRU we will take our mission at heart through:

**Objectivity** in creating and protecting free and impartial spaces for dialogue; **Pioneers** in the pursuit of creative and better ways of peace building; **Accepting** of the difference in perspectives, philosophies and practices; **Patient** and persistent in the implementation of peace building initiatives; **Respectful** of local cultures and trust in the power of local capacities; and, have **Unquestionable** integrity and dedication. This to me is the essence of the role that we will essay in the coming years.

We enjoin all the participants to heed the call of peace, reconciliation and unity of our countries, of ASEAN. Let us be reminded by a passage from peace pilgrim that beckons:

*We who work for peace must not falter. We must continue to pray for peace and to act for peace in whatever way we can. We must continue to speak for peace and to live the way of peace; to inspire others, we must continue to think of peace and to know that peace is possible.*

My sincerest congratulations to the organizers- Ambassador Elizabeth Buensuceso, my thanks and good wishes for this meaningful initiative. I know you are homeward bound soon to DFA Manila thus this early, I am looking forward to work with you so that we can continue to build confidence in the region and find pathways to mainstream peace and reconciliation in ASEAN. Again, thank you for this opportunity to share with all of you and *Mabuhay tayong lahat.*





