Chronology of Mindanao Peace Agreements

Christine Bell and Vanessa Utley

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The Conflict

Located on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao, the indigenous Muslim population, the Moro, and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) have been engaged in an armed conflict since 1972 when President Marcos declared martial law. The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was formed in 1969 to resist heightening discrimination and marginalization, and in 1972 began an armed resistance in order to establish a self-determining Moro identity in Bangsamoro (Indonesian for 'Muslim Nation') which would be established within the territorial provinces and peninsular regions of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan. The MNLF would eventually splinter into the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), who have predominantly continued the resistance after the MNLF and the GRP signed the 1996 Final Agreement on the implementation of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement. The conflict has reportedly killed tens of thousands of people and displaced over 3 million people, though agreements as recent as June 2015 have renewed the International Monitoring Team and the Ad Hoc Joint Action Group, and a Task Force for Decommissioned Combatants and their Communities has been negotiated in order to continue the pursuit towards peace.

Marcos Negotiations with the MNLF

During the Marcos Regime, peace negotiations resulted in the signing of the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front with the Participation of the Quadripartite Ministerial Commission Members of the Islamic Conference and the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Conference (the Tripoli Agreement) in 1976. This granted a degree of autonomy to the Moro, in which the Third Section, Provision No. 16 states that “The Government of the

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2 Colin Mackerras, Ethnicity In Asia (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 143.
4 Thomson Foundation, ‘Philippines-Mindanao Conflict’.
Philippines shall take all necessary constitutional processes for the implementation of the entire Agreement,” to which President Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 1618 in July, 1979, to implement the autonomy of Regions IX and XII. This degree of autonomy was unsatisfactory to many Moro, resulting in the unravelling of the Agreement and the splintering of the MNLF to produce the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in 1984. Nonetheless, the Tripoli Peace Agreement, and the principles established in it, continued to be an important reference point in all future peace processes.

Aquino Process with the MNLF

Corazon Aquino succeeded Marcos from 1986-1992 and resumed talks with the MNLF, producing the Jeddah Accord in 1987, in attempt to further discussions on a democratic process for Mindanao. This was ultimately restricted by the 1987 Constitution that was passed as part of the democratic reconfiguring of the Philippines post-Marcos. Article X, Sections 15-21 of the 1987 Constitution established regional restrictions, furthered by RA 6734, in August, 1989, providing an Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) following a plebiscite. The MNLF rejected the Organic Act, as well as the plebiscite-formulated ARMM, and negotiations were halted until 1992.

Ramos Process with the MNLF

In 1992, the new presidency led to a change in administration priorities, and the Ramos Period resumed peace negotiations. After four years of an interim ceasefire and exploratory talks, in 1996 the Final Agreement on the Implementation of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement was signed between the Philippine Government and the MNLF. The 1996 Agreement was intended as a two-stage process, with Phase I composing a 3 year transition period to join MNLF elements with the Armed Forces of the Philippine (AFP) and to undergo intensive socio-economic rehabilitation in the region, and Phase II consisting of the devolution of powers and the repeal of the Organic Act (RA 6734). While this was satisfactory for the MNLF, the MILF continued armed resistance, reaffirming their commitment to the establishment of a self-determining Bangsamoro territory.

Domestic Stage Process with the MILF

Following the 1996 Agreement, a peace process began with what the MILF describe as the ‘Domestic Stage’, with solely internal actors participating and negotiating in the peace talks that focused on establishing and maintaining a ceasefire, creating a suitable environment to further progress in discussions of the ‘Bangsamoro Question’ in a more formal atmosphere. This stage would continue until 2000, when the Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of Peace Talks was

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7 Mackerras, Ethnicity In Asia, 147; Thomson Foundation, 'Philippines-Mindanao Conflict'.
8 Abubakar, 'Review,’ 455.
10 Mackerras, Ethnicity In Asia, 146.
11 Abubakar, 'Review,’ 455.
14 Mackerras, Ethnicity In Asia, 147
15 GRP-MILF Peace Process, xxiv.
signed, establishing the international community in the peace talks, beginning the Diplomatic Stage of the peace talks.\textsuperscript{16}

**Diplomatic Stage Process with the MILF**

While a majority of the MILF-GRP agreements were produced during this stage, one of the more notable agreements is the Memorandum of Agreement on the Ancestral Domain Aspect of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001 (MoA-AD), which was controversially drafted and initialled in August 2008, but later struck down as unconstitutional by Supreme Court ruling G.R. 183591 (The Province of North Cotabato v The Government of the Republic of the Philippines Peace Panel on Ancestral Domain).\textsuperscript{17} Viewed by many as the strongest manifestation and solution of the Moro determination, the ruling briefly halted the peace process, however negotiations resumed after a restructuring of the GRP Peace Panel and a mutually acceptable agreement between the Government of the Philippines and MILF was reached.\textsuperscript{18} This was codified in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), which replaces the ARMM with the autonomous Bangsamoro Region, and agreements as recently as 2015 are continuing to implement the establishment of a Bangsamoro Region. The implementation phase of the peace process is scheduled to conclude with an Exit Document agreed upon by both Parties.\textsuperscript{19} This is one of the few processes to have been led by a female negotiator for the government side (GPH Peace Panel), with Professor Miriam Coronel-Ferrer acting as Chair for the GPH Peace Panel since 2012.\textsuperscript{20}

**Chronology of Peace Agreements**

*(Showing direct references to women)*

**Marcos Period 1965-1985** (Agreements with the MNLF)

1976

23/12/1976 Tripoli Agreement

**Aquino Period 1986-1992** (Agreements with the MNLF)

1987

04/01/1987 Jeddah Accord

**Ramos Period 1992-1998** (Agreements with the MNLF)

1992

04/10/1992 Statement of Understanding between the GRP and the MNLF, first round of the GRP MNLF exploratory talks, Tripoli, Libya

1993

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\textsuperscript{16} GRP-MILF Peace Process, xxiv, xxx, xxxi.


\textsuperscript{18} GRP-MILF Peace Process, xvii, xxix.


16/04/1993 Statement of Understanding

07/11/1993 1993 Interim Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) with the Participation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)

1994

20/01/1994 Joint Guidelines and Ground Rules for the Implementation of the 1993 Interim GRP-MNLF Ceasefire Agreement -- GRP-MNLF Panels, Zamboanga City, Philippines,

05/09/1994 Interim Agreement, second round of formal Peace talks between the GRP and the MNLF with the participation of the OIC, Jakarta, Indonesia

1995

01/12/1995 Interim Agreement, third round of formal peace talks between the GRP and the MNLF with the participation of the Ministerial Committee of Six and the Secretary General of the OIC, Jakarta, Indonesia

1996

23/01/1996 Davao Accord, Points of Consensus of the 8th GRP-MNLF Mixed Committee Meeting with the participation of the OIC Ministerial Committee of the Six, Davao City, Philippines

02/09/1996 Final agreement on the implementation of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)

- Reference to women: Page 12, III. The New Regional Autonomous Government (Phase II)

A. Executive Council, Legislative Assembly, Administrative System and Representation in the National Government Executive Council: 25. There shall be sectoral representatives in the Legislative Assembly whose number shall not exceed fifteen percent (15%) of the total number of elected Members of the Legislative Assembly coming from the labor, disabled, industrial, indigenous cultural communities, youth, women, non-government organizations, agricultural, and such other sectors as may be provided by Regional Law to be appointed by the Head of the Autonomous Government from among the nominees of the different sectoral groups; provided, however, that the youth representative shall not be less than 18 years of age nor more than 21 years of age at the time of his appointment.

- Page 30, III. The New Regional Autonomous Government (Phase II)

D. 130. The Regional Autonomous Government in the area of autonomy advocates equal opportunities for all the inhabitants of the area of autonomy regardless of ethnic origin, culture, sex, creed and religion.

Domestic Stage 1997-2000 (Agreements with the MILF)

1997

07/01/1997 Joint Press Release

27/01/1997 Interim Cessation of Hostilities in Buldon, Maguindanao

26/02/1997 Administrative Procedures in the Conduct of GRP-MILF Technical Committee Meetings

25/03/1997 Resolution No. 1 Composition of the Interim Ceasefire Monitoring Committee and Assigned Tasks and Functions
25/03/1997 Joint Press Statement

18/07/1997 Agreement for General Cessation of Hostilities

02/09/1997 Joint Press Statement

03/09/1997 Agreement by the Government of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)

12/09/1997 Implementing Administrative Guidelines of the GRP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities

21/10/1997 GRP and MILF Joint Press Release

14/11/1997 Implementing Operational Guidelines of the GRP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities

1998

06/02/1998 Agreement to Sustain the Quest for Peace (I)

07/02/1998 Joint Press Statement

11/03/1998 Agreement Creating a Quick Response Team

23/04/1998 Joint Action on the Quick Response Team Report

27/08/1998 General Framework of Agreement of Intent between the Government of the Republic of Philippines (GRP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)

18/09/1998 Joint Statement by the GRP-MILF Technical Committee

16/10/1998 Resolution No.2 Creating a Joint Monitoring Contingent to Oversee the Peace Situation in Upper Minabay, Buldon, Maguindanao

24/10/1998 Resolution No. 3 A Resolution to Cease Hostilities at Datu Plang, Shariff Aguak, and Talayan, Maguindanao (Resolution to Cease Hostilities in 3 Municipalities of Maguindanao)

1999

10/02/1999 Joint Acknowledgement of Two MILF Camps

10/02/1999 Agreement to Reaffirm the Pursuit of Peace

17/02/1999 Internal Procedures in the Conduct of GRP-MILF Coordinating Committees of Cessation of Hostilities Meetings

17/02/1999 Joint Statement

18/05/1999 Rules and Procedures in the Administration of the Joint Secretariat of the Joint GRF-MILF Coordinating Committees on Cessation of Hostilities
18/05/1999 Rules and Procedures in the Determination and Verification of the Coverage of Cessation of Hostilities

02/09/1999 Agreement to hold the ceremony of the Formal Peace Talks

15/09/1999 Joint Statement of the GRP and MILF Technical Committees

06/10/1999 Agreement for Field Commanders of both Parties to Immediately and Strictly Observe the Ceasefire Agreement

06/10/1999 Second Joint Acknowledgment of MILF Camps

06/10/1999 Joint Statement

17/12/1999 Agreement on the Rules and Procedures on the Conduct of the Formal Peace Talks between the GRP and MILF Peace Panels

18/12/1999 Joint Statement

2000

12/01/2000 Agreement to Cease Hostilities along the Highway of Cotabato City to Isulan, Sultan Kudarat

20/01/2000 Joint Communiqué

15/02/2000 First Round of the GRP and MILF Talks

15/02/2000 Joint Press Statement

23/02/2000 Joint Communiqué

02/03/2000 Joint Communiqué

07/03/2000 Highlights of the 21st GRP-MILF Technical Committee Meeting

09/03/2000 Agreement on Safety and Security Guarantees

• **Reference to women:** Page 1, 1. The Government of the Republic of Philippines (GRP) hereby extends safety and security guarantees to MILF members who are directly and principally involved in the GRP-MILF Peace Talks. These MILF members, for the duration of the peace talks, shall not be restrained, search, seized and harassed on their persons or property in connection with their participation or involvement in the peace talks, except in cases of commission of common crimes such as crimes against persons, chastity, property, and other similar offences. [...]
15/06/2000 Memorandum: Highlights of the TWG Meeting

Diplomatic Stage 2001-Present

2001
24/03/2001 Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of Peace Talks between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front

22/06/2001 Agreement on Peace between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front

07/08/2001 GRP-MILF Joint Communiqué

  • Reference to women: Page 6, Article IV. Safety and Security Guarantees
  3. MILF members covered by paragraph 1 above shall not be restrained or arrested, searched, seized and harassed on their persons and property in connection with their participation or involvement in the peace talks, except in cases of commission of common crimes such as crimes against persons, chastity, property and other similar offenses.

18/10/2001 Manual of Instructions for CCCH and LMTs

2002
06/05/2002 Joint Communiqué between the Government of the Republic of Philippines, Moro Islamic Liberation Front

07/05/2002 Implementing Guidelines on the Humanitarian, Rehabilitation and Development Aspects of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001

09/05/2002 Joint Statement signed by the MNLF and MILF

2003
28/03/2003 Joint Statement - 5th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

2004
20/02/2004 Joint Statement - 5th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

08/09/2004 Terms of Reference of the International Monitoring Team

21/12/2004 Interim Implementing Guidelines on the Joint Communiqué of 6 May 2002

21/12/2004 Joint Statement - 6th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

2005
20/04/2005 Consensus Points on the Strands on Concept, Territory Resources, and Governance at TWG level

20/04/2005 Joint Statement - 7th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

21/06/2005 Joint Statement - 8th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks
16/09/2005 Consensus Points on the Strand on Governance of the Ancestral Domain Aspect at TWG level

16/09/2005 Joint Statement -9th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

2006

06/02/2006 Highlights of the Meeting of the Joint Technical Group on Concept

06/02/2006 Minutes of the Meeting of the GRP-MILF TWG on Resources

06/02/2006 Joint Technical Working Group Meeting on Territory

06/02/2006 Joint Statement (Joint GRP-MILF Technical Working Groups on Governance of the Ancestral Domain Aspect of the Agreement of Peace of 2001)

07/02/2006 Joint Statement (Joint Meeting of the GRP and MILF Technical Working Groups on Resources)

07/02/2006 Joint Statement - 10th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

04/05/2006 Joint Statement - 12th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

2007

27/08/2007 Terms of Reference of the International Monitoring Team - 1st Amendment

27/08/2007 Joint Statement - Special Meeting

24/10/2007 Joint Statement - Special Meeting

12/11/2007 Communique on the Tripartite Meeting between the GRP, the MNLF and the OIC

15/11/2007 Joint Statement - 14th GRP-MILF Exploratory Talks

2008

27/07/2008 Joint Statement

05/08/2008 Memorandum of Agreement on the Ancestral Domain Aspect of the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001

2009

29/07/2009 Joint Statement between the GRP and MILF Peace Panels

15/09/2009 Framework Agreement on the Formation of the International Contact Group for the GRP-MILF Peace Process

27/10/2009 Agreement on the Civilian Protection Component of the International Monitoring Team (IMT)
02/12/2009 Joint Statement

09/12/2009 Terms of Reference of the IMT- New Mandate and 2nd Amendment

09/12/2009 (Renewed) Interim Implementing Guidelines of the Joint Communiqué of May 06 2002

09/12/2009 Joint Statement

2010

21/04/2010 Joint Statement

05/05/2010 Terms of Reference of the Civilian Protection Component (CPC) of the International Monitoring Team (IMT)

- **Reference to women:** Page 1, Article I. References

  8. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and Resolution 1820 which protect women and girls from all forms of violence, particularly during and after armed conflicts.

05/05/2010 Guidelines for the Implementation of the Philippine Campaign to Ban Landmines - Fondation Suisse de Deminage (PCBL-FSD) Project Pursuant to the Joint Statement of the GRP-MILF Peace Panels dated 15 November 2007

03/06/2010 Guidelines on the Humanitarian, Rehabilitation and Development (HRD) Component of International Monitoring Team (IMT)

03/06/2010 Declaration of Continuity for Peace Negotiation between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Front

2011

10/02/2011 Implementing Guidelines of Joint Communiqué of 6 May 2002

2012

15/02/2012 Implementing Guidelines on the Joint Comminiqué of 6 May 1992

24/04/2012 Government of the Philippines-MILF Decision Points on Principles as of April 2012

- **References to women:** Page 2, 10.g. Right of women to meaningful political participation, and protection for all forms of violence;

  10.i. Right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination in social and economic activity and public service, regardless of class, creed, disability, gender or ethnicity;

15/10/2012 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro

- **References to women:** Page 2, I. Establishment of the Bangsamoro

  5. The Parties recognize Bangsamoro identity. Those who at the time of conquest and colonization were considered natives or original inhabitants of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago and its adjacent islands including Palawan, and their descendants whether of mixed or full blood shall have the right to identify themselves as Bangsamoro by ascription or self-ascription. Spouses and their descendants are classified as Bangsamoro. The freedom of choice of other indigenous peoples shall be respected.

- Page 9, VI. Basic Rights

  1.g. Right of women to meaningful political participation, and protection of all forms of violence;
1.i. Right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination in social and economic activity and the public service, regardless of class, creed disability, gender and ethnicity.

- Page 14, VIII. Normalization

11. The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process. For this process, a Trust Fund shall be established through which urgent support, recurrent and investment budget cost will be released with efficiency, transparency and accountability. The Parties agree to adopt criteria for eligible financing schemes, such as, priority areas of capacity building, institutional strengthening, impact programs to address imbalances in development and infrastructure, and economic facilitation for return to normal life affecting combatant and non-combatant elements of the MILF, indigenous peoples, women, children, and internally displaced persons.

2013

25/01/2013 Third Party Monitoring Team (TPMT) and its Terms of Reference

27/02/2013 Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB)

27/02/2013 The Independent Commission on Policing and its Terms of Reference

- References to women: Page 1, 2. Principles

The ICP will be guided by the provisions of normalization in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro. Its guiding principles are:

b) Inclusiveness, to reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity in the Bangsamoro, as well as the ability to address the different issues facing women, men, children and minority groups.

- Page 2, 5. Functions

The main function of the ICP is to conduct studies and produce a set of recommendations on the appropriate policing for the Bangsamoro. For this purpose, it shall:

a) consult widely, including with the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), Philippine National Police (PNP), National Police Commission (NAPOLCOM), Department of Defense (DND), and other relevant government agencies as well as with Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF), communities in the Bangsamoro, including women, NGOs, and other people and organisations.

11/04/2013 Terms of Reference for Sajahatra Bangsamoro

- Reference to women: Page 4, 5. Sajahatra Bangsamoro Mode of Delivery

5.2.3. Field Implementation – The MILF shall establish its Project Management Team that will be responsible for the following: a) Identify all individual and community beneficiaries for the Program, always guided by the principles of inclusiveness and gender balance.

22/04/2013 Guidelines for Mutual Understanding between the CCCH of the GPH and the MILF for Ceasefire-related Functions during the 13 May 2013 National and Local Elections

13/07/2013 Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth-sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB)

- Reference to women: Page 7, XII. Gender and Development

In the utilization of public funds, the Bangsamoro shall ensure that the needs of women and men are adequately address. For this purpose, the Bangsamoro shall set aside at least 5% of the official development funds that it receives for support programs and activities for women in accordance with a gender and development plan.

08/12/2013 Annex on Power-Sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro
• References to women: Page 3, Part Two: Governance Structure
2. The Bangsamoro assembly shall be representative of the Bangsamoro’s constituent political units, as well as non-Moro indigenous communities, women, settler communities, and other sectors. The Bangsamoro Basic Law shall ensure that representation in the assembly reflects the diversity of the Bangsamoro;

• Page 4, Part Two: Governance Structure
7. There shall be a Bangsamoro council of leaders composed of the Chief Minister, provincial governors, mayors of chartered cities, and a representative each of the non-Moro indigenous communities, women, settler communities, and other sectors. The Bangsamoro council of leaders shall be chaired by the Chief Minister;

• Page 10, Part Three, III:
55. Establishment of appropriate mechanisms for consultations for women and marginalized sectors;
56. Special development programs and laws for women, the youth, the elderly, labor, the differently-abled, and indigenous cultural communities

2014
25/01/2014 Annex on Normalization to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB)
• References to women: Page 8, G. Socio-Economic Development Program
3. Special socio-economic programs will be provided to the decommissioned women auxiliary forces of the MILF.
5. The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process. For this purpose, a Trust Fund shall be established through which urgent support, recurrent and investment budget cost will be released with efficiency, transparency and accountability. The Parties agree to adopt criteria for eligible financing schemes, such as, priority areas of capacity building, institutional strengthening, impact programs to address imbalances in development and infrastructures, and economic facilitation for return to normal life affecting combatant and non-combatant elements of the MILF, indigenous peoples, women, children, and internally displaced persons.

25/01/2014 On the Bangsamoro Waters and Zones of Joint Cooperation Addendum to the Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth-sharing and the Annex on Power-sharing

22/03/2014 Terms of Reference for the Joint Normalization Committee

22/03/2014 Terms of Reference for the Independent Decommissioning Body

22/03/2014 Terms of Reference for the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission

27/03/2014 The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro

23/11/2014 The Coordination Team for the Transition to the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) and its Terms of Reference

23/11/2014 Confidence Building Measures for the Six Acknowledged MILF Camps through the Department of Agriculture Farmer’s Assistance Program

2015
29/01/2015 Certification (Renewal of the International Monitoring Team mandate)

• **References to Women**: Page 2, II. Definitions: MILF Combatants. For purposes of these implementing guidelines, refers to both regular and guerrilla members of the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF). To ensure that the socio-economic initiatives and the decommissioning process will be gender-sensitive and inclusive, the term shall include Women Auxiliary forces.

• Page 8, V. The Process: 2.5 Registration and verification of MILF weapons and combatants at APA – All MILF combatants will be registered and verified by the IDP at the APA sites. This registration will include the following information: name, age, sex, rank, responsibilities within the unit/formation, date of entry into service and will provide the basis for a complete list of personnel. [...]  

31/05/2015 Certification (Renewal of the Civilian Protection Component of the International Monitoring Team)  

31/05/2015 Certification (Renewal of Ad Hoc Joint Action Group mandate)  

02/06/2015 The Task Force for Decommissioned Combatants and their Communities and its Terms of Reference  

• **References to women**: Page 2, IV. Composition  
3. The Task Force shall create a special team on the special socio-economic and development programs for the decommissioned women auxiliary forces of the MILF.

Sources:


Muslim, Macapado A., and Rufa Cagoco-Guiam. 'Mindanao: Land Of Promise'. *Accord*, no. 6 (1999):


Acknowledgements

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The chronology was researched and authored by Vanessa Utley (University of Edinburgh, Human Rights LLM Programme) and Professor Christine Bell (Professor of Law, Director Global Justice Academy (www.globaljusticeacademy.ed.ac.uk), and Programme Director, Political Settlements Research Programme (www.politicalsettlements.org).

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