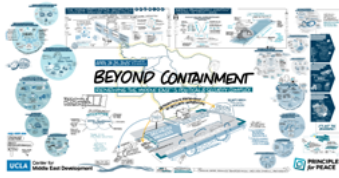




NAVIGATING A FRAGMENTING  
PEACE AND SECURITY SYSTEM

# ANNUAL REPORT 2025



**In this 2025 Annual Report, the Principles for Peace (P4P) Foundation presents our transformative approach to global peacemaking. Through groundbreaking convenings and expansive global partnerships, we have demonstrated resilient growth and meaningful impact – navigating a year marked by challenges and opportunity.**

INTRODUCTION	3
2025 IN NUMBERS	4
2025 MILESTONES	5
PARTNER VOICES	6
RECALIBRATING PEACE PRACTICE	7
EVIDENCE THAT CHANGES DECISIONS	8
The Peace Navigator – Making Legitimacy Measurable	8
PeaceGames – Strategy-Testing for Leaders and Policymakers	9
WHERE IDEAS BECOME ACTION – ACCOMPANYING PEACEMAKERS AND ACTIVATING ECOSYSTEMS	10
Israel-Palestine: A Bi-National Coalition Driving New Momentum for Legitimate Peace	10
Middle East & North Africa: A Discreet Platform Shaping Regional Political Options	13
Somalia: Consolidating a Nationally-Led Model for Reconciliation	15
Multilateral Platforms: Re-shaping the Peace and Security System	16
CONSOLIDATING A DYNAMIC APPROACH: P4P'S 2025 EVOLUTION IN FIVE STEPS	18
PARTNERS AND SUPPORTERS	19
THE TEAM BEHIND P4P	19

# INTRODUCTION

If 2024 exposed the erosion of the global peace system, 2025 confirmed that the crisis is structural. The legitimacy of institutions, powerholders, and even peace processes, the very trust they hold among the public, has continued to decline across the world. Armed conflicts have become more entrenched, polarisation more acute, and multilateral responses more fragmented. At the same time, military spending has surged while non-military peace and security investments have contracted, deepening the imbalance between force and political dialogue.

In this environment, the peacebuilding ecosystem must demonstrate strategic relevance in a world marked by transactional power politics, regional realignments, and shrinking civic space. It must speak to hard security concerns while insisting that sustainable peace is built on legitimacy, inclusion, accountability, and the delivery of public goods. And it must bridge the persistent gap between analysis and action.

This is the context in which the Principles for Peace Foundation (P4P) has continued to evolve in 2025.

Over the past year, we have sharpened our identity as a think-and-do tank: independent, agile, and trusted. We focus on the “missing middle” of the peace and security ecosystem: the actors with influence over power, incentives, and public opinion. From Geneva, we leverage a unique ecosystem to build coalitions of the willing and build bridges and channels for political and economic dialogue and action amongst pragmatic leaders where official channels are absent or strained, convening discreetly across divides and linking local intelligence and agency to regional and global policy arenas.

## **In 2025, three strands of work defined our contribution.**

**First, we invested in decision-grade evidence and AI-enabled tools.** The launch of the Peace Navigator marked a significant milestone: for the first time, AI-enabled decision-support platform and the P4P dataset is tracking the quality and trajectory of peace and security dynamics across 56 countries over 21 years based on the Principles for Peace methodology. This infrastructure allows leaders to test reform pathways, negotiation strategies, and sequencing choices before deploying them in high-stakes political environments. Our aim is not to produce more data, but to make sense of it and help decision-makers make better choices – grounded in legitimacy and informed by evidence.

## **Second, we accompanied peacemakers and activated ecosystems where political processes were blocked or fragile.**

In Israel and Palestine, Uniting for a Shared Future (USF) became the first coalition of its kind to convene more than 550 Israeli and Palestinian leaders across politics, security, business, media, and civil society in support of a credible political horizon. In a context defined by war, deepening polarisation and the absence of formal negotiations, USF preserved and expanded serious binational political engagement around

a two-state solution within a regional framework. It moved decisively beyond dialogue, shaping policy inputs to major international and regional initiatives, including the New York Declaration, the Global Alliance, and the Trump Peace Plan, while also advancing public engagement and early economic stabilisation pathways. At a moment when despair could easily have given way to paralysis, USF showed that principled pragmatism, strategic coalition building, and organised cross conflict leadership can still protect political space and help shift the terms of debate.

In Somalia, our accompaniment model supported the federal government in operationalising its National Reconciliation Framework, making it the first country to contextualise and measure progress against the Principles for Peace within national policy. Through tailored diagnostics, technical workshops, and AI-enabled simulations, we helped shift reconciliation measurement from fragmented, externally driven approaches to a coherent, nationally led framework grounded in Somali priorities.

Regionally, our expanded Middle East and North Africa platform, in partnership with UCLA, provided a discreet space for high-level political dialogue at a time of accelerating realignments, linking regional discussions to country-level processes. It has helped shape options at critical diplomatic junctures while preserving the trust and discretion required for sensitive engagement.

**Third, we worked to re-shape the peace and security system itself.** Our engagement with the OECD, the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding under Swiss co-chairmanship, and the g7+ group of fragile states (with whom we have now signed a Memorandum of Understanding), we have enabled multi-stakeholder reflection and ideation on the future of peacebuilding and the recalibration needed to meet this new era.

Throughout this year of growth, we have also strengthened our institutional foundations: investing in systems, partnerships, and team capacity to ensure that P4P remains nimble while meeting the demands placed upon it.

Looking ahead to 2026, the pressures on the peace ecosystem will intensify. Geopolitical competition, fiscal constraint, and societal fragmentation will continue to test the resilience of institutions and the patience of citizens. Yet we are equally convinced that this moment contains an opportunity: to recalibrate peace practice around what truly sustains it: principled pragmatism, credible leadership, inclusive coalitions of the willing, accountable security, and measurable progress.

To our partners and supporters, we extend our deep gratitude. Your confidence enables us to remain independent, principled, and pragmatic in equal measure. Together, we will continue to bridge principles and practice, analysis and action, and to advance legitimate, durable peace in a fragmenting world.

# IN NUMBERS



## Geographic outreach

Geographic outreach where P4P engaged in political dialogue, advocacy, and action:

- Belgium
- Denmark
- Egypt
- France
- Germany
- Iran
- Ireland
- Israel
- Jordan
- Lebanon
- Netherlands
- Palestine
- Philippines
- Qatar
- Somalia
- Saudi Arabia
- Sudan
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- Syria
- Türkiye
- United Arab Emirates
- United Kingdom
- United States

**11**  
high-level  
forums &  
convenings  
held

**11**  
technical  
workshops &  
simulations  
delivered

**40**  
bilateral policy &  
strategy consul-  
tations with senior-  
decision-makers

## Network - who P4P engaged:

**75** national state and political institutions

**44** multilateral and intergovernmental institutions

**15** security sector leaders

**201** civil society and philanthropic leaders and organizations

**59** private sector leaders and investors

**79** international research institutes and thought leaders

**256** journalists

## Outputs delivered

**15**  
analytical and strategy products

**24**  
policy input papers, political roadmap, blue prints, and joint products

**5**  
bespoke insight tools

**5**  
comprehensive outcome reports from political dialogues

# 2025 MILESTONES

## UNITING FOR A SHARED FUTURE

### UNITING FOR A SHARED FUTURE (USF): OUR COALITION WORK IN ISRAEL-PALESTINE

- Coalition expanded to 550+ individual members, convening twice during the year
- Bi-national alignment achieved on political roadmaps and confidence – building measures as well as complex policy frameworks during a period of heightened polarization
- Through USF, regional and international actors engaged directly with Israeli and Palestinian leaders
- Active engagement with a new Knesset caucus focused on regional arrangements
- Civil society engagement embedded in the Global Alliance process
- Conceptual design of Palestine Impact Fund to support economic stabilisation in the West Bank
- Sub-granting mechanism for CSO-led initiatives established, with 14 recipients signed in 2025



### OUR ACCOMPANIMENT WORK AND SYSTEMS ACTIVATION

- Somalia became the first country to contextualise Principles for Peace indicators within national policy, through the ongoing development of its National Reconciliation Framework
- Measurement of progress toward Somali reconciliation began shifting from externally driven and fragmented approaches to government-led and coherent ones
- First-ever Peace Week held in Somalia's South-West State, dedicated to dialogue, innovation, and cultural celebration
- Our partnership with UCLA re-vitalised a high-level MENA regional dialogue with political relevance, bringing it to Geneva twice in 2025
- Geneva Incubation Space demonstrated that structured disruption can inject fresh impetus into peacebuilding policy and governance debates
- New MoU with g7+ countries laid the groundwork for elevating fragile-state leadership in global fora from 2026



### OUR CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE EFFECTIVENESS

- Legitimacy in a Fragmenting World* report published, complete with policy and practice takeaways
- Global indicators framework and dataset completed, enabling the quantitative measurement of the Principles for Peace
- Incubation space on the future of Peacebuilding held in partnership with the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) in Geneva and in support of the OECD-IDPS
- Peace Navigator launched, a decision-support tool for more effective peacebuilding
- AI integration into PeaceGames accomplished, further enhancing an established serious-gaming methodology for strategy testing
- PeaceGames applied in three high-stakes political and/or strategic scenarios



# PARTNER VOICES

## **Bernardo Arévalo de Leon**

**President of the Republic of Guatemala**

– on ‘Legitimacy in a Fragmenting World’ report:

“As we look at the increasingly volatile world, it is vital that leaders, policymakers, the private sector and members of civil society remember that positive change is achievable. I therefore commend the lessons and insights in the Principle for Peace Foundation’s new report, and encourage leaders, practitioners and citizens everywhere to study its findings and recommendations as we work together to enhance legitimacy in our own contexts, and in the multilateral system, in the critical years ahead.”

## **Nathalie Fontanet**

**State Councillor of the Republic and Canton of Geneva,  
Head of the Department of Finance, Human Resources and  
External Affairs – on GAPS MENA:**

“At a time when traditional approaches to peace and diplomacy reach their limits the Principles for Peace Foundation creates a space for quiet diplomacy to continue where formal politics often fail. This is something Geneva believes in; it is deeply aligned with its identity. Geneva is proud to provide a home for this work, and to serve as a laboratory for peace. Even in the darkest hours, there are some who choose to lead. When war feels inevitable, peacebuilding needs to be upheld.”

## **Julia Monar**

**Director General for Crisis Prevention, Stabilisation,  
Peacebuilding and Humanitarian Assistance, German Federal  
Foreign Office – on USF:**

“We are happy that we were able to fund initiatives such as the Uniting for a Shared Future dialogue that has established a network between Israelis and Palestinians in all sectors of society. Even after such a terrible conflict, people from both sides can sit together and discuss solutions for the future. It is very encouraging to see that this can happen even in the immediate post-conflict era and has already started during the war. So, we are very honoured to have been able to assist in these efforts.”

## **Gilad Kariv**

**Member of Knesset – on USF:**

“Uniting for a Shared Future has over the past 18 months worked to bring together Israelis and Palestinians and others from the region. They aim to create a moderate and pragmatic alliance, an alternative to the vision of endless war, revenge, abandonment of the hostages, and indifference to human life on the other side. Time after time, politicians here in Washington on both sides of the aisle were surprised to see an Israeli and a Palestinian discuss a shared future. The opposition’s responsibility is to offer an alternative of hope to Netanyahu and his partners’ failed policies. This is possible, this is necessary because peace is made after war.”

## **Nidal Foqaha**

**Director, Palestinian Peace Coalition – on USF:**

“The most valuable thing about USF is providing this umbrella for members from different backgrounds, different constituencies, different countries from the Middle East, from Palestine, from Israel, from other Middle Eastern countries, from Europe. We are all putting in an accumulated effort together. We are working towards one unified message. Part of the mandate is being done

by us, who are coming from the Middle East, from Palestine. And it is in line with the messages and the principles of USF. Our colleagues in Switzerland, European countries and the United States are conveying the same message to the international stakeholders. So, this framework is needed. It’s active and very well connected to the local stakeholders in the Middle East, but also to the international stakeholders as well as the regional.”

## **Gadi Baltiansky**

**Executive Director, Geneva Initiative – on USF:**

“One word describes best the last year cooperation between the Geneva Initiative and P4P: Wow!

P4P’s ability to open doors, identify windows of opportunity, and create the right rooms has been a tremendous asset for all peacebuilders in our region. Israeli decision-makers, policy and public opinion shapers obtained new tools, new ideas, and new partners to promote a peaceful solution to our conflict. The active, creative and strategic engagement of P4P with relevant players is a unique resource for us, as the leading force of the local two-state coalition.

The peacebuilding civil society has significantly changed since the involvement of P4P, proving once again that if done correctly, 1+1 are much more than 2, and P4P stands also for Power for Peacemakers. We are proud to be partnered with an organization that brings so much knowledge, devotion and sensitivity to the table, while also recognizing, empowering, and connecting local actors, and we are convinced that the road to peace, with P4P on board, became much shorter.”

## **Habib Ur Rehman Mayar**

**Deputy General Secretary,  
g7+ Secretariat – on partnership with P4P**

“The g7+ Secretariat welcomes the signing of the partnership MoU with Principles for Peace, which marks an important step in strengthening collaboration to advance peace, resilience, and good governance across g7+ member countries. This partnership reflects a shared commitment to ensuring that the perspectives and lived experiences of conflict-affected states are meaningfully reflected in global policy discussions and decision-making processes. Through this collaboration, the g7+ and Principles for Peace will work together and pursue peer learning, and global advocacy. By combining analytical rigor with country-led insights, the partnership aims to foster inclusive dialogue, bridge global analysis with ground realities, and support nationally owned pathways to peace and sustainable development. We look forward to translating shared experiences into practical action that contributes to lasting peace and prosperity in some of the world’s most challenging places.”

## **Idil Abdi Mohammed**

**Chief Policy Advisor, Somali Ministry of Interior,  
Federal Affairs and Reconciliation –  
on accompaniment work in Somalia:**

“We just concluded an AI-enabled simulation with the Principles for Peace Foundation. It was really valuable, as it brought the many reconciliation frameworks, policy documents, and legal instruments that Somalia has into one single picture. I think it’s something that will make decision-making a lot easier for everybody in our office and in this government. So, thank you, and we very much look forward to collaborating with you more.”

# RECALIBRATING PEACE PRACTICE

The Principles for Peace Foundation is a **think-and-do tank**: independent, agile, and trusted. As an advisor to decision-makers, our work sits between analysis and action, supporting conflict analysis, political dialogue, and sensitive transitions.

At P4P, we understand our role as **accompanying, enabling, and catalysing** peace efforts that are locally and nationally owned. As custodian of the **Principles for Peace**, we offer a shared benchmark for navigating transformation and complexity. The Principles provide a common language to assess legitimacy, inclusion, accountability, and effectiveness, while explicitly rejecting one-size-fits-all solutions. They must be translated to each context, balanced out, and applied in ways that reflect political realities on the ground.

P4P focuses on the **“grasstops”** rather than just the grassroots, and the **“missing middle”** of peace processes: actors with influence over power, politics, incentives, and public opinion who are often overlooked by formal negotiations or grassroots programming. This positioning allows P4P to operate credibly across ideological, geopolitical, and institutional divides, even in moments when processes are blocked, fragmented, or politically sensitive.

We use **Geneva deliberately** as our base, as a neutral convening and systems hub that connects global norms with local realities.

## HOW WE WORK – PRINCIPLED PRAGMATISM & BROAD COALITIONS

P4P activates peace ecosystems through five principal assets:

- 1 Principles, standards, and thought leadership** – offering a shared benchmark and one-step-ahead insights to design, measure and enhance peacemaking efforts.
- 2 Measurement, diagnostics, and course correction** – using the Peace Navigator and new AI-enabled analysis to bridge data and decision-making and help steer better informed, more reflective peace strategies.
- 3 Simulations, playbooks, and incubation spaces** – unlocking path dependency and status quo responses by players within peace ecosystems.
- 4 Accompaniment, coalition, and momentum-building** – partnering widely to align actors around options for peace, security, and stability via our grasstops networks, P4P Stakeholder Platform, expert advice, and tailored support.
- 5 Discreet political convening and influencing** – leveraging the convening capability of the Geneva Architecture for Peace and Security (GAPS) and P4P’s pragmatic engagement approach to build understanding and confidence across conflict divides.

## WHAT MAKES P4P’S PRACTICE DISTINCT

- Legitimacy-first lens:** P4P treats legitimacy as a strategic variable that shapes whether peace processes endure or unravel, not as a normative add-on.
- Middle-out approach:** P4P works simultaneously above and below formal negotiation levels to build coalitions that can influence mainstream politics.
- Political timing:** Our analysis and engagement are iterative and adaptive, allowing agendas and tools to shift in response to rapidly changing geopolitical conditions.
- Decision-grade evidence:** We analyse data and design simulations not merely to describe context, but to inform choices and to convene and align decision-makers.
- Discreet convening and trust:** P4P prioritizes substance over visibility, which enables sensitive conversations and early-stage ideas to develop in safe, politically attuned spaces.

# EVIDENCE THAT CHANGES DECISIONS

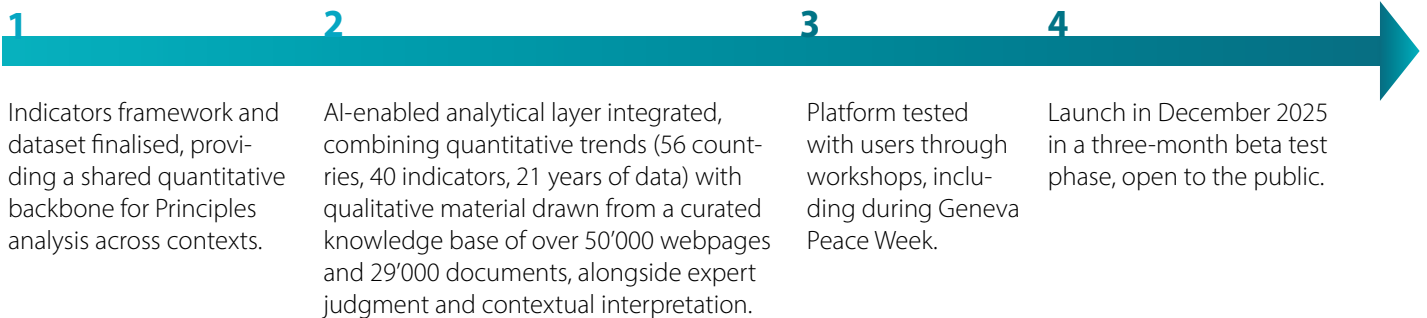
Across peace and security policy, the challenge is no longer a lack of analysis, but the persistent gap between insight and action. P4P is focused on closing this gap by building and deploying infrastructures that translate legitimacy-based analysis into decision-grade evidence.

## THE PEACE NAVIGATOR – MAKING LEGITIMACY MEASURABLE

The Peace Navigator, launched in 2025, is P4P's flagship evidence platform: an **AI-powered decision-support tool** designed to help policymakers and practitioners move beyond fragmented data toward actionable, legitimacy-centred insight. It enables users to understand not only what is changing in peace and security contexts, but also the contextual dynamics of these changes, and what this means for strategy.

At its core, the Navigator translates the Eight Principles for Peace into measurable dimensions of peace quality and trajectory. Developed in collaboration with the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), the underlying Indicators Dataset tracks 40 indicators across 56 countries over 21 years. Instead of ranking countries, the framework is designed to detect change, identify emerging legitimacy gaps, and highlight where inclusion, trust, or governance strains may undermine peace efforts.

### 4 steps to launching the Peace Navigator in 2025



### Peace Navigator core functions

Deliver diagnostics that reveal legitimacy gaps, inclusion failures, and systemic fragility

Provide trend analysis and forward-looking risk assessments

Translate complex data into foresight and strategic options

Enabling scenario testing when combined with PeaceGames and insight labs

Democratise access to peace intelligence

Access at [www.peacenavigator.org](http://www.peacenavigator.org)

By design, the Navigator is adaptive. It evolves with new data, contextual inputs, and user feedback, ensuring that evidence remains relevant to shifting political realities.



## PEACEGAMES – STRATEGY-TESTING FOR LEADERS & POLICYMAKERS

If the Peace Navigator clarifies where legitimacy and risk are shifting, PeaceGames address what to do about it. PeaceGames are P4P's AI-assisted, high-stakes simulations that allow leaders to test and refine political strategies before they are deployed in real-world negotiations.

Modelled on military war games but focused on reaching sustained peace – through diplomacy, political settlement, and social and economic stabilisation – PeaceGames provide a safe environment to explore politically sensitive options, examine tra-

de-offs, and anticipate second- and third-order effects. They are designed not to rehearse ideal outcomes, but to stress-test realism.

In 2025, P4P further systematised the integration of AI co-pilots into PeaceGames, which linked the simulations directly to Peace Navigator data as well as to context-specific knowledge libraries curated for each exercise. This allowed scenarios to evolve dynamically as decisions were taken.

### PeaceGames core functions

- Strategic testing of reform pathways, negotiation options, and sequencing choices
- Trade-off analysis that surfaces hidden risks and unintended consequences
- Coalition-building among actors who rarely share decision-making space
- Capacity strengthening for negotiation, mediation, and strategic planning
- Safe exploration of politically “unsayable” options without reputational cost

Two PeaceGames were particularly illustrative of this added value this year:

#### Systems level: Syria (Geneva Incubation Space edition)

Applied to the context of post-Assad Syria, a PeaceGame helped translate emerging but still abstract ideas on the future of peacebuilding into concrete options. The final recommendations of the incubation space fed directly into Organisation for Co-operation and Development (OECD) and International Dialogue for

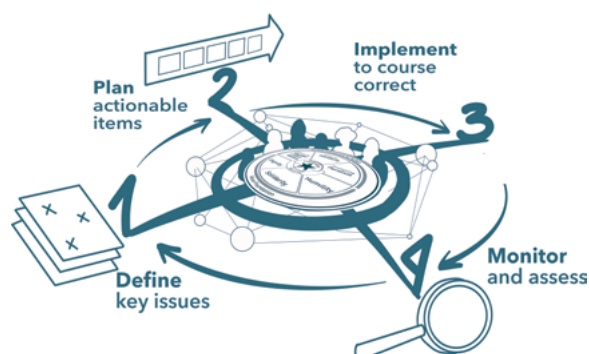
Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS) discussions on institutional reform, financing, and innovation.

#### National level: Somalia

PeaceGames enabled Somali authorities in Mogadishu to test their reconciliation measurement approach against real political and operational dilemmas. The exercise strengthened cross-institutional coherence and confidence in evidence as a practical governance tool.

### Participatory review – Closing the loop

P4P's Participatory Periodic Review process engages key stakeholders in structured discussions on steps toward peace, drawing on the diagnostic power of the P4P methodology and insights from the Navigator and PeaceGaming tools. These reviews ensure evidence informs decision-making in ways that strengthen ownership and accountability.



# WHERE IDEAS BECOME ACTION

## Accompanying Peacemakers and Activating Ecosystems

In its second impact area, P4P deploys infrastructures for political dialogue, country accompaniment, and system-level change. This work is demand-driven: P4P steps in where political processes are stalled or vulnerable, working alongside government actors and peace and stabilization efforts to help restore momentum. It does so with a clear view toward local ownership and responsible exit.

### ISRAEL PALESTINE: A BI-NATIONAL COALITION DRIVING NEW MOMENTUM FOR LEGITIMATE PEACE

#### WHAT UNITING FOR A SHARED FUTURE STANDS FOR

USF's core premise is that beyond the agreed principle of ending violence, what is needed is momentum towards a regionally anchored solution that both peoples can see as legitimate and worth fighting for politically. Through sustained dialogue and deliberation, the coalition has converged around a clear political direction: a two-state solution, anchored within a regional framework, featuring a demilitarized Palestinian state embedded in regional security and economic arrangements.

In 2025, USF consolidated its role as the most credible non-official binational platform advancing a political horizon at a time when formal diplomacy had largely collapsed. Bringing together more than 550 Israeli and Palestinian leaders across politics, security, business, media, and civil society, the coalition did more than sustain dialogue in a moment of war and rupture: it helped shape key policy debates, generated actionable proposals on Gaza's future, and connected Israeli and Palestinian leadership to the regional and international processes most relevant to ending the war and moving toward a viable political framework.

#### **Sustaining a credible political horizon when formal negotiations had collapsed**

Amid one of the most violent and polarised periods in recent history, USF preserved one of the few serious spaces where Israeli and Palestinian leaders could engage on the substance of a political way forward. Across its political, economic, and public opinion tracks, the coalition sustained decision-relevant dialogue on the conditions required to end the war in Gaza, prevent further strategic deterioration, and reconnect immediate stabilisation measures to a broader political horizon.

This was not dialogue for its own sake. Israeli participants engaged seriously on the limits of deterrence, long term security requirements, and the feasibility of security transition arrangements. Palestinian participants advanced priorities related to governance credibility, reform, representation, elections, and accountability.

This enabled the coalition to keep alive a shared frame that linked ending the war, stabilising Gaza, reforming Palestinian governance, and reopening a pathway toward a two-state solution anchored in a regional framework.

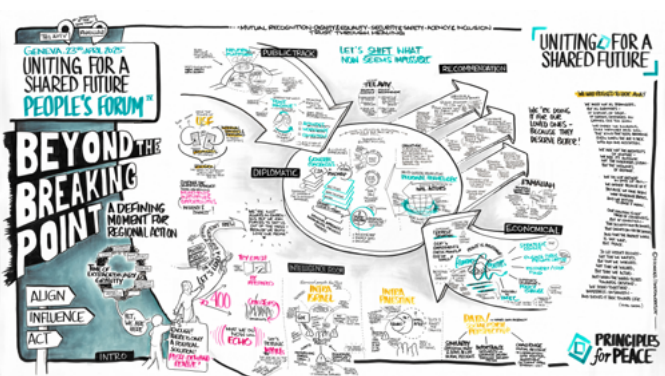
#### **Producing concrete policy blueprints on Gaza stabilisation, governance, and recovery**

A major result of 2025 was USF's shift from convening to solution generation. As international attention increasingly turned to Gaza end-game scenarios, the coalition produced structured policy input on transitional governance, stabilisation, security, and economic recovery.

Following the October 2025 ceasefire and the announcement of President Trump's 20-Point Gaza Plan, USF convened its fifth forum in Geneva, the first binational gathering after the ceasefire, bringing together more than 100 Israeli, Palestinian, and international leaders. The purpose was to assess the emerging diplomatic opening and to formulate practical recommendations on how any ceasefire and reconstruction effort could be translated into a responsible political transition rather than another temporary holding arrangement.

To support this effort, P4P developed a comparative Blueprints Analysis drawing lessons from Kosovo, East Timor, Bosnia, Northern Ireland, and Mali. This provided coalition members and partners with a structured understanding of options, trade offs, and operational implications relevant to Gaza. Building on this analytical foundation, USF developed detailed input papers on Reconstruction, Governance, and Security and Stabilisation for Gaza. These papers advanced concrete recommendations on transitional arrangements, implementation sequencing, and the relationship between demilitarisation, governance legitimacy, and reconstruction.

This work gave the coalition something few others could offer in 2025, namely workable Israeli-Palestinian policy input on what a responsible transition out of war could look like. USF's proposals



were designed not only to respond to humanitarian collapse, but to prevent stabilisation from being detached from a political resolution. This was central to the coalition's approach throughout the year.

### Influencing key international processes and policy debates

USF's impact in 2025 was most visible in its growing ability to shape key policy processes. The coalition fed substantive input into major international efforts, including the Paris Call (and the related creation of a Liaison Committee for Israeli-Palestinian peace at the French National Assembly), the New York Declaration, the Global Alliance for the Implementation of the Two-State Solution, and wider discussions around the Trump Plan and Gaza endgame scenarios.

USF was the only non-governmental group to provide input across all eight Working Groups of the Global Alliance, synthesising extensive coalition deliberations into actionable recommendations. P4P and USF were also increasingly called upon by governments and senior officials as a trusted sounding board on critical action moments, reinforcing the coalition's position as a serious policy partner rather than a symbolic dialogue initiative.

The coalition's influence was also visible in the uptake of core ideas it had consistently advanced. Among the most significant was the principle of Palestinian led, internationally verified demilitarisation, alongside broader arguments linking reconstruction and stabilisation to credible governance and a political horizon. USF's work helped ensure that key policy debates did not focus only on ceasefire management, but on the architecture of a viable post war transition.

### Building political traction inside Israeli and Palestinian arenas

Alongside its international policy role, USF helped generate new political traction within both societies. In Israel, coalition members were instrumental in the launch of the Knesset Caucus on the Advancement of a Regional Security Agreement in July 2025. The caucus created a standing political vehicle to link the release of hostages, the end of the war in Gaza, and regional normalisation to a broader strategic framework, bringing these issues into a more structured political conversation.

On the Palestinian side, USF helped catalyse a Palestinian Societal Dialogue that brought together a wider range of actors to re-engage questions of Palestinian Authority reform, elections, representation, and political renewal. This helped expand discussion beyond crisis management toward the institutional and political reforms required for credible governance.

USF also issued timely joint coalition statements at pivotal moments, including a July 2025 call to prevent starvation in Gaza and restore a path to a political solution, and an October 2025 statement responding to the ceasefire and Trump Plan. These statements mattered because they demonstrated that Israeli and Palestinian leaders could jointly articulate principled, policy grounded positions even in the midst of deep societal rupture.

On the public opinion track, USF developed tailored narrative strategies for both Israeli and Palestinian audiences, grounded in polling and sentiment analysis. The coalition's work recognized that public opinion in both societies is deeply trauma-shaped and will not shift through top-down messaging, but through visible improvements, credible political sequencing, and leaders capable of articulating a future beyond fear. USF's own binational identity, Israeli and Palestinian leaders operating jointly in a moment of societal rupture, was itself deployed as a narrative asset on several occasions even as the identities of individual members remain confidential.

### Supporting societal initiatives

In 2025, USF launched two calls for proposals to support catalytic initiatives advanced by coalition members across the political, economic, and public opinion tracks. These calls were designed to translate the coalition's strategic roadmap and the deliberations emerging from the Geneva convenings into concrete actions within Israeli and Palestinian societies. In total, twelve projects were supported during the year, spanning a diverse range of interventions aligned with USF's three-track approach. Some initiatives focused on shaping public discourse through targeted campaigns, while others sought to consolidate and strengthen the peace-oriented camp or engage more mainstream constituencies beyond traditional dialogue circles. Other projects aimed to deepen cross-border awareness by shedding light on the realities and constraints facing the other side, helping address the information gaps that sustain mistrust and polarization. Additional initiatives focused on advancing policy discussion emerging from the convenings and expanding economic imagination around regional integration and Palestinian economic stabilization and reconstruction. The portfolio also included polling and research efforts designed to generate a clearer picture of evolving public attitudes in both societies, providing essential data to inform strategies capable of engaging trauma-shaped public opinion. Beyond financial support, P4P accompanied these initiatives closely, providing strategic guidance and advisory support to coalition members and partner organizations in order to maximize the political and societal impact of each project.



### **Advancing economic stabilisation as part of a political strategy**

USF's economic track helped frame recovery not as a technical or humanitarian add-on, but as part of the political scaffolding required for stability. In 2025, coalition members completed an international feasibility assessment and advanced pre-planning for the Palestinian Impact Initiative, a blended finance mechanism designed to support small and medium sized businesses in the West Bank under highly adverse lending and credit conditions.

This was important not only as an economic intervention, but as a strategic contribution to the debate on Palestinian resilience, institutional continuity, and the foundations of recovery. By linking stabilisation to livelihoods, private sector viability, and future regional integration, USF helped widen the policy conversation beyond emergency relief toward a more durable recovery logic.

### **Positioning solution oriented Israeli and Palestinian leadership in regional and international arenas**

A final strategic result of 2025 was the coalition's growing role as a bridge between Israeli and Palestinian solution-oriented leaders and the wider regional and international architecture. Through complementarity with P4P's broader regional dialogue work, USF members engaged more directly with Arab and international actors on the conditions, incentives, and guarantees that any future arrangement would require.

This strengthened the coalition's ability to connect internal political thinking to external policy processes. It also laid the groundwork for important developments in early 2026, including the launch of the USF Strategic Dialogue Committee at Davos, the coalition's first address at the Global Alliance in Dublin, and briefings to the UN Security Council. These were not isolated moments, but the result of the credibility, policy seriousness, and

strategic relevance that USF built throughout 2025.

This was, of course, complemented by significant media engagement to reinforce the coalition's profile and public relevance, with interviews and contributions including: CNN's Amanpour, France 24, RTS, Tages Anzeiger, Tribune de Genève, Haaretz, the Jerusalem Post, and the Geneva Policy Outlook.

### **A growing international footprint and donor base**

USF's political traction in 2025 was matched by a significant broadening of its international standing and financial base. What began with foundational support from the Netherlands and Germany has attracted additional engagement from Switzerland, Ireland, Belgium, Swiss, and international philanthropy, reflecting the growing recognition of USF as a strategic infrastructure for dialogue, and not merely a peace initiative. Joint Israeli-Palestinian delegations were mobilized for high-level engagements in Brussels, Prague, Berlin, Geneva, Paris, Stockholm, Washington DC, and New York. The coalition was recognized by U.S., European, Swiss, and Arab actors as a go-to platform for credible non-official engagement on Israel-Palestine, and was sought by a growing number of states as a sounding board and expert base for high-level engagements.

These achievements throughout 2025 laid the ground for the defining moments of early 2026: the launch of a USF Strategic Dialogue Committee at Davos in January, facilitated by the Swiss FDFA and presented to the U.S. Administration as a vehicle to implement point 20 of the Comprehensive Plan; a first-ever address by non-official Israeli and Palestinian civilian representatives at the Global Alliance in Dublin at Ireland's invitation; and two briefings to the UN Security Council, one in Arria Formula format and one in the Ministerial-level debate on the Middle East, at the invitation of the United Kingdom.

## **What Partners Valued Most**

- A coalition that operates across both political communities simultaneously, combining influence with legitimacy
- Political realism without abandoning principle: a two-state framework that answers Israeli security concerns and Palestinian self-determination aspirations within a regional architecture
- Speed and substance — the right people, a clear line, and usable policy outputs
- Bridging the local, regional and the international: feeding grounded Israeli and Palestinian positions directly into multilateral processes, and bringing regional and international perspectives back into the coalition
- New energy, credible leadership, and practical proposals in a moment of deep despair and fragile openings for progress.

## MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA: A DISCREET PLATFORM SHAPING REGIONAL POLITICAL OPTIONS

In 2025, P4P expanded its Middle East engagement from a primary focus on Israel-Palestine to the wider Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, reflecting accelerating regional realignments and a growing recognition that progress on the region's conflicts cannot be addressed in isolation. The foundation for this expansion was a new partnership with the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Center for Middle East Development (CMED), a pairing built on strategic complementarity. P4P contributes analytical depth, cutting-edge peacebuilding tools, and a proven capacity to mobilize coalitions across the political and security ecosystem, while CMED brings more than three decades of discreet diplomacy, deep regional expertise, and sustained relationships across the Middle East and beyond. Together, CMED-P4P was reconceived as a Geneva-based platform designed as an engine for catalytic thinking and actionable strategy capable of doing what formal diplomacy alone cannot and continuing the legacy of CMED conferences.

The MENA regional platform operates as a discreet, high-level political infrastructure linking regional dialogue with country-level processes. It facilitates Track 1.5 dialogue anchored in political timing, with agendas deliberately adapted to evolving diplomatic and on-the-ground developments. All sessions operate under the Chatham House Rule, creating the conditions for frank, unguarded exchange among participants, including some who would rarely appear in the same room, let alone speak with the same candour through other channels.

### Bringing diverse actors together

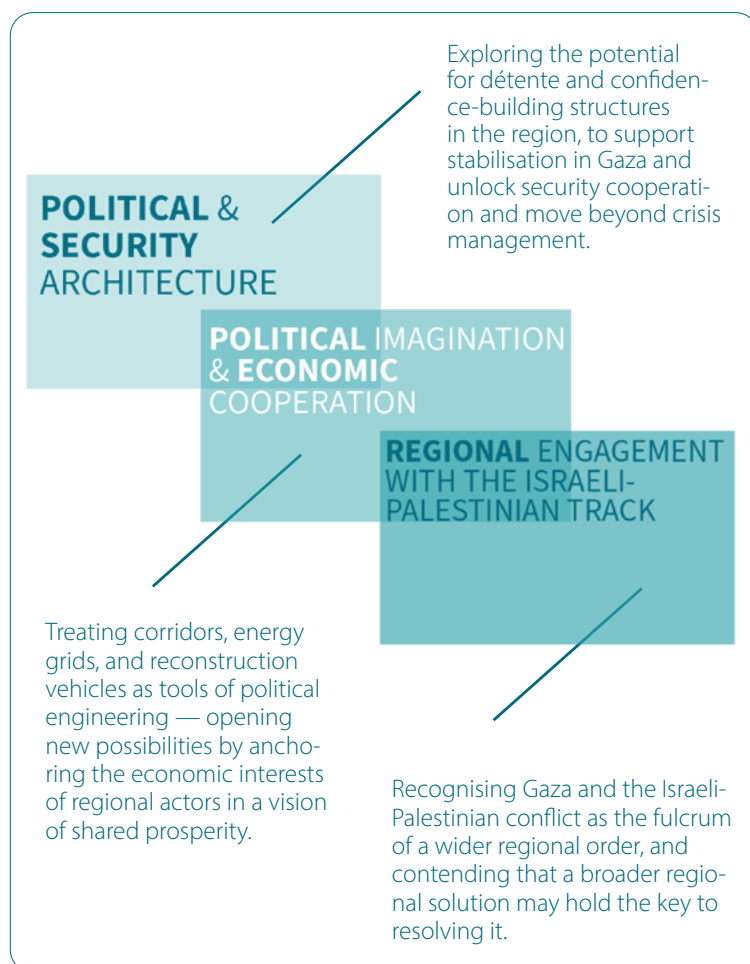
In its first year, the platform convened two high-level regional processes in Geneva, in April and October 2025. Each convening gathered approximately 260 senior leaders – including special envoys and ambassadors, former ministers, senior security officials, economists and business leaders, parliamentarians, senior journalists, and civil society figures from across the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Participation operated under strict discretion, with the platform serving as a space where ideas could be tested, red lines clarified, and working relationships forged across divides.

### Calibrated to diplomatic timing

The first forum, held in April 2025, addressed the region at a moment of structural uncertainty, bringing together 220 participants to develop a shared analytical frame for the period ahead. The second, held in October 2025, came within weeks of two landmark developments: the announcement of President Trump's 20-Point Gaza Plan and the Franco-Saudi led New York Declaration. The timing was not incidental. The forum convened at the precise moment when decision-makers across the region were calibrating their responses to the new diplomatic architecture, and featured prominent figures directly engaged in – or closely advising – the negotiations around both initiatives, including senior Palestinian representatives, European officials, and key Arab interlocutors. The October convening also featured representation from Switzerland and the broader Geneva diplomatic community, reflecting the platform's anchor in one of the world's foremost centres of international dialogue.

### A shared analytical frame for regional recalibration

The forums converged around a three-pillar framework for regional stability:



Special sessions and expert briefings complemented the plenary discussions, providing in-depth analysis on specific country contexts – from Syria's transitional governance and Lebanon's disarmament trajectory to Sudan's spiralling crisis and Iran's strategic posture – as well as on key issues including the International Stabilisation Force, the Global Alliance for the Implementation of the Two-State Solution, and the Board of Peace.

This framing helped situate diverse files within a coherent strategic logic, rather than treating them as disconnected crises.



## SOMALIA: CONSOLIDATING A NATIONALLY-LED MODEL FOR RECONCILIATION

One year after becoming the first country in Africa to integrate the Principles for Peace into national policy, in 2025, Somalia turned to operationalising its legitimacy-centred National Reconciliation Framework (NRF). Under the leadership of the Ministry of Interior, Federal Affairs and Reconciliation (MolFAR), and with support from P4P, Somalia advanced efforts to harmonise fragmented peace and social cohesion measurement systems into a single, nationally led framework.

### Tailor-made accompaniment

In contrast to P4P's coalition-building and political dialogue platforms elsewhere, the Somalia engagement centres on accompaniment and strengthening state-led processes. This accompaniment model harnesses P4P's infrastructures for insight, adaptation, and decision-making, whereby measurement expertise, simulations, and participatory review are all combined to support Somali national authorities in translating their commitments into practice. The objective is to strengthen institutional legitimacy and policy coherence by ensuring that progress toward reconciliation is tracked in a credible, consistent manner.

### Key milestones

In 2025, P4P formalised its collaboration with MolFAR and the Office of the Prime Minister through a partnership agreement to support implementation of the NRF. Through a participatory process, MolFAR and P4P worked to define locally meaningful reconciliation metrics that align Somali priorities with globally

recognised benchmarks, including the Principles for Peace.

As part of this process, P4P contributed to a series of technical workshops and supported the National Cohesion Initiative's Technical Advisory Board, chaired by the Minister of Interior, through an AI-enabled PeaceGame simulation. These efforts lay the groundwork for integrating reconciliation indicators into broader analytical tools such as the Peace Navigator, with further development planned for 2026.

P4P's engagement in Somalia is guided by the principles of subsidiarity, humility, and hybrid solutions. The initiative promotes a shift away from fragmented and externally driven measurement approaches toward Somali-led, participatory measurement of reconciliation, social cohesion, and institutional performance. It also strengthens coherence among federal institutions and foreign partners, positioning the NRF as a reference point for coordinated international support.



### What Partners Valued Most

- National leadership supported through technical advice and facilitation, not substitution
- Practical tools that improved coordination, transparency, and evidence-based decision-making
- Respect for national and regional political context and federal dynamics
- A legitimacy-first approach over imposed templates

## MULTILATERAL PLATFORMS: RE-SHAPING THE PEACE AND SECURITY SYSTEM

Since 2023, P4P has promoted system-change by working through bilateral and multilateral partnerships to help reorient how peacebuilding is conceived and delivered. Acting as an **enabler of collective action**, P4P contributes its methodology, tools, and capacities to unblock pathways for principled, meaningful change across the peace ecosystem. As shrinking financial envelopes and institutional fatigue demand sharper choices, our work supports actors navigating challenges at the system-level.

### Future-proofing peacebuilding from Geneva

Geneva has long held exceptional peacebuilding capacity, renowned for convening sensitive dialogue. Yet amid a widening legitimacy crisis around multilateralism, shifting alliances, and sustained cuts to aid budgets, Geneva still holds unique value, with a dense concentration of diplomatic missions, multilateral agencies, humanitarian actors, and specialised expertise, anchored in Swiss neutrality and a long tradition of principled engagement.

In 2025, working in close partnership with the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), P4P convened an incubation space on the future of peacebuilding and the renewal of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS). Together, we engaged the OECD Forum on Development, Peace and Stability and related IDPS platforms to reflect and

identify concrete actions on adaptation, looking at what needs to evolve and producing concrete policy recommendations, corrective actions, and proposals. This was presented to the OECD and then discussed in December at the principal meeting of the IDPS to inform policy.

A central instrument in this effort was the **Geneva Incubation Space**, which convened more than 50 diplomats, funders, technology experts, and frontline peacebuilders. Designed as a **policy sprint rather than a traditional workshop**, the Incubation Space framed today's peacebuilding impasse as a system challenge with intertwined institutional, financial, and technological dimensions. Through P4P's simulation and decision-support tools, participants tested their reform and innovation ideas against real-world constraints and generated **strategic recommendations** for the diverse policy communities at the table.

### GENEVA INCUBATION SPACE – STRATEGIC IMPERATIVES FOR SYSTEM RENEWAL

- 1 Make peace investable through risk-sharing instruments, catalytic finance, and local economic incentives.
- 2 Harness technology responsibly, embedding AI and PeaceTech within legitimacy and accountability frameworks.
- 3 Design for systems, not silos, aligning mandates, metrics, and incentives around shared outcomes.
- 4 Recommit to prevention and transformation, prioritizing long-term change over short-term crisis response.
- 5 Catalyse solidarity-based ecosystems, ensuring fragile states are not left to absorb global shocks alone.

### Supporting leadership and cooperation among conflict affected states

In parallel, P4P deepened its engagement with fragile and conflict-affected states. P4P signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the g7+, a group of 20 countries whose lived experience of conflict and fragility brings hard-earned insight to peace and security debates on the global stage. The partnership supports implementation of the g7+ Harnessing Collective Wisdom Framework for Fragile-to-Fragile Cooperation (2025-2027), including through collaborative research and advocacy. A mediation and advisory task force will provide demand-driven support to member states where needed.

### Members of the g7+

Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Liberia, Papua New Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Timor-Leste, Togo, and Yemen.



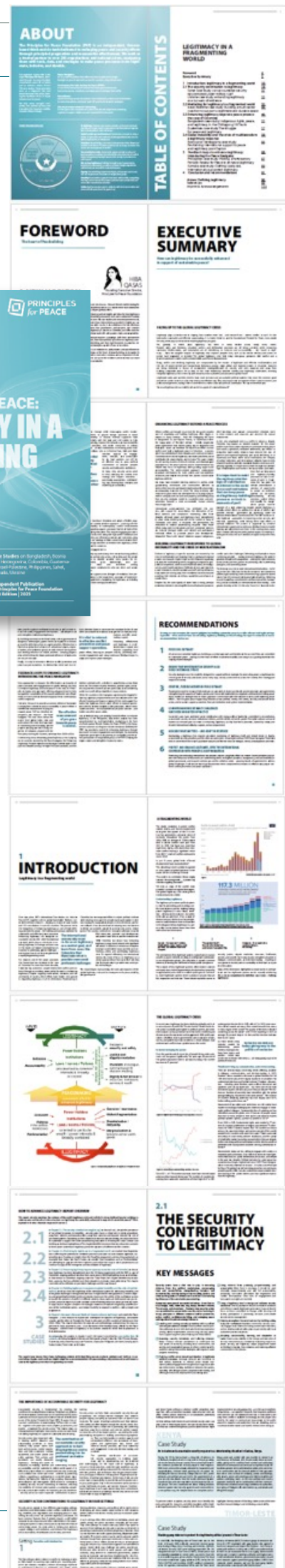
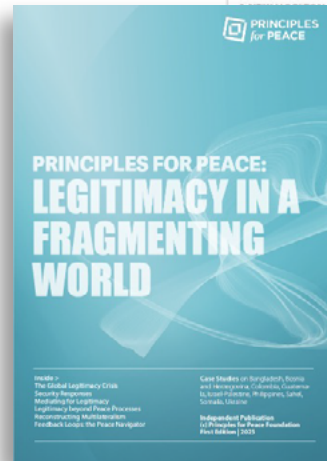
# INSIGHTS FROM THE 'LEGITIMACY IN A FRAGMENTING WORLD' REPORT (2025)

This major new report from P4P:

- Highlights the (troubled) state of legitimacy around the world
- Explores how legitimacy can be built
- Offers clear policy and practice takeaways.

Drawing on global data from the Peace Navigator and beyond, analysis across 4 key peacemaking themes and 19 country/regional case studies, the report sets out six central recommendations:

- 1 Focus on legitimacy**  
 Prioritize legitimacy-building as a central approach and benchmark for success for sustainable peace.
- 2 Ensure that investments in security also build sustainable peace**  
 Design security strategies to support political strategies for promoting peace; use a legitimacy lens to guide all security assistance; and design and reflect on security strategies inclusively.
- 3 Creative, flexible mediation for legitimacy**  
 Navigate the fragmented mediation landscape with greater emphasis on inclusive and locally owned processes and agreements; 'middle out' strategies connecting grassroots with elites; and broader peace efforts - spanning different sectors (business, security, media and civil society, as well as political leaders).
- 4 Learn from how legitimacy challenges have been navigated in practice**  
 Successful cases have combined social mobilization with strong political leadership committed to reconciliation, accountable security, inclusive institutional reforms, and the delivery of public goods. Principled national and social leaders can emulate past successes in enhancing legitimacy.
- 5 Measure what matters – and adapt in response**  
 Maintaining a legitimacy lens requires monitoring legitimacy and related trends - drawing on the Peace Navigator, qualitative analysis and inclusive dialogue, review, and adaptation processes.
- 6 Protect and enhance legitimate, effective international cooperation with principle and pragmatism**  
 Protecting international cooperation requires pragmatic efforts to restore shared principles, address corrosive behaviours; strengthen pluralism and accountability, and grow islands of agreement to address global challenges.



# CONSOLIDATING A DYNAMIC APPROACH

## P4P'S 2025 EVOLUTION IN FIVE STEPS

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#1

### **Consolidating a bi-national political coalition in Israel-Palestine.**

Uniting for a Shared Future (USF) continued to consolidate and expand in 2025 as a binational Israeli-Palestinian coalition, growing from an initial group of 70 leaders at its launch in 2024 to more than 500 members spanning politics, security, business, media, civil society, academia, and diplomacy. Throughout the year, the coalition demonstrated both agility and strategic discipline. In the immediate aftermath of the announcement of President Trump's Gaza proposal, USF members rapidly convened to assess implications and translate shared analysis into concrete policy inputs. These were subsequently carried into discussions across key capitals and international frameworks, shaping early thinking on security arrangements, governance pathways, and the political parameters of ceasefire implementation. Over time, USF increasingly came to be treated by international and regional actors as a trusted reference point for calibration, stress-testing, and feedback at a moment of heightened risk and constrained political space.

#2

### **Translating coalition alignment into catalytic support and practice.**

Alongside coalition-based advocacy, USF began deploying targeted catalytic support to translate strategic alignment into practice. In 2025, P4P launched its first small grants to support USF-related initiatives, providing seed funding and strategic backing to dozens of projects aligned with the USF roadmap. These efforts spanned political dialogue, public-opinion engagement, policy development, and economic stabilisation. The grants were designed not as stand-alone interventions, but as enabling instruments to reinforce the coalition's shared direction and sustain momentum between convenings. Together, this combination of coalition-based advocacy and catalytic support marked an important step in consolidating USF as a durable infrastructure for political process support in the Israeli-Palestinian context.

#3

### **Innovating new capabilities for measurement, feedback, and course correction.**

Our initial vision for an accessible data platform that tracks metrics linked to the Eight Principles for Peace evolved rapidly in 2025 through the integration of AI-enabled analytical capabilities. The Peace Navigator now bridges data, analysis, and decision-making, supporting more timely feedback and strategic adjustment in 56 countries. Pilot applications to generate new research insights and to power incubation spaces and simulations – where peace and conflict stakeholders can test assumptions, options, and their consequences – have yielded promising results and created strong demand to expand access in 2026.

#4

### **Strengthening institutional effectiveness to support growth.**

As a rapidly growing foundation established in 2022, P4P launched an institutional effectiveness initiative to strengthen systems for HR, procurement, integrated strategy development, budgeting, work planning, and reporting. This investment has enabled our small but growing team to embrace modern corporate-grade software, allowing us to streamline operations and enhance the efficiency of our work processes.

#5

### **Practicing subsidiarity and humility through responsible transition.**

Subsidiarity and humility require knowing when to phase out. With the P4P methodology and principles embedded in the ongoing work of strong local partners, P4P concluded its support to the Participatory Periodic Review for Peace in Bangsamoro, Philippines. This transition freed up capacity to deepen engagement in Somalia, where P4P accompanies the federal government in applying the Principles for Peace and the Peace Navigator to support ongoing development and implementation of the National Reconciliation Framework.

# PARTNERS AND SUPPORTERS

P4P's work is made possible through the strategic support of governments, private philanthropy, and the Canton and City of Geneva, all of whom share a commitment to principled, legitimate, and effective peacebuilding.

In 2025, for the second consecutive year, P4P maintained a diversified mix of public and private funding, reinforcing its institutional independence and the strength of its partnerships.

We are grateful to our partners and supporters for their confidence in P4P's role as an independent advisor and convener in complex and sensitive peace processes.



## THE TEAM BEHIND P4P



Our team is an agile group of professionals committed to advancing the Foundation's mission. United by a shared dedication to transforming and strengthening peace ecosystems, our staff are talented and passionate individuals with diverse backgrounds and areas of expertise.

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## ANNUAL REPORT 2025

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