Memorandum

To: The United Nations Commission for Peace in Rwanda

From: David Wage and Lois Haigh

Date: July 26, 2004

Subject: Process plan for Rwanda Peace Process
As requested, we have created a process plan designed to be a tentative guide for the upcoming negotiations for the rising political and ethnic tension in Rwanda. The United Nations is scheduled to facilitate peace talks for clashing Rwandan parties in approximately two weeks. The continent of Africa and countries around the world are hopeful that a peaceful solution is possible. All stakeholders have agreed to hold the talks in neighboring Tanzania. It is essential for all affected parties to participate in this process. The RPF, the Habyarimana government, moderate Tutsis and Hutus, CDR (extremist Hutus), and various leaders in the community from all ethnic groups will be in attendance. The process plan was based on problem solving and group decision-making techniques, which will hopefully allow all interests to be represented. The following sections of this memo include an outline of the process plan as well as brief explanations (in italics) intended to answer the following questions:

1) Where will input fit in relation for the formal decision process?
2) How will interests be represented at each event?
3) Who posses decision making authority?
4) What incentives will encourage each party to collaborate?
5) How will collaborative agreements be formalized?
Rwanda Resolution Peace Process Plan

Objective: To develop a solution to the ethnic and political conflicts/violence within Rwanda, and to develop plan of implementing the proposed solutions.

Stakeholders:
- The RPF
- The Habyarimana government,
- Moderate Tutsis
- Moderate Hutus
- CDR (extremist Hutus)
- Various leaders in the community from all ethnic groups

All of the Stakeholders will have similar incentives to participate in the peace process and influence decisions. Political and ethnic violence has already decimated parts of Rwanda. All parties would like to see and end to the killing. All of the representatives will also be eager to advance their interests as well as their constituent’s interests in the peace process. By agreeing to a consensus process parties will not fear being outvoted. The international community will also apply pressure through promises of aid or sanctions.

1. Preparation Task Force (April 1- June 5): Before the meetings take place a United Nations Mediation Team will:

   a. Collect information and present a paper to all mediators and countries involved.
   b. Interviews and consultation with key stakeholder groups
   c. Assemble media information packets.
   d. Select host and mediator for negotiations
   e. Secure funding and personnel needed to administer the peace agreement.

Preparations for the negotiations are critical to its success. The objective of this step is to create a constructive atmosphere where mediators, representatives and stakeholders have the tools that are required to reach an agreement. It is essential for mediators to have the information necessary to facilitate discussions to address the key issues. It is also important to disseminate information to the media, since news from the negotiations will reach Rwanda and the rest of the world. All parties were able to agree on the proposed host country Tanzania. All representatives felt it was a neutral country.

Finally, it is the responsibility of the U.N. to secure the funding and personnel needed to administer an agreement before the negotiations begin. Negotiations from similar conflicts have illustrated the problems of securing resources after the peace agreement has been reached. The U.N. can’t afford to administer the peace on its own and countries are usually less than eager to make a commitment. An agreement would be hollow without the resources to administer the conditions.
2. Organizational Meeting (June 6- June 20):
   a. Adopt ground rules to be adhered to throughout the consensus peace process.
   b. Clarify issues
   c. Have groups select representatives who will perform delegation duties.
   d. Define problem
   e. Prepare and agree on work plan.
   f. Address issues of priority and list a full range of options for each.
   g. Determine next steps and responsibilities

Most groups are already likely to have individuals who are perceived as legitimate representatives of their constituent’s interests. Some of the less organized groups will be expected to select representatives. All representatives will be expected to participate in steps a-g as well as the rest of the meeting dates. Collaborative agreements will be formalized through a signed memorandum of understanding. Memorandums will be drawn up throughout the process to ensure that all participants understand the process and no one deviates from what has already been agreed upon. Pieces of the final agreement will be produced at each meeting: building momentum based on early success.

4. Principles for peace work group meeting (June 21)
   a. Brainstorm principles for peace.

   This brainstorm is designed to allow the parties to collaboratively think about broad principles in which everyone could agree upon i.e. liberty, the right to life, power sharing, checks and balances, etc.

5. Between Meetings (June 22-June 26)
   a. Social Gathering to promote interactions.
   b. Cultural workshops aimed at promoting unity, understanding and a vision of a rich diverse country.
   c. Workshop report preparations and finished product.
   d. Communications with constituents and the public.
   e. Continuous survey of public opinions and results write up.

   Most of the tension between the Tutsis and the Hutus originates from colonial intervention. There were few cultural differences prior to colonialization. A social gathering for the public as well as representatives could be used to emphasize unity and a common history rather than the recent conflict and differences. The media could be a valuable tool to show positive interaction between the Tutsis and Hutus. It is also important to establish communication between the representatives and the constituents. Both parties must be aware of current events and attitudes. Surveys of public opinion will be used as instrument for representatives to understand prevailing public attitudes.
6. Specific Strategy work group meeting (June 27-July 5)
a. Identify external and internal constraints and opportunities
b. Establish conflict management goals
c. Select a meeting structure
d. Identify process steps

The purpose of this step is to attempt to acknowledge constraints outside of the peace process and establish a strategy to cope with difficulties. The most substantial constraint is the violence occurring outside of the peace process. Establishing a ceasefire will be a priority for mediators. Once a ceasefire has been achieved, participants should decide on the steps for future negotiation. It may be useful to explore pre-colonial (tribal) processes for resolving disputes.

7. Between meetings (July 6- July 11)
a. Community fair
b. Workshop report preparations and finished product.
c. Communications with constituents and the public.
d. Continuous survey of public opinions and result write up.

A community fair could put on to celebrate the ceasefire and bring all parties together in a cultural celebration. Communication between representatives and constituents remains essential.

8. Consensus seeking work group meetings (July 11-August 1)
a. Prioritize issues
b. Negotiate agreements in principle
c. Work out detailed agreements (constitutional reform)
d. Agree on next steps when there is not a final agreement (more negotiations, arbitration, etc).

The parties will attempt to reach general agreements about a problem and then work toward agreements on specific issues. Parties can refer to agreements reached in step 4 as principles in which everyone can accept. Groups could then generate a list of possible agreements to be refined. The accepted agreements should be incorporated into constitutional law to reassure all parties that the group in power will be constrained by an agreement representing everyone’s interests.

9. Between meetings (August 1- August 10)
a. Workshop report preparations and finished product.
b. Communications with constituents and the public.
c. Continuous survey of public opinions and result write up

10. Final Agreement Meeting (August 11- August 30)
a. consider amendments
b. develop plan to implement power sharing agreement
11. Adoption of the Peace Plan by the legislative body and/or by referendum of the people
   a. Vote by Legislature
   b. Referendum (if passed by legislature)

   *The legislature will vote on the proposals once the constitutional reforms have been drafted. If passed by a majority of the legislature then the proposed changes will be subject to a referendum. If the people also approve the changes then it will be more likely to be perceived as legitimate.*

12. Implementation and Monitoring
   a. Establish a monitoring system
   b. Work out details
   c. Renegotiate sections
   d. Handle violations

   *All parties must agree on the implementation and monitoring on the peace agreement. This step may require the supervision of a U.N. or African peacekeeping force. A system for future mediation should also be adopted. Difficulties are likely to arise and a system for resolution is necessary to ensure the success of the agreement. Penalties for non-compliance should be established to deter violations.*
Rwanda Peace Agreement Agenda June 6

9:00 am: Buffet Breakfast
10:15am: Introductions/Opening remarks
11:00am: Discussion and agreement of ground rules.
12:00pm: Lunch
1:15pm: Have groups select representatives
3:30pm: Groups meet and introduce themselves.
3:50pm: Break
4:00pm: Groups will begin to define problems.
5:00pm: Dinner with cultural dancing with both Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups
9:30pm: Social Activity