



**Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars**

**Planning for Burundi's Future:
Workshop on Managing The
Elections and the Role of the Political
Parties**

**Bujumbura, Burundi
December 14, 15 & 17, 2004**

**A Project Funded by the Department for
International Development (UK)**

**With Sponsorship by the Elections Unit, United
Nations Operation in Burundi (UNOB) and the
Independent National Electoral Commission
(CENI)**

***And in Partnership with the CMPartners and ESSEC
IRENE***

Howard Wolpe and Steven McDonald

REPORT ON POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING

“I hope that we can all together show that our interests in (the people’s) misery are real and we want the best for them...we want a new image of us to emerge.”

“I see relationships emerging that might have taken two or three years to develop without this environment.”

“Personally I never have a chance to meet with such a diverse group...these workshops have ‘expanded my horizons’ intellectually.”

- Workshop Participants

This is a report by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (WWICS) on the workshops conducted for political party representatives in December 2004. Organized and administered by the WWICS’s Burundi Leadership Training Program (BLTP), the training consisted of a two-day follow-up workshop in Bujumbura on December 14-15 and a one-day facilitation of party representatives to report back to the BLTP network participants on December 17. As in the past, our work has been undertaken in partnership with Elizabeth McClintock of CMPartners, and the Paris-based ESSEC-IRENE (Institute for Research and Education on Negotiations in Europe). Ms. McClintock was lead facilitator and ESSEC made available co-facilitator Tina Robiollle. Ambassador Howard Wolpe, Mike Jobbins of the WWICS, and Steve McDonald, consultant to the WWICS, assisted in the facilitation and, along with Fabien Nsengimana and Pelagie Gahuga of the BLTP, organized and administered the training.

Background to Workshop

In March 2003, the Woodrow Wilson Center, funded by the World Bank with supplemental support from the Office of Transitional Initiatives of the U.S. Agency for International Development, held the first Burundi Leadership Training Program (BLTP) workshop in Ngozi in northern Burundi. Designed to assist in the restoration of trust and confidence, to help leaders forge a common vision to guide the country’s economic reconstruction, and to encourage participatory and collaborative decision-making and team-building, this capacity-building initiative brought together an ethnically diverse group of Burundians from a number of institutional and social sectors. This was the first in a series of training workshops designed to help fashion a sustainable network of key Burundian leaders possessing a shared vision for their country’s future and the skills and commitment to enable them to help shape Burundi’s post-war economic reconstruction.

The “Ngozi Network” now numbers 95 members, who have been through a “core” retreat and numerous follow-up trainings. Since the first workshop in March 2003, a number of “spin-off” events have taken place, in the first instance prompted by Ngozi members from the army and the armed movements who requested similar training for their field

commanders who would be involved in the implementation of the cease-fire agreement, DDR, and the reform and unification of the army. The successful conduct of the first military training in Nairobi in November 2003, funded by DFID and the European Commission, led to requests for subsequent training for the Joint Ceasefire Commission itself, and the newly integrated military command commission. These workshops were conducted in February and May 2004 respectively. Upon their completion, the WWICS was approached by the new UNOB Force Commander, Brigadier General Derrick Mgwebi, to see if similar training could be conducted for the Joint Liaison Teams of UNOB to be deployed throughout Burundi to monitor and conduct the disarmament and demobilization of the former combatants. This training was held in September 2004.

In early-November 2004, a similar workshop retreat was conducted for political party leaders from 31 of the 33 parties that are registered to contest the pending elections. Held in Gitega, cosponsored by the UNOB Elections Unit and the Burundi Independent Electoral Commission (CENI), and funded by the Office of Transitional Initiatives (USAID) and PADCO, this workshop brought the party presidents and secretaries general together for the first time to learn communications and negotiations skills, collaborative decision making, and joint problem solving to prepare for the coming elections. Work was undertaken to contribute recommendations on an elections code of conduct as well as define ways in which the parties could jointly address the concerns of the population and assure a peaceful elections process. The parties requested that a follow-up workshop be conducted as soon as possible to deepen their training, provide further occasion for joint strategic planning to address elections challenges, and present opportunities for the parties to interact with CENI, UNOB, and their popular constituencies. This workshop took place on December 14-15 2004 with a report-back session with the BLTP network on December 17.

Composition of the Political Party Follow Up Workshop

A total of twenty-two party leaders took part in the first two-day follow-up workshop representing all the major political tendencies (see Appendix 1 for a full list of participants). On December 17, Jérôme Ndiho of KAZE FDD, who attended the follow-on workshop, and Jeanne d’Arc Kagayo of VERT INTWARI and Léon Manwangari of PALIPE-AGAKIZA, all of whom were also at the November party retreat in Gitega, gave a report back and led a discussion with 22 members of the larger BLTP network on actions taken and next steps being considered by the political parties in connection with the constitutional referendum and the elections.

Workshop Content

The agenda for the workshop appears at Appendix 2. Appendices 3 through 9 have several power point files describing the participant work-product for each agenda element, while Appendix 10 provides a rapporteur’s summary in English of the entire workshop. Here we describe, in broad narrative, the workshop content and highlights.

As is the BLTP custom, the workshop began with a discussion of the participants' expectations for their second training event, and a report on ways in which they had applied the skills and lessons from the Gitega workshop in the interim period. The quotes at the beginning of this report are illustrative of participant interventions, stressing the impact of their initial workshop on participant dialogue, communications, shared values, and changed relationships. At the same time, however, several party leaders voiced their continued sense of being disconnected from Burundian authorities, particularly from the President's office and CENI, as well as from the media. Typical comments were: *"I feel we are working in a black out."* or, *"I see it as finding which door to knock on. I don't think we have found the real entrance."*

In reviewing their post-Gitega activities, the party leaders cited a November 24 meeting, facilitated by the BLTP, in which they undertook to carry forward some of the commitments they had made in Gitega, particularly with regard to the electoral code of conduct recommendations that were presented to CENI. Some participants also reflected on the impact of the lessons learned in the Gitega workshop on their private as well as public lives. One particularly noteworthy intervention involved a participant recalling how he had at one point asserted in the Gitega workshop that all Burundians were liars, a perspective that changed after he experienced the Old Woman/Young Woman perceptual exercise. He subsequently was listening to a radio show with friends who were remarking about how you can tell the ethnic identity of each speaker based on the political views they expressed. He described the Old Woman/Young Woman exercise to his friends and told them, *"if you could see the picture of that woman then you'd understand that everyone has different experiences that make them see things one way or another."*

Following the discussion of expectations and the accounting of lessons learned from the initial workshop, the facilitators conducted two new exercises on leadership skills, negotiations and communications. The first was ***Le Province de Kirambo***, a simulation which was developed specifically by the facilitators for the BLTP. The simulation involves a conflict between the hypothetical government of Mibura, a small African state, and one of its provinces, Kirambo. In the ethnically divided country, the conflict over the more fundamental rights of language, access to education and resources, and the right to move freely throughout the country have manifested themselves in an incident involving small groups of extremists from both sides violently fighting over what symbols will be used on the provincial flag. The conflict has also resulted in calls for independence on the part of the provincial residents. As violence escalates in the province, a representative of the nation's president and a representative of the provincial governor are asked to discuss a means of de-escalating the conflict that do not involve independence for the province.

Participants were divided into two groups, half representing the envoy from the President and the other half representing the provincial governor's envoy. The two groups then prepared separately for negotiations, using negotiation tools they have learned in the previous workshops, and developing their respective strategies. After an hour-long preparatory session, the members of the two groups were then paired for one-on-one negotiations seeking to resolve the conflict in the Kirambo province. These negotiations were then followed by an extensive debrief which focused predominantly on the process the participants used to resolve the conflict and the application of the lessons they learned to their own Burundi-

specific problems and issues. Highlighted in the debrief were the value of preparations before going into negotiations, the need to understand clearly the negotiator's mandate, the need for team building and consultation during negotiations, and the importance of clarity in communications. Appendix 4 presents the full debrief of the Kirambo negotiation..

The second exercise, ***La Tour*** (the Tower), is designed to build on and deepen the lessons of consensus building, leadership, and negotiations through the experience of the design and construction of a tower. The group was broken into four sub-groups, consisting of two “red” and two “blue” teams. During the initial preparatory phase, the four teams were each given instructions and toy building blocks (Legos) and asked to prepare to design a tower that they would work on jointly with another team. At the end of the preparatory period, the teams were then re-convened in two mixed sets of red and blue teams, and asked to work together to construct the tower.

What the participants did not know was the red and blue teams had received different instructions, prescribing both different goals and different measures of success for the “reds” and the “blues.” Put most simply, one group was told their criterion of success was building the highest tower in the shortest period of time. The other group, however, was instructed that their criterion of success was to build the tower with the broadest base and in the longest period of time. Consequently, before beginning their actual construction, they were faced with a difficult negotiation. The main objective of this exercise is to help people understand how they think and act in response to cultural and perceptual differences that typically characterize difficult inter-group interactions. In the terminology of the workshop, the “red” and “blue” teams in this exercise usually end up having a debate instead of a dialogue. The exercise provides a context and some data for understanding why negotiations so frequently degenerate into a non-productive debate and, alternatively, what techniques might be employed to build a consensus among groups in conflict. Again, Appendix 6 provides some detail on the participants' discussion and reactions.

The rest of the agenda was devoted to these items:

- A deepening of communications and listening skills through a “difficult conversation” exercise in which participants role play their “inner voice” (as distinct from their actual words) and gain insight into barriers to effective communication;
- A presentation by CENI member, Father Astere Kana, with a question and answer session following;
- Working group diagnoses of two issues: (1) how to ameliorate the fears of the Burundi population regarding the pending elections, (2) the process attending the promulgation and ratification of the new constitution;
- A closing discussion of next steps.
- Written participant evaluations of the workshop.

Participants were encouraged to use the analytic tools of the “Seven Elements Framework for Group Decision-making” and the “Four Quadrant Tool” for problem-solving (both presented in the earlier Gitega workshop) in tackling the two issues they identified as of immediate concern. Their work-product is presented in the appendices to this report. Appendices 11-13 present the written evaluation form that was used plus summaries of the participant evaluations of the workshop.

Here we describe the important contribution made by CENI member, Astere Kana, who outlined recent developments in CENI’s efforts to prepare for the elections and responded to the many questions of the party leaders, and the closing participant discussion of the “next steps” they wished to take as a group.

CENI Contribution

One of the hoped for outcomes of the initial Gitega workshop was to develop a dialogue and exchange of ideas between the political parties’ leadership and the Independent Electoral Commission. Prior to that workshop, there had been no meeting between the leaders and CENI, and CENI member Astere Kana was only able to be present for a very short period on the Gitega workshop’s last day. We therefore urged CENI to take advantage of the follow-on workshop for a more substantive exchange with the party leaders.

Accordingly, on the workshop’s second day, CENI member Kana devoted almost two hours to a presentation and the fielding of questions from the participants. He began with a review of the CENI response to recommendations that the political parties had issued after Gitega. Primary among them had been the need for a formal meeting between the parties and the full CENI. Kana promised that planning for that was in the works and would occur soon. The Gitega participants had also asked for regular communications from CENI on its activities. Kana said that an attempt at a daily radio show was unsuccessful due to cost factors and resistance from Burundi national radio, but that efforts were still underway (through the United Nations) to accomplish that goal. He then outlined other recent events and issues, from party leaders concerns regarding the role of provincial and local administrator to the anticipated delay of the constitutional referendum, from the availability of elections materials such as ballot boxes, polling stations, ballots and permanent ink markers to problems of voter identification and registration.

Kana thanked the party leaders for the recommendations they had submitted to CENI regarding the electoral code of conduct. These had been received and incorporated by CENI in the code recommendations it had submitted to the administration.

Kana turned to the concern that party leaders had voiced with respect to CENI’s independence. Kana stated that CENI was “free from all conditions.” Several participants challenged that statement, saying that as UNOB was the donor of elections funding, it was effectively superior to CENI and could constrain its independence. In

addition, some party leaders insisted, the Presidency had taken actions concerning the elections timetable and administration without consultation with CENI. The postponement of the referendum, for example, had been accomplished by executive fiat. Many of the questions reflected the deep-seated suspicions among party leaders regarding the integrity of the entire electoral process. Thus, one participant said that the President of CENI, being appointed by decree, “must certainly return favors to those who named him,” while another party leader cited the “intimidation by the powers-that-be.” At best, another participant urged, the independence of CENI “is relative, not absolute,” and it must show its independence in a variety of ways. There was a great deal of agreement with this latter suggestion, including the importance of CENI fashioning a closer working relationship with the parties.

Kana, in his response, thanked the gathering for its comments on CENI and said he understood much of the criticism, opining that the commission is in an “uncomfortable situation...I understand your worries and share them.” In fact, he said, “with respect to means, we are in complete dependence.” That includes their ability to buy radio time for informational broadcasts. Also, there is no law that defines CENI’s relationship with the executive, which “is a heavy force” with which to deal. But, he said, the question is a political one and CENI is a “technical commission,” so it was imperative that the party officials and other “partners” support its independence. He ended by saying he would always be available for consultation (he gave the participants his personal phone number) and he would share their ideas with all the commissioners.

Ambassador Wolpe added some closing observations on the need for continual communication between the CENI and political parties, noting that notwithstanding the extraordinary logistical challenges of organizing elections and the severe resource and other environmental constraints all Burundian authorities faced, substantial progress had in fact been made. The fact the UN is involved in a peacekeeping role, and that the Burundi process has been shaped by a series of negotiated agreements, means that the government – and CENI – are not wholly autonomous actors. But the fact that an electoral mission may be constrained does not mean that it cannot maintain its political independence – i.e., its neutrality vis-à-vis the various political parties. It is important, he suggested, to distinguish between the Commission’s “political independence” and its “independence” from legal, resource and other logistical constraints. The latter objective would never be realized. But the Commission’s “political independence” was both achievable and essential.

Next Steps

The party leaders committed to the following next steps and the BLTP undertook to explore ways in which it could help facilitate them:

- to draft a joint communiqué for broadcast to the public reassuring them that the parties would collaborate on a peaceful election process (three participants were appointed as preliminary drafters of the communiqué, and BLTP Office Manager Fabien Nsengimana agreed to coordinate its circulation among all the parties);

- Organize a meeting with the entire CENI commission and all political party leaders (this occurred in the week following the workshop);
- Issue a press release on the workshop;
- Organize meetings on a monthly basis through April to allow the parties to continue to gather in a constructive and creative environment, creating a “family of dialogue” among party leaders;
- Help CENI to clarify its mandate to insure its independence;
- Work with CENI to negotiate airtime with the national radio;
- Explore BLTP’s ability to help CENI strengthen its communications linkages with the political parties, including possibly mounting a “phone bank” service.

Conclusions and Assessment

The two workshops that have been held with the leaders of Burundian political parties are noteworthy for several reasons. Particularly encouraging has been the enthusiasm with which the party leaders have not only embraced this opportunity to strengthen their leadership skills, but have also welcomed the opportunity to strengthen their own network and collaborative ability. The participation of two key party leaders in a national radio broadcast on their workshop experience (immediately following their Gitega retreat), and the new initiative to issue a joint communique designed to reassure an anxious public, are striking developments. No less notable was the frequently expressed wish of participants that the media would pay more attention to what the party leaders had been collectively undertaking, and to their common yearning for an orderly and peaceful election process. (Two journalists, one from UNOB, observed part of the second workshop and interviewed several participants.)

The workshop has also served as a catalyst for the first structured meetings between the CENI and the party leaders and, in the same way, between the UNOB Elections Unit and these leaders. Not only is this dialogue continuing, but CENI’s spokesman Kana underscored the Commission’s appreciation for input the party leaders had provided on the electoral code of conduct. The exchanges between the party leaders and CENI have illustrated the value of dialogue, even in the face of outstanding issues and significant disagreements. The careful way in which the participants and Kana listened to each other and civilly expressed their often divergent views was inspiring.

The subsequent December 17 exchange between some of the political party leaders and a number of the members of the core BLTP leadership network brought to the surface other significant workshop impacts. In his briefing of the BLTP network, Jérôme Ndiho stated that the party leaders (mostly presidents and secretaries general) who participated in the training workshops have been helped immensely because “communicating is their job.” The negotiations techniques have allowed them to reach “common political stances” and

in the initial six-day Gitega retreat their engagement extended far beyond the formal sessions, right into the coffee breaks and even after hours as they ate or went out on the town. We have gone “beyond communication,” he said, “(and) progressed to building relations.” And, he added, “they went back to their chiefs and briefed their parties on the approaches they learned and the common positions they shared. I will not talk about the sustainable and profitable things that might come out in the future, because these things are often secret, but there were nascent agreements being made in Gitega. It has surpassed theory and, just two days ago [in the follow-on workshop], we saw the same groups continue to work.” In the same vein, Léon Manwangari told the BLTP network that, “in Gitega we noticed that there were many political parties that felt differently but looked forward to a common future in Burundi...we all found common ground that first we had to reassure the voters and the candidates...that there would not be a demonizing campaign - and it was important to have a code of conduct for that – (and that) after the elections (we had to know) how to accept the verdict of the ballot boxes and even those who lose should celebrate the process.”

On the heels of this briefing, the newly inspired BLTP network members undertook to themselves look at a “code of conduct” for their own work and institutions and to see how they might contribute to the peaceful conduct of elections. In this regard, they undertook to:

- Participate in civic education with the general population;
- Accept the results of the ballot box;
- Countenance no corruption or cheating;
- Encourage party leaders to explain their platforms and not criticize others;
- Avoid any sectarian or divisive discourse or actions;
- Help in the resolution of conflicts that might emerge in the course of the elections.

If members of the BLTP network, all with significant positions or constituencies in government or the civil society, are willing to translate their commitment into concrete engagement, they can collectively make a significant contribution to insuring that Burundi’s election process is open, fair and peaceful.

A Closing Note

As an extension of the workshop experience, a detailed report of the workshop, inclusive of the participant work-product, was forwarded to all of the participants a week after the workshop’s conclusion.

ATELIER DE SUIVI DES LEADERS POLITIQUES
Décembre 14-15, 2004

Liste des partis présents

	First name	Last name	Organization	Ethnicity
1	Nduwayo	Gérard	UPRONA	Tutsi
2	Bigirumwami	Stany	PRP	Tutsi
3	Nzobonariba	Phillippe	RPB	Hutu
4	Gahungu	Frédéric	ANADDE	Tutsi
5	Hakizimana	Athanase	PPDRR	
6	Nyahoza	Etienne	PIT	Tutsi
7	Baziro	Gaspard	ABASA	Tutsi
8	Sindayihebura	Théogène	INKINZO	Tutsi
9	Barindambi	Jean Claude	PARENA	Tutsi
10	Muhitira	Alexis	ALIDE	Tutsi
11	Mahwege	Hassan	UPD	
12	Nkurunziza	Angélique	NADDEBU	Tutsi
13	Ntakabanyura	Joseph	PAJUDE	Tutsi
14	Hakizimana	Alfred	MRC	Tutsi
15	Matore	Méthode	SONOVI	Tutsi
16	Ntanyotora	Joseph	RUSANGI	Hutu
17	Rukankama	Jean	PACONA	Tutsi
18	Ntandikiye	Déo	ABAHUZA	Tutsi
19	Sindayigaya	Jean Claude	PML	
20	Mirerekano	Paul	CNDD-FDD	Hutu
21	Sikuyavuga	Léandre	FNL ICANZO	Hutu
22	Ndiho	Jérôme	KAZE FDD	Hutu

GÉRER LES ELECTIONS: LE ROLE DES PARTIS POLITIQUES

RÉUNION DE SUIVI

Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, CMPartners et ESSEC IRENE

Conduit en partenariat avec le Burundi Leadership Training Program et
avec le soutien du Department For International Development (UK)

Bujumbura, Burundi – 14 au 15 décembre 2004

Premier jour : Mardi, 14 décembre 2004

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 8h30 | Ouverture par M. Howard Wolpe |
| 8h45 | Attentes des participants |
| 9h30 | Compte rendu d'activités |
| 10h30 | <i>Pause-café</i> |
| 10h45 | <i>Simulation 1 – La province de Kirambo</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Revoir le cadre analytique et la cartographie des relations▪ Préparation |
| 12h30 | <i>Déjeuner</i> |
| 13h30 | <i>Simulation 1 – La province de Kirambo</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Négociation▪ Discussion |
| 15h | COMMUNICATION ACTIVE POUR BATIR UN CONSENSUS <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ La théorie de la conversation difficile▪ Exercice |
| 16h | <i>Pause-café</i> |
| 16h15 | Continuer le travail de Gitega <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Préparation pour les élections |
| 18h | Fin de la session |

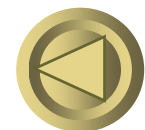
Deuxième jour : Mercredi 15 décembre 2004

- 8h30 **Retour sur expérience et agenda**
- 8h45 **GESTION DES REUNIONS**
- La théorie – Les 4 «Ps»
 - ***Simulation 2 : La Tour***
- 10h45 *Pause-café*
- 11h **OUTIL DE QUATRE QUADRANTS**
- Application aux enjeux courants
 - Application de ces outils au code électoral
- 12h30 *Déjeuner*
- 13h30 **OUTIL DE QUATRE QUADRANTS (suite)**
- Application aux enjeux courants
 - Développer un plan d'action pour la formation des candidats au niveau local
 - *Pause-café*
 - Diffusion des idées au niveau national
- 16h45 **Prochaines étapes**
- 17h30 **Fin de l'atelier**

BURUNDI LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM



14 au 15 décembre 2004
Bujumbura





ATTENTES DES PARTICIPANTS



Attentes des participants

- Faire le point sur les choses déjà faites, actions déjà menées et réfléchir ensemble sur les défis rencontrés
- Mise à profit des idées de notre groupe et prise en compte par la CENI, par le pouvoir
- Trouver « la vraie porte » d'entrée
- Diffusion de nos idées vers la population
- Diagnostic et recommandations quant aux élections en général
- Continuer à développer les outils de négociation et communication
- Assurer la mise en pratique => « lobbying »
- Nous organiser comme force de changement



Attentes des participants

- **Nous organiser comme force de changement**
- **Séance avec les médias, les journalistes pour diffuser nos idées, notre travail, nos efforts, pour montrer les préoccupations des hommes politiques**
- **Montrer une nouvelle image de nous**
- **Discuter le code électoral (son contenu)**
- **Développer et étendre ce programme de formation à d'autres organisations.**





COMPTE RENDU D'ACTIVITES



Compte-rendu d'activités

- **Rencontre avec le BLTP le 24 novembre dernier pour faire le point sur ce que nous avons fait**
- **Ai essayé d'appliquer les outils que nous avons vus à Gitega avec mes collègues proches, j'ai pu observer des résultats positifs de cette mise en pratique**
- **À propos de l'écoute active : ce n'est pas toujours évident. Elle nous permet d'encourager la confiance, la collaboration, la découverte des intérêts, trouver des solutions grâce au dialogue. Se mettre dans une disposition positive pour celui qui écoute. Éviter des réactions mécaniques**



Compte-rendu d'activités

- **Exemple de revendications de la population qui ne sont pas prises en compte :**
 - Une partie refuse les listes bloquées, le pouvoir dit que tout est déjà fait et que l'on ne peut pas revenir en arrière
 - D'autres personnes veulent élire directement le chef de l'état, on leur répond que ce n'est pas possible et que s'ils ne veulent pas ils peuvent refuser toute la constitution en bloc



Compte-rendu d'activités

- **Un défi rencontré : on a appris qu'après avoir communiqué il faut aller à la table pour négocier. Mais parfois il existe des solutions hors table. Exemple : le mode d'élection du chef de l'état:**
 - Nous avons demandé le suffrage universel direct, il avait été refusé pour être reporté à dans 5 ans.
 - Aujourd'hui, les opposants de l'époque de cette idée de suffrage universel direct prône ce suffrage et bloque l'avancement du processus.



Compte-rendu d'activités

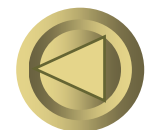
- **Ai écouté des émissions de radio invitant des politiciens et mes amis me disent souvent qu'à la simple écoute de ces émissions on peut deviner l'ethnie des invités de l'émission. Je leur réponds qu'il ne faut pas réduire cela à ça et que s'ils avaient vu la femme, ils comprendraient mieux que chaque personne a vécu des évènements qui lui font voir la réalité d'une certaine manière.**

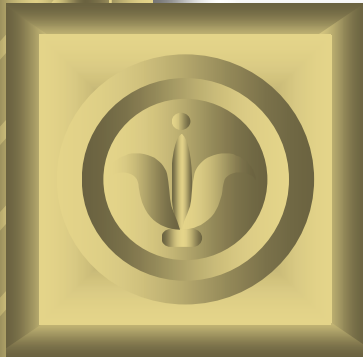


BURUNDI LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM



14 au 15 décembre 2004
Bujumbura



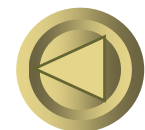
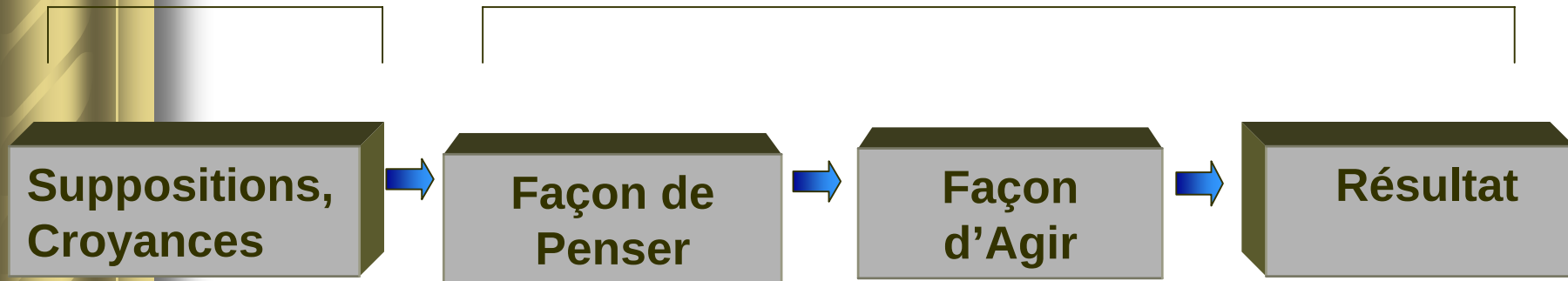


SEPT ELEMENTS CLES POUR LA PRISE DE DECISION

Fisher & Ertel, Getting Ready to Negotiate
Fisher & Ury, Comment réussir une
négociation



COMMENT MESURER LE SUCCE



THÉORIE “NEGOCIATION RAISONNEE”

LA FORME *ET* LE FOND

- Séparer les problèmes de **PERSONNE** des problèmes d'enjeux de la négociation

LE FOND

- Focaliser sur les **INTÉRÊTS** et non sur les positions
- Inventer ***DES OPTIONS MUTUELLEMENT SATISFAISANTES*** et ne pas concevoir la négociation comme un jeu à somme nulle
- Insister sur l'usage de ***CRITÈRES LÉGITIMES***
- Déterminer votre ***MEILLEURE SOLUTION ALTERNATIVE*** en l'absence d'accord négocié

LA CLE DE LA NEGOCIATION

- **PREPARER**
- **PREPARER**
- **PREPARER**

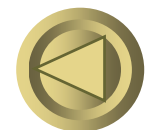


LES SEPT ELEMENTS :

Le Cadre Analytique

Fisher, Ury, et Patton

- ☆ **Communication**
- 🕒 **Relation**
- 🕒 **Intérêts**
- 🕒 **Options –*solutions à la table***
- 🕒 **Critères de Légitimité**
- 🕒 **Alternatives et BATNA – *solutions hors table***
- 🕒 **Engagement ou Accord**



1. Communication

● Le Dialogue

- L'identification du problème
- La *prise de parole*
et les bonnes réponses à donner
- La *prise d'écoute*
et les bonnes questions à poser

● La Décision



2. Relation

- Pour négocier, il faut être deux
- Pour arriver à un accord éventuel aussi
- Il faut au moins une relation de *travail*
 - Pas nécessairement une relation d'*amitié*
 - Ni même de *confiance*, surtout au début du processus de négociation



3. Intérêts

- Aller au-delà d'une position toute faite
- Ce qui est vraiment important pour une personne
- Les Miens, les Tiens, les Siens
- Les Catégories pertinentes
 - Intérêts partagés et compatibles
 - lieu des interdépendances (gagnant/gagnant)
 - Intérêts différents et complémentaires
 - lieu des échanges (donnant/donnant)
 - Intérêts contradictoires et incompatibles



4. Options

- Ce qui peut aider à **RÉSOUTRE** un problème
 - Lieu de la créativité, des expédients
- Un Problème de **PROCESSUS** : Comment ?
 - En vue d'Eviter les Blocages
 - En vue de Faire Progresser la Négociation
- Un Problème de **PERSONNE** : Avec qui ?
 - Ayant trait à mes Emotions et Passions
 - Ayant trait aux Emotions et Passions de l'Autre
- Un Problème de **FOND**, d'enjeu : Quoi ?
 - En vue d'un Gain mutuel
 - En vue de la Répartition des Gains (Cf. Critères)



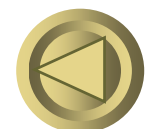
5. Critères de Légitimité

- Ce qui peut expliquer “objectivement” une option
- Ce qui peut lui donner de la légitimité en dehors d’un simple rapport de forces
- Exemples :
 - Principes, raisons, réciprocité
 - Loi, règles, accord, références professionnelles
 - Précédent, contrat-type, marché, coûts
 - Arguments, démonstrations analytiques
 - Avis d’expert, travail d’un médiateur ou arbitre



6. La Meilleure Solution Alternative en l'Absence d'Accord

- Meilleure Solution « 3 A »
= Meilleure Solution de Rechange (Mesore)
= « BATNA » en anglais: « Best Alternative To a Negotiated Agreement »
- Ce que je ferai si je n'arrive pas à un accord
- Ce qui aide à mesurer tout accord potentiel
- Ce qui augmente mon pouvoir de négociation
- Ce sur quoi je dois travailler (n'est pas fixe)



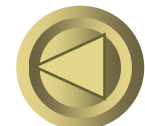
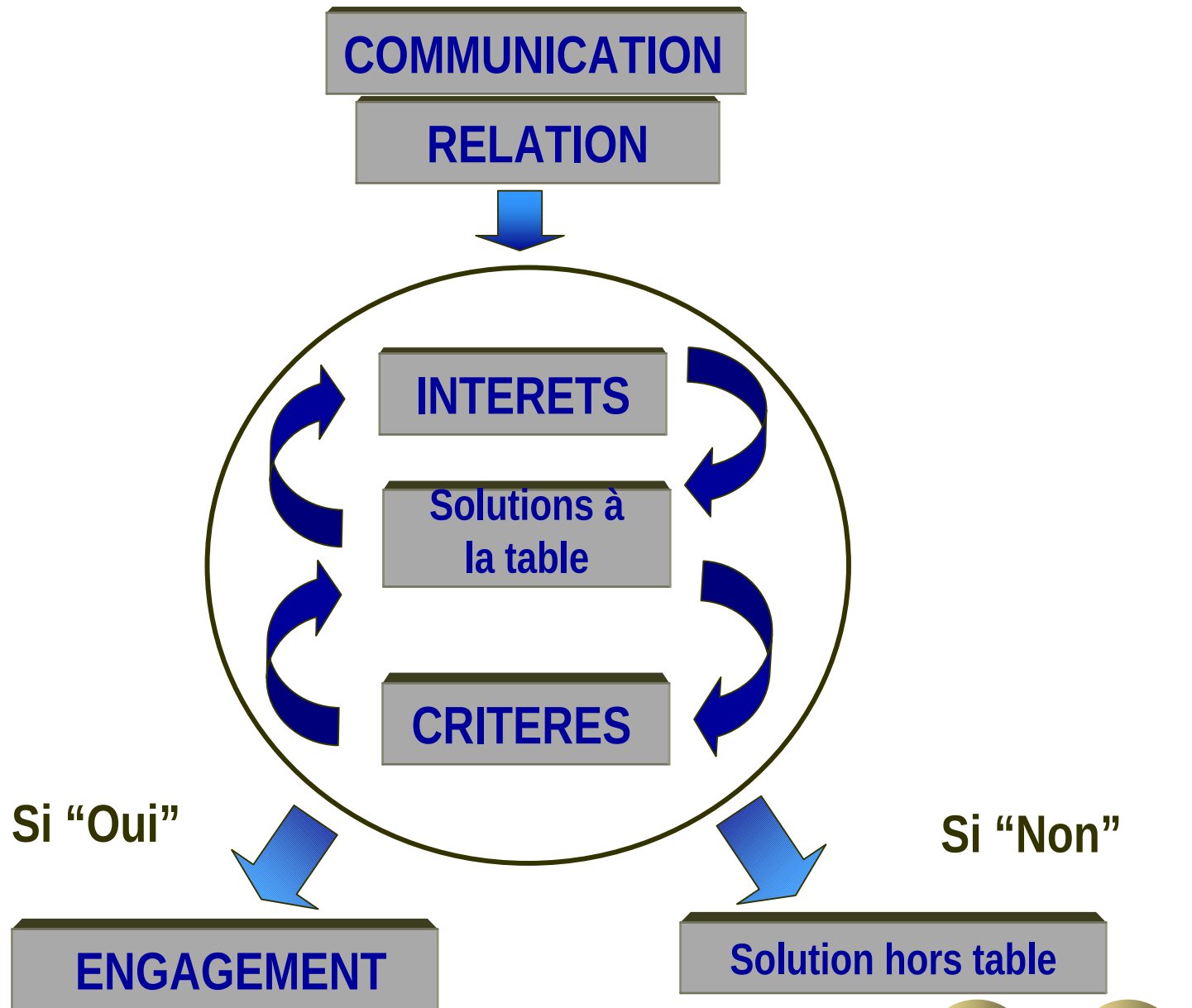
7. Accord ou engagement

- La *dernière* étape d'une négociation
- Attention : Négociation n'implique pas accord
- Il n'y a d'engagement *que si* l'accord satisfait mes intérêts mieux que ma BATNA
- La qualité d'un engagement est importante
 - Qualité est jugée en fonction des 6 autres éléments
 - Réalisme et durabilité
- Dépend aussi de l'autorité que j'ai reçue



LE PLAN DE PREPARATION

INTERETS		OPTIONS	ALTERNATIVES		COMMUNICATION
MES	SES		MES	SES	
		CRITERES DE LEGITIMITES	RELATION	ENGAGEMENT	





LA CARTOGRAPHIE DES RELATIONS



Le défi stratégique

Réussir quand

- On est confronté à plusieurs partis qui forment une combinaison de relations qui s'entrecroisent.
- Les partis de ce réseau complexe ont des intérêts très disparates.
- Les négociations et les accords passés avec un parti ont forcément un effet sur les négociations avec d'autres partis
- Aucun accord unique avec une partie ne peut satisfaire tous les intérêts-clés.
- Un accord commun ou un consensus de tous les partis est impossible.



Le défi tactique

- **Comment appliquer le cadre analytique et les outils à une situation qui comprend plusieurs partis?**
- **Avec qui doit-on négocier d'abord, et à quel but? Qui vient ensuite? Qui vient en troisième position?**
- **Comment traiter les incertitudes d'un climat politique changeant ou caché, les renseignements vagues ou inexacts sur les intérêts des joueurs, les relations, etc.?**



Une approche courante

Quand les “incendies” commencent

- Essayer de les éteindre *maintenant* avec toute la “réserve d’eau” disponible.
- Utiliser tout de suite la MESORE - ce qui permet à un joueur unique d’exercer immédiatement la plus grande pression.

Conséquences

- Sévères pour les relations de travail
- Cette approche n’établit pas une capacité à long terme et soutenable pour empêcher ou pour éteindre avec efficacité les incendies à venir.



Une approche alternative

Maximiser la valeur ainsi:

- **Organiser et clarifier de manière systématique le réseau complexe et diffus de joueurs**
- **Déceler les motifs des joueurs: leurs intérêts, les MESOREs et les relations-clés**
- **Exploiter ou retravailler le réseau afin d'augmenter la probabilité de succès à court et à long terme.**



Le processus (vu d'ensemble)

- **Clarifier et prioriser vos propres intérêts**
- **Faire la carte de tous les joueurs pertinents**
- **Identifier les intérêts-clés de tous les joueurs**
- **Identifier et caractériser les relations entre les joueurs**
- **Planifier et mettre en oeuvre une séquence de négociations en tête-a-tête afin de retravailler et de réorganiser la carte de relations pour vous rendre la situation nettement favorable - à court terme et à long terme.**



Créer une carte des joueurs principaux

Créer une illustration qui souligne

- Toutes les organisations qui ont un enjeu
- Dans le cadre de chaque organisation, tous les individus qui ont un enjeu
- Tous les dépositaires indépendants d'enjeux
- Votre position parmi ceux qui ont des enjeux



Identifier les intérêts des joueurs clefs

Déceler les besoins, soucis, craintes, etc., des joueurs clés à partir des critères suivants:

- **Ce que vous savez à leur propos**
- **Ce que vous savez des autres dans leur position**
- **Ce que vous savez quant à leur image de succès (influencée par leur culture) et à leurs attentes autour de ce processus**

Être conscient des assomptions qu'on accepte sans question à cause de stéréotypes et de généralisations culturels

Esquisser les intérêts clés des joueurs sur le schéma



Identifier les coalitions

Identifier des groupes de joueurs (ayant des intérêts partagés ou qui se recoupent) avec qui vous pourriez passer des accords qui

- **Desserviraient directement vos intérêts**
- **Amélioreraient votre MESORE**
- **Empireraient le MESORE des autres**

Identifier des groupes de joueurs qui pourraient

- **Saper vos intérêts**
- **Empirer votre MESORE**
- **Améliorer le MESORE d'autres**



Faire une carte des rapports entre les partis

Identifier tous les rapports qui existent entre les partis sur la carte

- **Alliances, associations, contacts d'affaires, structures hiérarchiques, amitiés, connections de famille, etc., entre les individus, les organisations, ou les départements**

Analyser la nature des rapports à propos des:

- **Modèles de déférence**
- **Modèles d'influence**
- **Modèles d'antagonisme**

Faire le graphique de tous ces rapports sur le schéma



Analyser la carte de relations

En passant en revue la carte des relations, se poser les questions suivantes:

- **Quels accords conclus avec un ou plusieurs joueurs seront bénéfiques à nos intérêts à court-, à mi- et à long terme?**
- **Quels sont leurs intérêts-clés?**
- **Quels sont leurs MESORE à propos des accords qui desservent nos intérêts?**
- **Soutiennent-ils un modèle de déférence, d'influence ou d'antagonisme?**
- **Est-ce que des coalitions existantes ou potentielles pourraient affecter leurs MESORE? Notre MESORE?**



Planifier une séquence de négociations

Utiliser les intérêts, les MESORE et les modèles de déférence, d'influence et d'antagonisme pour créer une séquence de négociation optimale.

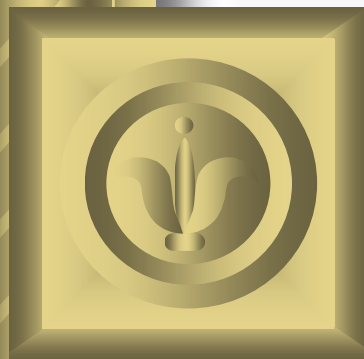
- **Considérer**

- **“Travailler”**: aller des partis les “plus difficiles” aux “plus faciles” en exploitant la déférence, l'influence, etc.
- **“Faire la carte à rebours”**: aller des décideurs dont on a besoin à vous-même, en exploitant les modèles généraux de déférence.
- **“Faire la pyramide”**: aller de ce qui est “le plus dur” et qui a le plus grand effet vers les autres partis
- **Faire une séquence pour cacher ou révéler des renseignements**



Exemple: Angola

Faire la carte de tous les joueurs pertinents



DEPLACEES

CICR

UNITA

ONGIs

ONU

PAM
CMG

Etats
Unis

Portugal

La Russie

GOUVT
ANGOLA



Exemple: Angola

Identifier les intérêts-clés de tous les joueurs:

PAM:

- *Livre l'aide aux déplacés*
- *N'exacerber pas la guerre*
- *Assurer la sécurité de leur staff*

Le gouvernement:

- *Exercer leur contrôle sur le territoire*
- *Influencer les donateurs*
- *Regagner les "cœurs" des déplacés*
- *Regagner le territoire perdu*

UNITA:

- *Contrôler le territoire*
- *Influencer les donateurs*
- *Ne céder rien aux gouvernement*
- *Augmenter leur réputation avec la population*

CICR:

- *Sauver les vies*
- *Rester neutre*

ONU:

- *Résoudre le conflit*
- *Garder les relations avec le gouv.*
- *Assurer la sécurité de leur staff*
- *Sauver les vies*

Les donateurs:

- *Influencer les partis au conflit*
- *Assurer une perte de vie minimum*
- *Résoudre le conflit*
- *Assurer que leurs ressources sont bien utilisés*

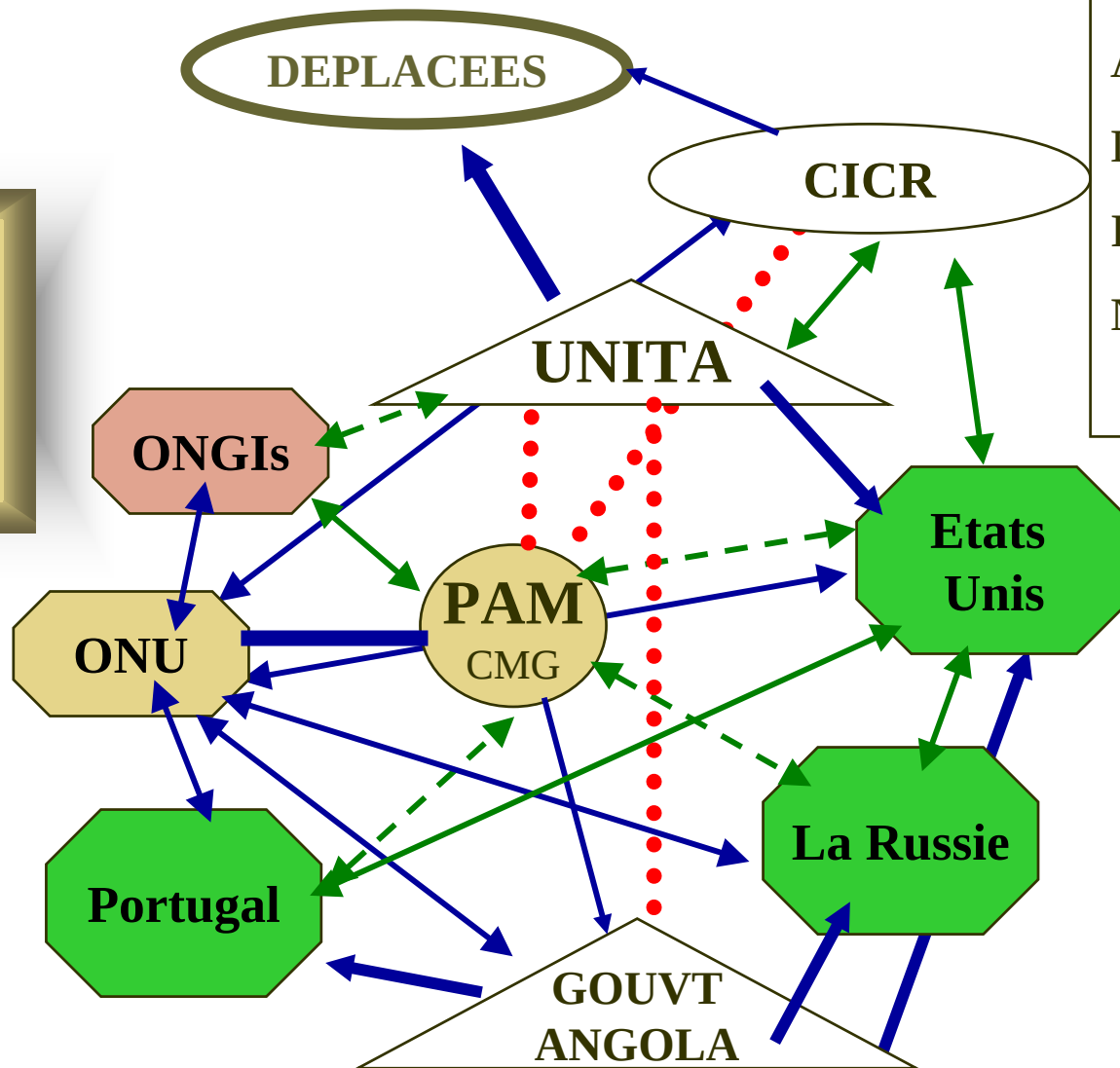
ONGI:

- *Rester sur territoire*
- *Respecter leur mandat*
- *Sauver les vies*
- *Garder leurs contacts avec les deux partis pour assurer l'exécution de leur mandat*



Exemple: Angola

Identifier et caractériser les relations entre les joueurs



Le processus (vu d'ensemble)

- Clarifier et prioriser vos propres intérêts
- Faire la carte de tous les joueurs pertinents
- Identifier les intérêts-clés de tous les joueurs
- Identifier et caractériser les relations entre les joueurs

DERNIERE ETAPE:

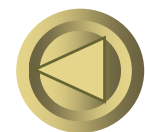
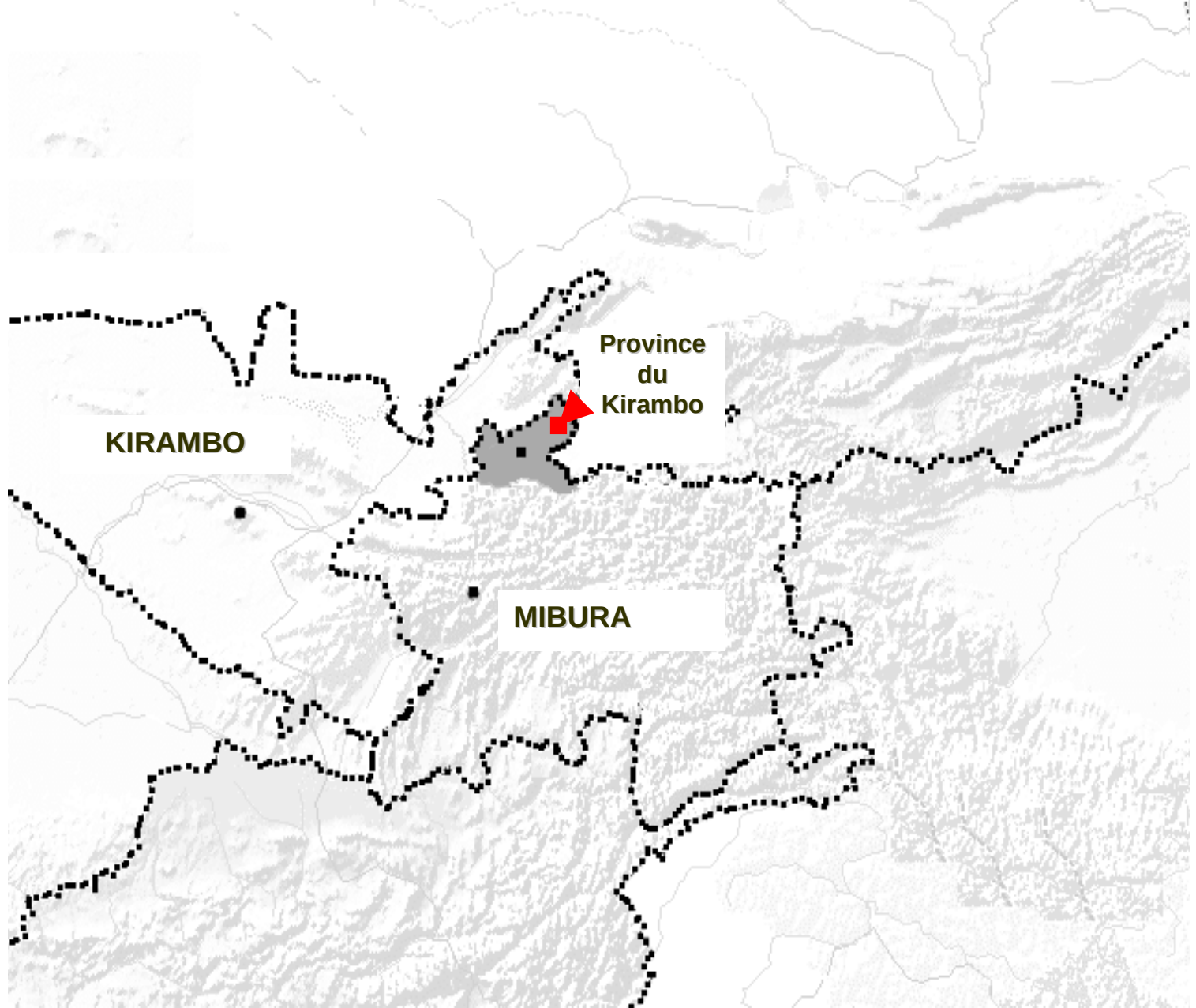
- Planifier et mettre en oeuvre une séquence de négociations en tête-a-tête afin de retravailler et de réorganiser la carte de relations pour vous rendre la situation nettement favorable - à court terme et à long terme.



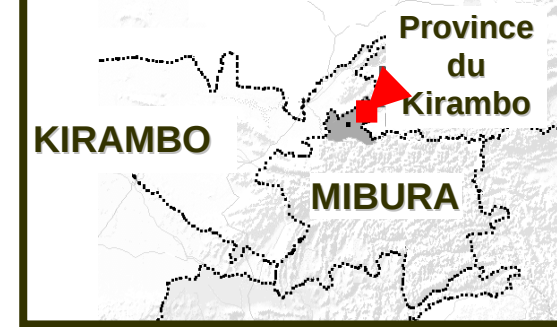


LA PROVINCE DE KIRAMBO

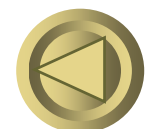




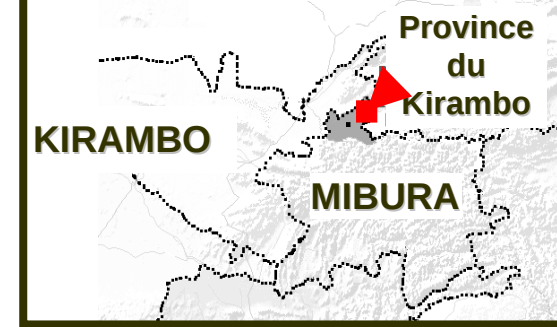
Géographie : 3 pays



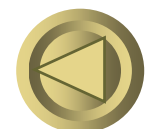
- Le MIBURA
- Le KIRAMBO
- COLONIA



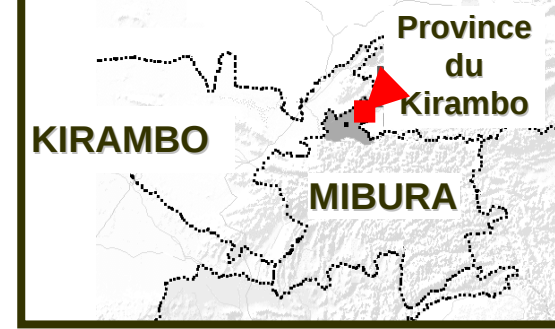
Le contexte



- **Le MIBURA a plusieurs provinces**
 - **dont une : la province du Kirambo**
 - avec ethnie majoritaire (kirambote)
 - et une forte immigration des autres provinces (5% de Miburas en 1980 -> 30% aujourd'hui)
 - **Richesse**
 - KIRAMBO > province du Kirambo > MIBURA
 - **Structure politique**
 - Le MIBURA nomme le gouverneur de la province
 - Chaque province a un parlement
 - **Remise en question de certaines lois (éducation, emploi des langues, etc.)**



2 partis impliqués



● Au niveau national

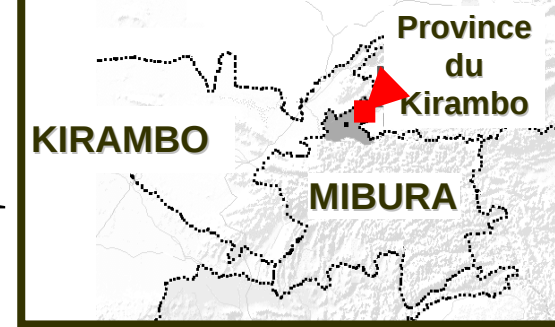
- MPM (Mouvement du Peuple Mibura)
 - représenté au gouvernement

● Au niveau de la province

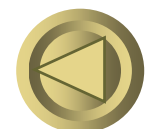
- MNPK (Mouvement National de la Province du Kirambo)
 - dominé par les Kirambos de la province



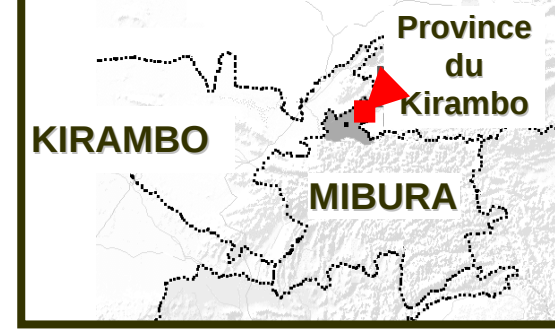
Origine du conflit actuel



- **Drapeau de la « province libre du Kirambo » planté dans quartier mibura**
- **Manifestations en faveur des 2 ethnies**
- **Soutien du KIRAMBO, pays voisin, à ses frères de la province**
- **Risque d'une situation explosive**
 - Union africaine doit se réunir mais temporise pour le moment



Négociation officielle



- **Avec 2 mandataires :**

- Représentant du gouvernement MIBURA
- Représentant du parlement de la province du Kirambo



LIGNES DIRECTRICES POUR LA NEGOCIATION

- **Ne pas partager les instructions confidentielles**
- **C'est un jeu de rôle; ce n'est pas une formation pour les acteurs**
- **Ne pas créer les fautes matérielles**
- **Ce n'est pas nécessaire d'avoir un accord signé aujourd'hui**
- **Se réunir au plénière à 15h30**

Groupes

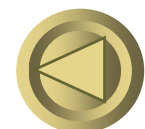
Rep. Province Kirambo	Rep. Gouvernement Mibura
Alfred	Angélique
Paul	Méthode
Joseph Nta,	Stany
Joseph Ntak	Gérard
Jérôme	Léandre
Jean-Claude	Jean
Etienne	Félix
Déo	Gaspard
Frédéric	Alexis
Hassan	Athanase H.
Théogène	



Kirambo: Discussion

Leçons tirées:

- Poser la question: “Quel est votre problème?” - Ca donne l’occasion d’exprimer les problèmes
- On avait exposer les problèmes ensemble
- Établir un but commun
- Échanger beaucoup d’information au début
- Essayer de clarifier les malentendus entre parties
 - p.e. l’information sur les extrémistes dans la province
- Clarifier le mandat des deux parties
- La découverte que les solutions a la table étaient partager par les deux parties
- Clarifier les intérêts ensemble
- Définir le problème ensemble



Kirambo: Discussion –2

Leçons tire:

- La bonne communication au début a nous aide de formuler le problème
- La négociation comme processus continue
- Toujours faire une comparaison entre nos intérêts, la solution a la table et nos solutions hors table
- Séquencer la négociation et le processus
- Être prudent lorsque vous décidez de partager votre alternative (solution hors table)
- Éviter les menaces, l animosité : créer de bonnes relations
- Commencer avec les questions les plus simples sur lesquelles on peut se mettre d accord facilement

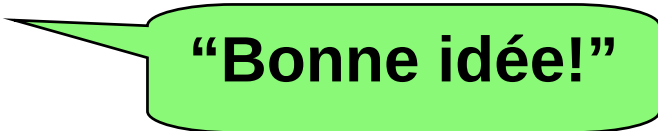


Théorie de la conversation difficile
Stone, Patton, et Heen

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Un défi primordial : Ce qu'on dit par rapport à ce qu'on pense

On dit :

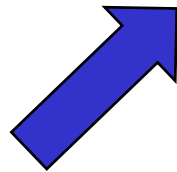


«Bonne idée!»

On pense:



«As-tu perdu la tête ? Cela ne marchera jamais..»



Où se trouve l'action.

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Attention au décalage: Plus le décalage est grand entre le dit et le non-dit, plus la conversation sera difficile



Théorie de la conversation difficile

Les trois conversations:

- 1) *La conversation « que s'est-il passé ? ». Qui a raison? Qu'est-ce qui motive chacun d'entre nous? A qui est la faute?*
- 2) *La conversation sur les sentiments. Comment est-ce que je traite les sentiments/émotions impliqués?*
- 3) *La conversation sur l'identité. Qu'est-ce que cela dit de moi, de ce que je suis ?*

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation « que s'est-il passé ? ».

Nous devons procéder à trois étapes dans la façon de *penser* à ce « ce qui s'est passé » et dans la façon *d'en parler*.

Perceptions: Passage de la façon de parler de la « vérité » à la façon de partager les différentes perceptions.

Contribution: Passage du blâme à la compréhension de la façon dont chacun a contribué à ce problème.

Intentions: Passage de l'attribution de leurs intentions à la description de l'impact que leur comportement a eu sur vous.

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Perceptions

Quatre disparités habituelles en utilisant l'échelle de réflexion :

- 1) Nous avons accès à des données différentes.
- 2) Nous choisissons les données sur base de nos intérêts, nos suppositions et nos penchants.
- 3) Nous interprétons les données sur base de notre expérience du passé et des lois implicites.
- 4) Nous arrivons à des conclusions différentes.

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Perceptions

Nous discutons au sujet de celui qui a raison.
« J'ai raison » « Non tu n'as pas raison ! »

La vérité et les faits ont une importance,
mais nos conversations difficiles se
rapportent rarement à la «vérité » ou aux
« faits ».

*Ils concernent les jugements, les valeurs, les
interprétations et les attentes.*

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Perceptions

Comment ces conversations sont-elles difficiles :
Notre voix intérieure bloque le processus de l'enquête.



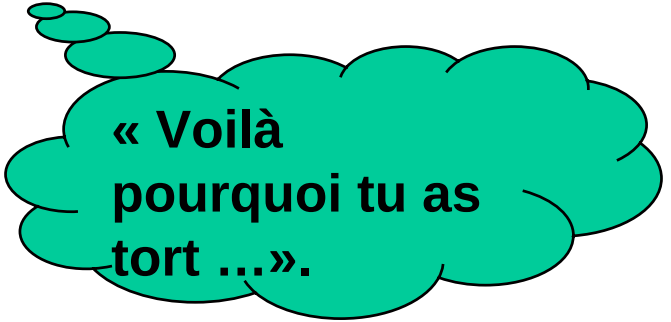
«Je suis
furieux»



«Tu ne
comprends pas
la situation.»



«Tu ne comprends
pas la situation dans
laquelle je me trouve..»



« Voilà
pourquoi tu as
tort ...».

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Perceptions

Passage des affirmations aux questions:

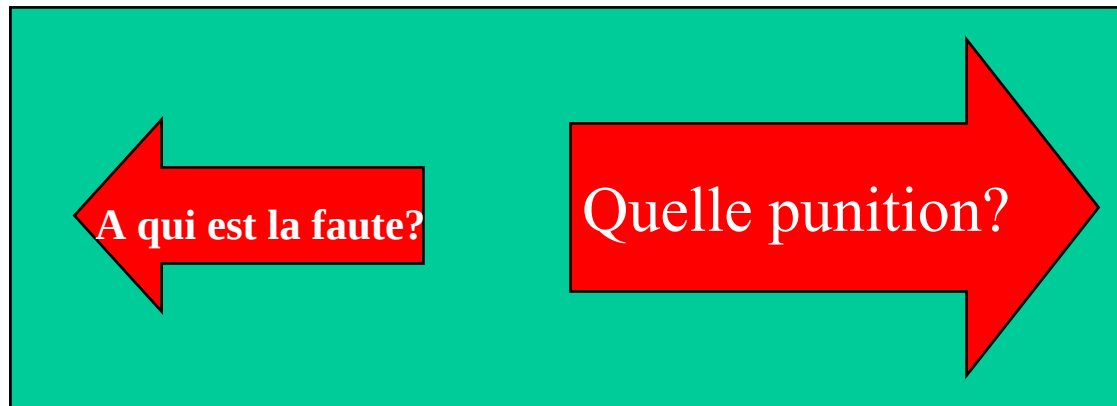
- «Je me demande pourquoi ils considèrent cela de façon différente que la mienne ?»
- «Quelles sont leurs données, leur expérience?»
- «Comment ont-ils interprété cette situation?»
- «Comment se sentent-ils?»

Théorie de la conversation difficile

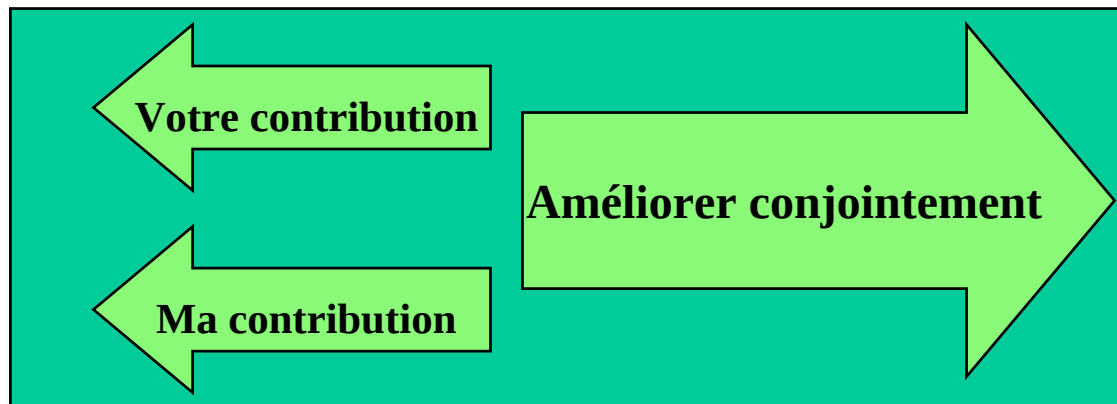
Contribution

Passé

Futur



Blâme



**La
contribution
conjointe**

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Contribution

Chaque relation est un « système ».

- Patron-Employé
- Parent-Enfant
- Formateur- Stagiaire
- Leader-Circonscription

Chacun dans le système contribue à la situation actuelle d'une façon ou d'une autre.

Demander : Qu'avons-nous contribué?

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Contribution

Deux tendances courantes:

1. *«Déplacement»* de la contribution : tout ce qui arrive est de la faute des autres.
2. *«Amortisseurs»* de la contribution : tout ce qui arrive est de ma faute.

Travaillez à équilibrer votre tendance

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Intentions: De l'intention à l'impact

Ce sont les intentions qui importent. Mais les intentions des autres sont invisibles à nous.

Donc, nous avons tendance à constituer les attributions concernant leurs intentions sur base de leur impact sur nous.

Veillez à partager l'impact, ne les accusez pas de mauvaises intentions.

Théorie de la conversation difficile

Intentions

Dans les décisions organisationnelles, ne créez pas un « vide d'intentions ». Les gens remplissent le « vide d'intentions » avec des attributions négatives.

Lorsque les décisions sont prises :

1. Ne présumez pas que les autres comprendront vos intentions;
2. Offrez vos données et votre raisonnement;
3. Expliquez pourquoi les choix censés être plus attractifs ont été rejetés.

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation sur les sentiments

Devrions-nous discuter des sentiments? Quel est mon but?

- Si c'est pour: se décharger, les envoyer au diable ; se sentir mieux – NON
- Si c'est pour améliorer les relations de travail ; créer un environnement où nous pouvons réaliser notre travail ensemble; la vraie question est de savoir comment s'y prendre avec la façon dont les gens se sentent traités, alors OUI

Attention :

Exprimer les émotions $\neq$ être émotif

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation sur les sentiments

Lorsque les autres expriment les sentiments :

- Écoutez et prenez-en note AVANT de résoudre le problème
- «Évitez de traduire»: prenez les jugements et les attributions comme des indicateurs d'émotions sous-jacentes et inexprimées
- Ne laissez pas les sentiments devancer le processus de résolution des conflits

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation sur l'identité

Astuces pour les questions d'identité:

- Pourquoi est-ce que cette conversation est si difficile pour moi, surtout que les autres semblent s'en tirer facilement?
- Pourquoi est-ce que je perds mon «assurance» au milieu de conversations difficiles?
- Pourquoi est-ce que je m'attache encore à ce qui est arrivé il y a une semaine/mois/une année/une décennie?

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation sur l'identité

Déclencheurs d'identité:

Je ne suis pas le genre de personne qui:

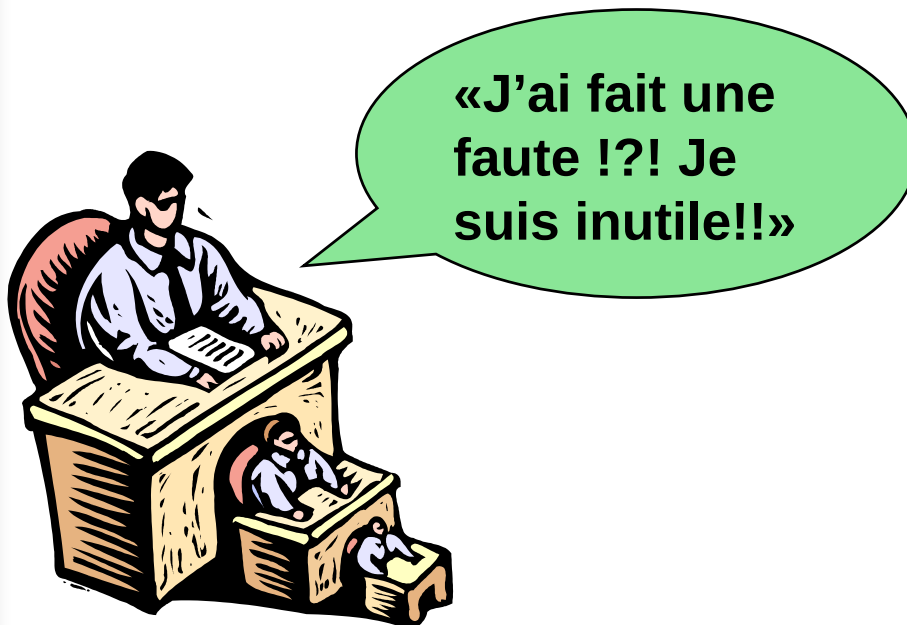
- *commet des erreurs*
- *dont on peut profiter*
- *qui profite des autres ou blesse les autres*
- *qui se comporte de façon irresponsable*
- *qui évite les responsabilités*
- *qui évite de prendre le leadership*

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation sur l'identité

Gérer un « séisme d'identité »

- Nous nions ce qui est vrai
- Ou, nous exagérons chaque chose



«Vous avez
commis une
erreur»

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation sur l'identité

Équilibrez l'image de vous-même

Passez de :

«Je suis soit une bonne personne, soit une mauvaise personne»

A :

J'ai basé ma propre image de moi sur une compréhension mesurée de mes forces et des domaines où je peux m'améliorer

Théorie de la conversation difficile

La conversation d'apprentissage

Ayez connaissance de votre but en vous engageant sur la conversation difficile

Commencez la conversation comme un médiateur:

1. Essayez de comprendre les «histoires» de toutes les parties;
2. Reformulez leurs assertions, si nécessaire, comme un médiateur neutre le fait;
3. Décrivez les différences entre vos histoires; cherchez l'harmonie sur une description du problème;
4. N'imposez pas le processus mais associez l'autre partie dans la résolution du problème;
5. Fixez conjointement l'agenda pour votre processus de résolution des problèmes.



BURUNDI LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM



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Bujumbura



GESTION DE REUNION



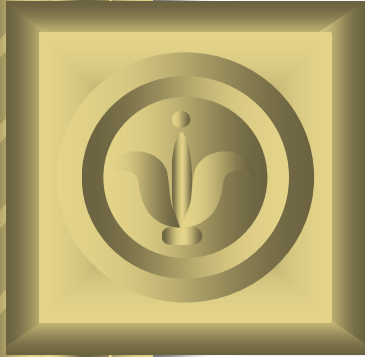


LA THEORIE DES 5 “Ps”



La théorie des 5 “Ps” en préparation de réunion

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Projet : | Pourquoi? Objectif |
| 2. Personnes : | Qui? Acteurs |
| 3. Processus : | Comment? Méthode |
| 4. Planification : | Quand/Où? Agenda |
| 5. Produit : | Quoi? Livrable |



LA TOUR



LA TOUR

- **Le but : bâtir une même tour pour 2 équipes**
- **3 critères pour bâtir la tour :**
 - La hauteur de la tour
 - La vitesse de construction
 - Le nombre de blocs utilisés
- **2 univers de 2 équipes : l'une bleue, l'autre rouge**
- **Chaque équipe se prépare de son côté pendant 45 minutes et a des instructions générales et confidentielles**
- **Après la phase de préparation, les 2 équipes bleue et rouge se retrouvent pour 30 minutes de construction**

Résultats : leçons tirées de la Tour

- **Univers A : 930**

- **Bleu A : 160**

- **Rouge A : 770**

- **Univers B : 1025**

- **Bleu B : 360**

- **Rouge B : 665**

Groupes

ROUGE	BLEU
A	A
Alfred Paul Joseph Nta, Jean-Claude Phillipe	Méthode Stany Joseph Ntak Léandre Jean Gérard
B	B
Etienne Déo Frédéric Hassan Théogène	Félix Gaspard Alexis Athanasie H. Angélique Jérôme

Résultats : leçons tirées de la Tour

- **3 questions préalables à discuter par équipe :**
 - Êtes-vous satisfait de votre résultat?
 - Quelles sont les difficultés que vous avez rencontrées? Comment avez-vous géré ces difficultés?
 - Quels sont les enjeux clés qui jouent un rôle dans le succès d'une équipe?

Résultats : leçons tirées de la Tour

- **Groupe B :**

- Nous sommes satisfaits de notre résultat parce que nous estimons que le score est élevé

- **Groupe A :**

- Nous ne sommes pas satisfaits parce que au global nous n'avons pas obtenu la moyenne même si nos rouges ont obtenu le meilleur score des 2 univers

Résultats :

leçons tirées de la Tour

- **Groupe B :**

- (+) nous avons commencé par échanger les grilles et les informations
- Comment obtenir un consensus quand nos intérêts sont un peu contradictoires?
- Répartition des rôles : nous avons proposé que le chef des bleus anime la réunion

- **Groupe A :**

- (-) Nous ne maîtrisons pas assez les règles du jeu
- Répartition des rôles : nous avons également choisi le chef des bleus pour animer la réunion
- Problème de leadership : le leader donnait les instructions aux « maçons » mais comme il n'avait pas bien compris les instructions, nous avons été induits en erreur

Résultats :

leçons tirées de la Tour

- Il est important de répartir les rôles, tout le monde ne peut pas construire en même en temps
- Rôle de la communication est très important ici, notamment la question de la reformulation
- Importance de l'échange d'information et règles du jeu : communiquer les intérêts de chacun, les paramètres
- Prendre garde à la pression du temps qui peut mener à des erreurs : importance de prendre le temps de discuter le processus
- Question du leadership

Résultats :

leçons tirées de la Tour

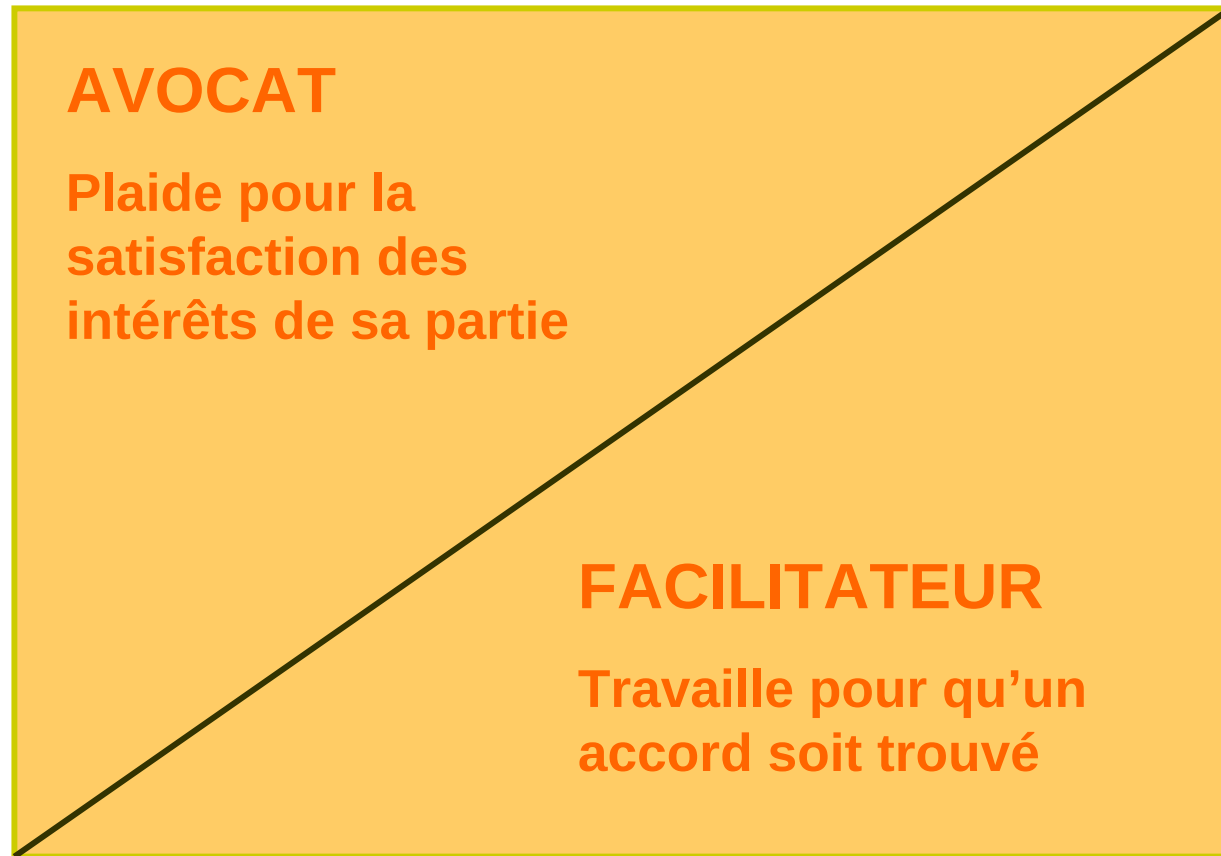
- **Question du leadership**
- **Les qualités d'un bon leader :**
 - Il écoute les autres
 - Il doit maîtriser le sujet
 - Il doit savoir accepter les critiques, être ouvert
 - Il doit essayer de concilier les positions
- **Question de la contribution de chacun**
- **La question du processus:**
 - Tenir compte du temps
 - Répartir les rôles et exploiter les compétences de chacun pour cette répartition

Résultats : leçons tirées de la Tour

● Constat :

- Vous avez fini dans les temps (rare)
- La valeur que vous avez créée ensemble est importante dans les 2 univers
- Le déséquilibre entre les 2 équipes d'un univers est à prendre en compte dans l'avenir pour se rendre la pareille la prochaine fois

Négociation Multipartite

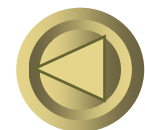


Lors des négociations complexes et multipartites, le rôle du facilitateur prend plus d'importance.

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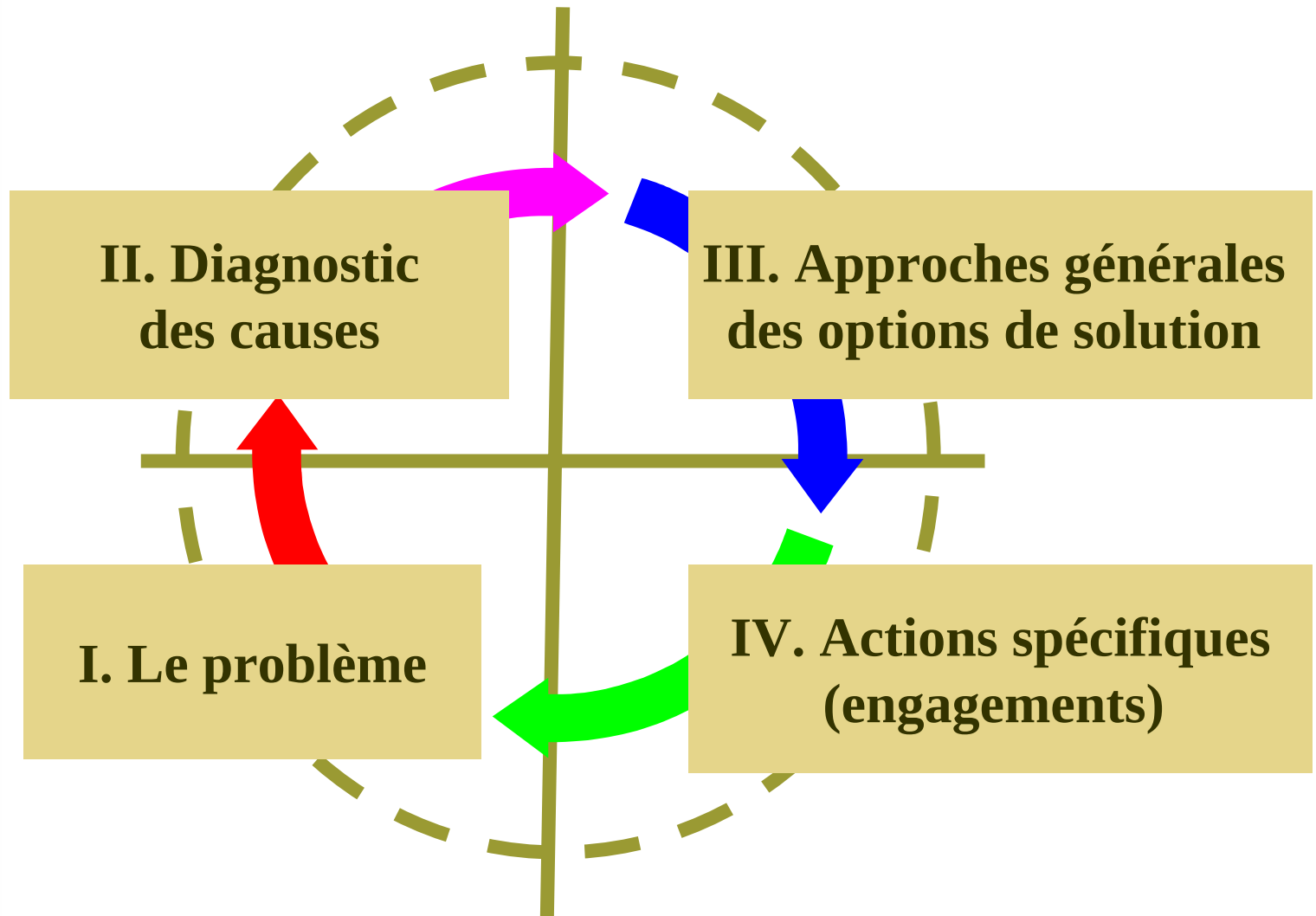




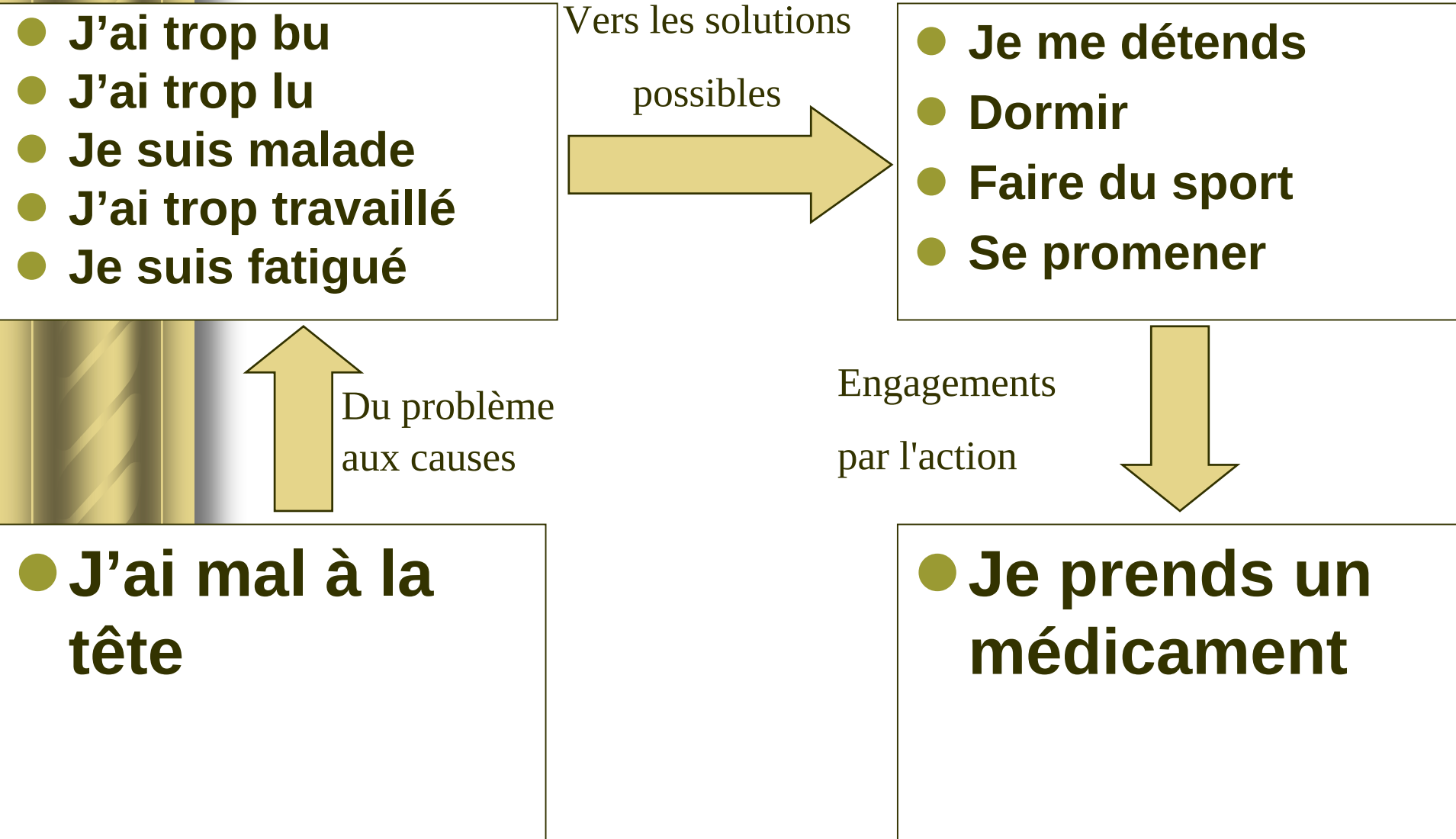
LES 4 QUADRANTS



Quatre quadrants



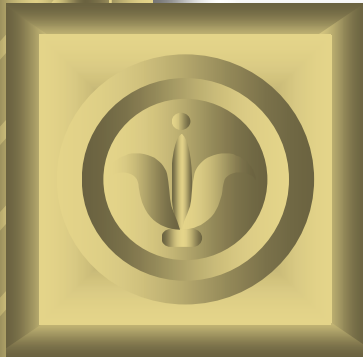
Les quatre quadrants



Les 4 quadrants : application aux enjeux courants

- **La constitution et le référendum:
groupes 2 et 4**
- **Les craintes de la population:
groupes 1 & 3**





GROUPE DE TRAVAIL SUR LES CRAINTES DE LA POPULATION

Recommandations



Craintes de la population : diagnostic

- **Incapacité de l'Exécutif à organiser les élections**
- **Propre au sein des partis politiques suite à l'exclusion**
- **Une administration déconnecté du processus électoral**
- **Retard dans le programme désarmement de la population civile**
- **Non-respect des accords**



Craintes de la Population: diagnostic

- Classe politique divisée sur des questions fondamentales, instable et incohérent. (réminiscences: politiciens menteurs et machiavéliques)
- Manque de confiance dans les politiciens
- Persistance d'une situation ni paix ni guerre—armes dans la population; menaces de l'éclatement d'une nouvelle guerre
- Manque de confiance dans les institutions en place (faiblesse) qui n'ont pas de confiance en elles-mêmes
- Justice peu rassurante; impunité qui persiste
- Administration territoriale faible et partisane
- Corruption généralisée dans les hautes instances étatiques
- Effritement de l'État et administration et paupérisation (des fonctionnaires) de la classe moyenne
- Délinquance (de la jeunesse) sénile et juvénile



Craintes de la population :

Recommandations

- Recherche permanente d'un consensus
- Constat d'un manque de confiance vis à vis des politiciens => multiplication des contacts avec la population
- Menace de guerre => plan DDR
- Manque de confiance dans les institutions en place (qui n'ont pas non plus bcp de confiance en elles-mêmes) => restauration de l'autorité de l'État
- Une justice peu rassurante => application stricte de la Loi et instauration d'un État de droit

Craintes de la population :

Recommandations

- **Inculcation de la neutralité et d'une culture non-partisane**
- **Constat d'une corruption généralisée => renouvellement de l'élite politique et administrative et l'application des sanctions**
- **Délinquance sénile et juvénile => faire respecter la Loi / responsabilisation des parents et des éducateurs**
- **Effritement de l'État et de l'administration, paupérisation de la classe moyenne => recours à l'aide internationale, bonne distribution des richesses et des politiques sociales plus équitables**



Craintes de la population : Recommandations

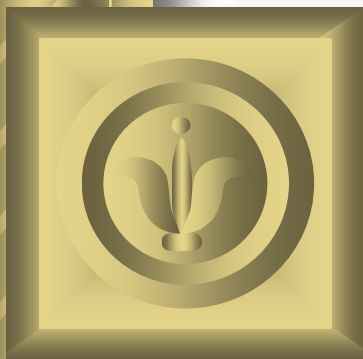
Approches possibles

- **Contraindre le P.o.t. (?) à faire participer tout les concernés au processus électoral**
- **Créer une cadre de concentration permanente entre tous les partis politiques et les PNPA intéressés par la processus électoral**
- **Impliquer l'administration territoriale dans l'organisation des élections**
- **Pousser le POT à démarrer le désarmement de la population civile**
- **Faire pression au POT pour la respect des engagements**

Mémoire à l'attention de :

- **De l'Exécutif**
- **De la CENI**
- **De la CSA**
- **De la Région**

faisant état de leurs responsabilités dans la mauvaise conduite ou l'échec probable du processus électoral.



GROUPE DE TRAVAIL SUR LA CONSTITUTION ET LE REFERENDUM

Recommandations



Constitution et référendum : diagnostic

Pour la Constitution:

- Elle ne garantit pas l'alternance politico-ethnique au sommet de l'état
- Ne garantit pas la parité ethnique dans les institutions majeures pouvant lutter contre le génocide et l'exclusion (comme l'armée, le gouvernement, le sénat, l'assemblée)
- Favorise le risque de renforcer le monolitisme politique en faveur du CNDD-FDD et du Frodebu
- La clause de 2 vice-présidents ne garantit pas la cogestion du pouvoir entre les 2 principales ethnies (hutu et tutsi)
- Limite l'expression populaire sur le choix des dirigeants (vote présidentielle indirect)
- Les élites veulent une constitution qui les protégerait
- La peuple veut que des moyens soient alloués au processus de rédiger la constitution



Constitution et Referendum: diagnostic

Pour le referendum

- **Les évènements**
- **Manque des moyens matériels et volonté politique du pouvoir**
- **Constitution déjà en rigueur**
- **Pas d'explication ni de consultation**



Constitution et referendum :

Recommandations

- **Tenir compte des préoccupations de la population et des partenaires politiques**
- **Réexaminer un calendrier réaliste des échéances électorales**
- **Recommandations au gouvernement:**
 - Faire amender quelques dispositions pertinentes par des institutions habilitées tenant compte des préoccupations exprimées par la population et les partenaires politiques
 - Soumettre le texte de la constitution amendée à l'approbation de la population
- **Recommandation à la CENI:**
 - Manifester son indépendance et sa neutralité vis à vis de l'exécutif et des partis politiques



Constitution et referendum :

Recommandations

- **Constitution :**

- Avoir un cadre d'échange entre les acteurs politiques
- Amender la constitution avant le referendum
- Le gouvernement doit organiser des débats avec les partis politiques et la population

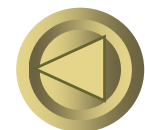
- **Referendum :**

- Reporter le referendum pour un délai relativement court
- Rassembler des moyens logistiques
- Expliquer et consulter la population
- Garantir l'indépendance de la CENI vis à vis du pouvoir
- Appui réel de la communauté internationale
- Cohésion et bonne volonté des institutions pour une meilleure programmation
- Les dirigeants doivent tenir compte des résultats de la consultation populaire

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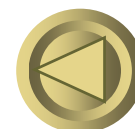


Présentation et échange avec la CENI



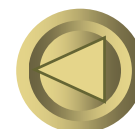
CENI

- Vos recommandations sont bien arrivées :
- Demande d'organisation une rencontre entre les partis politiques et la CENI : le projet est en cours, ce n'est qu'une question de temps
- Proposition de travail en collaboration : une
- Une meilleure collaboration avec l'administration territoriale : pendant cette période d'inscription, un peu de vide et nous en avons conscience



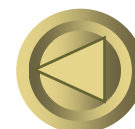
CENI

- Jouir de notre indépendance comme commission et faire pression pour faire respecter le calendrier électoral : nous avons exposé les problèmes que nous rencontrons dans notre travail (entre autre le calendrier politique ou les moyens financiers) nous ne sommes donc pas libres de nos décisions et il est difficile de changer la situation
- Nous avons décidé de reporter à nouveau la date du référendum : notre report a été dicté par le fait que la saisie des listes électorales a connu un ralentissement (manque de matériel, personnel pas toujours compétent et volume de travail difficile à évaluer à l'avance : 3 millions de fiches à saisir). Le travail sera terminé en fin de semaine mais il n'est pas possible de tenir la date du référendum du fait de la loi qui demande 2 semaines de recours après la fin des inscriptions.



CENI

- **Le 24 novembre dernier nous avons rencontré le conseil de sécurité qui nous ont posé 3 questions :**
 - La date du 22 décembre sera-t-elle respectée? Nous leur avons dit oui, nous ne pensions pas rencontrer de difficultés
 - Les autres dates changeront-elles? Nous leur avons dit que les dates définitives dépendront du code électoral
 - N'allez-vous pas dépasser le mois d'avril? Si nous avons les textes et le matériel, nous devrions pouvoir le faire avant avril



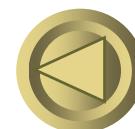
CENI

- Associer les partis politiques à toutes les étapes du processus électoral
- Respecter et faire respecter la loi : soyez plus précis svp, s'il s'agit du code électoral, c'est notre mission, pour le reste il y a toujours l'administration en place. Par contre la loi qui régit le processus électoral est une responsabilité à laquelle nous ne pouvons pas palier
- La finalisation du code de conduite



CENI

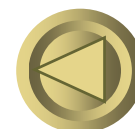
- **La finalisation du code de conduite : nous vous remercions nous avons bien reçu le code de conduite que vous avez élaborer, il n'a donc pas besoin de finalisation ayant été rédiger par les acteurs eux-mêmes, il reste à le voter.**
- **Le code de conduite des jeunes des différentes associations de la société civile qui se sont réunis. Ils se sont engagés à travers un code de conduite qu'ils diffuseront pour tous les jeunes dans tout le pas. Nous avons saluer cette initiative.**



CENI

● Nos activités actuellement :

- Nous suivons les travaux de saisie, ce travail exige des compétences et une présence permanente
- Le problème de matériel que nous avons évoqué la fois précédente a été résolu depuis grâce à la collaboration de l'Afrique du Sud (7200 urnes, 14000 isoloirs, 3500 kits pour le bureau de vote notamment des marqueurs à encre indélébile)
- Si ce travail de saisie se passe bien, nous devrions être prêt pour le référendum





ENTRETIEN AVEC LA CENI



Questions à la CENI

- **La remise en question de l'accord d'Arusha (question du suffrage universel, de l'éligibilité du chef d'État ayant géré la transition) et du calendrier électoral n'est-elle pas facteur de risque?**
- **N'y a-t-il pas un problème d'indépendance de la CENI?**
 - Nous sommes disposés à vous aider à recouvrer votre indépendance
 - Une certaine ingérence de l'exécutif et de l'ONUB sur certains sujets du fait qu'ils sont les détenteurs des moyens financiers



Questions à la CENI

- **Quand allez-vous rencontrer les partis politiques?**
- **Que pensez-vous des personnes qui n'ont pas pu se faire enregistrer?**
- **Que pensez-vous des déclarations qui annoncent une éventuelle modification de la constitution?**
- **Au sujet du report de la date du référendum : il n'y a plus de problèmes matériels, avant de fixer les différentes dates, n'aviez-vous pas interrogé la loi?**
- **Concernant l'indépendance de la CENI : le président de la CENI a été nommé, il doit donc répondre favorablement à celui l'a nommé => pourriez-vous prendre garde de ne pas être dépendant?**



Questions à la CENI

- **Comment une radio nationale vous refuse une émission à caractère nationale avec nous? Le gouvernement ne peut-il pas l'imposer aux radios sur une semaine?**
- **Inquiétude quant à l'électorat sur la manière dont vous l'avez identifié, sur les pièces exigées notamment, n'avez-vous pas incité la fraude?**
- **Association des partis politiques : il n'y a pas moyens de vous contacter. Nous avons l'impression que vous ne maîtrisez pas le processus. Quand allez-vous associer les partis politiques? Quand un pouvoir rate les élections, comment la relève se fera si vous n'avez pas travaillé avec les autres partis qui n'étaient pas au pouvoir avant les élections?**



Questions à la CENI

- **Sur le recensement et le mode de dénombrement : ce mode n'était pas adéquat, nous avons pourtant des experts qui pouvaient nous aider. Les tricheries ne sont pas évitées.**
- **Pourquoi persistez-vous à dire que les résultats des inscriptions sont bons, alors que des experts disent que non?**
- **Comment allez-vous corriger ces erreurs?**
- **Comment se fait-il que vous n'ayez pas le code électoral? C'est l'essentiel.**



Questions à la CENI

- **Le calendrier devrait être réexaminé**
- **Sur la communication sur la constitution, il était convenu que le gouvernement le fasse avec les partis politiques, il a décidé de le faire seul malgré le budget suffisant qui avait été décidé : vous n'avez rien dit.**
- **Avez-vous tous les dispositifs en place pour vérifier toutes les tricheries éventuelles?**
- **Le code électoral : si les acteurs politiques ne s'entendent pas, n'allez-vous pas soutenir le pouvoir qui risque de l'imposer?**



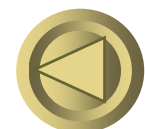
Questions à la CENI

- **Le rôle des chefs des partis me semble vraiment minime**
- **Nous souhaitons vous aider à vous débarrasser de ce « rat » qui est entré dans votre grenier et risque de détruire tout ce qu'il contient (le rat = l'administration qui vous bloque)**
- **Notre désir est de vous aider à être indépendant réellement**



Réponses de la CENI

- Je ne suis pas le porte-parole de la CENI, c'est le président lui-même, je ne m'occupe que de la communication
- Je vous remercie des précisions que vous m'avez faites sur cette idée de non-indépendance
- Vous dites que le pouvoir risque de perturber le calendrier électoral, c'est vrai mais rouvrir le débat nous ferait faire une croix sur les élections.
- Nous ne sommes pas une institution politique, nous sommes des techniciens et il est difficile de se trouver entre les deux.
- Vos inquiétudes sur la question de l'indépendance de la CENI sont partagées. Il n'est pas facile de collaborer avec l'exécutif.



Réponses de la CENI

- **Nous n'avons pas négocié avec l'ONUB, ils nous ont proposé de pouvoir faire passer de temps certaines informations dans leurs émissions de radio**
- **Nous réalisons ce qui est prévu par la Loi, le processus électoral répond à ce qui est prévu dans le code électoral. On nous a demandé de prendre en compte le code de 1993 pour le référendum. Bien entendu, nous sommes mal à l'aise et espérons que pour les prochains scrutins un code plus adapté aura été élaboré.**
- **Pour ce qui est des moyens, nous sommes dans une totale dépendance.**
- **Quand allez-vous rencontrer les partis? J'ai transmis le rapport et nous sommes en train d'organiser cette rencontre.**



Réponses de la CENI

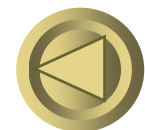
- **Ceux qui n'ont pas pu être inscrits pour les élections : nous allons effectuer le rapport et nous pensons que le nouveau code électoral prévoit ce cas et son remède.**
- **La question de la modification de la constitution : en tant que CENI nous n'avons pas encore abordé la question.**
- **Si nous n'avons pas le code électoral, allons-nous prolonger les échéances? Nous ne sommes qu'une institution.**
- **J'ai l'impression que vous nous en voulez, que vous pensez que nous avons un poids extrême mais non, nous avons l'envie de collaborer.**



BURUNDI LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM



14 au 15 décembre 2004
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PROCHAINES ETAPES



Prochaines étapes

- **Communication**

- Rédaction et diffusion d'un rapport et compte-rendu des activités de la réunion de suivi
- Rédiger une communiqué conjoint, le BLTP pourra faire le lien entre vous et vous aider à la rédaction de ce communiqué. Volontaires pour l'organisation de ce travail: Jean, Philippe et Joseph Ntak. Le but de ce communiqué sera de montrer à la population notre collaboration et notre travail. Ce communiqué devra être diffuser au niveau des médias mais également auprès des autorités qui avaient été informées de nos réflexions et recommandations sur le code de conduite
- Rédaction de communiqués de presse qui ne soient pas trop éloignés de l'actualité



Prochaines étapes

- **Les rencontres entre les participants:**
 - Organiser une rencontre de ce genre une fois par mois sur la période qui nous mène à Avril. Cette période sera d'une grande intensité et nécessité de négociation et de dialogue. La communication entre nous s'est déjà fortement améliorée et des traces de relations entre nous sont déjà visibles et cela aurait certainement pris au moins 2 ou 3 ans sans ce cadre. Besoin de rapprochement sur la communauté d'intérêt. Chacun de nous représente un famille politique et nous, ensemble, représentons une famille de dialogue.



Prochaines étapes

- **LA CENI :**

- Organiser une rencontre avec la CENI en partenariat avec le BLTP
- S'organiser pour établir un certain nombre de droits qui doivent revenir à la CENI pour matérialiser son indépendance
- Le BLTP pourrait aider la CENI qui n'a pas de standard téléphonique notamment : proposer un financement et un cadre pour que vous puissiez être là. Créer une nouvelle réunion où nous faciliterions la rencontre entre les représentants des partis politiques et des membres de la CENI.
- Aider la CENI à négocier avec les radios nationales des passages en radio parce que c'est important pour la CENI mais aussi pour vous.

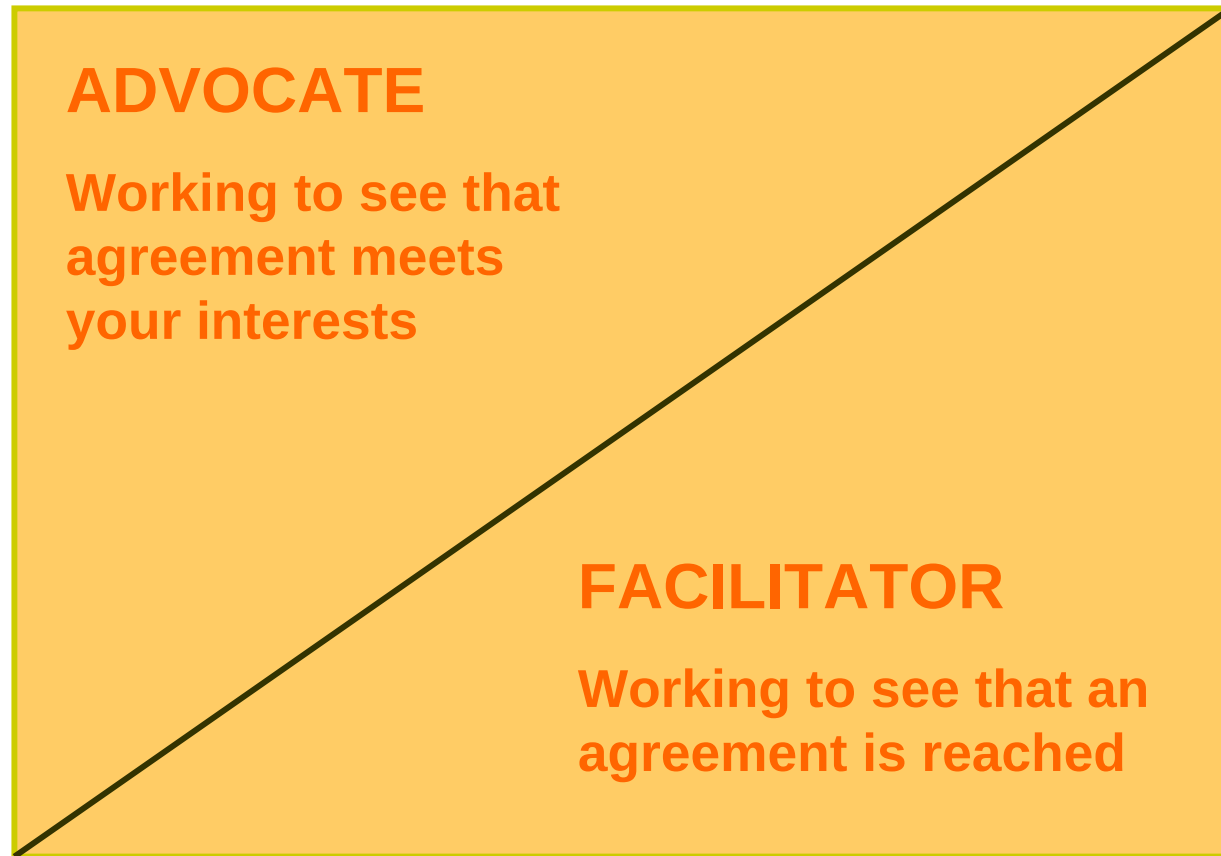


Le Processus de “Texte Unique”

- Établir les règles de jeu
- Écouter les points de vue de chaque partie
- Préparer une ébauche d'un accord possible
- Demander a chaque partie “Est-ce que vos intérêts sont satisfaits par cet accord? Si non, quels sont les intérêts non-satisfaits?
- Refaire le texte/ébauche à la lumière des chose que vous avez appris
- Lorsque vous avez déterminé que l'ébauche ne peut pas être amélioré et que les parties sont prêtes à l'accepter, vous pouvez conserver cette version
- Présenter le texte aux parties as a YES or NO choice



Multiparty Negotiation



In complex, multiparty negotiations, the role of facilitator gains importance.



Political Party Leader Follow On Training

Bujumbura, December 14, 2004; Day 1

Opening HW

Amb. Wolpe (HW) Opens by welcoming everyone, and notes the absence of a few participants because of their required participation in the constitutional informational campaign. Efforts will be made to brief those unable to attend the workshop.

Introduces the training and management team, describes their background and ongoing involvement in Burundi and the region.

Democracy is a combination of conflict and collaboration, and it has been the purpose of this training to strengthen your collaborative skills, and your ability to manage conflict. The product of the Gitega workshop was so impressive, and since you requested further training and the opportunity for further interaction, DFID agreed to support this follow-on training session..

Gives background on other BLTP-related activities, both ongoing and contemplated.

Trainer Tina Robielle (TR): I want you to think about what you expect from this exercise, and how we can fit the agenda to what you would like. What things you'd like to deepen and what new skills you'd like to learn.

Expectations

Jean I would like the political men present to talk frankly about actions that have been undertaken, and the fears of the population, and to reflect together on challenges we have met.

Etienne We want CENI to take into account the input from Gitega on the code of conduct—is it independent?? The same for the Powers-that-be.

Stany The Gitega workshop was not covered by the media. We feel we are working in a black out. I want to see that our ideas are diffused to the population.

Joseph Ntak I know that CENI and the leadership have gotten our ideas, but I don[t know if they are acting on them.

Hassan I see it as being about finding which doors to knock on. I don't think we've found the real entrance. We spoke with a member of CENI who said that they were independent, but in practice, we don't see this independence. Same for the Government.

- ??? Spread our ideas to the population
- Gerard Continue the techniques of negotiation, but also to find a way to make sure that these methods are implemented, both by us and by others. That it spreads beyond us, through lobbying.
- Joseph Ntan. Among us there are many who want a power change, and many are political types. I want this group to really be a group. After the vote, this group should be a real force for change.
- Leandre I want the parties to be motivated. I hope that at the end of the meeting there is a recommendation against the manipulation in the mobilisation of the population.
- Joseph Ntak. Perhaps make a general recommendation. The president of the republic and the president of CENI are both Frodebu and they have the same language. We should recommend there be no manipulation—the current situation is becoming worrisome.
- Joseph Ntan. Perhaps that could be a second point.
- Methode It needs to pass through the media, it is important to give perspective. I call for all of us in Gitega go out after sitting down together, and come up with a solution together. We should looking for a time to sit down and diffuse our ideas and show the concerns of politicians.
- At the workshop in Gitega, there were some exercises that weren't done that I'm looking forward to.
- UN Observers introduce themselves. One is responsible for Bujumbura Provincial elections, the other is an Elections observer. IFES observers introduce themselves.
- Jean I have another expectation. The media has recently shown an increasing tendency to demonise political men, and I think we need to indicate that political parties aren't all demagogues. I hope that we can all together show that our interests in their misery are real and we want the best for them. We aren't all propagandists. We want a new image of us to emerge.
- Joseph Ntan. The 22nd will be the constitutional elections, and we should discuss the contents of the electoral code that will be voted on after that.
- Trainer Liz McClintock (LMC): I hope that we can meet as many of your expectations as possible. I know that you have done a lot of things. Perhaps we can talk about what you have done over the last few weeks, following the Gitega workshop. Have you tried to spread this message, met with colleagues, done a radio show, etc.?

Activities Report

Paul	We asked [BLTP Manager] Fabien to organize a meeting for the 24 th November, and we were all there, so we already did a follow-on meeting to underline what we did.
Hassan	Personally the training affected me because I live the training. When I take part in discussion with close colleagues, I think about the interests of the nation, and I have seen a positive effect. Even as the head of family, I try to model these lessons. I talk about these things with friends, and they seem very satisfied with these. If one succeeds in being a model, that is ideal.
LMC	If I think that something is important I need to get in his skin and explain it so that it makes sense to him. I cannot be a dictator or authoritarian, it is always a give and take. I really try to live these tools, to be a model.
Stany	I'd like to add another expectation with regard to what happened in Gitega. I would like to discuss how to spread this to other political organizations
TR	... We can send out photos. Perhaps it would be useful to tell a story about when negotiations were difficult, so we can put this into place.
Etienne	I'd like to put in place an active listening strategy for the 22 nd constitutional referendum.
???	With respect to active listening: it is not always obvious. It lets us encourage confidence, collaboration, the discovery of interests, find solutions thank to dialogue. Put oneself in a positive perspective for the listener, and avoid mechanical reactions.
Gerard	We may listen to people, but not change anything. That is passive listening!
LMC	What is the goal of Active listening?
Gerard	To encourage people to collaborate
Etienne	To find a solution
LMC	To have a dialogue
Joseph Ntak	The objective is to put oneself in position to look at the other positively, and to get the other to have confidence in you
Jerome(?)	If you do not listen, you might react badly to what they say

- LMC The goal of active listening isn't necessarily to change the other, but to better communicate, to understand what he's saying. Gerard, it is a real challenge. We can always listen to the population but it is sometimes hard to change their mind. Still listening is good.
- Gerard People know what is in the constitution, but we need to make it clear that these efforts are to inform them about the details, the issues are not for debate now.
- LMC You started creating relations between each other in Gitega, and now you must do this with the population, so that you can really consult the population next time around. The way that we share information about the constitution and elections can have an affect on how it happens next time.
- Stany We need the cooperation of the media.
- LMC Let's not be too pessimistic
- Etienne When you listen to something, it is a question of time. Sometimes when you negotiate you have to have it in the right environment.
- Jean Sometimes you cannot negotiate. One case, they blocked the lists, and one party said that they would refuse the blocked list; they said they will each pick their representatives that are not on the list. They were told that it was too late. Other people want to directly elect the head of state, but they tell them that it is not possible, and that if they don't agree they have to vote against the whole constitution.
- LMC From the start we need to make it clear what the objective is, assure that there is a time for debate, but not now.
- HW Back in my district I organized town meetings. People wanted law changes. Sometimes I agreed with them, but I knew that I could not make the change to make them happy. But I found that what was most important was that they knew I understood them. If I agreed, I'd say so, but explain why it was impossible for both of us to get what we wanted. Sometimes I'd disagree, but even then I wanted to make sure that they knew I understood their concerns. So before saying why I disagreed, I'd restate their points of view, then explain my perspective. In doing that, I thought I built a relationship with people, where they understood I couldn't always give them everything that they wanted, but that I understood them and was fighting for them. Even in the constitutional discussion, I think that much the same process can be helpful.
- Gerard I just want to say something. Science has developed many things, but not solved dictatorships. Dictators understand how to make their ideas understood elegantly. If there is sincerity in what you say, that works. You also have to understand the contradictions and consequences

around the people's wishes. Also, there must be actions to follow through.

- HW Sooner or later frauds are discovered. Another thing that I was careful about, was that I never over-promised, which many politicians are careless about. Because if they have too-high expectations, people become cynical. People prefer an honest politician to one who will promise anything. I'd always be clear what I was fighting for, but not guarantee that I would succeed.
- LMC Politics is always negotiations, and one can't guarantee they'll win every battle. Let's renew the discussion about challenges.
- Jerome I have met one challenge. We have learned the theory about how to negotiate at the table, but the theory leaves the option of solutions outside the table. For example, how the head of state would be selected. 5 years ago, we demanded immediate direct, universal suffrage for the head of state, but people conceded on the issue, and delayed it. Now people decided to bring back the direct elections, and the same people obstruct it again. But for a solution outside the table, what are the consequences and the risks? Might everyone take outside solutions?
- Frederic I'd like to note that what I learned at Gitega. When I said one day that Burundians are all liars, Amb. Wolpe said, "wait until you go through an exercise this afternoon," and then I saw what he meant when we did the old woman/young woman exercise. Later on I was listening to a political show on the radio with friends who were saying, "so and so is clearly Hutu" or "so-and-so is clearly Tutsi" and I said, "if you had only seen the picture of that woman! Then you'd understand that everyone has different experiences that make you see things one way or another."

Break for Lunch

Kirambo Activity

LMC: Review

Since one of the expectations was follow-on training, I think we will go ahead and do a bit with the analysis and the cartography of relations. Seven elements involved in making a decision:

What are the key elements of our analytic strategy before negotiating

Gaspard Preparation—define the object of the negotiation

Joseph Ntan The logistics of the negotiation

Jerome	Identify interests—and common interests
Joseph Ntan	Solutions on the table and outside the table
???	Formulate the problem itself
Gerard	Figure out why the other is there

How to measure the success of a negotiation?

LMC	We all want results, but to get them we need to think about how we act, to do that, think about how we think, and before that examine our general assumptions and beliefs. Advice we get from our head affects our actions. Look at the price of petrol—if we see it as win-lose, that is how we act. But if we see it as win-win, then it can really become a win-win game, if we collaborate with the others. That is something to keep in the head.
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The Style and the Basis

Separate the Person from the problems on the negotiating table

The Substance: focus on the interests and not positions, come up with mutually satisfactory options and not see it as a zero sum game, insist on the use of legitimate criteria, compare negotiated solution with your Best Non-Negotiated Alternative.

Key to negotiation: Prepare

Analytic Section

Style--Communication
Style--Relation (logistics too)

Substance--Interests
Substance--Options on the table
Substance--Legitimizing criteria

Outcome--BATNA
Outcome--Engagement or agreement

Gerard:	What are the cost and benefits to going to a solution outside of the table?
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LMC	That is what you have to consider when preparing for every negotiation. Sometimes you need to go outside the table. It's not a recipe for making a cake; you don't need to follow these steps every time to have a successful outcome—negotiations are dynamic. You
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don't always need to do this. Sometimes creating relations is the real goal in and of itself.

TR The goal of negotiations isn't always to make an agreement immediately. You have to make sure both parties make an agreement that is better than what they could receive outside.

LMC Exactly. You have to consider all options—you don't want to leave the table and then find out that there were good solutions you hadn't considered.

Cartography of Relationships

If we remember this cartography, it might help us remember how what everyone says fits in, since the political climate is always changing. Before going to the table, think about who should be there and who will be there. Also, better predict how their interests will be put out. Come up with the linkages that will exist at the table and how they could lead to a solution.

The UN wanted to get aid into a refugee camp, with the help of CMG, and needed to work out the relations to get this delivery in. There was the Government, NGOs, US, Portugal and Russia, the Displaced, the ICRC, UNITA, the rest of the UN. So we made up a chart of everyone's interests.

Shows chart. Let's find a way to get to the Displaced.

Jerome Go through UN and ICRC, or perhaps US and UNITA

LMC We have many options, but looking at the chart those two do look best.

Hassan Question re: chart different in book than on slide.

LMC I did make some changes. Now let's look at a case we can use to illustrate this.

TR Presents the case of Kirambo.

Hassan Why "Officieuse" and not "Officiales?"

LMC While each have a mandate, they want to keep it quiet.

TR But that is something to think about in your preparation.

Divide into groups to discuss.

Kirambo Discussion

Outcomes: Advice for future negotiations

- Clarify mandates of each negotiator.
- Avoid making threats and try to build relations
- Sequence negotiations at first.
- Ask “what is your problem” first, to give the other a chance to express themselves
- Be clear about what is being discussed, and outline the problem together.
- Negotiations are an ongoing process, and give the other a chance to express himself.
- Sequence the negotiations and the process.
- Be cautious when you decide to share your BATNA with others.
- Set up a common goal.
- Discover that some solutions on the table are shared by both.
- Define the problem together.
- Clarify interests together.
- Try to clarify what the misunderstanding is.
- Share a lot of information at first.
- Always compare your interests to solutions on the table and those off the table.
- Begin with simple questions on which there can be an easy agreement.
- Clarify the mandate of each negotiator.

Exercise on ‘Difficult Conversations’

LMC’s Presentation

Difficult conversations revolve around facts, emotions, or identity.

Role play: Gerard asked a good question—people often don’t understand that debate is closed on the constitution, how to communicate that? Let’s demonstrate with an exercise.

Jean plays the Population member, Joseph Ntak plays a party politician trying to explain the constitution. Fabien will be Joseph’s internal voice, and Tina will be Jean’s.

They play out the roles

LMC’s conclusion. If Joseph were to leave, he would think that the mission was successful, and the people would understand, but we can’t really tell. What is going on with Jean?

Methode He’s not really interested in the constitution.

What did we learn?

Jerome It was a dialogue of the deaf.

Etienne	We must avoid prejudice.
Gerard	There was no accountability for them.
Jean Claude	There must be a minimal level of confidence at least.
Frederic	Avoid an arrogant approach.
Etienne	Choose a good moment.
Philippe	Never said his mandate, who sent him, why he was there, what his role was. Be clear about that.
LMC	Right, you need to be clear, are you there to consult the people, inform the people, convince the people?
Felix	There needs to be someone they are confident in, someone who has the confidence of those sending him and those he's speaking to.
Athanase	Establish a common interest.
Jean Claude	Each should know the other, and know the others problems, especially if the problems are very different.
LMC	Right, people are often skeptical about politicians' motives, especially when they only come by rarely from time to time. That's why Howard went back and forth to Michigan every week when he was in Congress.
Etienne	...How can the president say that the constitution will pass with 100% approval?
LMC	Discussion of using polls to influence election results
	Moves on to fact-based discussions, and refers to the photos of the woman. It is easy to mis-extrapolate other people's intentions, and the reasons they hold the opinions that they do. We must separate a question over intention from the impact.

Bujumbura, December 14, 2004; Day 2

LMC Reviews the Agenda, explains press release idea. Asks group what they think.

Frederic Lets adopt it!

(no objections)

More on Active Listening and Difficult Conversations

LMC Shows video of Alain inattentively talking to ONUB member. Asks for feedback

?? He seems like he wants to leave

?? He says @yes@ even before the guy finished talking!

LMC Talks about inner voices

Joseph Ntan Did Alain know you were going to do that to him?

TR He thought it was funny, and the other fellow did not find Alain rude (though you can see that he might)

LMC Goes over lessons from this, and then talks about Difficult Conversations

Etienne Can you give us an example of how not having a difficult conversation can be an impediment?

LMC Tells story of organizing an ambassador training during the DRC crisis

Continues with difficult conversation discussion: both leaders and followers are always part of the same system, and both roles must be appreciated. Again, try not to attribute instructions to the other based on the impact their actions have on you

TOWER EXERCISE

Post-Exercise Discussion and Feedback Session

Asked each group to come up with feedback. Results were as follows:

Red A: 770

Blue A: 160

Red B: 665
Blue B: 360

LMC Group B, are you satisfied?

Gaspard (b) Yes, we think we got a very high score

LMC Group A?

Leandre (a) No

Joseph Ntak (a) We didn't even meet the average from the past, even if the Reds got the higher score of the two worlds.

LMC Sometimes we need to think about our measures of success. What challenges did you face?

Joseph Ntak (a) There was a disparity in starting rules. We didn't realize that when one won, the other lost. We didn't realize that until 25 minutes in.

Gaspard (b) We exchanged sheets. When we saw each other's parameters, we found a compromise

Hassan (b) There were different interests with respect to the time, and the same for the height

LMC Other challenges, how did you decide who would lead?

Gaspard (b) Well the blues would preside according to the rules, and so the others had to agree

LMC Reds, you were okay with that?

Reds (b) (together) Yeah

Paul (a) At first we had a blue chief, and so we decided to go with that

Joseph Ntan (a) We had to go with that

Joseph Ntak (a) It wasn't really a problem with teams, but really a problem of not understanding the rules. The more we built the more we hurt ourselves

???(a) Us, we were the masons, we were following the boss's instructions. If (we knew) that is how they read the rules, we would have left!

LMC Everyone cannot be a decision-maker, it would waste time, so everyone needs a role.

Hassan (b) Beforehand, you need to learn a lot of things. First we had exercises that said you have to talk a lot to the other before taking action.

LMC That is right, and I find communication very interesting

Hassan (b) While we found the talking exercise hard at first, they were very useful

Etienne (b) We took a lot of time reading the rules—how come the other group did not understand?

LMC The difference was that with you, you shared the parameters with each other right at the beginning; but in the other two-team group, they never let the others see their rules.

Joseph Ntan (a) In the red, we were all talking at the same time, while the engineers continued to talk, and the talkers only talked to other chatterboxes.

LMC That often happens. What are the key elements to success

Stany (a) For listening, we didn't need to listen to the reds, they had very few ideas!

LMC You didn't need to, but look at the relative score—they did much better, and they were happy with the results, not you! What are the characteristics of a good leader?

Etienne (b) Listening to others

Phillippe They should master what is available to them

? They should be open

Jean claude They should conciliate positions

LMC Think about the effect of being in different rooms, immediately when you come to those who didn't prepare with them, you assume a certain position

Jean The real question was the rules of the game. We had leadership that didn't know the rules of the game. I had in my mind that the reds only came to... I figured we had to knock them off.

LMC I don't know whether it is a fault of leadership or of the team. There needs to be an exchange of influence. Even if we aren't officially the leaders, we need to show leadership skills, and make horizontal effects.

Did you discuss the process first, make an agenda for your little meeting

Etienne Yes, but we didn't want to waste time.

LMC 30 minutes is a limited amount of time, but by spending 2 minutes to make an agenda, one can save a lot of time. I was struck by your division of labor in a positive way.

Jean Our team went by a plan, in our heads we expected, in constructing a tower that there ought to be an aesthetic element, and we spent some time discussing it.

LMC You should get extra points!

HW I'd like to come back on this question about the exchange of information. It was an important step that you exchanged the rules of the game. My experience in Burundi is that because of the conflict and the mistrust that has existed in the past, there is often a desire to keep things secret, rather than be more transparent. But the more that each side understands clearly the interests of the other, the easier it is to find solutions. Oftentimes, people are debating and debating because the interests aren't clear to the two parties. Transparency is important. Obviously the more trust, the more transparency. But the reverse is also true—by sharing info, you can build confidence.

LMC I would like to congratulate you, because I have never seen any teams in Burundi work so quickly. You really did create a lot of value between you in both cases. However there is a bit of imbalance in some of this, but perhaps it will be the reverse next time. It is working together that creates value. Congratulations, you worked well, and I hope that we take good lesson from this. Just before lunch break, Tina will outline the afternoon, and I hope we can meet some of these expectations.

TR (outlines afternoon, and asks what they'd like to talk about)

Joseph Ntak Where the constitution stands with respect to Arusha, other parties. I think it would be interesting to talk about what the constitution is about

Etienne It is true that we talked about the electoral code, but it is hard to talk about the electoral code, without talking about the constitution. Also, the worrying of the population, a lot of that is about the constitution too.

LMC We'd like to talk about what you can actually do

Joseph Ntan That is true, but we must be nuanced. One to talk about what will be in the electoral code, and one to talk about what has already been done

Felix It is good to take concrete decisions, but I ask about the means. Most of what we do is the right of the CENI and government, which we can influence, but won't echo us. The CENI promised us things in Gitega,

but didn't follow through. To whom would we address any of our recommendations?

- LMC We did invite someone from CENI, hopefully someone will be here. The government is concerned with fears of the populations, so perhaps you can give them a plan.
- HW All of you represent different perspectives on many questions, but the challenge today seems to be to identify the subjects where your collaboration can make a difference. You might not be able to agree on constitutional specifics, but you might be able to agree to how to hold elections, so it may be more useful to focus on those things where there is a realistic opportunity to agree and make changes.
- Frederic I think that CENI did not want to consult us in Gitega. Because things are going as they are going. They might come this afternoon, and we saw one talk to Alain in the video, but that is all the contact we've had. The journalist didn't talk with us during the break. We are very disappointed with the UN and CENI.
- HW I share your frustration about the publicity. The UN media person was here, but just left. He was absolutely enthralled with what he saw, and we hope other media will be coming this afternoon. Perhaps there are other strategies you can decide on this afternoon?
- LMC Four more comments
- Hassan For my worrying brothers, we as leaders are here to benefit from a training, and this training is teaching us a lot. We have a problem with our leaders, as you underlined in Gitega and in this training. Many don't have active listening. They don't know how to reduce gaps. The result is that there is no communication between us and the leaders. What I will insist on is that we have the chance to influence the nation's leaders for tomorrow. What should we give to them, our leaders can block certain things, the constitution, the electoral code, but what I ask you is what should we do to do good service for the future. That is why we are here, and to keep our training being applied.
- Etienne To speak to my compatriots. We know that the situation is delicate, but remember 2 things. We have all made a contribution. Our work will give this contribution. What people do with it is another question, but we will manage it responsibly. Lets say that us, where are we? We're also involved... Put your self in the front of things, and that will bring a better future.
- Phillippe About the fear CENI disregards us as a waste of time, as political leaders, we should know that deception isn't the end. We are being trained to face this deception. Number two, the failure of CENI and government to get these elections, is our victory—they failed to push these through. Now they have to explain that failure. All failure is

shared, and victory is shared. We have something to give them—now we have the benefits of the training to offer them.

Methode Much of what I'd say has already been said. But to the team present I'd say: we are organizing ourselves as a force for change in the "expectations" so why be concerned.

Joseph Ntan There are many of us who have been political players for a long time. We have opinions, let us get them out!

Report of Working Groups

Working Group A on Fear in the Population

Problem

- 1) Uncertainty regarding the future
- 2) Fear of the day after—>war

Diagnostics

- 1) Political class that is divided on basic questions, unstable and disorganised
- 2) Lack of confidence in politicians, remember politicians as liars and Machiavellians
- 3) Persistence of a situation of "neither war nor peace"—weapons in the population, threats that a new war will break out
- 4) Lack of confidence in the institutions in place, which lack confidence in themselves
- 5) Justice system that is not very reassuring and an impunity that persists
- 6) Weak and partisan territorial administration
- 7) Widespread corruption at high levels of state
- 8) Chipping away of the State and Administration, and the impoverishment of the (civil servant) middle class
- 9) Delinquency of children and young people

Recommendations

- 1) Permanent search for consensus
- 2) Redouble contacts with the population
- 3) DDR
- 4) The restoration of state authority
- 5) Strict application of Law and establishment of a Etat de Droit
- 6) Inculcation of neutrality and a culture of nonpartisanship
- 7) Refresh the political and administrative elites and implement punishments
- 8) Recourse to international aid, good distribution of wealth and more equitable social policy
- 9) Enforce the laws, and hold the parents and educators responsible.

Working Group B on Fear in the Population??

Problem

Fear of the return to war

Diagnostic

Incapacity of the Executive to organize elections

Within the heart political parties following exclusion

Administration that is disconnected from electoral processes

Tardiness in the disarmament schedule among the civilian population

Disrespect of agreements

Solutions

- 1) Make sure that all concerned parties participate in the electoral process
- 2) Create a formal organization among all parties and the PNPAs involved in the electoral process
- 3) Involve the territorial administration in organizing elections
- 4) Push the POT to start the disarmament of the civilian population
- 5) Pressure the POT to respect commitments

Recommendations

Memo addressed to

The executive

The CENI

The CSA

Regional leaders

Noting their responsibilities in the poor conduct or probable failure of the electoral process.

Working Group A on Constitution

Problem

The constitution is not consensual

The constitution was not made with the consent of the population

Cause

Elites want a constitution to protect them

People want the money allocated to constitution-writing

Solutions

- 1) Take account of the concerns of the population and political partners
- 2) Reconsider a realistic calendar for the election cycle

Recommendations to the government

- 1) Amend several relevant provisions on institutions, taking account of the expressed concerns of the population and political partners
- 2) Submit the text of the constitution to the approval of the population

Recommendations to CENI

- 1) Demonstrate its independence and neutrality with respect to the executive and political parties

Group B on the Constitution and Referendum

Problem (constitution)

It is not accepted by the whole Burundian political class

Causes (constitution)

- 1) It doesn't guarantee a politico-ethnic change at the highest levels of State
- 2) It doesn't guarantee the ethnic parity in major institutions that could fight genocide and exclusion (army, government, senate, assembly)
- 3) There is a risk of reinforcing political mono-elitism, favouring CNDD_FDD/Frodebu
- 4) The 2 vice president clause doesn't guarantee power-sharing between the two main ethnic groups (Hutu and Tutsi)
- 5) Constitution limits the popular voice in the choice of leaders (indirect vote for president)

Solutions (constitution)

There must be a forum for exchange between political actors

Amend the constitution before the referendum

The government should organize debates with the political parties and the population

Problems (referendum)

- 1) Organised under pressure
- 2) Population disinterested

Causes (referendum)

- 1) Events
- 2) Lack of material means and political will from the Powers-that-be
- 3) The constitution is already in place
- 4) There was no explanation or consultation

Solutions (referendum)

Delay the referendum for a relatively short period

Assemble the logistic means necessary

Explain and consult with the population

Guarantee the independence of the CENI with regard to the Power

Real support from the international community

Cohesion and good will of the institutions for a better scheduling

The leaders must take the results of the popular consultation seriously

Discussion

Jean With regard to group four: if the constitution isn't accepted by the whole political class, that's a problem. The reason for those who

object to the constitution, is that it doesn't guarantee alternance in power.

Joseph Ntak If we had enough time, and if we had the means to go deeper, to suggest agreements, we could be much more precise.

LMC That's a possible follow-up

Gaspard Perhaps establish a permanent consultation among those who are involved in the constitution

CENI MEMBER KANA ASTAIRE'S PRESENTATION

Fr. A. Thanks audience for invitation, and is pleased to speak to BLTP.

I would like to thank you for the recommendations that you sent us after your meeting in Gitega, we received and appreciated them. I'd like to start there.

First you asked us to organize a meeting between political parties and CENI. We are working on it, we are only lacking time.

Secondly you recommended that we communicate regularly about CENI activities. We had a problem, because we have asked a time slot on RTB, but it was not free. We negotiated with the Radio-Nord, who will broadcast on its collaborating radio stations every day. You wanted a better collaboration with the territorial administrations, and I think that in the period of registration, there has been a certain gap, which we have recognized.

Third recommendation, you asked that we show our independence as a commission, and that we follow the electoral calendar. I don't know what you are alluding to, but we have outlined the problems we encounter in our work, because of the political and electoral calendar as well as economic problems. We are not completely free in our decisions, and it is difficult to change the situation.

At this point, I'd like to inform you that we delayed the referendum date. Many made the link to the modification of the constitution. But the fact is the delay was dictated by the fact that the processing of the electoral lists has been slowed because of the lack of material resources and staff. The amount of work was hard to judge at first. It is difficult to process 3 million sheets of paper. Even if it is done by the end of the week, we can't have the referendum, because the law allows two weeks for people seek changes, and find illegalities. The 22nd November, we met the UN Security Council. They asked us 3 questions

1) Will the date of the 22 December be respected? We said yes, we did not think we would encounter difficulties.

- 2) Will the other dates be changed? We were more prudent, and said the definitive dates will be specified in the new electoral code
- 3) Will the last one be in April? If we have the right material, and the right text, there will be no reason to go beyond April
- 4) They said, please don't go beyond April because that will be a catastrophe

I want to talk about what we mean by independent. We are free from all conditions.

As for your fourth recommendation, you asked us to consult the political parties, to consult with us at every step. We do that with pleasure.

Fifth, you asked that the laws be respected. Here, please be specific. If it is about the electoral code, that's our job. For the rest, there is an administration in place to deal with that at each level. However, the law that governs the electoral process is a responsibility that we cannot fail.

Sixth, with respect to the code of conduct, we thank you. We have indeed received the code of conduct recommendations that you laid out, apparently it doesn't need finishing, since it was designed by the actors themselves, all that is left is informing and having it voted on by the others. We will organize a meeting to finalize it.

We also received a code of conduct by youth from different civil society organizations. They came together and asked these be adopted and spread it throughout the country so that all youth follow these recommendations and conduct themselves properly during this electoral period. We salute this initiative.

What are our present activities?

Now, we are occupied with following the processing work of CECI, one that requires skills and a permanent presence. We have visited the CPF, to understand the individuals involved in this work, and if this succeeds, we think the process will also succeed.

The last time we met, we discussed a lack of material resources. This is resolved, because we negotiated for materials and received them from South Africa, on 3 flights last night and this morning with everything we need for voting stations. 7200 ballot boxes, 14000 polling enclosures, 3500 kits for the polling stations; notably with permanent ink markers

Materially we are equipped. If this processing work goes well, we'll be ready for the referendum.

At the political level there is a possibility of amending the constitution, which will delay the process longer.

I am here for exchange. I would like to ask you to clarify what you mean by independence and what you insist upon so that you may be convinced.

Questions

Jerome Thank you. I'd like to know if at the level of CENI officials, you don't see the risk of disrupting the electoral calendar if you delay the first election, and if you put several elements of the Arusha accord in question, regarding universal direct suffrage, the eligibility of the transitional head of state.

Second question, on independence, you conclude in one of your articles, that CENI is charged with executive powers on electoral matters, and that gives me a question of terminology. CENI is created by the parliament but charged with executive powers, isn't that a question of independence

Frederic If there is the risk of independence, or a loss of confidence in independence, if you ask for help from ONUB are they higher up than you? Are you independent of them?

You talked about the law. There was a polemic on radio Sangalo(ph)—you may not have known the decree postponing the referendum when this went out, but the president did. The UN constrains your independence with financial temptations since they hold the funds, so there are constraints both by the government and the ONUB.

There was talk about the radio. You spoke about you delay of the 22nd, and said it was in conformity with the law, but the law was written expressly to delay the elections. The president of the CENI said that the elections wouldn't be held, right before the law was passed. That makes me think that you might not be independent of the executive. To sum up, my goal is to confirm that this will all take place and you are independent.

Methode Thank you. You said that you would meet political parties, but let me ask you an unsurprising question—when will you do it? We want to meet you as soon as possible.

Alfred What do you think about the problems with registration, with people who could not register?

What do you think about declarations announcing eventual modification of the constitution

- Paul The delay of the referendum: before each delay CENI announced problems with materials and other things. Now there are no material problems. Before fixing other dates won't CENI consult the law?
- The president of CENI was named by Decree, as was the rest of CENI, so he must certainly return favours to those who named him. I want CENI to make a decision between the mission that it is assigned and the instructions it was given when it was appointed!
- Joseph Ntak I am shocked—the mandate you have is not that which you were given. If we had only known you would fail the nation and people in your mandate, and not be able to get a broadcast slot! Can't the government get a broadcast slot on the radio?
- Secondly, I'd like to express my worries about who can influence you one way or another. There are constraints against provoking political authorities.
- The way that you identified the electorate has scared many—haven't you caused fraud in the way you require pieces of identification.
- Joseph Ntan I am sad for you because you are an honest man in a corrupt system. Cheating and rigging has not been avoided. It says that the president cannot be elected to be an arbitrator. Even with needs, we will enter into another trap.
- I spoke about political parties, when will you contact political parties. If the ruling party loses, how will there be relief if you don't have contact with opposition parties before the election? You haven't given observers a date, a phone number, the president of CENI said he'd write it.
- I have a feeling you don't master this process, it's not your fault. You don't understand the mess you are caught up in
- There is a cacophony between the parliament and government, who are from same political party. One says that we need to integrate the will of the people in the constitution, the others says no. If the vote has to be "yes" or "no" for the people or the parliament, what can CENI expect from the population.
- Gaspard You met the Security Council. Can you tell us what that means (inaudible)
- Deo With regard to the census. How did you choose the means of selection. Your team has no experts in this, but they were available. The permits you accepted as Identification is not valid. There was cheating here, linked to specific Burundian problems. When a girl gets married, she seeks a new ID, for example. All of this raises questions. Why does

CENI say the census results are good, when the experts know they aren't. These errors come in many forms, so how to correct them.

Felix On the electoral code, you are missing the essential. You have the voting booths, but how many polling stations? You said you were planning to meet the political parties, but you haven't done anything. Disarmament will take at least 4 years, what is your point of view, are you going to delay four years. How do you not have an electoral code, that is essential:

Etienne Three axes of intervention

Independence—your independence is relative, not absolute. The CENI works in a rather delicate environment, and some actions, some weaknesses. To show its independence, CENI should come up with the calendar that it wants. Also, to demonstrate the country's independence.

In Rwanda, they lacked material, but organized their elections, and funders came after the elections. Can't Burundi be more aggressive to unblock the elections.

CENI should show its independence.

There is also contradictions in the letter outlining the mandate we can give our observers.

Jean 3 ways you're not independent:

- 1) There was intimidation by the Powers-that-be, during voter registration—telling some that there would be no support for social projects in areas that didn't register voters
- 2) Explaining the constitution. Theoretically; we understood that it should be done by the political parties and parliament. The budget was designed to include this, but the government decided to do it alone. The obligations moving CENI are influenced by the president.
- 3) You should be proving that you are independent, as the constitution says, not vice versa!
- 4) Can you prove that the false registrations will be removed; three million voters is an anomaly!
- 5) Secondly the electoral code, will the political actors agree so easily. I am surprised to see how you plan to avoid debate with so much ease. If political actors don't agree, will you impose it?
- 6) Above that, finally the role of parties in your consultation is very, very small. The leaders in the church, the bishops too, you are very clear on our worries.

Hassan Some spoke about the rules, but let me show the rat that is in your barn. We need to get rid of this, which threatens to wreck everything in your barn. I would like to show you our desire to help you be really

independent. I ask you to associate with us, because through us, you will have the way to get rid of this rat.

I would like to show you how much we are your political friends, because we knew you in suffering, you don't say all you see, and we would like to help you in meeting your challenges.

Fr. Astair I'd like to get this done in a friendly fashion, because if it got ugly, I'd be in the hospital! I am not the spokesperson of CENI, that is the president himself. I am just in charge of communication. That's my defence.

I asked you to explain what you meant by independence, and I thank you for outlining your idea. This is what I get from what you said, and I appreciate you bringing them up. Dialogue is important. "Powers-that-be threaten to upset the electoral schedule." I agree with you, but let us open a debate on it.

The whole framework of the constitution is taken from the Arusha accords. But that is a political question, so do not get CENI to resolve it. But you know better than I that when we are in an uncomfortable situation. If you read the decree that was put out, we are a technical commission. I assure you it is complicated gymnastics that we do. This is a very serious question, that could jeopardize the whole process. Here you are party officials, you should make a plan.

Ah, independence. I understand your worries, and share them. CENI is a national commission, which has a relationship with everyone, including the administration and the executive. There is no law that defines our relationship with the executive. You know that it is not easy to collaborate with the executive, because it is a heavy force. Your worries are not only real, but recognized.

I spoke with the information minister about our radio program, on a station that is government owned and independently managed. He told me he would pay, but things are not so easy. We didn't negotiate with ONUB, they proposed that we could pass certain news during their programs. We used to have a weekly program, now we have a daily program, plus periodic news.

Well, the national commission puts into effect what is set out by law. The electoral process responds to demands that are put out in the electoral code. They asked us to use the 1993 code for the referendum. Everyone is uneasy, even me, and hoping that the future elections will take place with a more elaborate code.

We are in discussion with our partners. If it is necessary to talk about independence, we must also discuss dependence because it is logical to cooperate. With respect to means, we are in complete dependence. UNDP paid for our voter registration, which had to pass through New

York. It is ridiculous to set a date just whenever. I consulted all the banks, but after its declaration, it took 3 more days.

When would you like to meet? We promised we would, and I transmitted a report. Now we are organizing this meeting. I spoke about the time and material, but I know the meeting is underway. The president will give us more specifics.

“What will you do about those who aren’t registered?” Those who didn’t register for this election, you need to ask the administration. We will make the report. We think that the new electoral code will incorporate a remedy.

What do I think about modification of the constitution? CENI hasn’t studied the question. Personally (inaud)

We can’t uninvolve the administration. For example, the administration is on the ground, we can’t do anything without them. We are in a difficult situation, and the collaboration isn’t always in place. There are many people who have worked with the executive. We could talk forever, but what interests us is the result.

Again, with respect to independence, an explanation of the constitution was organized by the government, but we suggested that among those involved in explaining the constitution, there be other notable individuals. We want all political parties to be involved.

You are working on ways to peacefully resolve conflicts. Now I ask you to go to war with your members. Regarding the considerations over here. The expanding of the support group, the government offered.

With respect to the census, we had experts from the UN, UNDP. They have dealt with these problems for many years, they know how to execute a census. Some questions, like the question of documents, you have a problem because much of the population doesn’t have IDs. Now if there are errors and inequality, we will correct them. (audience member: “that’s impossible”) No it’s not impossible. There is another problem, which is complicated. We took a census, which the funders didn’t consider to be an “electoral process,” so we had to make do with what we have.

So, if we don’t have an electoral code, will we again prolong the process? I responded to the question—we are a commission and work with what we are given. We don’t make laws. We are only one institution.

I feel that you want a lot from us, you consider us extremists, you call us negligent. If the president gives you a telephone number, I can give you mine—it’s xxx-xxx.

In any case, I thank you for sharing your anxieties, and letting me share ours with you. I will share your ideas with all the commissioners.

HW

Thanks LMC. Thanks Fr. Astaire. We can all be grateful that he has had the same training as all of you, and he has certainly learned active listening. I want to thank all of the participants for practicing active speaking, and candidly explaining your concerns. I'd like to make a few observations about the process, because I think what just happened can be a method for dealing with coming problems.

The tremendous importance of communications. I'm sure that the commission has been so caught up in its immediate concerns of organizing itself that it has subordinated the issue of keeping in touch with the parties. It happens to all of us. It is easy to forget the importance of maintaining contact. I'm sure the people present appreciated the news that CENI received their recommendations. But that was the first time that this has been communicated. As a result these party leaders have felt ignored.

Secondly, it is important to be very clear and specific in what is being discussed. I was surprised, for example, by all the different meanings of independence that emerged in the discussion you just had.

Reflects on meaning of independence of CENI. The presence of the UN, the laws of Burundi, previous negotiated accords are all constraints for everyone. To suggest that these constraints affect the commission doesn't mean that it isn't neutral. I also kept thinking about the lessons we drew from SIMSOC. Don't always assume the worst when things don't go as expected. Remember how the red and green regions saw each other as arrogant or ungrateful. Yet no one in either region had bad motivation. Some of you thought that the delay by the commission was in bad faith, but it has been necessary to follow the law. I am always skeptical when people set dates without being certain of their ability to meet the dates. Everyone should focus on communications, discussion of constraints, and search for agreement. Maybe we can pick this up next time we talk. Again, don't always assume the worst. Many international observers have been amazed at how much progress has already been made, under very difficult circumstances, and at the large number of voter registrations already reported.

Next Steps

LMC

Our first next step will be to organize a meeting with all of CENI. Goes over next steps. Press release, Radio Program, the Joint Communiqué, meeting with CENI. Explains a procedure for developing the joint communiqué.

??

Let's meet soon.

- Jean I think that his statements were very dire about independence. I think we should get together to demand that it have more independence. It should have a certain number of rights in order to really be independent.
- Joseph Ntak. You should also write that the communiqué should be diffused both to the media and to political players.
- Joseph Ntan. The next steps should really focus on the independence of the commission.
- LMC There must be more clarity around the word independence, the criteria. Suggests that the communiqué may be that they are working together.
- Frederic Astaire was sincere, so we can tell things are starting to move. I take his word, but I ask the BLTP to organize a workshop similar to this, to provide a place to facilitate this sort of exchange, so that CENI can participate with political parties in such a relaxed atmosphere.
- Jerome Thank you. I am very satisfied so far. Can the BLTP give the calendar of next meetings with this group, what is planned?
- Fabien Nsengimana (FN): In many ways that depends on you, and I hope that you take initiative. On our end, it depends on funds.
- Jerome If funds were available, a monthly meeting like this would be very helpful until April, since many difficult things are being decided. It would be nice to transfer from theory to action, in such an environment as this. I see relationships emerging that might have taken 2 or 3 years to develop without this environment. Let me dream.
- Hassan Each of us represent a political family, but here we represent a family of dialogue, and I don't see why we can't meet as a family in dialogue.
- Jerome We will be making alliances and coalitions in the next few months, so it would be nice to keep the contact fresh.
- LMC Fr. Astaire asked for your help. Why not sit down with him and work on how to use your skills and contacts to negotiate airtime for him? It would benefit you, give you good training, benefit him, and earn some goodwill from him.
- FN We will also need to suggests greater links with other BLTP participants, and potential follow up brainstorming meetings in the new BLTP office.
- TR We have books in our office which might help you, and a resource center is on the way.

Certificates and evaluations are distributed.

GÉRER LES ELECTIONS: LE ROLE DES PARTIS POLITIQUES

REUNION DE SUIVI

Bujumbura, Burundi – 14 au 15 décembre 2004

Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, CM Partners et ESSEC IRENE
Conduit en partenariat avec le Burundi Leadership Training Program et l'ONUB
avec le soutien du Department For International Development (UK)

Merci de nous faire part de votre évaluation et de vos commentaires sur l'atelier que vous venez de suivre.

A - Quelle est votre opinion générale sur cet atelier ?

B - De manière plus détaillée, quels sont les points forts ou à renforcer de cet atelier?

☐ Points forts

☐ Points à renforcer

C - Quels points du programme auraient mérité :

☐ plus de développements ?

☐ moins de développements ?

D - Dans l'ensemble, la méthode pédagogique vous a-t-elle paru :

☐ très bien adaptée ☐ bien adaptée ☐ assez bien adaptée ☐ mal adaptée ☐ très mal adaptée

F - Sur une échelle de 1 à 5, appréciez la qualité et la pertinence des exercices et outils proposés, de 1 (appréciation très négative) à 5 (appréciation très positive) :

APPRECIATION		1--	2-	3+/-	4+	5++
Exercice 1 :	Kirambo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Exercice 2 :	Communication	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Exercice 3 :	La Tour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Exercice 4 :	Outil des quatre Quadrants	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G - Que pensez-vous du matériel pédagogique ?

APPRECIATION	1--	2-	3+/-	4+	5++
<i>Kirambo</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
<i>La Tour</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Présentations avec ordinateur (Powerpoint) et vidéo projecteur	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cahier des participants	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I - La logistique vous a-t-elle paru :

☐ très bien organisée ☐ bien organisée ☐ assez bien organisée ☐ mal organisée ☐ très mal organisée

J - Veuillez entourer la réponse correspondant à votre choix.

LE CONTENU DE L'ATELIER

1. Le contenu de l'atelier correspond aux objectifs annoncés	1	2	3	4	5	
	pas du tout			tout à fait		Non applicable
2. Le niveau théorique de cet atelier est	1	2	3	4	5	
	insuffisant			approprié		Non applicable
3. Le niveau pratique de cet atelier est	1	2	3	4	5	
	insuffisant			approprié		Non applicable

LA PÉDAGOGIE UTILISÉE

4. L'animation des simulations et de leur discussion me semble	1	2	3	4	5	
	très mauvaise			excellente		Non applicable
5. Le temps réservé aux simulations et à leur discussion est	1	2	3	4	5	
	insuffisant		adéquat	important		Non applicable
6. L'implication des participants (débat, interactions) est	1	2	3	4	5	
	peu enrichissante			très enrichissante		Non applicable
7. Le rythme de l'atelier me semble	1	2	3	4	5	
	trop lent		adapté	trop rapide		Non applicable
8. La disponibilité de l'équipe d'intervenants m'apparaît	1	2	3	4	5	
	très faible			très grande		Non applicable

AUTO-ÉVALUATION

9. Le travail que j'ai fourni pendant cet atelier me paraît	1	2	3	4	5	
	médiocre			très bon		Non applicable
10. J'ai le sentiment d'avoir amélioré mes compétences comme leader	1	2	3	4	5	
	pas du tout			tout à fait		Non applicable
11. A la lumière de mon expérience durant cet atelier, j'ai le sentiment que je pourrai mettre ces outils en pratique	1	2	3	4	5	
	pas du tout			tout à fait		Non applicable

GLOBALEMENT

12. Je considère la contribution à cet atelier de Howard Wolpe	1	2	3	4	5	
	très mauvaise			excellente		Non applicable
13. Je considère la contribution à cet atelier d'Elizabeth McClintock	1	2	3	4	5	
	très mauvaise			excellente		Non applicable
14. Je considère la contribution à cet atelier de Tina Robiollé	1	2	3	4	5	
	très mauvaise			excellente		Non applicable
15. J'ai le sentiment que la dynamique de l'atelier a créé une bonne ambiance de travail	1	2	3	4	5	
	pas du tout			tout à fait		Non applicable
16. Je considère que l'initiative mise en place peut servir au futur du Burundi	1	2	3	4	5	
	pas du tout			tout à fait		Non applicable

REUNION DE SUIVI DES CHEFS DE PARTIS POLITIQUES 14 & 15 DEC 2004

Questions:

																							Moyenne	
METHODE PEDAGOGIQUE		4	3	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	3	3	4	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4.36
EXERCICES	KIRAMBO	5	4	5		5	5		2	5	3	4	5	3	5	4	3	5	5	4	4	5	5	4.30
	COMMUNICATION	5	5	4	4	4	4		1	5	4	4	5	4	5	4	3	5	3	3	4	5	5	4.10
	LA TOUR	5	3	5	5	5	5		2	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	3	5	5	5	4.52
	4 QUADRANTS	3	5	4	5	5	5	5	1	5	4	3	5	5	5	4	3	5	3	3	3	5	5	4.14
MATERIEL PEE	KIRAMBO	5	4	5		5	4		2	5	4	3	5	4	5	5	3	5		4	3	4	4	4.16
	LA TOUR	4	3	5	4	5	5		2	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	4	4.48
	PST PPT	5	4	5	3	5	5		2	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	3	4	5	5	4.43
	CAHIER DES PARTICIPANTS	5	5	5	4	5	5		1	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4.52
LOGISTIQUE		4	4	5	4	4	5		4	5	4	5	5	2	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	5	4.33
1. OBJECTIFS		5	5	4	5	5	5		5	5		5	5	4	5	4	3	5	4	5	4	5	5	4.65
2. NIVEAU THEORIQUE		5	4	4	4	5	5		5	5	5	5	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	4.62
3. NIVEAU PRATIQUE		5	1	4	4	5	5		5	5	1	5	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	4.29
1. ANIMATION		5	4	3	4	5	5		5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	4.57
2. TEMPS SIMU+DISCUSSION		1	2	5	1	5	5		3	5	5	3	5	3	3	4	3	5	3	1	4	5	4	3.57
3. IMPLICATION DES PARTICIPANTS		5	5	4	5	5	5		5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	4	4.67
5. RYTHME DE L'ATELIER		5	4	5	5	3	3		3	3	5	4	5	3	5	5	3	3	4	3	4	5	4	4.00
6. DISPO DE L'EQUIPE D'INTERVENANTS		5	5	5	5	5	5		4	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	4	4.67
1. TRAVAIL		5	5	5	3	5	5		5	5	5	4	4	3	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	3	4.52
2. AMELIORATION		5	5	4	5	5	5		5	5	5	5	4	3	5	4	4	5	5	5	4	5	4	4.62
3. MISE EN PRATIQUE A L'AVENIR		5	5	4	5	5	5		5	5		4	4	3	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.70
HOWARD WOLPE		5	5	5	5	5	5		5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	4.81
ELIZABETH MCCLINTOCK		5	5	4	5	5	5		5		5	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.85
TINA ROBIOLLE		5	5	5	5	5	5		5	5	5	5	5	3	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	4.76
DYNAMIQUE/AMBIANCE		5	5	4	5	5	5		5	5	5	5	5	2	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.76
UTILITE DE L'INITIATIVE POUR LE BURUNDI		5	5	5	5	5	5		5	5		5	5	3	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.80

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Merci de nous faire part de votre évaluation et de vos commentaires sur l'atelier que vous venez de suivre.

A - Quelle est votre opinion générale sur cet atelier ?

Très bonne opinion de cet atelier / Permet de maîtriser d'avantage les techniques de communication, de mieux comprendre les motivations de l'autre / atelier qui vient à point nommé puisqu'il s'inscrivait dans la droite ligne de celui de Gitega / Excellent, l'atelier a été tenu au moment opportun pour se rappeler et renforcer les acquis de Gitega et au moment où le report des élections invite les leaders politiques à réfléchir avant d'agir / Ce sont vraiment des séances riches d'idées et c'est très intéressant si on continue de la sorte car dit-on « on ne naît pas négociateur on le devient » / Atelier bénéfique et riche / Bien conduit jusqu'à la fin / Bénéficier une fois encore des exercices / Très intéressant, cet atelier nous a appris beaucoup de choses qui nous aideront à gérer la situation dans notre pays et dans notre entourage / Très instructif / Cet atelier est riche et intéressant, il nous permet de connaître les opinions des autres (acteurs politiques) et comment se comporter devant telle ou telle situation de la vie d'une nation / L'atelier est pour une base solide pour la considération de la paix dans notre pays / Satisfait / Bien animé / Méthodologie très pertinente / Ambiance détendue / Satisfait, mais je reste sur ma soif quant à la finalité de ces suggestions et recommandations, j'aurai aimé savoir votre capacité de pression sur les décideurs burundais pour tenir compte de nos doléances / Appréciation très positive, il faut continuer !

B - De manière plus détaillée, quels sont les points forts ou à renforcer de cet atelier?

o Points forts

Exercices très pertinents / Kirambo / communication / La tour / Les attentes / La cartographie des relations / Système des quatre quadrants / L'utilisation des 4 quadrants à chaque fois que l'on rencontre un problème à résoudre / Plus de contact avec les partis politiques / Plusieurs types de négociations / la logistique / La méthodologie / Collaboration des organisations / Présentations / La maîtrise du contenu / Rencontre avec l'abbé Kana / Exploitation du cadre analytique et cartographie des relations / Avec le bagage que l'on a acquis, il est important que le BLTP nous aide à en faire une démonstration / La création de la relation /

o Points à renforcer

Temps insuffisant pour les échanges et la pratique / La tour / les 4 quadrants / Exercice de communication / Principe de l'écoute active / Continuer la formation / Créer d'autres négociations / Mise en pratique / Les cas concrets appliqués à notre pays / Points d'actualité pour la vie nationale (échéances & code électoral) / Diffuser et appeler les médias / Préparation des élections / Indépendance de la CENI / Logistique et outils pédagogiques / Brainstorming sur les étapes de la négociation / Stratégie de pression pour la mise en pratique des suggestions /

C - Quels points du programme auraient mérité :

o plus de développements ?

La province de Kirambo / application de ces outils au code électoral / La Tour / les 4 « Ps » / Théorie de la conversation difficile / La cartographie des relations / Les 4 quadrants avec les 2 sujets choisis / Exercices de négociation / Tout le programme en 2 jours, c'est trop peu / L'écoute et la réponse active / Process électoral dans son organisation / Le contenu (la matière) : formation théorique et pratique / Préparation des élections / Indépendance de la CENI / Plan d'action pour la formation des candidats au niveau local / Imaginer les intérêts communs et les solutions / Préparation aux négociations / Théorie de l'écoute active pour gestion des perceptions, émotions et intentions /

o moins de développements ?

Les 4 quadrants

D - Dans l'ensemble, la méthode pédagogique vous a-t-elle paru : 4,36

☐ très bien adaptée ☐ bien adaptée ☐ assez bien adaptée ☐ mal adaptée ☐ très mal adaptée

F - Sur une échelle de 1 à 5, appréciez la qualité et la pertinence des exercices et outils proposés, de 1 (appréciation très négative) à 5 (appréciation très positive) :

APPRECIATION		1--	2-	3+/-	4+	5++
Exercice 1 :	Kirambo 4,3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Exercice 2 :	Communication 4,1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Exercice 3 :	La Tour 4,52	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Exercice 4 :	Outil des quatre Quadrants 4,14	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G - Que pensez-vous du matériel pédagogique ?

APPRECIATION		1--	2-	3+/-	4+	5++
Kirambo 4,16		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
La Tour 4,48		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Présentations avec ordinateur (Powerpoint) et vidéo projecteur 4,43		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cahier des participants 4,52		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I - La logistique vous a-t-elle paru : 4,33

☐ très bien organisée ☐ bien organisée ☐ assez bien organisée ☐ mal organisée ☐ très mal organisée

J - Veuillez entourer la réponse correspondant à votre choix.

LE CONTENU DE L'ATELIER

1. Le contenu de l'atelier correspond aux objectifs annoncés **4,65**

1	2	3	4	5
pas du tout			tout à fait	

Non applicable

2. Le niveau théorique de cet atelier est **4,62**

1	2	3	4	5
insuffisant			approprié	

Non applicable

3. Le niveau pratique de cet atelier est **4,29**

1	2	3	4	5
insuffisant			approprié	

Non applicable

LA PÉDAGOGIE UTILISÉE

4. L'animation des simulations et de leur discussion me semble **4,57**

1	2	3	4	5
très mauvaise			excellente	

Non applicable

5. Le temps réservé aux simulations et à leur discussion est **3,57**

1	2	3	4	5
insuffisant		adéquat	important	

Non applicable

6. L'implication des participants (débat, interactions) est **4,67**

1	2	3	4	5
peu enrichissante			très enrichissante	

Non applicable

7. Le rythme de l'atelier me semble **4**

1	2	3	4	5
trop lent		adapté	trop rapide	

Non applicable

8. La disponibilité de l'équipe d'intervenants m'apparaît **4,67**

1	2	3	4	5
très faible			très grande	

Non applicable

AUTO-ÉVALUATION

9. Le travail que j'ai fourni pendant cet atelier me paraît **4,52**

1	2	3	4	5
médiocre			très bon	

Non applicable

10. J'ai le sentiment d'avoir amélioré mes Compétences comme leader **4,62**

1	2	3	4	5
pas du tout			tout à fait	

Non applicable

11. A la lumière de mon expérience durant cet atelier, j'ai le sentiment que je pourrai mettre ces outils en pratique **4,7**

1	2	3	4	5
pas du tout			tout à fait	

Non applicable

GLOBALEMENT

12. Je considère la contribution à cet atelier de Howard Wolpe **4,81**

1	2	3	4	5
très mauvaise			excellente	

Non applicable

13. Je considère la contribution à cet atelier d'Elizabeth McClintock **4,85**

1	2	3	4	5
très mauvaise			excellente	

Non applicable

14. Je considère la contribution à cet atelier de Tina Robiollé **4,76**

1	2	3	4	5
très mauvaise			excellente	

Non applicable

15. J'ai le sentiment que la dynamique de l'atelier a créé une bonne ambiance de travail **4,76**

1	2	3	4	5
pas du tout			tout à fait	

Non applicable

16. Je considère que l'initiative mise en place peut servir au futur du Burundi **4,8**

1	2	3	4	5
pas du tout			tout à fait	

Non applicable