Peace Agreement Text Notes

Angola\_1991

"The Angolan parties reserve for later negotiations the discussions on the foreign assistance that may be necessary in order to form the National Army" (20)  
  
Mentions a tripartite declaration of Portugal, the United States, and Soviet Union regarding elections timing that says: "...and the need to reduce the high costs that the international community will have to bear in monitoring the cease-fire..." (21)  
  
calls for holding of elections and special accommodations for the illiterate  
  
says ccpm members and observers "shall be supported by assistants and technical advisers for the areas assigned to them" (22). says, further, that these assistants and TAs need be Angolans  
  
calls for a budget for the ccpm, amount of which the body itself can set; does not say where budget money will come from  
  
says "[b]oth parties accept the principle of the extension of the Central Administration to those areas of Angola that are presently beyond the range of its authority" but "leave for a later date the study of the actual implementation of such extension" (24)  
  
calls for new "Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces" to "propose to CCPM the budget to be allocated to the Angolan armed forces [for the period] prior to the elections" (26)  
  
contains section on 'Technical Assistance from Foreign Countries', which says Angola will inform Portugal "which country or countries" will be invited to render assistance" to the formation of the Angola Armed Forces (29)

**Angola\_1994**

What’s interesting is the level of specificity of the military disengagement process. It is also remarkably specific on other seemingly mundane items, such as mandating that UNITA will include the CVs of officials it sends to the government as nominees for diplomatic posts (22).

many of the tasks concerning formation of the Angolan armed forces and demobilization and reintegration of excess forces would seem to cost significant money, but the amount of expected costs nor the specific sources of finance to be used to pay them are not identified.

Mentions ‘national social reintegration program’ for ex-combatants to be led by gov, with unita participation and assistance from international community (12)

Says ‘excess’ personnel will be dependent on General Staff of Angolan Armed Forces for their ‘professional training, demobilization, and reintegration into civilian society’ (12)

Pp. 13-14 refer to ‘vocational training’ for demobilized military personnel, but no mention of the costs of finance sources.

Angolan National Policy are to ‘be given appropriate professional training’ (15) – no specification/sourcing of costs

Calls for creation of, and ‘basic training and specific courses’ for a Rapid Reaction Policy, an organ of the National Police

**Crucially, Special Principles 10-12 on pp. 20-21 pledge significant economic benefits to Angolan citizens and UNITA leaders in the interest of national reconciliation.** These include the incorporation, ‘as far as possible’, of UNITA ‘teachers, health workers and technical staff’ into the ‘various administrative and economic activity of the state’. It also states that ‘social welfare and social reintegration programs shall be implemented throughout the national territory’. No costing or fin sourcing is given for these programs. P. 22 says the incorporation of these workers will be ‘brought forward…if the requisite conditions are certified as fulfilled for the purpose’. It also says a public ‘National Entrepreneurial Support Fund’ will aim to help ‘in the establishment of private enterprises in the various sectors of economic activity…on the basis of equal opportunity’. Again, it is not clear how much financial support this fund will provide nor from where in the government budget, or from which donors, its funding will come.

Further, 89 residences/facilities are pledged to UNITA leaders (21). No costing/fin sourcing is given.

A special document (24) details the security measures to be afforded to UNITA leaders. This includes two bodyguards who are to be integrate into the Political Leaders and Diplomatic Protection Group of the National Police, from which they are to ‘undergo suitable professional training and receive the respective salaries’. No mention is made of where in the budget the money for these extra hires will come, or if foreign donors will pick up the tab.

Pp. 26-29 lay out 167 ministerial, deputy ministerial, governor, deputy governor, ambassadorial, administrative, and deputy administrative positions to which UNITA officials will be entitled. It is not clear which share, if any, of these are new positions and, for those that are, where the new funding for their salaries (and any requisite training / administrative costs) will be funded from. Again, the specificity of these numbers of positions is notable, even as the specific posts (i.e., it is not mentioned which ministerial or ambassadorial posts unita will receive).

Elections: Prior to second round of election, calls for ‘rehabilitation routes and the resettlement of displaced persons’. Also calls for a ‘civic education campaign of voters on the objectives of the second round of the presidential elections’, the electoral process and the manner of casting the votes’. Unclear what costs for such activities will be, or who will pay for them. Does say call for the UN to use its ‘human and material resources’ to support, verify, and monitor the elections (32). Some of the expected UN activities are specified, but it remains unclear to what extent its material resources will be used for the communication route, displaced person return, or civic education activities noted above.

UN role

**Calls explicitly for UN to direct the ‘verification and inspection of the putting into effect of the supply of food and medicines to the FAA and UNITA military forces’** (36), but not clear if this includes paying for said food and medicines.

**Calls explicitly for the UN to provide ‘[s]upport…for the national programme of social reintegration undertaken by the Government of Angola, with the participation of UNITA, for the military personnel in excess of the number to be agreed upon by the Government of Angola and UNITA’** (37) but does not specify how much these activities will cost nor how much it expects the UN to provide or by when.

In terms of national reconciliation activities, simply calls for UN to certify when ‘requisite conditions’ have been fulfilled to ‘enable the normalization of the State administration’ (38). Not clear what this means

Calls for it to provide support for the Angolan government to organize the second round of presidential elections, including design and manufacture of ballots (39) as well as preparation and publication of electoral registration roll and registered voters

Does not explicitly call for observe countries, which are US, Russia, and Portugal, to pay for anything, even as it assigns them an important role in monitoring and participating in meetings on implementation of the Protocol.

Includes a specific annex defining and explaining military terminology used in the Protocol

Annex 9 provides a detailed timeline of the activities to be taken by each side, including the sequence and specific days on which they are to be completed; despite this granularity, none of the items provide an itemization of their related costs or sources of funding that will be used to pay for them.

**Philippines 20140327**

Nothing here but check out 20140125, which, in paragraphs G5-6 and I1-2 (pp. 8-9), lays out specific directives on how and from whom finance for key provisions of the peace accord will come.

**Cambodia 19911120**

Nothing, but see 19911023, the 57-page Paris Agreement, which has the substance.

**Zimbabwe 19791221 “Lancaster House”**

Great specificity.

British government pledges to assist in the process of refugee return.

Also stands ready to help rebels to transmit cease fire orders to combatants in the field: broadcasting, radio facilitaties, transport, etc. (49).

Expresses willingness to keep cease fire monitoring force in Zimbabwe as long as authorities want it.

‘The British government will be ready to assist with the re-training and resettlement of those elements of the forces which wish to pursue a civil career” (55).

Assures rebels additional demobilization sites will be made available if needed (56)

**Mauritania 19780810 “Algiers Agreement”**

Nothing here. Just an agreement about Mauritania withdrawing territorial claims in Western Sahara by agreeing to make peace with a contestant for that territory, which, incidentally, resulted in an immediate occupation by Moroccan forces.

**India 20030220 “Bodoland Autonomous Council”**

Calls for allowances to be set by the General Council, with approval of the Indian Government, for every member of the council

Lays out 38 cost-inducing administrative functions for which the General Council is responsible including revenue, transport, and food and civil supplies (10-11)

P 11 calls for the Council to develop ‘integrated development plans’ and implement schemes and programs for development for its area of control, and lays out a number of specific finance-related powers allotted to the General Council

Includes section providing power for General Council to issue a series of levies and taxes (12-13)

Calls for salaries of Council Chief and Deputy Chief to be paid out of Council Fund (15)

Notable enumeration of Council officials and their duties

Creates and devotes a specific section to a ‘Council Fund’ for payments needed to carry out the act. Specifies that ‘no payment shall be made…unless such expenditure is covered by a current budget grant” (19-20) and specifies its allowable use and management in significant detail (including an audit process led by the government)

Lays out a specific process for collection of tax on tea (20)

Lays out a specific budget process (20)

**Macedonia 20010813 “The Ohrid Agreement”**

Enumerate numerous specific, cost-inducing responsibilities a local autonomous government will have, such as provision of public services and local economic development and says:

“A law on local self-government will be adopted to ensure an adequate system of financing to enable local governments to fulfill all of their responsibilities” (2).

Calls not only for an equitable representation of different communities in public employment and pledges that “The authorities will take action to correct present imbalances in the composition of the public administration, *in particular through the recruitment of members of under-represented communities*” (3; italics my own).

Pledges that “State funding will be provided for university level education in languages spoken by at least 20 percent of the population of Macedonia, on the basis of specific agreements” (3), but does not elaborate on where, specifically, that funding will come from, from within the state.

Says state will pay for translation of documents in criminal and civil proceedings (4).

Key statement on role of international community: “The parties invite the international community to convene at the earliest possible time a meeting of international donors that would address in particular macro-financial assistance; support for the financing of measures to be undertaken for the purpose of implementing this Framework Agreement, including measures to strengthen local self-government; and rehabilitation and reconstruction in areas affected by the fighting.”

Amends the constitution to clarify local control of key governance functions, including ‘local economic development, local finances…’ (10).

Timing: Gives a timeline for the national Assembly to pass a Law on Local Finance that enables and makes responsible local self-governments for “raising a substantial amount of tax revenue” and also pledges to provide ‘a part of centrally raised taxes that corresponds to the functions of the units of self-government”. Finally, ensures budgetary autonomy and responsibility of local self-governments (11).

Pledges to amend the law of the public attorney in part to ensure it has the resources it needs to “safeguard the provisions of non-discrimination and representation of communities at all levels and in other areas of public life”.

Specifically requests EU to coordinate international support for implementation of the agreement (14)

3.2 Calls for international community to help formulate an action plan to rehabilitate and reconstruct areas affected by the hostilities and to help implement this plan.

Parties “invite the European Commission and **World Bank** to rapidly convene a meeting of international donors after adoption in the Assembly [of the agreement] to support the financing of measures to be undertaken for the purpose of implementing the Framework Agreement”, and elaborates specific uses this funding will be used for (14).

Calls for the international community to “assist in the process of strengthening local government”, including in “preparing the necessary legal amendments related to financing mechanisms for strengthening the financial basis of municipalities and building their financial management capabilities” (14).

Pledges to increase the representation of minority communities in public administration, military, and public enterprises, “as well as to improve their access to public financing for business development” (14-15).

The parties specifically commit to hiring 500 new minority police officers by July 2002 and a further 500 such officers by July 2003, and “invite the international community to support and assist with the implementation of these commitments” (15).

They also specifically ask the US, EC, and OSCE to increase assistance and training for police officers, including a delisting of specific requests (15)

Also ask for international community to support training of judges, lawyers, and prosecutors from minority communities; for help, particularly from the OSCE, in the area of media and media training; higher education; and, particularly from the OSCE, inter-ethnic relations more broadly (15).

**Comoros 20031220**

Provides detailed instructions, including on role of a Harmonisation Committee managed by specific members of the international community, in a system for customs collection during the transition period (3-4)

A detailed transitional budgeting plan, including specific quantitative allocations to autonomous regions, management by the international community through a Harmonisation Committee, and a timeline for implementation (4-5).

Provides a specific section with requests for funding to, and roles of funding for, the international community (7)

**Ivory Coast 20070304**

Calls for costly establishment of an effort to determine the identification of Ivorian and foreign populations living in the country, as well as judges in different administration to rule on the status of such people (2-4)

Within this, calls for a comprehensive identification and electoral census to be undertaken, issuing of national ID cards to qualifying persons, and “call[ing] in a technical agency to discharge the mission of the operation of identification.” (4)

Calls for, in addition to the integration of state and rebel forces and their ensuring security of the country, a National Program of DDR program for ex-rebel combatants.

Also calls for the Civic Service to train for future civil and military employment all youths who were forced to take part in the war (7)

Calls for redeployment of public servants to administer basic public services (health, education, water) throughout the country (8).

Says ‘the parties…agree to set up, as soon as possible, a programme of aid to the return of war displaced persons. The programme aims at facilitating the social reintegration of persons and families that abandoned their homes or assets because of the war.’ Importantly, and difficult for coding (though I will give it a ‘1’), says ‘[t]he two parties agree on providing the concerned Technic Ministry with the means of implementing the programme’ (10). **You may wish to use this as an illustrative ‘50/50’ quote in your program to solicit advice on coding accounting specificity.**

Does call for the establishment of a ‘Monitoring and Evaluation Committee’ to be placed ‘in charge of the periodic evaluation of the implementation of the measures stipulated in [the] Agreement’, but does not state who will constitute this committee, nor who/what will pay for its work.

Provides a detailed list of all the actions – many of them costly – that the parties are agreeing to and the specific day/date they should each occur. However, notably absent are any specifications of how much these actions will cost and who is to pay for them.

Two additional notable factors of this agreement:

1. It excluded known spoilers from the process.

2. It held, despite being a fairly weak agreement, at least in terms of financial specificity. This would challenge your thesis **and could potentially be brought up as an illustrative case in your presentation.**

**South Sudan 20140509a and b**

**N.B.: This coding considered two documents for the first peace agreement, since they were signed on the same day.** The page coding sums pages for both agreements.

Provides four separate sections on finance and financial accountability issues:

- creation of a Special Development Fund (8-9), which states the president will mobilize revenues, specifically states the initial running costs will be drawn from the general budget, and calls for financial support from development partners, NGOs, and ‘well-wishers’;

- sources of revenue for the new Pibor administrative area (9), which specifies seven specific taxes and revenue sources for which the new administrative body may legislate for revenue from; N.B. these taxes do not actually seem to exist; instead, the local government is being given authority to implement them;

- sources of revenue for local government / county authorities (10), which gives *local government councils* ability to levy eight new taxes / fees

- Requires new area’s administration to adhere to generally accepted accounting procedures to ensure prudent administration of funds (10), but is absent on how to ensure local administrators have these skills or how to provide them if they are lacked

Provides an Implementation Matrix (15-16) for each key agreement activity, including ‘Establishment of the Special Development Fund (SDF)’ with specific columns for ‘Financing’ and ‘Timeline’. Does not feature rows for legislating of revenue for the Pibor admin area by its council or for revenue for local gov / county authorities by their local councils

**Mali 19920411**

Calls for creation for one year of special units of the armed forces for former rebel combatants and creation of special units of the army for people in areas formerly contested/controlled by combatants into the national security services

Calls for transformation of current, certain military installments into military training and schooling centres (3-4)

Calls for creation of Ceasefire Commission to carry out key measures of the post-agreement period, many of which center on DDR and security activities, and specifies that the “costs, expenses and means of the Ceasefire Commission will be provided by the Government of the Republic of Mali, including the payment of individual allowances to represents of the Movements to the said Commission’ (4). No line item mentioned though. Calls on the ceasefire commission to create within 60 days of the signing of the agreement a program detailing how agreement measures will be implemented.

Declares that a ‘programme for the repatriation of displaced persons will be prepared before signature of the present Pact’ (4). Says every effort will be made to complete the repatriation program 60 days from signing of agreement. Says government and rebels will lead implementation ‘in collaboration with the authorities of the host countries, together with friendly countries and international humanitarian organisations which will be contacted to this effect’ (5).

**Calls for creation of two funds within 30 days of signing of pact to assist with implementation of displace persons repatriation program and to compensate victims of the conflict more broadly** (6)**.** Specifies types of activities these programs will be charged with delivering.

Says priority victims for compensation will be identified by an Independent Commission of Enquiry to be set up within 15 days of signature of the pact (6-8). Provides for detailed info on how commission will be established and what it will do. The primary purpose is to identify victims, crimes, theft, and other violations committed against them, assign responsibility for such acts, and calculate damages and appropriate compensation. **Says ‘the functioning costs of the Commission will be covered by the Government of the Republic of Mali’**, which will **‘do everything to facilitate the Commission’s tasks through its full administrative and material cooperation’** (7). Commits government to submit within 45 days the recommendations of the commission’s report to appropriate judicial bodies for execution (8).

Calls for a general decentralization of social, economic, and cultural development governance for and to northern Mali. Also policing. Calls for decentralized assemblies to, inter alia, ‘seek…assistance from development non-governmental organizations’

Specifies that elected members and administrative officials of the inter-regional Assembly will be paid by ‘the State’, and will receive an annual budget financed by the regions and augmented by the State. Charged with elaborating and coordinating development, socio-economic, and cultural activities that are inter-regional in nature (10-11).

Regional assembly members to be paid by the state. Calls for such assemblies to promote rural, craft, and industrial development, define and execute an infrastructure program, and promote policies related to health, education, and culture. **Specifies that Regional Assemblies will have a budget that will be ‘funded from local rates and taxes’ (which are unspecified) ‘by annual or exceptional subsidies from the state’ (again, unspecified), ‘and by donations and legacies’. Assemblies also ‘vote…to authorize borrowing at the national level, decided by the Region in support of regional development’.**

**It’s important to note the lack of specificity in funding sources, and the divergence between what regional assemblies are called upon to perform and the specificity of the financial sources from which resources to perform those functions will come.**

At the local level, it says ‘[t]he budget of the…[local polities]…will be funded from local rates, by subsidies allocated by the Region on the basis of subsidies from the State, and by donations and legacies’ (13). **I’m not sure how to code this**.

The two special economic funds for victims of the conflicts are further detailed later in the document (14). The agreement specifies that the funds will be created **and funded** within 30 days of the signing of the agreement. To finance the funds, the agreement says a special appeal with be made to national citizens and through ‘an appeal for humanitarian and financial assistance to the international community’ (14).

It calls for the development of a ‘Special Development Programme’ through the north that will be funded by two, five-year financing tranches that will be allocated through annual tranches from the central government to the Regional Assemblies. The agreement further states that the content and funding of the development programme will be finalized within six months of the agreement (15).

It also says a special fiscal regime for the north will be created for ten years to attract investment.

It also pledges that the government will ‘make an effort’ integrate officials and people from the north into public and semi-public state bodies. It pledges that the measure to conduct these efforts will be completed within two months, but it does not specify who is charged with this, how much money will be devoted to it, or specify the precise programs it would fund.

It calls for the creation of a ‘special programme of teaching and civil and military training’ for the north. Costs are not specified, nor are funding sources.

It vaguely refers to redoubling efforts to step up cooperation with the Organization of Saharan States and to redouble efforts to attract support from UNDP, ADB, IFAD, and other int’l donors for the north. It also says it will call on ‘friendly nations’ to provide training (education?) for youth displaced by the war.

**The essential factor in this agreement is that,** while it creates and makes explicit the timeline for the standing-up of two special economic funds for victims and development in the north, it does not specify where the finance for the various regional and local government entities and the services they will provide, will come from. There are references to subsidies from the state, but it is not clear that the subsidies the state pledges to provide for the development for the north are also those that will be used for general governance / administration in the region. Therefore, I am coding ‘fiscsource’ as 0. I am also coding ‘donsource’ as 0 since, while the agreement mentions specific donors, it does not indicate whether these donors have actually indicated they will provide finance.

**Croatia 1995112 ‘Erdut’**

It calls for the UNSC to create a Transitional Administration to govern the region for twelve months and longer if requested by one of the parties.

It says ‘interested countries and organizations are requested to take appropriate steps to promote the accomplishment of the commitments in [the] agreement’ (2), but does not note that any countries have indicated willingness to do so.

I’m coding donor source as 1 because UNSC is clearly the donor being looked to for governance but donorspec as 0 because it is not clear whether the donor has agreed to play this role (though I know it has) nor how much it has agreed, or is expected, to provide, nor by when this money is expected to come (though presumably the answer to this is ‘all of it, as soon as possible’).

It calls for restoration of unduly seized property to war victims, and for compensation in cases where property cannot be restored, but does not specify who will pay for this or through which process such reparations will be made (2).

**Burundi 20081204**

It calls for a DDR process to begin immediately (2) but does not specify what this will entail, how much it will cost, or who / what will pay for it.

Donorcosig being coded 1 because of presence of an envoy of the UN SecGen, which presumably opens up the potentiality of UN agency funding.

This is a light-touch agreement, with basically no reference to financial dynamics, that is nonetheless categorized as having held.

**South Africa 19931118 ‘Interim Constitution’**

This will be treated as an outlier in analysis involving peace agreement page number. We may also think of it as an outlier generally, in the sense that the ‘agreement’ is actually the national constitution.

Chapter 12 is entitled ‘Finance’.

Ties expenditure to the newly created National Revenue Fund, pension expenditure to a pension fund, and so on. Lots of matching of expenditure to available revenue.

Lays out a timetable for implementation, within which the costly provisions and appropriation of finance for their implementation is specified.