

# Transitional Justice in Practice: Addressing Mass Human Rights Violations in the Republic of Wakanda

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A Policy Paper Presented to the Task Force

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A policy paper by VSNI on the implementation of transitional justice measures in the republic of Wakanda with specific recommendations on documentation, security and protection, victim participation, gender and intersectionality and reparations.

## A. INTRODUCTION

### VSNI's mission and approach

1. The Victim and Survivor's Network Initiative (VSNI) is a national Non-Governmental Organisation whose *main objective* is: To enhance the capacities and facilitate the effective participation of victims and survivors of gross human rights violations within the formulation and implementation of transitional justice measures in Wakanda. *VSNI's goal* is to see the realization of holistic reparations that are in line with the needs and aspirations of victims.
2. VSNI provides resources, coordination and other support to civil society organizations and other groups of a wide variety of victims and survivors of serious human rights abuses in order to help them work collaboratively to promote transitional justice initiatives such as prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations programs, and memorials.
3. In order to promote new and existing transitional justice efforts, our projects include trainings and other informational forums for and with our constituent groups who are documenting serious human rights abuses, petitioning the State and performing impact litigation to obtain reparations, advocating for memorialisation of sites where atrocities occurred, and recommending legal and institutional reform in an effort to avoid repetitions of past injustices, among other projects. We also formulate best practices standards and trainings for the CSO's collection of victims' information.
4. VSNI also acts as an intermediary for our constituent groups and international entities (such as Commissions of Inquiry and the ICC) so as to promote the creation and implementation of transitional justice programs. In this role, VSNI seeks to shrink the spaces between victims and international actors in a manner that enhances their self-agency through availing more spaces for victims to speak directly to these critical decision makers.

### Stakeholders

5. The key stakeholders to be involved in the implementation of this policy include the Government of National Unity (GNU), the transitional justice mechanisms to be established under the National Accord, domestic and international tribunals as well as inquiries, Wakanda's development partners, donors, state institutions within the justice sector (such as the National Commission on Human Rights, Witness

Protection Agency, Police Oversight Authority), civil society and most importantly, the victims to the conflict.

#### Summary of Assumptions, risks and mitigation measures

6. *The key assumptions* informing this policy paper are as follows: There will be sufficient political will for a comprehensive and holistic transitional justice agenda underwritten by the GNU; the formulation of transitional justice mechanisms and other measures will be based on public participation and that civil society contributions will receive due consideration; that victims will be willing to come together and work with civil society in seeking to shape the transitional justice agenda; that the prevailing cessation of hostilities as secured by the National Accord will endure and that the GNU will serve its full term to deliver on the accord's priorities; that any transitional justice mechanisms developed will be independent and derive their credibility from the support of victims by being responsive to their needs; that there will be constructive dialogue and collaboration between state and non-state entities in realizing the priorities of the National Accord; and that there will be sufficient resources allocated to the transitional justice agenda primarily by the State and supplemented by the international community whose support would extend beyond the state and on to victim-led and civil society initiatives.
7. *The key risks* inherent in the policy options adopted in this paper are as follows: The GNU fails to subsist and Wakanda relapses into conflict; that the GNU fails to undertake public participation in prescribing transitional justice measures; that victim groups and civil society who are vocal on the implementation of the National Accord are intimidated, harassed and harmed by state officials and other political actors; that victims refuse to engage with civil society and the transitional justice mechanisms that are established on account of fear and mistrust; that transitional justice mechanisms developed under the National Accord fail to effectively engage victims and make recommendations for remedies that fail to respond to their needs and thereby leaving a sense of betrayal that can occasion new conflict; and the absence of sufficient resources to sustain a comprehensive and holistic transitional justice agenda.
8. *The key mitigation measures* that inform this policy include: Actively supporting and fostering victim-led collaboration efforts such as the establishment of networks; an open dialogue approach to advocacy which entails consistently speaking to all actors at all levels; employing a strong communication and outreach strategy that influences public debate on the transitional justice agenda towards the interests of victims; grounding advocacy on evidence-based research that emphasizes what the needs and interests of victims are; collaborating with other civil society actors and in as far as is possible with any

emergent transitional justice mechanisms, state agencies within the justice sector and international mechanisms that may become involved; and constant dialogue with donors and Wakanda's development partners in a bid to influence their priorities towards the needs and interests of victims.

## **B. DOCUMENTATION**

9. VSNI considers documentation to be an essential pillar to realizing the transitional justice goal of effectively responding to the needs of victims. Proper documentation of human rights violations can serve to give voice to victims as those most adversely affected by conflict; it generates an understanding as to why the violations occurred, identifies those responsible and informs the formulation of appropriate remedies.
10. VSNI recognizes the central role it plays in the documentation process as a member of civil society in close proximity to victims in terms of physical access as well as possessing a higher level of trust and legitimacy than state organs such as the security forces who stand accused of perpetrating some of the human rights abuses. In light of this, **VSNI seeks to empower and facilitate communities to illuminate the human rights violations** they have endured during and after the conflict in a manner that shapes the country's transitional justice agenda and the redress options within it.
11. *As a starting point, VSNI recommends* and undertakes to reach out to its known network of Human Rights Defenders (HRDs) and activists within various communities so as to receive their preliminary reports on the human rights violations they documented in the midst of the conflict.
12. *We further recommend* that documentation be strengthened through the development of data collection tools and a series of capacity enhancement trainings on documentation at community level but undertaken in line with the security and protection policy outlined in the next section; we recognize the risk to documenting human rights violations and more so when state actors are involved.
13. *VSNI further proposes* to enshrine the aforementioned efforts in a **victims' profile database** that will be used to further advocacy on the need for investigations, reparations and institutional reforms as part of the transitional justice agenda. With due consideration of victims' confidentiality and safety, **VSNI will develop information materials that highlight the scale of human rights abuses** as experienced by victims for mass dissemination to the public and policy actors in order to influence the understanding of the conflict and its consequences.

Examples include audio-visual “victims voices” segments for radio and television, newspapers spreads and online message banners.

14. *VSNI also recommends* **the establishment of an information security protocol** that will govern the use and access to its victims’ profile database. Key features of this protocol include modalities for data encryption, strict guidelines on data entry, a well-defined and restricted process for access by select staff members, the management of back-up systems and a well defined decision making process on its utilization for collaborative purposes with other civil society organizations as well transitional justice mechanisms and other investigation procedures as they emerge.
15. *VSNI also recommends* **utilizing its database to engage with official investigatory mechanisms (domestic and international) and other transitional justice mechanisms** that emerge but only in as far as they can be considered to be sufficiently independent, competent and in compliance with the victim engagement framework outlined in the next section.

### **C. SECURITY AND PROTECTION**

16. We recognize the great risks attached to documenting and illuminating serious human rights violations such as intimidation and reprisals from those seeking to undermine justice. Therefore, the security and protection of our network members as well as staff is of paramount importance to VSNI and a cross-cutting theme within our various interventions. **VSNI adopts a collaborative and facilitative approach** to security and protection which entails the following strategies:
  - a. Capacity enhancement and sensitization of network members on prevalent security risks and available mitigation measures.
  - b. Partnership with key institutions that can enhance our responses to situations requiring urgent action interventions such as evacuations and psychosocial support.
  - c. Strengthening VSNI’s capacities to respond to threats directed at it institutionally and in relation to its interaction with victims and survivors.
17. *We recommend* a **victim engagement framework** that emphasizes confidentiality, information security, security of contact locations, tailoring questions appropriate for each interviewee that are not obtrusive and rapid response when necessary. In recognizing that our CSO members have been and continue to create victim registries,

we shall **undertake a study** of their prevailing procedures as well as undertake focus group discussions with victims and make reference to contemporary experiences from other contexts. The study will distil various best practices that form the foundation for the framework of engagement which will address victims' security needs, as well as what they would like and what they expect from any future TJ processes.

18. *We further recommend* trainings aimed at our civil society member organizations and other actors who interact with victims so as to enhance their capacities in undertaking interviews and other measures of support such as psychosocial care. The aim of such trainings would be to promote approaches that safeguard the holistic well-being of victims (physical safety and preventing further trauma or re-traumatization) while also preparing them to engage with transitional justice processes.
19. *Additionally, we recommend* a series of basic security and situational awareness trainings for VSNI network members and similar groups that would help them anticipate and flag security risks requiring intervention.

#### *Partnership with Key institutions & TJ Mechanisms*

20. *We recommend* the establishment of a **protection working group consisting of state and non-state actors** interacting with victims that serves as a platform to enable case referrals and articulation of policies for the security and protection of victims interacting with transitional justice processes. Membership should ideally include the following institutions: National Human Rights Institution, Witness Protection Agency and Police Oversight Authorities. Support from the country representative from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) would also be ideal.
21. *We recognize* that these three state institutions are plagued by limited resources, insatiable demand for their services and an apprehension as to their independence and effectiveness; the protection working group would serve as an opportunity for constructive synergies which see them leverage on each other's resources while also create an opportunity for accountability through the involvement of civil society and the OHCHR.

#### *Strengthening VSNI's capacities to respond to threats*

22. *We recommend* an institutional security and protection policy for VSNI that consists of: Weekly security risk assessment reports shared with staff, documentation of persons entering and leaving the premises

as well as time stamps, due diligence in recruitment of security firms and establishment of a surveillance system within strategic sites of the office premises, panic buttons for staff in contact with sensitive witnesses as well as scheduled check-ins with the head office via a protocol that changes frequently and;

23. *We recommend* the establishment of safe houses for urgent action interventions such as immediate evacuation of victims at risk and a litigation fund in anticipation of interventions such as habeas corpus.
24. In keeping with the recommendation of the protection working group, *we recommend* an evacuation protocol in collaboration with specialized organizations on the basis of a referral system based on Memoranda of Understanding that maintain the highest standards of data integrity and secure contact with victims.

#### **D. VICTIM PARTICIPATION**

25. **We seek to advance the empowerment of victims** by showing them that they are the key decision-makers of the transitional justice agenda and its resultant processes.
26. **We also seek to implement a collaborative and facilitative approach towards effective participation and activism** in order to realize the needs and interests of victims and survivors for justice. To this end, we seek to implement and advocate for processes that work alongside victim-led initiatives in a manner that ensures they effectively influence the policies, operations and outcomes of any transitional justice process.
27. Embedded within this approach is our commitment to connect victims and survivors to relevant policy makers as a way of ensuring the transitional justice agenda always remains accountable to its key stakeholders (CSOs and victims) rather than embrace only a top-down approach. Furthermore, sensitization and dissemination of information to victim and survivor groups will constitute a key pillar of this approach. The approach will further be informed by the security and protection considerations articulated in section C of this policy.
28. *We recommend* the establishment of **victim-led networks and other initiatives as platforms of self-representation and advocacy**. We seek to actively support already established victim and survivor network or groups while also catalysing the emergence of

others as a way of ensuring that their voices are seen and heard in the formulation and implementation of the transitional justice agenda.

29. Our aim would be to create and sustain a democratic and diverse constituency, particularly of the minority voices. This would translate into: (i) A series of National Victims and Survivors' Conventions as spaces of debate, reflection and accountability to victims from transitional justice mechanisms, policy makers, civil society and other relevant actors; (ii) Thematic dialogue forums for victims to allow them to formulate and crystalize their demands for transitional justice mechanisms; (iii) National studies and surveys on the justice needs and interests of victims in relation to the unfolding transitional justice agenda; (iv) Roundtables between donors and victim networks that focus on identifying key priorities on victim participation within the transitional justice agenda as well as areas of support to enable their effective participation. Particular attention will be paid to the voices of groups who have been traditionally marginalized: i) women, ii) children, iii) LGBTI, iv) IDPs among others.
30. *We also recommend a **capacity enhancement program that advances collaboration, effective participation and activism for victims and survivors within transitional justice processes.*** We propose a program that sensitizes and trains victims and survivors on transitional justice processes to document violations that will form the basis of inquiry for the transitional justice mechanisms.
31. Our program will also enable victims and survivors to assume the role of vanguard by monitoring and providing a form of public oversight on the operations of the transitional justice mechanisms, and to engage transitional justice mechanisms by appearing at hearings, in the development of memoranda, or as witnesses, keeping in mind the security considerations outlined in section C of this policy. This will be undertaken through a series of country-wide trainings that will be based on a handbook developed from the articulated aspirations of victims and survivors as reconciled with the existing mandates of transitional justice mechanisms.
32. These efforts will be aided by the **establishment of administrative centres** that will create spaces for victims and survivors as well as their constituent CSOs to meet, strategize, and implement their plans. These centres will also provide victims and survivors with psycho-social support and transportation to and from the centres where necessary. VSNI will in as far as resources and security



considerations allow, situate the centres in the closest areas of convenience for victims as advised by the network membership.

33. *We also recommend an information and communication campaign to aid effective participation and activism.* We seek to bridge the potential information gaps that may arise with regard to the status of the transitional justice agenda in terms of progress made, challenges encountered, and pivotal decisions affecting their outcomes. This will be enshrined in the development of various information materials in various languages as well as the use of vernacular radio stations as a key medium of reaching the widest audiences.
34. Victims and survivors who have benefited from our trainings and have participated in the crafting and implementation of the transitional justice agenda will serve as “message ambassadors” at national and local levels for various media outlets and national policy conferences convened or facilitated by VSNI. We shall also utilise social media platforms to undertake key message campaigns as a way of harnessing its diverse and widespread audience in a manner that bridges generational gaps and manages expectations.

## **E. GENDER AND INTERSECTIONALITY**

35. VSNI recognises that within victim groups there are diverse experiences and perspectives occasioned by social and structural inequalities that need to be addressed if holistic justice is to be achieved. We are conscious of the inherent power dynamics that exist in the formulation and implementation of transitional justice processes as well as the risks of exclusion and discrimination on the basis of grounds such as race, sex, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.
36. Therefore, VSNI emphasizes the importance of its work and that of transitional justice processes to be **underpinned by an intersectional approach to the identity of victims, as well as a conscious effort to dismantle patriarchal structures** as a way of addressing gender disparities that are a reality in the everyday lives of victims.

### *Gender-Based Policy Making*

37. *We recommend that gender in transitional justice processes be considered and implemented on three levels.* i) Policies are to be put in place that address the specific needs of women and girls and

recognize the problems and challenges they uniquely face in a transitional context. ii) Policies on subjects that are not traditionally seen as gender issues incorporate gender as a factor. Examples include gender mainstreaming in policies aimed to stimulate economy (taking account the feminization of poverty) or in the rebuilding of political institutions (taking into account the under representation of women in public spaces) iii) In both cases an intersectional dimension should be brought in that recognizes women as a non-homogenous group. Additional factors such as race, class, religion and sexual orientation among others will result in vastly different experiences, identities, challenges, and needs. However, we acknowledge the complexity of, on the one hand, tackling specific issues that affect women, and at the same time, doing it in a broad and intersectional way that includes and takes into account the intersecting oppressions that women experience.

38. **VSNI will advocate for specific attention and intersectional policies** that address the issues facing women and girls' while also emphasizing the need for a general policy making approach in all transitional justice processes that considers gender and reflects gender equity. Such advocacy will take place with state actors formulating transitional justice process, with civil society organizations engaged in influencing the process and with the international community as they formulate assistance programs towards these processes.

#### *Diverse Leadership*

39. *We recommend* that the **various levels of influence in the formulation and implementation of transitional justice processes reflect a leadership that is depictive of the thematic diversity of victims and their experiences with a strong emphasis on gender equity**. Specifically, in supporting the formation of leadership structures within victim networks, VSNI will advocate for the broadest thematic representation possible (e.g. internal displacement, torture, sexual violence.....) and that either gender shall not occupy more than two-thirds of membership within the steering committees of the networks. To this end, VSNI will offer to assist victim networks to develop electoral guidelines in line with these principles as well as in undertaking the actual election of members to their respective steering committees.
40. In the leadership selection process, VSNI will advocate for legal provisions that advance transparency, participation and gender parity (such as the two-thirds gender rule) as well as a diversity with regard to competencies and social experiences- in essence embracing a multi-disciplinary approach and guarding against exclusion on the basis of

privilege and elitism which can stem from exclusively political appointments and a selection process overly influenced by academic qualifications.

### *A Holistic Victim Registry and Reparation Process*

41. We recommend the **development of comprehensive data collection tools for victim registration**, which duly profiles victims in a manner that recognizes their intersectional identities when considering reparations. Specifically, VSNI will advocate for a registry that consists of: (1) the collection of raw data to document the nature of harm(s) suffered by a victim to the fullest extent possible and (2) an analysis that joins the multiple aspects of harm suffered by a victim to the type of reparations issued to them.
42. We recognize that reparations programmes tend to categorize and prioritize victims in a clear-cut manner that inhibits an intersectional approach. In these circumstances we recommend that victims should be able to benefit from different categories of reparations where justified by nature of harm they suffered. We also recommend that this data collection monitors and evaluates common intersections of harm and identity with which to recommend and advocate for reparation programs that respond to more complex intersectional issues.
43. **VSNI will work with victim groups to undertake field studies on the registration process and develop model data collection tools that advance an intersectional approach.** VSNI will also work to connect individuals who share common intersectional identities, experiences, and goals as a means of facilitating grassroots involvement.

### **F. REPARATIONS**

44. VSNI recognizes the multiplicity of victims' needs depending on the types of harms suffered, personal experiences, identities and also the importance of reparation programs that are tailored to specifically address their needs. In pursuit of an effective remedy, our aim is to advocate for the design of reparation modalities that address the victims' immediate needs as well as long-term goals.
45. Therefore, **VSNI emphasizes an intersectional approach in developing a reparation policy which takes into account the multiplicity of needs and the overlapping and interactive inequalities that can emphasize the impact of violence.** In this sense, we take into consideration the fundamental and complex tension

between the application of an intersectional approach that takes into account the different overlapping oppressions and individual experiences and the unavoidable need for the creation of victim categories and the homogenization of harms in order to enable access to reparations.

46. Moreover, our approach is essentially **underpinned by a consultative and facilitative strategy which aims to enhance the self-agency of victims in voicing their needs and directly engaging policy actors on the type of reparation they wish to receive.** Furthermore, VSNI will facilitate dialogues among victim groups, civil society and other stakeholders with a view not only to enhancing support for a general intersectional approach to reparations but also the advocacy for specific reparations targeting intersecting identities that suffer an specific type of harm identified by VSNI. Moreover, our primary approach is to actively cooperate with the international community in the areas of capacity building, technical assistance and resource mobilization.

#### *Reparation Policy Making*

47. *Recognizing* that victims' different needs can only be addressed through multiple forms of reparations, and through a deep analysis of the context that would improve the chances of effectiveness, we *recommend* that **any reparations policy prescribed is not limited to pecuniary compensation but instead adopts the holistic approach articulated in the Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law.**
48. Specifically, this would entail the policy going beyond compensation and embracing restitution, rehabilitation (which includes medical and psychosocial care), satisfaction (which includes public apologies, commemorative events and other measures of official declaration aimed at restoring the dignity and reputation of victims) and guarantees of non-repetition (such as institutional reforms and other structural measures).
49. To further advocacy on this holistic approach, **VSNI will, in collaboration with victims' groups, undertake a national study on reparations which will be designed to illuminate the diverse harms suffered by victims and their desired forms of reparation.** The findings and recommendations from this study will form the basis of roundtables and dialogue forums aimed at influencing policy actors

responsible for formulating the reparations policy. Furthermore, VSNI takes into account the need for a long-term conceptualization of reparations that takes into account the multiplicity, multidimensionality, depth and long-lasting consequences of violence in post- conflict contexts.

50. VSNI will also convene a well publicized and media-covered National Victims' Convention on reparations that will see victims engage directly with political leadership and avail them an opportunity to directly articulate their priorities and thereby advance a victim-centred approach to the policy-making process.
51. *We recommend* that the reparations policy be informed by a victim registry that consists of: (1) the collection of raw data to document the nature of harm(s) suffered by a victim to the fullest extent possible and (2) an analysis that joins the multiple aspects of harm suffered by a victim to the type of reparations issued to them as per paragraphs 41-43 of the policy.
52. VSNI will also advocate for and directly undertake capacity-enhancement initiatives that inform victims of unfolding reparation proposals as viewed against international standards and contemporary practices with a view to empowering them to contribute to the policy-making process and broaden their participation in establishing the transitional justice agenda.
53. Furthermore, we enhance our victim network, not as a substitute for reparations but as a fundamental complement to the latter in terms of its potential to help collective social healing, empowerment and construction of social bonds.

#### *Prioritization of Reparations*

54. *Recognizing* the existence of broader development imperatives and financial constraints which may influence reparation options, the possible conflicting criteria to be used, and the impossibility of addressing the total of harms suffered;
55. *Emphasizing* that reparation programmes and development projects are two distinct mechanisms that pursue different priorities, **VSNI advocates for a reparation policy which will leverage on existing state service delivery mechanisms while also enhancing the transformative potential of reparations which can stimulate development for the wider community.** Examples include the establishment of Gender Violence Recovery Centres established within

the existing public hospitals, a legal aid programme underwritten by the Department of Justice and utilizing existing school bursary programmes to facilitate the education of victims' children.

56. *We recommend that a **priority matrix for reparations be developed on the basis of the victim registry*** as follows: Priority A to denote the most vulnerable victims (such as violations of the right to life and personal integrity) which would result in pensions, medical and psychosocial support; Priority B to denote collective reparations which would result in socio-economic measures and non-material reparations such as the establishment of memorials; and Priority C to denote non-expedited individual reparations which would result in standardized pensions. In this regard, VSNI's national study on reparations will augment its advocacy on prioritization but **emphasize that the state must commit to resourcing the entire spectrum of reparations and not just those of highest priority.**

#### *Interaction with International Community on Reparations*

57. *Recognizing* that the cooperation with international actors can largely contribute to capacity building, **VSNI will cooperate with international organizations mainly on the area of technical expertise and assistance during the designing phase of reparation policy.** Technical expertise ranging from programming and maintenance of victim registry to the data security especially will be of great help in mobilizing the system.
58. *We recommend that **coordination with international organizations*** such as Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations Development Program, UN Women and the International Centre for Transitional Justice be actively mobilized and facilitated through periodic meetings and Memoranda of Understanding. Donor support for our reparation policy approach will essentially contribute to consolidating the foundation of victims' activism to advocate for multiple reparations that are tailored to meet victims' needs, the broadening of an intersectional approach, and conducive to further developments at a societal level.
59. VSNI will also seek to convene high-level consultations with various state embassies to share our findings on victims' aspirations for reparations and advocate for the allocation of resources to this end as part of state-to-state cooperation and the expansion of existing assistance programmes.

## **ANNEX 1**

### **Operational Context**

Wakanda is a country that has recently emerged from a conflict occasioned by an inconclusive Presidential election contested by two main candidates: incumbent President Tchalla who was seeking a second term in office and Killmonger who previously served in Tchalla's government but broke away to lead the official opposition and contest the Presidency. The electoral commission was accused of presiding over an election that failed to meet the threshold of being free, fair and credible as external international observers as well as local civil society cited as some of their concerns. There were numerous instances of voter intimidation by the security forces, undue influence and bribery by state officials and unexplained delays in the transmission of election results. Despite these concerns, the electoral commission declared President Tchalla as the winner of the election and he was hurriedly sworn in for a second term by the Chief Justice in the presence of the Commissioner of Police and Chief of Staff of the military.

Killmonger immediately rejected the election results and declared himself as the true winner of the elections. Soon after, violence broke out throughout the country as supporters of Killmonger protested the election results and were met by the state security forces who utilized lethal force in a stated bid to restore order. Furthermore, local militias allied to Killmonger emerged and began to launch targeted attacks against Tchalla supporters on the basis of their ethnicity, culminating in murders and mass displacement of persons deemed to be Tchalla supporters. In response, political leaders within President Tchalla's camps financed and mobilized militias of their own to conduct retaliatory attacks against Killmonger's supporters while also prevailing on the state security forces not to intervene.

The violence continued for close to 3 months after the elections and only ceased after the United Nations intervened with the diplomatic backing of the United States. Seasoned and respected diplomat Nick Fury was deployed to Wakanda to broker a peace agreement between President Tchalla and Killmonger that would see a cessation of hostilities and the development of an inclusive government and the restoration of the rule of law. Nick Fury successfully negotiated the establishment of a Government of National Unity as a way to resolve the inconclusive presidential election: Tchalla was retained as President (GNU) but Killmonger was appointed as Executive Prime Minister in 50-50 power sharing

arrangement that would see each of them appoint an equal number of cabinet ministers. Nick Fury's mediation effort saw him consult with various stakeholders including political parties, religious leaders, the private sector alliance, the human rights civil society within Wakanda and most importantly some of the victims of the conflict who were in displacement camps.

As a result of these consultations, the following issues were summarized by Nick Fury as being the priorities of a National Accord to be implemented by the Government of National Unity:

- Over 500,000 Wakandan citizens were displaced as a result of the violence and over 5,000 killed. Additionally, many other victims cited instances of serious human rights violations including torture, sexual violence and disappearances at the hand of state security officials and militias. All victims must receive redress in the form of immediate humanitarian assistance and reparations that can see them rebuild their lives.
- The scale of the violence and culpability of state officials means that a specialized and independent inquiry is required to identify those responsible and hold them accountable. This could include both domestic and international accountability mechanisms, if necessary.
- Though the violence was occasioned by the election, it is apparent that there are deeper underlying issues, such as ethnic tensions, that need to be explored and resolved in the context of a National Dialogue in a bid to foster national societal cohesion.
- The public trust levels and operational capacities of some of Wakanda's key state institutions such as the Judiciary and the Police have been adversely affected by the conflict. These institutions must be the subject of reform at various levels in order to restore public trust.

On the basis of this National Accord, the GNU in conjunction with Nick Fury, the United Nations and friendly states are negotiating the specific transitional justice mechanisms to undertake the various priority items addressing critical considerations such as documentation, security and protection, victim participation, gender and intersectionality, and reparations. Wakanda's development partners and other members of the international community have pledged financial and technical support to these efforts and emphasized that they want public participation in the formulation of these mechanisms. It is in this context that VSNI has developed the attached policy paper.