

JANUARY 2009

Lessons to Be Learned

Interview with Howard Varney, director of ICTJ's Truth-Seeking Program

Q. Many people automatically associate transitional justice with truth commissions, and truth commissions with South Africa. Do you see a problem with that?

A. While there is much in the South African Truth and Reconciliation experience to celebrate, it is unfortunate that the world at large has come to use South Africa as the model or template for all subsequent



commissions—or has at least attempted to emulate in one way or another what happened in South Africa. People should not do that without looking at the very useful and instructive experiences in countries in Latin America such as Peru and Chile, and in countries in Asia such as Timor-Leste.

There is a belief that the success of the South African TRC is due largely to the truth-for-amnesty formula. The general thinking seems

to be that but for the truth-for-amnesty formula, little or no truth would have emerged.

In actual fact, the bulk of the truth did not come from the truth-for-amnesty process. It emerged from the taking of more than 20,000 statements, it emerged from the conducting of hundreds of interviews, it emerged from meticulous research, it emerged from thorough investigations—and, of course, it emerged from the many hearings that took place in centers throughout South Africa, small and big. That's where the bulk of the truth came from. The bulk of that truth is reflected in the commission's '98 report.

The truth-for-amnesty process was expected to yield a great deal of truth. We expected senior perpetrators to come forward and speak the truth, and that their coming forward would help to advance national reconciliation. That did not happen. Most perpetrators who came forward were serving prisoners who were trying to paint their crimes as politically motivated. Very few senior perpetrators came forward. Those

that did, did not disclose the whole truth; they simply gave sanitized versions of the truth. Invariably such perpetrators only disclosed what was already in the hands of prosecutors.

Q. Out of self-interest?

A. Of course. Logically, in hindsight, it makes sense: Why would perpetrators come forward to speak the truth or disclose human rights violations out of the goodness of their hearts? They would only do so if there was a real threat that they would face prosecution. Only then will they come forward, and then they will only disclose what is already in the hands of investigators.

There were very few exceptions to that rule. While the TRC itself wound up its operations in '97, the truth-for-amnesty process fumbled along through a time- and resource-consuming process all the way to 2003. Not a great deal was added to what the truth commission had already produced. Very few people even know about the amnesty report that was issued in 2003. So what then, in fact, was the value of the truth-for-amnesty process in real terms?

There was however one considerable motivation for the truth-for-amnesty process, and therein lies the only real value: It was useful—some say essential—to keeping the political factions committed to the negotiation and nation-building process. Some commentators believe that without that compromise the new South Africa would not have been born. Those who had committed human rights violations,

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INTERVIEW

particularly the security forces of the old regime, wanted some assurance that they wouldn't be victimized and persecuted. The truth-for-amnesty offered them that insurance policy.

It needs to be understood that a truth-for-amnesty process is unlikely to result in perpetrators rushing forward in a massive cathartic display of goodness and zeal to build a new country. We have not emphasized enough the very real problems and shortcomings associated with a conditional amnesty process. While on paper it looks absolutely fantastic, in practice it can be enormously problematic.

Q. What are those problems?

A. In the first place you make a compromise for victims. They must sacrifice justice and civil redress so that the country can move forward. That imposes an obligation on the state to follow up those cases in which amnesty is refused or is not applied for. The victims have a legitimate expectation that there will be some follow-up in those cases.

Yet in South Africa, which is in a better position than many post-conflict countries, the follow-up has not taken place. There have been very few prosecutions, even though the TRC passed on hundreds of cases for potential prosecution.

The victims are asking: Why did we have this historic compromise in the first place if the state never took its obligations seriously? Not only are they not prosecuting, but the state took a step further by permitting prosecutors to engage in a backdoor amnesty under the guise of prosecutorial discretion. In the few cases where there were already people convicted for crimes such as murder going back to pre-TRC days, there is now a political pardons process on the go, which also employs the very same amnesty criteria. It is very damaging for victims and the country.

These lessons do not seem to have sunk into the world of transitional justice generally. I'm always amazed how countries considering transitional justice programs rush headlong into a conditional amnesty as if it's somehow the answer, when in most cases it isn't.

Q. Is there potentially some cynicism in the truth-for-amnesty approach, since it gives victims a potential contract that never gets fulfilled?

A. I think it can be very cynical. We know that perpetrators enjoy this kind of program because it serves as a convenient insurance policy. Perpetrators only use it when they have to. That is, when they are actually facing prosecution or they are already convicted.

In assessing the viability of programs such as conditional amnesty, you have to assess some obvious factors. Firstly, is there a good justification for conditional amnesty? Amnesty where there have been serious crimes—and even not-so-serious crimes—is a very serious transgression of basic human rights. If you accept that, it should only be used as a very last resort. In South Africa I do believe that it was a last resort, because without it, elements within the security sector may have derailed the entire transitional process and brought the country back into a state of conflict.

Once that last resort has been recognized, you then have to assess whether a conditional amnesty program is viable. In other words, is the country capable of operationalizing a complex, resource-draining and time-consuming quasi-judicial process in which there has to be meticulous investigation, verification of the facts, and hearings that accord with procedural fairness?

Thirdly, since it is a conditional amnesty with associated duties and obligations, it has to be asked whether there is in fact the political inclination to prosecute those who don't get amnesty. Is there the capacity, and are there the resources to investigate and prosecute?

Q. Is there any truth commission that you consider especially successful and that might point the way toward some basic best practices?

A. There is no commission at the moment that would stand as the perfect template. It's the job of ICTJ to start developing that template. There are important lessons to learn from virtually all truth commission experiences.

There are important lessons to learn from Peru. The Peruvians adopted the sensible approach of assisting the prosecuting authorities to prioritize the most pressing cases for prosecution through the recommendations made by the commission. And in fact Peruvian prosecutors are proceeding in several of those cases.

There are lessons to be learned from Liberia, which got off to an unfortunate start from which it never recovered. Inexperienced commissioners were dropped into the mix without the basic systems in place. So the template must ensure that the start-up phase is well-considered and supported.

In Timor-Leste, there was an innovative design that I think went a long way to harmonizing the approaches between justice and truth and reconciliation. But even there, there are lessons to be gleaned because while the serious crimes process dealt with the serious crimes, and the community reconciliation procedures dealt with lesser crimes, the middle-range crimes fell through the crack in between.

Coming up with a model or a template is a difficult task. In most post-conflict countries there is a dire lack of skill and capacity to develop the framework. There is invariably little or no capacity to develop the actual laws and guidelines to manage transitional justice programs. This leads to inappropriate cutting and pasting. ICTJ is best placed to develop best-practice templates based on years of comparative experiences. By now we should be in a position to offer such templates so that countries do not have to engage in the "buffet" form of law drafting. We are best placed to develop the truth commission discipline. But this requires us to be familiar with the different lessons so that they can be applied to meet the particular needs, objectives, and peculiar circumstances of our partners.

AFRICA

Burundi

In a report to the UN Security Council, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon commended the beginning of national consultations on transitional justice in Burundi, mentioning ICTJ's training of consultation committee members. Together with ACAT-Burundi and Aim for Human Rights, ICTJ also held a workshop for local civil society on enforced disappearances and transitional justice.

ICTJ President Juan E. Méndez wrote to Burundi's President Pierre Nkurunziza saying that a draft criminal law under review could raise criminal justice standards and lead to accountability measures for past crimes. Méndez warned, however, that the proposed criminalization of homosexuality could lead to discrimination and persecution.

Democratic Republic of Congo

Fighting intensified recently in eastern Congo between rebels led by General Laurent Nkunda, the Congolese army, and Mai Mai militias, resulting in allegations of war crimes in Kiwanja in early November. Discussing the ongoing conflict on the Charlie Rose Show on the U.S. television network PBS, ICTJ Africa program director Suliman Baldo said that any first steps toward a solution must address the conflict's regional nature and economic dimensions, as both insurgents and the Congolese army are motivated by the exploitation of Congo's riches.

In late November, the International Criminal Court ruled the trial of former militia leader Thomas Lubanga would resume and set a preliminary date of Jan. 26, 2009. Lubanga's trial had been stayed due to the prosecutor's failure to disclose potentially exculpatory evidence. Lubanga is charged with conscripting child soldiers into his private army during the long-running conflict in the DRC.

Congolese militia leaders Germain Katanga and Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui pleaded not guilty to all 10 charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity before the ICC. Katanga and Ngudjolo fought on the opposite side of the conflict from Lubanga, and are being prosecuted for murder, rape, sexual slavery and other war crimes.

- "A massacre in Congo, despite nearby support," *New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/11/world/africa/11congo.html>)
- "A discussion about the conflict in Congo," *The Charlie Rose Show* (<http://www.charlierose.com/view/interview/9723>)
- "Stay of proceedings in the Lubanga case is lifted," ICC (<http://www.icc-cpi.int/press/pressreleases/445.html>)

Kenya

Kenya's coalition government agreed to establish a Special Tribunal for crimes related to the violence following December 2007 elections, one of the key recommendations of the Waki Commission report on the violence. ICTJ welcomed the agreement as a significant step toward ending the culture of impunity in Kenya.

- "ICTJ supports Special Tribunal on post-election violence in Kenya" (<http://ictj.org/en/news/press/release/2196.html>)

Liberia

On Nov. 30, Liberia's TRC released a list of 198 alleged perpetrators of war crimes and gross human rights violations committed during the Liberian conflict from 1979-2003. The TRC requested that these individuals appear at hearings to respond to the allegations.

Civil society groups are developing recommendations for the TRC's results as the end of its mandate in June 2009 approaches. The Transitional Justice Working Group, Foundation for International Dignity, Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and Search for Common Ground presented the TRC with recommendations in December, and the Women's NGO Secretariat of Liberia will do the same in March 2009.

ICTJ's Monrovia office also hosted a panel discussion by the Security Sector Reform Working Group. The panel focused on findings from a study commissioned by the SSRWG and ICTJ on the role of US-based private security firm Dyncorp in Liberia's security sector reform.

- "TRC Publishes List of Alleged Perpetrators And Persons Of Interest," *The Liberian Journal* (<http://www.theliberianjournal.com/index.php?st=news&sbst=details&rid=685&comesOfTheHome=1>)

Rwanda

Rwandan singer Simon Bikindi was sentenced to 15 years in prison by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) for inciting violence during the 1994 genocide. Bikindi was convicted for a speech given in June 1994 encouraging ethnic Hutus to kill Tutsis. The ICTR ruling also stated that several of Bikindi's songs incited hatred against Tutsis, though it noted that there was no evidence they were played or performed in 1994. Bikindi's lawyers are considering an appeal.

- "Rwanda singer jailed for genocide," *BBC* (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7760456.stm>)

South Africa

In mid-December South Africa's High Court struck down a prosecutions policy that allowed new, de facto amnesties for apartheid-era crimes, declaring it unconstitutional. The policy was challenged in a court case brought by relatives of victims of apartheid-era crimes, as well as ICTJ and two other civil society organizations. The applicants argued that the new policy would have undermined the integrity of the TRC process as well as the rule of law.

- ICTJ Feature: High Court ruling for victims (<http://ictj.org/en/news/press/release/2177.html>)
- "Amnesty door slammed," *Sunday Independent* (http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=15&art_id=vn20081214084140796C554279)

Sudan

In its eighth report to the UN Security Council on the situation in Darfur, the ICC Prosecutor's office said the Sudanese government had taken no steps to execute the ICC's arrest warrants for government official Ahmad Harun and *janjaweed* leader Ali Kushayb. With the court's decision regarding an arrest warrant for President Omar al-Bashir on the horizon, the report called for unity among UN member states to sever contacts with the indictees and encourage their arrest and surrender to the court.

In late November, the prosecutor requested warrants for the arrest of three rebel commanders for alleged war crimes against African Union peacekeepers in Haskanita, Darfur, in September 2007.

- "ICC Prosecutor: States must gear up for arrests," ICC (<http://www.icc-cpi.int/press/pressreleases/453.html>)

Uganda

In late November, fugitive rebel leader Joseph Kony refused to sign a peace deal at a meeting with Ugandan religious and cultural dignitaries. Kony repeated his previous demand that the ICC lift its warrant for his arrest before he will sign a peace deal. ICC judges are currently examining the cases against Kony and other members of his Lord's Resistance Army to determine if they are no longer admissible after the establishment of a special court in Uganda to try the LRA.

- "Ugandan rebel Kony still refuses to sign peace deal," *Reuters* (<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/WAL063121.htm>)
- "Uganda's ability to try rebels questioned," *Institute for War and Peace Reporting* (http://www.iwpr.net/?p=acr&s=f&o=347948&capc_state=henh)

Zimbabwe

The situation in Zimbabwe has become increasingly dire in recent weeks as the deadlock in power-sharing talks between President Robert Mugabe and opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai has continued. December brought a rash of abductions of human rights activists by groups with suspected government links, including five such abductions from Dec. 3-8. Domestic and international rights groups urged the international and African community to take strong action to protect human rights activists.

Zimbabwe remains without a functioning government amid increasing food shortages and a cholera outbreak. Mugabe's ZANU-PF recently drafted a Constitutional Amendment that would give Mugabe wide-ranging powers to appoint a Prime Minister (the position originally set aside for Tsvangirai) and cabinet members. The amendment was passed by parliament, although the opposition Movement for Democratic Change has vowed to block the legislation.

- "Zimbabwe publishes law for unity government," *Reuters* (<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/122933737480.htm>)

AMERICAS

Canada

Negotiations continued to choose a new chairperson for the TRC investigating Canada's century-long policy of forced assimilation of aboriginal peoples via residential schooling. The commission has been without a chair since the resignation of Justice Harry LaForme in October. Facilitator Frank Iacobucci, who was appointed to help the parties agree on a new chairperson, thanked survivors of the schools for their "patience and understanding."

- "Iacobucci Updates on Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Canada NewsWire* (<http://www.newswire.ca/en/releases/archive/December2008/08/c8066.html>)

Colombia

Vice President Francisco Santos Calderón defended the Colombian government's human rights record before the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva. The government accepted blame for human rights violations including the murder of civilians by security forces. Human rights organizations told the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights that 13,634 people were killed by political violence in Colombia between 2002 and 2007.

President Alvaro Uribe declared that guerrillas who demobilize, release hostages and surrender their weapons would receive a financial reward and a plane ticket to France. The declaration brought an outcry from civil society and Prosecutor General Mario Iguarán, who objected that guerrillas cannot be promised anything until it is clear whether they have committed crimes against humanity, which cannot be pardoned under international law.

- “Colombia cumplió su segunda etapa en el examen de derechos humanos,” *Semana* (<http://www.semana.com/noticias-nacion/colombia-cumplio-su-segunda-etapa-examen-derechos-humanos/118626.aspx>)
- “Libertad a guerrilleros que se entreguen con secuestrados aplicaría a secretariado de Farc,” *El Tiempo* (http://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/politica/jugosa-recompensa-y-libertad-para-carceleros-que-entreguen-a-secuestrados-propone-uribe_4715938-1)

Mexico

The Mexican Senate declared Oct. 2 a permanent day of “national mourning” in memory of the Tlatelolco massacre of Oct. 2, 1968, when Mexican army and police forces opened fire on 5,000 people at an anti-government protest. National flags will be flown at half-mast at schools, public buildings and Mexican diplomatic headquarters.

- “Acuerda el Senado que el 2 de octubre sea considerado día de ‘duelo nacional,’” *La Jornada* (<http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2008/12/03/index.php?section=politica&article=011n1pol>)

United States

President-elect Barack Obama’s promise to close the U.S. prison in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and end torture brought calls from civil society for a full investigation into the scope and planning of human rights abuses committed during the “war on terror.” Advocacy groups debated potential prosecutions for such crimes as well.

The Senate Armed Services Committee released a report concluding that former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and other top Bush administration officials bore direct responsibility for the harsh treatment of detainees. The report traced the “reverse engineering” of harsh interrogation techniques from those used to prepare elite U.S. troops for possible capture.

Speculation continued as to whether President George W. Bush would issue a preemptive pardon to try to avert prosecutions connected with detainee abuse. Attorney General Michael Mukasey said he saw no need for pardons since counter-terrorism policymakers acted “in the belief [they were] doing something lawful.”

ICTJ’s U.S. Accountability Project released policy briefs on the issues of pardons and commissions of inquiry. ICTJ argued that Bush must forego a blanket pardon, and that the president-elect should begin work to reveal the truth about past abuses from the moment he takes office.

- ICTJ’s U.S. Accountability Project (<http://ictj.org/en/news/features/2154.html>)
- “Legal scholars outraged by talk of blanket pardons,” *Washington Independent* (<http://ictj.org/en/news/coverage/article/2168.html>)
- “Report on detainee abuse blames top Bush officials,” *The Washington Post* (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/11/AR2008121101969.html?hpid=topnews>)

ASIA

Indonesia

ICTJ’s Indonesia office and Peace and Justice program hosted a Dec. 2-3 expert meeting, “Peace and Justice in Asia,” focusing on Indonesia, Timor-Leste and Nepal. The conference brought together senior experts, officials and community leaders to speak of the challenges and lessons emerging in these contexts.

- “Building peace and upholding justice: Lessons from Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and Nepal,” ICTJ (http://www.ictj.org/static/Asia/Report_on_Bali_meeting_12-08-08.pdf)

Nepal

After criticism from civil society that the new Maoist-led government has failed to live up to its responsibilities in promoting peace and reconciliation, Nepal’s ruling coalition agreed to take immediate steps to form four commissions: a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a State Restructuring Commission, a Commission for Investigation of Disappeared Persons and a Scientific Land Reforms Commission.

The UN Working Group on Disappearances released its Annual Report, in which it noted 21 newly reported cases of disappearances in Nepal in the past year. It alleged that the army has failed to provide information about more than 600 cases of Nepalis who have disappeared after being taken into custody by troops, and that the army has failed to cooperate with investigations into these cases by national police.

- “Commission to see the light of day: UML, Maoists,” *Ekantipur* (<http://ekantipur.com/kolnews.php?&nid=169778>)
- UN Working Group on Disappearances: 2008 Annual Report (<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/disappear/index.htm>)

South Korea

Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigators have confirmed that dozens of children were among the victims of mass executions of suspected communist sympathizers early in the Korean War. At least 100,000 people are estimated to have been killed by government forces both before and after communist North Korea invaded in June 1950. Declassified records show the U.S. command was aware of and sometimes involved in these mass killings.

- “Children ‘executed’ in 1950 South Korean killings,” *Associated Press* (http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20081206/ap_on_re_as/as_korea_mass_executions)

EUROPE

Former Yugoslavia

Bosnian Muslim Mirsad Repak was convicted of war crimes in a Norwegian court in Norway’s first war crimes trial since the end of WWII. Repak, who had come to Norway as an asylum-seeker in 1993 and became a citizen in 2001, was sentenced to five years imprisonment for the unlawful internment of Serbian civilians in 1992. The case was the first test of new Norwegian legislation on crimes against humanity and war crimes adopted in March 2008.

- “Norway convicts Bosnian on 1992 war crimes,” *Reuters* (<http://uk.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUKTRE4B144G20081202?feedType=RSS&feedName=worldNews>)

Turkey

A group of well-known Turkish academics and journalists launched an internet petition to apologize for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Ottoman Armenians killed in 1915 during a forcible deportation from eastern Turkey. Armenians call the event a genocide; the Turkish government denies any wrongdoing. The authors said they launched the petition, the first of its kind in Turkey, to spark debate and promote empathy for victims.

- “Turkish thinkers’ Armenia apology,” *BBC* (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7784230.stm>)

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Iraq

“Chemical Ali” Hassan al-Majid was sentenced to death by a special Iraqi court for crimes against humanity committed during the 1991 Shiite uprising in northern Iraq. This trial was one of five concerning former leaders from Saddam’s regime, two of which are still ongoing. Al-Majid had previously been sentenced to death by hanging for his role in the killing of tens of thousands of Kurds during the late 1980s, but his execution has been delayed by legal wrangling.

- “‘Chemical Ali’ sentenced to death in Iraq,” *Associated Press* (<http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5idLo092P6BbDgjqHefNgKZudaziAD94QK65O0>)

Lebanon

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced that the Special Tribunal for Lebanon, which will try those responsible for the 2005 assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri and other possibly connected crimes, will start its work on Mar. 1, 2009. The UN investigation commission reported in December that the list of suspects has grown in the car bomb attack that killed Hariri and 22 other people. The UN Security Council accepted a request by the head of the investigation commission to have its mandate extended until Feb. 28, 2009.

- “UN sleuths find new evidence in Hariri killing,” *Reuters* (<http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE4B184T20081202?sp=true>)
- “Getting away with murder?” *The Atlantic Monthly* (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200812/hariri-assassination>)

THEMATIC REPORT

Gender Justice

The International Criminal Court appointed author and law professor Catharine MacKinnon as Special Gender Adviser to the Prosecutor. MacKinnon will work with the court's Gender and Children Unit and develop a strategic approach to addressing gender crimes, an area in which the prosecutor's office has drawn mixed reviews for its handling of cases in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic.

- "ICC Prosecutor appoints Prof. Catharine A. MacKinnon as Special Adviser on Gender Crimes," ICC (<http://www.icc-cpi.int/press/pressreleases/450.html>)

Reparations

In the December issue of the *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, ICTJ senior associate Ruben Carranza examined the intersection between the pursuit of accountability for economic crimes and for human rights violations. Carranza warned that a narrow focus on human rights abuse creates an "impunity gap" by failing to confront economic crimes. He argued for a broader approach that acknowledges that human rights violations and corruption are mutually reinforcing.

- "Plunder and pain: Should transitional justice engage with corruption and economic crimes?" *International Journal of Transitional Justice* (<http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/2/3/310.pdf?ijkey=iUuXEVkA2O1S5Yz&keytype=ref>)

jan

January 23:
**ICTJ Bogotá transitional justice workshop
for journalists**

Cúcuta, Colombia

*Presented in alliance with Mass Media in
Support of Peace. For more information,
contact Maria Cristina Rivera: mrivera@ictj.org*

January 26:
**Preliminary date for Thomas Lubanga
trial at International Criminal Court**

The Hague, Netherlands

*For more information, contact Sonia Robla:
sonia.robla@icc-cpi.int*

feb

February 2-4:
ICTJ London Essentials Course

*Law Society of England and Wales,
Westminster, UK*

*For more information, contact:
nyessentials@ictj.org*

February 7-8:
**ICTJ/UMAM workshop “Lest the
Past Escape Us: Archiving and
Documentation”**

Beirut, Lebanon

*For more information, contact Monika
Borgmann Slim: m.b.slim@umam-dr.org, or
Lynn Maalouf: lmaalouf@ictj.org*

February 9-13:
**ICTJ conference “Transition in Mexico:
No truth or justice?”**

*Centro de Estudios Internacionales, El Colegio
de México*

*For more information, contact Fabián Sánchez:
fabito23@hotmail.com*

Making a Difference

ICTJ needs your support to help societies address the past as they emerge from conflict, so they have a better chance for a decent future and a lasting peace. Since 2001 ICTJ has worked in more than 35 countries, partnering with justice and truth-seeking institutions, local civic groups, governments and international organizations.

Sponsoring an ICTJ Fellow is just one way to help. Candidates who are accepted into ICTJ's flagship Transitional Justice Fellowship Program have demonstrated that they are committed to ensuring that their society deals with its past in a just and responsible manner. The intensive three-week course is targeted toward human rights and transitional justice experts who have the potential to make significant contributions to transitional justice debates in their home countries. Fellows tend to be activists in civil society: lawyers, journalists and others who hold key positions in national non-governmental organizations. Many are human rights defenders wishing to acquire advanced skills in transitional justice and develop partnerships to reduce their isolation and insecurity as they continue to confront legacies of abuse.

"I really benefited from the ICTJ Fellowship, and the benefit will go directly to my country, Sudan. Transitional justice is going to be part of our history. We have a future to go to. [The] time will come for us to stand up and say 'yes we can' for justice and peace in our countries. You added a lot to my knowledge; [there are] so many things now I can talk about. Thank you very much. Regards, Karak Mayik Nyok, Southern Sudan"

If you would like to sponsor a fellow for one of our upcoming courses, or support ICTJ's work around the world, please contact MaryClaire Brooks, Director of Individual Giving, at 917-637-3844 or mbrooks@ictj.org, or visit www.ictj.org.



The attendees of ICTJ's Cape Town Transitional Justice Fellowship Program. Twenty-one fellows from 13 countries took part in the most recent program.

About ICTJ

The International Center for Transitional Justice assists countries pursuing accountability for past mass atrocity or human rights abuse. ICTJ, headquartered in New York, has offices in Beirut, Bogotá, Brussels, Bujumbura, Cape Town, Dili, Geneva, Jakarta, Kathmandu, Kinshasa and Monrovia.

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