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A. Executive Summary

The Burundi Policy Reform Project carried out a study tour to South Africa in partial fulfillment of requirements under the project’s Victims of Torture Component Task 5.3.5. The 19 participants from Burundi who visited South Africa from August 1 to August 9 had a series of extraordinary introductions to torture victims in South Africa and community-level efforts to meet the needs of victims along with institutions in Johannesburg and Cape Town that focus on issues related to torture and other forms of violence. The participants also visited judicial and human rights institutions established within the framework of transitional justice for the post-conflict South African society.

At the Khulmani Support Group, the Burundians learned how torture victims and survivors of apartheid-era political violence have organized to lobby and advocate for community-level reparations, prosecutions of perpetuators and investigations of disappeared persons. The Steve Biko Center for Bioethics is a university-based institution focusing on issues related to medical torture. The participants found the Center's work to be relevant to situations existing in Burundi and were anxious to have additional information, follow-up and future cooperation on the subject of medical torture and related ethical issues. The Trauma Center for Survivors of Violence and Torture impressed upon the Delegation that the healing of memories is a necessary ingredient in the rehabilitation of survivors and victims of torture. Participants expressed their satisfaction with the opportunity to interact with torture victims from District Six in Cape Town. The Burundians learned that South Africa has virtually eliminated torture through specific prohibition at the constitutional level. The point was reinforced that torture issues can be most effectively addressed through the mechanisms of a transitional justice program. At the same time, the Delegation was exposed to varied public, civil society and community-based approaches to treatment, rehabilitation and reparations for survivors and victims of torture.

Through meetings and dialogue with representatives of The South African Human Rights Commission, The Human Rights Institute for South Africa, The Foundation for Human Rights, and The International Center for Transitional Justice, the Burundian Delegation obtained detailed information on the South African Constitution, the role of the Constitutional Court, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), and prosecutions for apartheid-era crimes through the justice system. Objective panel presentations and discussions on the strengths and weaknesses of the truth and reconciliation process and the broader transitional justice process were obtained from The Foundation for Human Rights and The International Center for Transitional Justice. The Delegation heard that victims of political violence were not adequately included in the TRC process, and that the TRC emphasized truth seeking and pardons to the extent that perpetuators of political crimes were not prosecuted sufficiently.

The Delegation was visibly impressed with the opportunities to meet with Albie Sachs, Justice on the Constitutional Court of South Africa and Bishop Desmond Tutu, social activist and former Chairman of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Both of these famous persons gave advice and counsel to the Delegation on the necessity to end impunity and to work toward peace and reconciliation in Burundi.

The participants in the Study Tour to South Africa were unanimous in their assessment of the trip as highly substantive and motivational toward bolstering their individual and collective
efforts against torture, ending impunity and moving towards transitional justice in Burundi. Upon returning to Burundi, the participants immediately began the process of follow-up, information dissemination and recommendations resulting from the South Africa experience. The major issue raised by the participants is that of determining those mechanisms of transitional justice that are appropriate to the Burundian political and social context. They realized that Burundi cannot duplicate the South African experience, but lessons from South Africa are certainly applicable in crafting those transitional justice mechanisms that will serve Burundi.

B. Participants and Organization of the Tour

The 19 person delegation from Burundi to South Africa included human right leaders, NGO representatives, a Member of Parliament, the Minister of Good Governance, the BlueLaw Senior Consultant and three Chemonics staff from the USAID Burundi Policy Reform Project. Five of the Burundians were women. (See Annex II).

Logistics arrangements, contacts and appointments in South Africa were handled by Ms. Valerie Sebastian, a contractor to BlueLaw, LLP. Ms. Sebastian was chosen for this role in that she possesses extensive contacts and relationships within the South African human rights community as well as effective management and interpersonal skills. During the course of the South African tour, Ms. Sebastian maintained close contact with delegation members and assured that the agenda was respected in a timely manner. When confronted with unanticipated scheduling conflicts or personal exigencies from delegation members, Ms. Sebastian was flexible and effective in her abilities to resolve problems.

The Burundian participants were from the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups with varied political affiliations. As representatives of both public and private sector organizations, they were not close associates and, in most instances, did not personally know other members of the delegation. As the tour progressed, one noted a degree of bonding and substantial interaction among delegation members as they observed South African progress related to human rights and traditional justice. There was continual conversation and exchange on the need to develop and adopt mechanisms of transitional justice appropriate to the political and social context in Burundi. Among themselves, the participants decided that upon returning to Burundi they would follow-up to assure that their experiences from the South African tour would be integrated into the ongoing national consultations on transitional justice.

C. Institutions Visited and Personalities Met by Participants

The visit to the Khulmani Support Group enabled the Burundian Delegation to interact with victims of torture and violence from the South African apartheid regime. As an organization formed by victims of torture, violence and political conflict, the Khulmani Support Group has a leading role in the promotion of advocacy and lobbying for victims rights, reparations and projects to promote rehabilitation of victims. The Burundians learned that Khulmani was a watchdog of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and noted the general conclusion that victims were not adequately considered in the truth and reconciliation process. The concept of government reparations to communities as opposed to individuals was raised as an alternative approach to the reparations issue. At the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, the Burundians learned of treatment programs in Johannesburg for exiled Zimbabwean torture survivors, and discussed models of rehabilitation for South African torture survivors.
The visit to the Steve Biko Center of Bioethics was highly interesting and informative to the Burundi Delegation. They found the subject of medical torture (also known as medical interrogation) to be new, but relevant to Burundian society. Cases involving the participation of medical professionals in acts of torture were discussed. The ethical considerations of medical torture were raised. The Burundians indicated the desire to maintain institutional contacts with the Center and the intent to invite Center officials to Burundi for follow-up on medical torture and ethics matters.

At the South African Center for Survivors of Violence and Torture, the Delegation learned of Healing of Memories workshops and other medical and social services provided by civil society organizations for survivors and victims of torture. The visit to District Six in Cape Town, an area infamous for the forced removal of more than 60,000 inhabitants, provided the Delegation the opportunity to interact with and interview survivors and victims of torture. They learned of unique approaches involving community outreach and assistance to torture survivors.

In meetings with the South African Human Rights Commission and the non-governmental Human Rights Institute for South Africa, the Burundian Delegation was briefed on South Africa's democratic transition, the country's strong Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The Commission has the powers to investigate and prosecute human rights abuses. The Institute conducts research and training in human rights along with the investigation of violence in the South African society.

At the Foundation for Human Rights, a group of panelists presented objective and frank perspectives of the strengths and weaknesses of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission process. The Burundians heard that the relative successes of the TRC came from truth telling, forgiveness and pardons that have contributed to national reconciliation. Weaknesses included the lack of victim participation in the TRC process and the relatively weak and unsatisfactory program of reparations that complemented the TRC. The level of prosecutions for perpetuators of criminal acts in the apartheid era has been unsatisfactory to many victims and human rights workers. A program of forensic and DNA evidence has facilitated the identification of disappeared and missing persons. This has been a source of uplift to victim's families.

During a visit to the Constitutional Court of South Africa, the country's highest legal institution, the Delegation met with Justice Albie Sachs, an activist, legal scholar and torture victim. Justice Sachs was a significant contributor to the current constitution of South Africa. He explained that South Africa's transitional justice process is predicated on a strong and clear constitution. The new justice framework within the country has been the basis for democratic reform, reconciliation and progress within the country. Justice Sachs gave a copy of his new book, *The Strange Alchemy of Life and Law*, to each member of the Burundian Delegation.

The Delegation attended an early Friday morning Anglican religious service in Cape Town presided by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the former Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. After the service, Bishop Tutu met privately with the Burundi Delegation. He expressed familiarity with the Burundi political situation and exhorted the Delegation to work towards peace and reconciliation. His statement, although short and concise, seemed to have a powerful effect upon the Delegation members.
Finally, the Delegation toured Robben Island, the maximum security prison where Nelson Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists were imprisoned. A former political prisoner described the conditions of imprisonment, the attitudes of his fellow prisoners and relationships with their guardians.

D. Participants' Evaluation of Tour

The Burundian Study Tour participants were unanimous in their statements that the trip to South Africa was substantive, revealing and motivational for them to work toward reconciliation in Burundi. They had exposure to aspects of and issues related to torture with which they were unfamiliar. They had contact and interactions with victims of torture from all levels of the South African society. They were all impressed by community-level programs and services directed toward survivors and victims of torture. They were convinced that the issue of torture can be most effectively addressed within a broader process of transitional justice in Burundi.

On the suggestions side, some participants stated that they would have liked more time in visits with those institutions where their interests were the highest. Some stated that they would have benefited from more time for discussion, exchange and debate within the facilitation sessions as there will not be opportunity for this type of dialogue once they return to Burundi.

Upon returning to Burundi, the participants met two days later in the office of the Minister of Good Governance to discuss how they would publicize and initiate follow-up actions to the South African tour experience. They decided that civil society members must participate in the ongoing Government-led national consultations on transitional justice and share lessons learned from South Africa. They designated two civil society participants as reporters to the Consortium for Action Against Torture on the South African Tour experience. Finally, the members of the Delegation to South Africa said they would prepare two documents: a report on the Study Tour by the delegation for presentation to superiors and to USAID (the donor responsible for the trip); and a series of recommendations based on the South Africa experience to the Steering Committee on National Consultations for Transitional Justice. Finally, the participants designated a series of dates in which follow-up actions to the trip are to be completed.

E. Consultant's Evaluation

South Africa proved to be an outstanding learning lab for the Burundians in the areas of torture and transitional justice. The overall impression that South Africa, as the continent's most prominent country, has emerged from conflict to meaningful progress in national reconciliation, democratization and transitional justice weighed heavily upon the Delegation. Burundi's current issues seemed relatively miniscule compared to the South African experience. At the same time, it was recognized that South Africa's progress was facilitated by factors that are not present in Burundi at this time. These factors include charismatic leadership, a vibrant and active civil society along with external pressure and support from the international community.

The importance of preventing torture was vividly indicated to the Burundians by the fact that torture is expressly forbidden in the South African Constitution. The Constitution (1996) provides the right of persons not to be tortured and to be free of all forms of violence.
Although torture has recently been included as a crime in Burundi's Penal Code, it is not necessarily recognized as such by the country's judicial system. Greater advocacy and judicial enforcement against torture needs to be undertaken in Burundi. The Burundian exposure to medical torture and the related ethical issues were useful and will be pursued by some Delegation members. Clearly, the Delegation learned of innovative community-level approaches to services and rehabilitation for torture victims and abused persons. The concept of reparations to communities where victims are concentrated was new and of interest to the Burundians.

Key points with relevance to torture included:

- It is never too late to deal with the consequences of torture
- Torturers are themselves victims
- The targets of torture are often society's “best” and “brightest”
- Every government trains a cadre of torturers
- Having an organizing base against torture is useful

Strong recommendations to the Delegation included the advice that documentation is the key to eliminating torture as a practice. A database should be developed and a website set up to publicize cases of torture.

The Burundians learned that many torture issues can be most effectively addressed through the various mechanisms of a transitional justice program. The key elements in transitional justice include truth seeking, pardon, amnesty, justice (prosecution), and reconciliation. South Africa's progress in transitional justice flows from its strong and clear Constitution which promotes the primary objective of national reconciliation. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission also contributed to the objective through its emphasis on truth seeking, pardon and forgiveness.

The major questions for the Burundians revolved around "which transitional justice mechanisms can we proceed with at this time?" and "how can these mechanisms be adapted to a Burundian context?" There was much dialogue and debate among the Delegation on these issues, and the perspectives seemed to be varied and diverse. However, everyone agreed that the objective of national reconciliation is necessary and imperative. The Burundian Delegation was resolute that they would follow-up and share their South African experience in broad forums upon their return. They certainly began the progress in the follow-up meeting in the Minister's office upon returning and in the Round Table on Impunity and Mechanisms of Transitional Justice after the Cambodian and South African Experiences held on August 12, 2009.

F. August 12 Round Table in Burundi

As a follow-up to the Cambodian and South Africa study tours under the Victims of Torture component, the project organized a roundtable on August 12 to allow participants a chance to reflect on their experience and discuss with other leaders in Burundi potential means and mechanisms for ending torture as well as impunity with regards to torture and killing during the country’s many years of conflict.

On August 10 and 11, the consultant Myron Golden contacted a number of Burundian political and civil society leaders to begin preparations for the discussion. In the meetings, he
explained the purpose of the Cambodia and South African study tours along with some of the general findings and conclusions of the tour participants related to torture and transitional justice. In each meeting, the leaders provided their perspectives.

The day-long roundtable was held on August 12 and widely attended by representatives of the major political parties, civic leaders, representatives of human rights organizations and the media. After introductions, there were a number of statements by political party representatives and others on the state of impunity existing in Burundi, along with mentions of past atrocities ranging from the 1960s to the present. Then, the concepts of truth seeking, pardon, amnesty, justice and reconciliation were discussed with varying perspectives on their applicability within the Burundian political context. Reports from the recent study tour to South Africa were provided by two representatives of non-governmental organizations who recounted lessons from the South African experience relating to the roles of civil society, victims, the truth and reconciliation process and the necessity for healing and coping with memories.

The discussion turned to the subject of justice in Burundi, centering on whether justice was obligatory or primarily a means for addressing past acts of political violence and crimes against humanity. There were a range of views on this question with no evident consensus among the roundtable participants. Some stated that a Truth Commission and Tribunal mixed with Burundian and international members would be appropriate. Others argued that these institutions should be strictly Burundian with no participation by the international community. Others argued that these institutions were not necessary in Burundi at this time. Similarly, the debate on reconciliation and reparations generated differing perspectives. It was generally agreed that victims had to be considered within any Burundian transitional justice process. The South African experience provided a clear lesson on victims. The obvious question that arose was "who are the victims?" Again, perspectives differed. The Roundtable was concluded with a recapitulation of the day’s long discussions and some notation of the varied perspectives that exist on the subject of torture and transitional justice in Burundi.
ANNEX A. TOUR AGENDA

Agenda
Burundi Policy Reform Project
Victims of Torture Observational Study Tour
Johannesburg, South Africa and Cape Town, South Africa
August 1 – 9, 2009

Saturday, August 1

13:50 Delegates depart from Bujumbura Airport on Kenya Airways flight # 465

16:30 Delegates arrive at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport

20:40 Delegates depart for Johannesburg on Kenya Airways flight # 764

23:50 Delegates arrive at OR Tambo International Airport on Kenya Airways flight #764

Ms. Valerie Sebastian will meet the delegates at the airport in the arrivals lobby with the shuttle bus and accompany them to Hotel Parktonian, where she will assist with check-in. In case of emergency, the delegates can call Valerie Sebastian on her mobile phone at +27 (0) 82-969-2520

Delegates are free to settle into their hotel rooms, dine, and rest.

Accommodations: Hotel Parktonian
120 De Korte Street
Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 2001
+27 (0) 11-403-5740

Transportation: Prin’s Shuttle & Courier Services

Sunday, August 2

11:00 Program orientation and welcome brunch with USAID representatives

Location: Hotel Parktonian

13:30 Depart for township tour and visit to Hector Pieterson Museum
Objective: To learn about racism, police violence, and torture in South Africa.

17:30 Facilitated group de-briefing session and review of week agenda.

Location: Hotel meeting room

18:30 Delegates are free to rest, dine, and explore the city.

Monday, August 3

09:15 Meet in the hotel lobby and depart for meetings.

10:00 Meeting with Khulumani Support Group

Contact information:
Ms. Marje Jobson, Director of Khulumani Support Group
Khotso House, 2nd floor, 62 Marshall Street
Tel: 011-833-2044

Objectives: To hear the experiences of survivors of the abuses of the apartheid era; to see how a small victims’ and family organization can grow and become self-sustaining

11:30 Lunch

13:00 Meeting with the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Contact information:
Mr. Nomfundo Mogapi, Trauma and Transition Program Manager
4th Floor, Braamfontein Centre, 23 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein,
Tel: 011-403-5102/3 ext 124

Objectives: To learn about the health care needs of exiled torture survivors (from Zimbabwe) living in Johannesburg; to explore a model of rehabilitation for torture survivors in South Africa.

14:30 Meeting and tour at the Constitutional Court

Contact information:
Mr. Albie Sachs, Justice on the Constitutional Court
Hospital Hill Street, Between Kotze Street and Sam Hancock Street
Tel: 011-359-7400

Objectives: To see one of the world’s most important courts charged with interpreting a domestic constitution; to be able to ask questions of
one of the court’s most famous jurists (who also played a key role in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

16:30 Facilitated group de-briefing session.

Location: Hotel meeting room

17:30 Delegates are free to rest, dine, and explore the city.

Tuesday, August 4

09:15 Meet in the hotel lobby and depart for meetings.

10:00 Visit to Steve Biko Centre for Bioethics

Contact information:
Professor Ames Dahl, Director
Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand
Tel: 011-717-2635

Objectives: To consider cutting edge work on bioethics and to learn about “medical torture.”

12:00 Meeting with the South Africa Human Rights Commission

Contact information:
Mr. Hlengiwe Mkhize
29 Prince of Wales Terrace, Corner of York and St. Andrews Street, Parktown
Tel: 011-484-8300

Objective: To deepen understanding of national human rights institutions.

13:30 Lunch

14:30 Meeting with the Southern African Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture

Contact information:
Mr. Frances Spencer, Director
11th Floor Braamfontein Centre, 23 Jorissen Street Braamfontein
Tel: 011-339-4476

Objective: To explore the range of medical and social services potentially available for survivors and victims of torture.

16:30 Facilitated group de-briefing session.
**Location**: Hotel meeting room

17:30 Delegates are free to rest, dine, and explore the city.

**Wednesday, August 5**

09:15 Meet in the hotel lobby and depart for meetings.

10:00 Panel discussion at the Foundation for Human Rights on Truth and Reconciliation Commission with leading experts. Includes a film presentation on Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings.

*Contact information:*
8th Floor, 209 Smit Street, Braamfontein
Tel: 011-339-5560

**Objective**: To have a lively, well-informed discussion on South Africa’s experience with reconciliation efforts.

13:00 Lunch

15:00 Meeting with the Human Rights Institute for South Africa

*Contact information:*
Ms. Corlett Letlojane, Director
Sable Centre, 15th Floor, 41 De Korte Street, Braamfontein
Tel: 011-403-0850

17:30 Facilitated group de-briefing session.

*Location*: Hotel meeting room

18:30 Delegates are free to rest, dine, and explore the city. Delegates are advised to pack and check out of hotel in preparation for early flight the next morning

**Thursday, August 6**

06:30 Check-out of hotel and meet in lobby to depart for airport

09:00 Delegates depart for Cape Town on South African Airways flight #317

11:10 Delegates arrive at Cape Town International Airport and check-in to hotel

**Accommodations**: *The Westin Grand Cape Town Arabella Quays*
Convention Square, Lower Long Street
Transportation: Andy Tours

14:00 Meet in the hotel lobby and depart for meetings.

14:30 Meeting with Institute for Healing of Memories

Contact information:
Fr. Lasley, Director
345 Lansdowne Road, Lansdowne 7780
Tel: 021-696-4230

Objective: To learn from one group’s experience addressing the trauma of torture and other forms of political violence

17:00 Panel discussion at the International Centre for Transitional Justice on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission with leading legal and academic experts

Contact information:
Professor Jeremy Sarkins
Wynberg Mewes, Ground Floor, House Vincent, 10 Brodie Road, Wynberg, Cape Town
Tel: 021-674-0448

Objective: To continue discussion with leading experts on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and legal, social and medical approaches to addressing political violence.

18:30 Group dinner with Professor Jeremy Sarkins and other panelists.

20:00 Delegates are free to rest, dine, and explore the city

Friday, August 7

09:15 Meet in the hotel lobby and depart for meetings.

10:00 Meeting at the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture

Contact information:
Ms. Vimla Pillay, Executive Director
Cowley House, Woodstock
Tel: 021-465-7373

Objective: To explore psycho-social approaches for addressing trauma and torture.
11:30   Visit to the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre

*Contact information:*
Ms. Hudaa Croeser and Ms. Antoinia Doman
10th Floor, Absa House, Thibault Square, St. George’s Mall Street,
Tel: 021-425-7002

12:45   Lunch

13:45   Delegation meets at Waterfront to depart on ferry for tour of Robben Island. Tour will include a visit to the maximum security prison, interaction with an ex-political prisoner, and a guided tour of the island via bus.

17:30   Delegates are free to rest, dine, and explore the city

**Saturday, August 8**

09:00   Check out of hotel and meet in hotel lobby to depart for meetings.

10:00   Meeting with victims of torture

*Contact information:*
Marcus Solomon, Lionel Davies, Neville Alexandra
11 Windsor Park Ave, Windsor Park
Tel: 082-461-1521

12:00   Tour of District Six

**Objective:** To learn first-hand about District Six, an area best known for the forced removal of over 60,000 of its inhabitants during the 1970s by the apartheid regime.

13:30   Lunch and city tour

17:00   Depart for airport

19:50   Delegates depart for Johannesburg on South African Airways flight # 372

21:50   Delegates arrive at OR Tambo International Airport and check-in to hotel

**Accommodations:**  *Emperors Palace Mondior Hotel*
64 Jones Road, Kempton Park
Gauteng, South Africa
Tel: +27 (11) 928-1000

**Transportation:**  *Emperors Palace Mondior airport shuttle*
Sunday, August 9

09:00 Facilitated debrief session and participant evaluation.  

*Location:* Hotel meeting room

10:15 Check-out of hotel.

10:30 Bus arrives at hotel to depart for airport.

13:40 Delegates depart for Nairobi on Kenya Airways flight # 763

18:45 Delegates arrive at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi

22:30 Delegates depart for Bujumbura on Kenya Airways flight #474

23:10 Arrive Bujumbura.
1. **Marie Christine NTAGWIRUMUGARA**, representative in the National Assembly and lawyer by training, has been a superior court judge for more than 15 years. She is currently President of the Executive Committee of the Association of Catholic Jurists of Burundi. It is in this latter role that she is participating in the study tour to South Africa. She was a member of a group that traveled to Geneva to present the alternate report of the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Ms. Natgwirumugara is very active in lobbying and advocating for the participation of women in politics and for gender equality legislation. She organizes and facilitates trainings on human rights.

2. **Martin NIVYABANDI**, Minister at the Presidency in Charge of Good Governance and Privatization, has a bachelor’s degree in economics from the University of Burundi. Before becoming Minister, he was an independent consultant. He worked with U.S. consulting firm Development Alternatives Inc. as a trainer in good governance and a project supervisor in Karusi. Previously, he was economic advisor to the Governor of Muyinga, assistant in finance and audit for the non-governmental organization IMC, and assistant to the Norwegian Council on Refugees. Among his responsibilities today Mr. Nivyabandi supervises all programs focused on promoting good governance, as well as the framework project for dialogue for reconciliation and reconstruction. He is known for his integrity and his commitment to good governance and rule of law.

3. **Rose NDUWAYO**, Minister of Human and Gender Rights, studied education at the University of Burundi. She has been trained in human rights at ISCOS and has studied community development. She was a professor before being named Vice Minister, and then Minister of Human and Gender Rights. She leads an important educational program for National Peace and Reconciliation. Mrs. Nduwayo is known for her strong personality. She was a presidential candidate representing the largest opposition party in Burundi.

4. **Ambassador Julien KAVAKURE** is a senior official with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served in several senior positions with the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was Ambassador from the Republic of Burundi to the United Nations from 1987 to 1989, and then a career diplomat until today. He has written several papers on democracy and human rights. He was a member of a commission tasked with drafting the first regular report on children’s rights in Burundi. He serves as coordinator of the Executive Committee of the Foundation for Unity, Peace, and Democracy, and is the focal point for the Action Consortium Against Torture in the Foundation. He is recognized as an advocate for youth education in light of human and democratic values.

7. **Françoise NGENDAHAYO** has studied literature and humanities at the University of Burundi since July 2007. She was the Director of the Ministry of Promotion of Women and Social Affairs (1982-1992). Despite numerous reorganizations of the Cabinet, Mrs. Ngendahayo remained a member of the government’s team from 2001 to 2007. She was Minister of National Solidarity, Human and Gender Rights from 2005 to 2007, after having been Minister of Repatriation and Reintegration of Displaced Persons between 2001 and 2005. At the international level, she was the advisor on gender issues and victims’ assistance at the International Tribunal on Rwanda at Arusha (1997-2001). She was also the francophone coordinator for Africa Women and Habitat and for the African Housing Fund/Francophone West Africa (Nairobi 1992-1997). She is currently Co-Chairman of the Tripartite Steering Committee that oversees and coordinates the national discussion on transitional justice mechanisms.

8. **Diane KARIKUMUTIMA** has a degree in management and is an active member and leader of the Collective of Women’s Associations and NGO’s of Burundi (CAFOB). She was responsible
for surveys at the Statistical Institute of Burundi and then worked at the Listening Center of the Catholic Lawyers of Burundi Association. She is currently employed at the Ministry of Human and Gender Rights as Secretary of the Cabinet. She promotes women’s rights and advocates specifically against violence against women and girls.

9. **Laurent GAHUNGU**, former member of the National Assembly and a member of the Parliamentary Commission on Justice and Human Rights. He has a post-graduate degree in human rights from the College of Law and Political Science at the Université de Nantes. He holds five certificates from the International Institute on Human Rights in Strasbourg, France (René Cassin Institute). He is currently the Secretary General of the Burundian Association for Prisoners’ Rights (ABDP). He was an active participant in drafting the Revised Criminal Procedure Code, the Penal Code and the law governing the Supreme Court. He is a strong advocate for the protection and promotion of human rights and is recognized as an advocate for those without a voice.

10. **Adèle AHISHAKIYE**, teacher by training, she is currently president of the Executive Committee of the Burundese Association for the Defense of Prisoner’s Rights. She is active in advocacy networks for the protection and defense of human rights. She is very involved in the observation of detention locations and is very invested in the fight against impunity.

11. **David NAHIMANA**, professor at the University of Burundi, doctor in chemistry. He has been a human rights advocate and defender since 1995. He participated in the Burundese League of Human Rights, where he has been a member of the Executive Committee since 1997. He assumed successively the functions of president of the different commissions of the league- material and financial resources, youth, and human resources-before being elected President of the ITEKA League, the largest civil society organization working for the protection and the promotion of human rights in Burundi, in 2008. The ITEKA League is part of a vast network of civil society groups including: the Observatory of Governmental Action (OAG), COSOME, FORSC. At the regional level, Mr. Nahimana has been Adjunct Secretary General of the Civil Society Forum for East African Community since March 2009.

12. **Anicet NIJIMBERE** received his psychology and education science diploma from the University of Burundi. From January 2008 until the present, he has been the department manager for training and social care at Human Health AID Burundi. Simultaneously he is the Regional Coordinator of Family Care (Central Africa/West Africa Regional Office). He is the technical supervisor of National Educational Counselors, and National Youth of the Regional Countries Counselors. He also participates in the elaboration of policies and training programs for regional training centers. From 2004 to 2006, Mr. Anicet was academic advisor to the EST Zone (Regional Office AC / AO, Direction of Area EST). From 1992 to 2004, he was director of SOS Children's Village of Bujumbura (SOS Children's Villages BURUNDI). He also worked for the government as director of the Department of Social Welfare (Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Social Welfare, from January 1989 to June 1992). As such, he developed and implemented strategies for management of vulnerable groups and validated the action plans of those intervening in the field of social protection. Previously, from 1986 to 1989 he was chief of services of the Socio-Educational Centers and Centers of Social Activity (Ministry of Social Affairs), academic advisor (Ministry of Social Affairs), and teacher (Ministry of National Education). From 1989 to 2006, he was board member of the Administrative Council of the General Management of Penitentiary Affairs (Ministry of Justice)

13. **Pierre Claver MBONIMPA**, has been a human rights activist for over twelve years. He is one of the most important figures in the area of the protection and promotion of rights. He is a fervent defender of prisoners' rights and the rights of vulnerable people. He oversees many projects of assistance to prisoners, torture victims and victims of sexual violence, or based on gender. He was the winner of the Martin Elans 2007 Reward for his outstanding advocacy work for the rule of law and the fight against injustice. Mr Pierre Claver is the founder and legal representative of the
Burundian Association for the Protection of Human Rights and Detainees (APRODH). He is very appreciated by all stakeholders working in the field of human rights

14. Mireille NIYONZIMA is a graduate in public and private law from the University of COCODI in Côte d’Ivoire (Ivory Coast). She also has an MA degree in international humanitarian law. She was coordinator of emergency aid to the Jesuit Refugee Service of the Great Lakes in Bujumbura (2000-2002). Then, she served in the Association for the Defense of Women’s Rights from 2003 until the present. She first held the post of legal adviser, then from 2004 to this day, she has become the legal representative and coordinator of the activities of the organization ADFD.

15. Marius NIMUBONA is a young lawyer who studied at the University of Lake Tanganyika. He is very dynamic in the associational movement of Burundi, which earned him the election as executive secretary in his organization Association for the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Marginalized Children (APRODEM). He participated in international fora such as a training workshop in Niamey (Niger) in September 2008, and a World Social Forum in Bamako (Mali). He particularly brings legal assistance to households of orphan children.

16. David NIYONZIMA, holds a masters degree in counseling from George Fox University, Portland. He has a bachelor in theology from Kenya Highlands Bible College, Kericho, Kenya. Mr. Niyonzima is a consultant for several international organizations. He is a trainer and psychotherapist in the countries of the under- region (Kenya, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo). He leads conferences on violence in the community, the healing of victims of trauma, and reconciliation. He has been a part-time professor at Hope Africa University, and from 2002 to present, Mr. Niyonzima has been the coordinator of activities Trauma Healing And Reconciliation Services. From 1993 to 2003 he was secretary general and the legal representative of the Annual Meeting of Friends. He has participated as an observer in the Arusha peace negotiations facilitated by Nelson Mandela in February 2000. Mr. Niyonzima writes extensively and participates in many activities initiated by the Christian churches relating to peace and reconciliation.

17. Julien BAREGUWERA, lawyer, Court of Appeals in Bujumbura. He is the secretary general for the NTRUENGAHO association, a member of the Consortium of Action against Torture. At the heart of his organization, he supervises all training regarding the promotion of human rights and equality among genders. Mr. Julien was the procurer of the State before his entry to the bar where his main interests included legal defense of the penal code. He organizes conferences and trainings for target audiences as a voluntary worker or as an independent consultant.

18. André NYABENDA, Advisor to the Supreme Court, completed his studies at the Law School at the University of Lake Tanganyika. He is a member of the High Council of the Magistrate. He is currently the president of the Executive Committee of Human Rights (IZERE). He is a member of several national commissions: the National Earth Commission and other Commodities (2007, the Bujumbura rural delegation) and the Monitoring and Evaluation Project of Dialogue between Burundian partners.

STUDY TOUR LEADERS

19. Jean LAVOIE is director of USAID/Burundi’s Policy Reform project. He is a lawyer specializing in international law and administrative law. Mr. Lavoie has 26 years of experience in human rights and institutional reform. For more than 17 years, he was a consultant, legal advisor, or project director on numerous democracy and governance projects financed by USAID, UNDP, and other donors. He has worked in various post-conflict countries in Africa and elsewhere, including Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Nepal. He was chief of staff of the Ministry of Justice, International Relations and Government Affairs in Canada.
20. **Myron GOLDEN**, consultant for BlueLaw, is an internationally recognized expert in development and governance, with more than 35 years of experience in Africa and with programs for Africa. He possesses extensive knowledge of economic and governance issues in Africa. He maintains close personal ties with African political, civil society and business leaders. He has strong negotiation skills and demonstrated his experience in building strategic partnerships when he led missions to Rwanda from 1994 to 1996 after the genocide, to Burundi from 1993 to 1996 for a program focused on contingency assistance, humanitarian aid, reduction of conflict, and maintenance of peace and reconciliation, and to Ghana for a program on governance and rule of law. Since his retirement from USAID in 1998, Mr. Golden has worked as an independent consultant on the design of numerous monitoring and evaluation programs. He will accompany the Burundi delegation to help it bridge lessons with the previous study tour to Cambodia in which he participated.

21. **Gaudence KABUYENGE** is in charge of the victims of torture component for the USAID Burundi Policy Reform project. He is a lawyer with a great deal of professional experience in conflict management, human rights, elections, governance, traditional justice, institutional reform, and capacity building in civil society. He was the managing director of Human Rights and Institutional Reforms from 2000-2002 before working as a program coordinator in USAID project finance (2002-2003 IFES/Great Lakes Justice Initiatives; 2004-2006 IFES; 2006-2007 DAI/PCTAP; 2007 a ce jour Chemonics International). Currently, he is the executive secretary of the technical coordination committee of the Consortium of Action against Torture which brings together all of the collaborating partners in the fight against torture and the support of victims.

22. **Annick NYANGÉ** is logistics coordinator for Chemonics with the Burundi Policy Reform project. Her responsibilities include responding to questions regarding visas, travel costs and distribution of per diem. During this trip she will be in charge of transport and the coordination of meetings with respect to timing.
ANNEX C. HOST ORGANIZATIONS AND SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

(In alphabetical order)

**District Six**

District Six is best known for the forced removal of over 60,000 of its inhabitants during the 1970s by the apartheid regime. At the turn of the century it was a lively community made up of freed slaves, artisans, merchants and other immigrants, as well as Malay people brought to South Africa by the Dutch East India Company.

After World War II, during the earlier part of the apartheid era, District Six was relatively cosmopolitan. It was largely made up of "colored" residents which included a substantial number of colored Muslims, called Cape Malays. There were also smaller numbers of Africans, whites, and Indians. Government officials gave primary reasons for the removals. In accordance with apartheid philosophy, it stated that interracial interaction bred conflict, necessitating the separation of the races. They deemed District Six a slum, fit only for clearance, not rehabilitation. In 1966, the government declared District Six a whites-only area under the Group Areas Act, with removals starting in 1968. By 1982, more than 60,000 people had been relocated to the sandy, bleak Cape Flats township complex some 25 kilometers away. The old houses were bulldozed. The only buildings left standing were places of worship.

**Foundation for Human Rights of South Africa**

The Foundation for Human Rights is one of the primary indigenous grant-makers to the human rights sector in South Africa. Established in 1996 through a cooperation agreement between the European Union and the South African government, the Foundation receives funds primarily from the European Union as well as other donors such as DCI, Mott Foundation and Care International. The Foundation supports civil society organizations and public institutions to promote and facilitate increased awareness, respect, protection and fulfillment of the rights contained in the Constitution. The Foundation uses a rights-based approach in addressing poverty and inequality. This means that its grantees should adopt an approach which ensures that priority be given to the most vulnerable groups in society, especially the poor, through participation, accountability, non-discrimination and direct linkages to the rights as set out in the Constitution.

The aim of the Foundation is to address the historical legacy of apartheid, support the transformation of South Africa and to build a human rights culture, using the Constitution of South Africa as a tool. The members of the Supervisory Board of the Foundation are all prominent South Africans, and include representatives of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development and the European Union. The Board independently shapes the goals, strategies and direction of its programs and makes decisions on grant-making.

**Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum**

The Museum was erected in memory of the 1976 student protest, when police opened fire on hundreds of Sowetan schoolchildren who were peacefully demonstrating against the use of
Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools. The concourse leading to the entrance is marked by olive trees symbolizing peace and beautiful columns with each piece of slate meant to represent a student who died needlessly. Inside the immaculate, modern space are emotionally compelling displays: video footage of the event and numerous breathtaking photographs taken by brave and talented photographers like Peter Mangubane and Sam Nzima. Included is the infamous shot of Hector Pieterson--one of the young boys who died in a hail of police bullets--being carried by a young man whose face is contorted in disbelief and pain. The police reported 59 dead; the actual toll was thought to be closer to 500.

**Human Rights Institute for South Africa**

The Human Rights Institute of South Africa (HURISA) is a leading South Africa-based non-governmental organization which offers professional services towards the promotion of a human rights culture, peace and democracy. HURISA has its roots in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

The Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (under the chairmanship of Justice Richard Goldstone) was appointed by former State President FW de Klerk on 24 October 1991, to inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation in the Republic of South Africa, the nature and causes thereof, and what persons were involved therein. It also inquired into any steps that should be taken in order to prevent public violence and intimidation from occurring in the future. The Commission made 47 recommendations to the State President.

Largely as a result of an initiative of the Norwegian Government, the state president agreed to the establishment of an institute of the Commission. The Institute for the Study of Public Violence was established in June 1993. Commonly known as the Goldstone Institute, its main role had been the documentation of material relating to public violence and intimidation as well as research. The institute had a sophisticated computer capability and was a unique source of information of value not only to the Commission but to the general public and, in particular, the media. The Norwegian Government funded the computer requirements of the Institute as well as the experts who were so essential in setting it up. The Commission paid for the accommodation of the Institute and the salaries of its officials and staff. The assets of the Institute are held by a non-profit company duly registered under section 21 of the South African Companies Act of 1973.

In 1994 the Commission and the trustees of the Institute resolved that the Institute should become an independent non-governmental organization, the Human Rights Institute of South Africa (HURISA) and that its field of operation be extended to cover all aspects of human rights in South Africa. Since then HURISA has established itself as an internationally recognized human rights training organization, and has expanded its training to the rest of the African continent.

HURISA obtained observer status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on 25 April 2001 which was held in Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Since then HURISA's advocacy activities to strengthen the protection and promotion of the African human rights system have included: capacity building on and supporting joint advocacy of the African human rights system; supporting greater participation of South African NGOs in the activities of the African Commission; and advocating for a strengthened African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights and African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.
Institute for Healing of Memories

The Healing of Memories institution runs workshops for healing and developing both with adults and children. The workshops have two main objectives in mind. On an individual level, participation in a Healing of Memories workshop provides an experiential way to overcome feelings of anger, hatred, prejudice and guilt and create a more positive meaning for suffering. It can therefore be considered as one step on the journey to psychological, emotional and spiritual healing and wholeness.

On a communal, national or international level, the workshops reveal how the nation’s history and resultant socio-political environment have shaped personal emotions and views. These processes lead to a growing empathy with the experience of others and have the potential to lead to reconciliation, forgiveness, and a transformation of the relationships between people of different ethnic groups, races, cultures, religions, and nations.

International Center for Transitional Justice

While human rights organizations have traditionally focused on documenting violations and lobbying against abuse, the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) was founded on the concept of a new direction in human rights advocacy: helping societies to heal by accounting for and addressing past crimes after a period of repressive rule or armed conflict.

ICTJ was first conceived at a strategy meeting hosted by the Ford Foundation in April 2000. More than two dozen participants, including legal scholars, human rights advocates, and practitioners, gathered to discuss ways of contributing to the rapidly emerging field of transitional justice.

The participants expressed broad support for the establishment of an organization focusing on transitional justice. The Foundation subsequently asked three consultants—Alex Boraine, Priscilla Hayner and Paul van Zyl—to develop a plan for such an organization. Their initial five-year proposal received funding support from the Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Andrus Family Fund.

ICTJ officially opened its doors in New York City on March 1, 2001, and within six months was operating in more than a dozen countries, as requests for assistance poured in. Today the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) assists countries pursuing accountability for past mass atrocity or human rights abuse. The Center works in societies emerging from repressive rule or armed conflict, as well as in established democracies where historical injustices or systemic abuse remain unresolved.

ICTJ assists in the development of integrated, comprehensive, and localized approaches to transitional justice comprising five key elements: prosecuting perpetrators, documenting and acknowledging violations through non-judicial means such as truth commissions, reforming abusive institutions, providing reparations to victims, and facilitating reconciliation processes.

Khulumani Support Group

The Khulumani Support Group was formed in 1995 by survivors and families of victims of
the political conflict of South Africa’s apartheid past. It was set up in response to the pending Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) by victims who felt the Commission should be used to speak out about the past to ensure that such violations never occur again. (Khulumani means "Speaking out" in isiZulu). During the time of the TRC, Khulumani was an avid watchdog and critic. In the post-TRC era, it remains an extremely important critic, arguing that the TRC failed to address the consequences of political violence and human rights violations for many people.

Over the past eleven years of its operations, Khulumani has developed considerable expertise in ways of reaching and supporting survivors of apartheid-era violations towards building their advocacy skills and towards supporting their efforts to become self-reliant. Khulumani claims a membership base of 54,000 individuals, some 74% of which are unemployed. While all Khulumani’s members are survivors of apartheid-era political violence, most of them describe that they continue to be affected by the consequences of apartheid-era violence.

Post-TRC focused projects have included lobbying and advocacy for community reparations programs; the pursuit of prosecutions of those perpetrators who failed to apply for amnesty, and efforts to resolve cases of the disappeared. Khulumani has also supported capacity building of provincial structures as part of the ongoing move towards decentralization and consequent sustainability, and livelihoods skills development projects to assist survivors to become mainstreamed into community development activities at local municipality level.

**Southern African Centre for Survivors of Torture**

The Southern African Centre for Survivors of Torture (SACST) is a non-governmental organization based in Johannesburg dedicated to the promotion and provision of medical, psychosocial and legal services to primary victims/survivors of organized violence and torture. The SACST flagship project, the Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project (ZTVP), was established in 2005 to provide assistance to torture victims and survivors fleeing deteriorating and abusive conditions in Zimbabwe.

**South Africa Human Rights Commission**

South Africa’s Constitution (1996) enshrines the supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law. Everyone in South Africa, including the government, and all laws are subject to and must follow the Constitution. The Constitution also contains the Bill of Rights, which it describes as the ‘cornerstone of democracy in South Africa’ and compels the State to ‘respect, protect, promote and fulfill the rights in the Bill of Rights’.

Recognizing that the protection and promotion of human rights cannot be left to individuals or the government, Chapter Nine of the Constitution creates independent national institutions, subject only to the Constitution and the law, to transform our society from its unjust past and to deliver the fundamental rights in the Constitution to all in South Africa.

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) is one such national institution, which derives its powers from the Constitution and the South African Human Rights Commission Act of 1994. It is also given additional powers and responsibilities by other national legislation. Since its inauguration on 2 October 1995, the Commission has taken up the challenge of ensuring that the noble ideals expressed in our Constitution are enjoyed by
all in South Africa. The SAHRC works with government, civil society and individuals, both nationally and abroad, to fulfill its Constitutional mandate.

The mission of the SAHRC entrench constitutional democracy through the promotion and protection of human rights by: addressing human rights violations and seeking effective redress for such violations; monitoring and assessing the observance of human rights; raising awareness of human rights issues; and educating and training on human rights.

Steve Biko Centre for Bioethics

The Steve Biko Centre for Bioethics is a university-based center committed to the values of justice, dignity, respect and freedom – both intellectual and academic. The Centre addresses an issues central to the study tour: the use of medical experimentation on political prisoners and medical experimentation as a form of torture.

Medical torture (also known as a medical interrogation) describes the involvement and sometimes active participation of medical professionals in acts of torture, either to judge what victims can endure, to apply treatments which will enhance torture, or as torturers in their own right. Medical torture may involve the use of their expert medical knowledge to facilitate interrogation or corporal punishment, in the conduct of torturous human experimentation or in providing professional medical sanction and approval for the torture of prisoners. The term also covers torturous scientific (or pseudo-scientific) experimentation upon unwilling human subjects.

The most infamous case of medical torture in South Africa is known as the “Aversion Project.” South Africa’s apartheid army forced soldiers targeted as homosexual undergo “sex-change” operations in the 1970s and the 1980s, and submitted many to chemical castration, electric shock, and other unethical medical experiments. As many as 900 forced “sexual reassignment” operations may have been performed as part of a top-secret program to root out homosexuality from the service.

At national policy level, Centre staff provide advice and consultation in bioethics, human rights and health law for health sciences curricula, regulation, development and ethics in research for the country. At an international level, centre staff contribute to programs in UNESCO, the European Commission and The National Institutes of Health (US). Centre staff also contribute to the development of bioethics and research ethics capacity on the different African regions.

Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture

The Trauma Centre’s roots go back to the early 1980’s when, in the context of repression and human rights abuses by the apartheid government, various progressive organizations were formed to address the needs of the many victims of state violence. The Trauma Centre grew out of a partnership of these organizations. Its initial focus was to provide for the mental health needs of ex-political prisoners, returned exiles and other victims of political violence and repression. In recent years, services have changed to accommodate the changing nature of violence in South Africa.

The Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture, as a non-governmental human
rights organization, promotes the healing of survivors of torture. The Trauma Centre aims to create a non-violent environment, through providing and advocating professional health services and multiple level interventions developed to suit client needs. Developing partnerships and networking with institutions, organizations and individuals to provide the most sustainable support for clients are other goals of the center. In addition, the center seeks to take existing policies into account, lobby for appropriate policies where required and provide services pro-actively and reactively primarily in the Western Metropole, rural western Cape, the Eastern and Northern Cape.

**Speaker Biographies**

**ALBIE SACHS** is a justice on the Constitutional Court of South Africa. He was appointed to the court by Nelson Mandela in 1994.

Justice Sachs recently gained international attention in 2005 as the author of the Court's holding in the case of Minister of Home Affairs v. Fourie, in which the Court overthrew South Africa's statute defining marriage to be between one man and one woman as a violation of the Constitution's general mandate for equal protection for all and its specific mandate against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Justice Sachs is also recognized for the development of the differentiation between constitutional rights in three different degrees or generations of rights.

As a young white man in South Africa, he worked as an attorney, defending people charged under racist statutes and repressive security laws under South African Apartheid. After being seized by the police and placed in solitary confinement for his work in the freedom movement, Albie Sachs went into exile in England and then Mozambique.

**ENVER MOOTHOOSAMY** is a legal officer for the Truth Commission.

**FATHER LAPSELEY** initially developed the Healing of Memories workshops while heading the Chaplaincy Project of the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture. South Africa’s past conflicts had led to a deeply divided society where there was much suffering. Through his own experience of living in exile, losing both hands in a parcel bomb explosion, and listening to the stories of the survivors whom he counseled at the Trauma Centre, Fr. Lapsley realized the importance of giving people a space in which their experiences could be told and acknowledged. He became a driving force in developing Healing of Memories workshops as an alternative form of providing support for victims and survivors of apartheid violence.

**HANIF VALLY** was formerly Chief Legal Officer of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He is currently a strategic advisor to the Human Rights Foundation.

**HOWARD VARNEY** is a member of the Johannesburg Bar. His practice includes constitutional and human rights litigation. In the early 1990s he was an attorney with the Legal Resources Centre in South Africa where he represented victims of political violence in public interest litigation, judicial inquests and commissions of inquiry. In the mid-1990s he led an independent criminal investigation in South Africa into organized political violence which resulted in the prosecution of several senior security force officers. Varney was the chief investigator for the Sierra Leone Truth & Reconciliation Commission. He has worked with the South African Truth & Reconciliation Commission and the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor. As a consultant for the International
Center for Transitional Justice and other organizations he has assisted with the development of transitional justice initiatives in several countries in Africa, Asia and the Americas.

**MADELINE FULLARD** is a former investigations expert on disappearances in the South. She is a member of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

**MARJE JOBSON** is Director of the Khulumani Support Group. She is an academic and activist with history and involvement in the fight for human rights, women's rights and social justice. She is a well-known figure in South Africa’s civil society.

**PIERS PIGOU** has been director of the South African History Archive since January 2006. Piers has had many positions including: a lawyer for a legal aid clinic in the Vaal; an investigator in the Johannesburg office of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; and a researcher for the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE).

**YASMIN SOOKA** is executive director of the Foundation for Human Rights in South Africa. She was a member of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and also appointed by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to be one of the three international commissioners on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Sierra Leone.