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Gender Justice and Reconciliation in Northern Uganda

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This policy brief assesses the gender-specific transitional justice (TJ) needs of survivors of gender-based violence in Northern Uganda.

From November 2010 to February 2011, the Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP), in collaboration with the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), organized a series of consultations with victims of conflict in Northern Uganda, entitled ‘Enhancing Grassroots Involvement in Transitional Justice Debates.’ The consultations, held in the Acholi/Lango, Teso, and West Nile sub-regions, focused on truth-telling, traditional justice, reparations and gender justice within the context of Uganda’s transitional justice processes.² As part of the consultations, a separate session was held on the topic of gender justice and the extent to which it does / does not presently feature in Uganda’s transitional justice framework. Discussions at the consultations highlighted the need for Uganda’s unique gender relations and dynamics to be closely scrutinized and taken into consideration by policy-makers in the development of transitional justice mechanisms.

The Justice Law and Order Sector (JLOS) is currently developing and implementing an accountability and reconciliation framework to deal with the legacies of conflict in Uganda. With the progress in the establishment of the International Crimes Division (ICD) of the High Court, JLOS has undertaken a series of consultations in order to propose law and policy reforms

in line with its mandate. This process presents an excellent opportunity to critically examine and document the widespread occurrence of gender-based violence in Northern Uganda and the vast implications on individuals and communities.

This policy brief describes gender-based violence, its occurrence and effects on local communities during and after the conflict in Northern Uganda, as well as the needs of the victims as expressed during the JRP-IJR consultations. It concludes with a series of recommendations to the Government of Uganda through the Justice Law and Order Sector.

Introduction

The war in Northern Uganda between the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and Government of Uganda (GoU) forces dates back to 1986. In 2006, the Juba Peace Talks were held between the GoU and the LRA, mediated by Riek Machar, the Vice President of South Sudan. However, LRA leader Joseph Kony refused to sign the final peace agreement, and the LRA has been at large ever since. Military campaigns by all parties to the 20-year-conflict consisted of fierce attacks on civilian populations across Northern Uganda; raping, mutilating and abducting civilians; raiding villages; and looting and burning houses. The conflict has had disastrous economic, physical, social and psychological effects on the civilian population.

As is common in modern conflicts, various forms of gender-based violence and discrimination were used extensively by both parties (the Government forces and the rebels) to the conflict in Northern Uganda. During and after the conflict, women played important roles as combatants, in support roles in the military as well as the domestic sphere and in initiating community-led approaches to peacefully ending the

¹ The authors would like to acknowledge the comments and suggestions provided by Allan Ngari and Tim Murithi of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation; and Lindsay McClain, Lino Owor Ogora and Boniface Ojok of the Justice and Reconciliation Project.

² Respondents participated in these consultations on the basis of anonymity.

violence. Nonetheless, transitional justice discussions in Uganda tend to focus on male parties to the conflict only.³

What is Gender-based Violence?

Article 1 of the 1993 *UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* offered the first official definition of gender-based violence (GBV) as follows:

*...the term "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.*⁴

Later, the 1995 *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* expanded on this definition, specifying that it includes violations of the rights of women in situations of armed conflict, including systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy; forced sterilization, forced abortion, coerced or forced use of contraceptives; prenatal sex selection and female infanticide. It further recognized the particular vulnerabilities of women belonging to minorities; the elderly and the displaced; indigenous, refugee and migrant communities; and women living in impoverished rural or remote areas, or in detention.⁵

The organization International Alert defines gender justice as:

*...the protection and promotion of civil, political, economic and social rights on the basis of gender equality. It necessitates taking a gender perspective on the rights themselves, as well as the assessment of access and obstacles to the enjoyment of these rights for women, men, girls and boys and adopting gender-sensitive strategies for protecting and promoting them.*⁶

Researcher Nahla Valji explains that the incorporation of gender justice into accountability mechanisms has until

recently emphasised the acknowledgement and pursuit of justice for women's experiences of sexual violence during conflict, and the securing of increased representation of women in policy and decision-making on post-conflict issues.⁷

More recently, the lens of researchers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has begun to focus on the widespread but unacknowledged and often unreported incidents of male



A participant in the West Nile consultation shares her views. Photo Credit: JRP.

rape and its implications on definitions of gender-based violence and gender justice. Though data on male rape is uncommon, research conducted by Lara Stemple at the University of California and Kampala-based institution the Refugee Law Project suggests that male rape is more common in Uganda than many organizations working in this field are willing to admit.⁸ The fact that international human rights law at present leaves out men in nearly all instruments designed to address sexual violence⁹ is cause for concern and requires urgent review.

³ Okello, M. and L. Hovil. "Confronting the Reality of Gender-based Violence in Northern Uganda." In *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol.1, 2007, pgs. 433-443.

⁴ United Nations. 1993. *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women: General Assembly Resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993 (A/RES/48/104)*. Article 1.

⁵ *The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action*. Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing, China. 4-15 September 1995 (DPI/1766/Wom), paras. 114-116.

⁶ Spees, Pam. 2004. *Gender Justice and Accountability in Peace Support Operations: Closing the Gaps*. International Alert, pg. 9. Available from <http://www.gbv.ie/wp-content/uploads/2007/12/10-gender-justice-and-accountability-in-peace-support-operations-closing-the-gaps.pdf>.

⁷ Valji, Nahla. 2007. "Gender Justice and Reconciliation." In *Dialogue on Globalization*. Occasional Papers, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. No. 35, November 2007.

⁸ See Stemple, Laura. 2009. "Male Rape and Human Rights." In *Hastings Law Journal* Vol. 60: 605; Refugee Law Project. 2008. "Gender against Men." Documentary.

⁹ Storr, Will. 2011. "The rape of men." In *The Guardian*. Available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/jul/17/the-rape-of-men?INTCMP=SRCH>

Gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict in Northern Uganda

The more than two decades of conflict in Northern Uganda had different effects on women, men and children across the region. Men lost their roles as breadwinners and providers of their families as a result of the destruction of local livelihoods. As a result of tactics such as rape and mutilation used by perpetrators, many women were impregnated and traumatized, and many more were infected with HIV and ostracized from their communities due to the stigmatization of rape victims. Many of these women bear physical marks of beatings and mutilations as well as the emotional scars of having experienced human rights violations either directly or indirectly. Women and vulnerable groups such as children

were among the primary victims of direct attacks on the civilian population by the rebel forces; they also generally bore the so-called “collateral damage”¹⁰ – the

killing or maiming

of civilians as a result of military attacks. The destruction of healthcare facilities as a result of the war meant that women were left to fend for themselves after having experienced rape, mutilation, beatings, possible HIV infection and psychosocial trauma. This situation exists relatively unchanged to this day.

Research shows that before the conflict, the status of women in society in Northern Uganda was subordinate to that of men.¹¹ During the conflict, the situation of women was aggravated by their extreme socio-economic vulnerability, the disintegration of traditional forms of community-level support and the lack of institutions able to safeguard the rights of Ugandan citizens. As such, women, children and other vulnerable groups were particularly susceptible to various forms of violence. A significant proportion of those

¹⁰ See *Lives Blown Apart: Crimes against Women in Times of Conflict*. Amnesty International Report, 2004. Available from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ACT77/075/2004/en/944d7605-d57f-11dd-bb24-1fb85fe8fa05/act770752004en.pdf>.

¹¹ See “Changing Fortunes: Women’s Economic Opportunities in Post-War Northern Uganda.” In *Investing in Peace*. Issue No. 3. International Alert. September 2010.

abducted by the LRA were women and children, many of whom were forced to actively participate in the rebellion as combatants, porters and as wives to their male captors. Abductees were forced to endure and witness rape, gang rape and defilement, physical and psychological torture, exploitation and reproductive violence.

In camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs), where millions of Ugandans were forced to live for over ten years, vulnerable groups suffered further economic and emotional hardship as a result of the loss of family members and the destruction and loss of homes and livelihoods. As men joined the armed forces or were abducted by rebel groups, they became unable to perform their traditional roles as the family heads and as breadwinners. As in conflicts around the world, the conflict in Northern Uganda destabilized traditionally held gender identities and assumptions. Women and children across Northern Uganda were forced to take on new and additional roles which had traditionally been reserved for men. Recent studies put the proportion of households headed by women as a result of war as high as 45 percent in Acholi and 69 percent in Lango districts.¹²

JRP’s field observations since 2006 have explored the unique challenges facing formerly-abducted young women and their children upon return from

captivity.¹³ These challenges include stigmatization as a result of young mothers and their children being judged as perpetrators and ‘bush wives’ and are thus distanced from their own communities; economic insecurity and access to land since women are economically marginalized in African societies, and it is worse for those who experienced abduction; the identity of children born in captivity, since in Northern Ugandan culture a child’s spiritual and material well-being is the responsibility of the paternal clan; and finally, lack of accountability and acknowledgement of crimes committed. Young women also revealed that upon return, many were kept in the army reception centers for long periods of time with the motive of turning them into ‘wives’ for the soldiers. In other cases, those who were believed to be former ‘bush wives’ to LRA commanders were kept for even longer periods of time in order to provide the Ugandan forces with intelligence information.

¹² *Ibid.*, pg. 18.

¹³ See *Young Mothers, Marriage and Re-integration in Northern Uganda: Considerations for the Juba Peace Talks*. Liu Institute for Global Issues and Gulu District NGO Forum. JRP Field Note No. 2, September 2006.



Participants in the Teso consultation listen to a presentation on gender justice. Photo Credit: JRP.

While men are viewed as the key protagonists and the main actors of conflict in Northern Uganda, men and boys have also been the targets of sexual and gender-based violence. JRP's documentation of the Atiak massacre of April 1995 reveals that in some instances the LRA carried out gender-based killings and torture targeted towards males (both men and boys).¹⁴ The online periodical the *Acholi Times* has also documented what is still considered a major taboo in Ugandan society: the rape of men by soldiers commonly referred to as *tek gung* (an Acholi word describing the act of sodomy).¹⁵ During a JRP community dialogue in Atiak in August 2010, community members recalled an incident of *tek gung* in Agung village, Anaka sub-county, Nwoya district, where a male rape victim who was alleged to have been sexually abused by State security forces committed suicide rather than living with the shame and stigma he would inevitably face.¹⁶



Participants during the Acholi/Lango consultation in Gulu. Photo Credit: IJR.

Efforts toward Furthering Gender Justice in Uganda

In the realm of international law there has been considerable progress in recent years towards acknowledging and addressing women's experiences of sexual violence during conflict. The *Rome Statute* which established the International Criminal Court recognizes sexual crimes as well as persecution on the grounds of

gender. *United National Security Council Resolution 1325* deals specifically with justice for women's experiences of violence during conflict.¹⁷ Similarly, the 2004 Report of the UN Secretary General, *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies*, confirms the need for women to be included in all initiatives which seek redress for past violations.¹⁸

Uganda has made strides in passing laws prohibiting gender-based violence. Read from a gendered perspective, the 1995 *Constitution of the Republic of Uganda* has a number of articles which safeguard women's rights: to recognise the significant role that women play in society (Article 15); to provide equality and freedom from discrimination (Article 21); to protect from deprivation of property (Article 26); the entitlement of both women and men to equal rights during and after marriage (Article 31); state-mandated affirmative action in favour of groups marginalized on the basis of gender or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom (Article 32); the provision of facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realize their full potential and advancement (Article 33(2)); to accord women affirmative action for purposes of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom (Article 33(5)). The *Constitution* also mandates Parliament to make laws for the establishing of an Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) for the purpose of giving effect to constitutional mandates expressed therein.

Under Penal Code Cap. 120 in Ugandan statutory law, some acts of sexual violence against women are legally viewed as crimes against morality. The definitions of rape, defilement, prostitution, and other sexual offences fall under the offences against morality section of the *Penal Code Act* and not as crimes against the physical and mental integrity of women and girls. In addition, Chapter 23 of the *Act* provides punishment for common assault and grievous bodily harm as a misdemeanour liable to imprisonment for five years. Uganda amended its *Penal Code Act* in 2007, expanding the definition of defilement. Section 129 provides the death penalty for the offence of aggravated defilement, such as when the offender is HIV positive.

¹⁴ See *Remembering the Atiak Massacre: April 20th 1995*. Justice and Reconciliation Project. Field Note No. 4, April 2007.

¹⁵ See "'God helped me,' says Acholi elder raped by NRA." In *Acholi Times*. 23 June 2011. Available at http://www.acholimes.com/culture/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=14&Itemid=25

¹⁶ Community dialogues are routinely conducted by JRP in villages in Northern Uganda in order to solicit the views of war-affected community members on selected issues of public concern.

¹⁷ *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*, 31 October 2000.

¹⁸ *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies*. Report of the United National Secretary General. S/2004/616*, 23 August 2004.

Key Findings of the Consultations

The Effects of Gender-based Violence on Victims and Survivors

As the JRP-IJR consultations revealed, many victims of gender-based violence in Northern Uganda live with the experience of multiple trauma as a result of having experienced violence themselves, having witnessed it in their family or community and having lost property and their homes. Gender-based violence has acute physical, psychological and social consequences for those who experience and witness it. Survivors experience deep psychological trauma, depression, terror, guilt, shame and loss of self-esteem. They are rejected by spouses and families, ostracized and subjected to further exploitation and punishment. In many communities across Northern Uganda, survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) have become socially marginalized as a result of being viewed as unmarriageable or without virtue or honour. Most survivors of GBV who witness social marginalization are unlikely to report the incidents themselves and are hence unlikely to receive the support they need. Survivors of GBV are often forced to endure unwanted pregnancy or an unsafe abortion, sexually transmitted diseases (including HIV), sexual dysfunction, trauma to the reproductive tract, and chronic infections leading to pelvic inflammatory disease and infertility. The psychological effects of rape are severe and often persist for years, especially where psychological or psychosocial support is nonexistent. Immediate psychological effects include unpredictable and intense emotions, jumpiness, nightmares, difficulty concentrating and affected appetite. Survivors often suffer from Post-traumatic Stress Disorder following a rape, which in turn gives rise to depression, low self-esteem and may lead to victims having suicidal tendencies. Research shows that survivors of sexual violence are more likely to put themselves at increased risk of abuse later in life, are more likely to engage in unprotected sex and have multiple partners and to abuse substances. All of these behaviours also place them at increased risk of HIV infection.¹⁹

Access to Justice

Women and men face insurmountable obstacles in obtaining justice after having experienced gender-based violence in Northern Uganda. This is related to fear of repercussion from perpetrators, high illiteracy rates which deter people from seeking support within a complicated legal framework and the financial and logistical implications of accessing limited and under-resourced legal institutions.²⁰ More so, the high levels of stigma attached to rape survivors deter victims from seeking any form of medical or legal assistance.

Coupled with the above, women lack sufficient information about their rights as well as ways in which to seek

accountability for crimes they suffered. This is compounded by a weak legal system unable to deal with sensitive cases. As a result, victims explained that most cases of GBV are negotiated at the community level, which in most cases means that if cases are taken to the police, the perpetrator will return to the community. High levels of poverty in the affected areas make it difficult for victims to follow-up cases with the police or in the courts. Often, the cost of travelling to urban centres where such services are available is too high and single mothers or widows struggle to leave their children behind unaccompanied. Rape victims in particular expressed concern at having to relive painful and traumatic events at police stations ill-equipped to deal with intimate and highly sensitive issues that require confidentiality and careful management. Uneducated and vulnerable, women fear to claim their rights and defend themselves in a system they do not fully comprehend.

Gender and Transitional Justice

Men and women who attended the JRP-IJR victim consultations underscored the importance of mainstreaming gender justice at all stages of transitional justice processes. They were emphatic on the inclusion of vulnerable groups, such as women, children, elderly and youth, in the development of truth-seeking, traditional justice and reparations processes. This, they argued, would ensure that all segments of the community benefit equally from processes aimed at healing communities and seeking accountability for crimes committed in the past.

Challenges Faced by Victims

The challenges faced by those who have experienced GBV are vast. In many instances, those who experienced GBV also experienced the death of family members, the loss of property, displacement and environmental trauma related to living in the midst of conflict. Participants at the JRP-IJR consultations, many of whom had experienced GBV first-hand, highlighted the break-up of marriages and the resulting negative impact on children as well as family and community relations. The lack of adequate health care for victims of rape and GBV who experienced psychosocial trauma, who suffer from traumatic fistula and who are HIV positive was also highlighted. Victims explained that they face a lot of stigma in the community. They explained that this stigma, when unaddressed, is often carried further by children who are then ostracized at school and in their communities.

Gender and Reparations

With regard to reparations, our consultations established that the conflict destroyed what little infrastructure was available at its outset. Educational services were limited in the IDP camps. As a result, welfare indices for Northern Uganda have not improved at the same pace as the rest of the country. Income poverty remains significantly high, literacy rates are low and access to basic services is poor.

¹⁹ De Waal, Alex, et. al. 2009. *HIV/AIDS, Security and Conflict: New Realities, New Responses*. AID, Security and Conflict Initiative.

²⁰ *Lives Blown Apart: Crimes against Women in Times of Conflict*, supra note 10.

This, therefore, requires that gender mainstreaming should form part of a reparations process. For example, female participants at the consultations expressed the need to ensure that reparations packages meant for women are managed by women themselves. They gave examples of scenarios where financial matters in rural families are usually managed by men, where men often sign for and receive rehabilitation packages which are meant for women and then exclude female beneficiaries. This is especially the case where a man has multiple wives and reparations received are not given to those they are intended for.

Recommendations

The Juba Peace Talks between the Ugandan government and the LRA outlined a broad agenda on accountability and reconciliation. The *Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation* states that "...a gender-sensitive approach shall be promoted and in particular, implementers of this Agreement shall strive to prevent and eliminate any gender inequalities that may arise."²¹ It further calls on implementers of the agreement "to recognize and address the special needs of women and girls; to ensure that the experiences, views and concerns of women and girls are recognized and taken into account; to protect the dignity, privacy and security of women and girls and to encourage and facilitate the participation of women and girls in the processes for implementing the agreement."²² It is now of paramount importance that these and other commitments are translated into action and meaningful change.

Victims attending the JRP-IJR consultations perceived gender justice as pivotal to the country's wider healing and reconciliation process. As the trial of ex-LRA commander Thomas Kwoyelo is underway, the timing is ideal to actively consider the profound inequalities and injustices facing women and vulnerable groups in Northern Uganda.

In light of the above, it is strongly suggested that any transitional justice process consider the unique context and resulting needs within which victims of gender-based violence in Northern Uganda are living. Based on responses generated during the JRP-IJR consultations the following proposals are recommended:

To the Government of Uganda, through the Justice Law and Order Sector (JLOS):

1. There is need to enable and facilitate meaningful participation by women in all stages of transitional justice processes. There is widespread concern amongst civil society groups in

Northern Uganda that women as well as vulnerable groups such as the elderly, the disabled, children and orphans will continue to be left out of transitional justice processes such as truth-seeking, traditional justice and reparations. The active participation by women in all spheres of decision-making is a form of redress as well as justice and is pivotal to Uganda's democratization process.

It is crucial that the Government finds ways to involve women in transitional justice processes at all levels, so that their voices are heard and to ensure that these mechanisms benefit all Ugandans equally. In order to enable and enhance women's participation, JLOS should work with civil society organizations (particularly those working towards the empowerment of women and female victims) to develop active participation and communication programmes.

- 2. There is need to enable and facilitate gender-sensitive outreach and communication to women and other vulnerable groups.** In order to enhance participation by women and other vulnerable groups in decision-making with regard to transitional justice, a two-way communication system needs to be developed between JLOS and communities affected by the conflict. This will promote understanding and support of transitional justice processes at various stages, assist in managing expectations, while at the same time empowering victims to enjoy their rights as citizens. This can be done by communicating with the relevant stakeholders through community leaders, local civil society organizations²³ and through the media such as radio and newspapers.
- 3. There is need for the creation of a specialized gender unit within JLOS.** Victims and witnesses who experienced gender-based violence during and after the conflict in Northern Uganda have unique needs and concerns. As a result of the very personal nature of sexual violence, victims often shy away from speaking about it and testifying during judicial, truth-telling and traditional justice processes. Due to these unique circumstances, as well as the fact that issues pertaining to sexual acts of any nature are not spoken about publically in Uganda, the establishment of a special unit able to deal adequately and professionally with these very sensitive matters is of paramount importance. Such a unit should comprise specially trained staff who are able to manage delicate situations and work with victims and witnesses of gender-based violence. This unit should be responsible for the following:

²¹ *Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement*, Clause 10, June 2007.

²² *Ibid.*, clause 11.

²³ JRP maintains an extensive contact list of community leaders and local and national civil society organizations across Northern Uganda who could be contacted to assist in this process.

- Undertake capacity-building and specialized training on gender justice for individuals and organizations involved in all stages of transitional justice processes;
- Undertake capacity-building and specialized training for staff based at police stations, trauma centers, health care facilities, schools, churches, etc.;
- Provide or refer (where possible) remedial care to victims and survivors, including counselling, gynaecological and other health services, throughout the process and thereafter;
- Ensure that gender justice is included and mainstreamed in transitional justice policies, laws and processes.

4. There is need to provide adequate security and protection for survivors of gender-based violence. Appropriate measures must be taken to protect the physical and psychological well-being, dignity and privacy of survivors of sexual violence. It is important to note that survivors and victims often see their former captors and tormentors on a daily basis once they have returned to their communities. As such, the Uganda Law Reform Commission in collaboration with JLOS should expedite the process of drafting a law on witness and survivor protection and participation.

5. There is need to provide reparations as a tool for gender empowerment. As Nahla Valji states, reparations programs have the potential to empower women, address social and economic inequality and contribute to a broad social justice agenda.²⁴ As such it is of paramount importance that a national gender-sensitive reparations programme is developed and implemented in consultation with victims' groups. Such a programme can serve as a vehicle to empower women and redress past harms while at the same time serving to redress the overall context of oppression and violation of basic rights.

There is a vast need for dedicated funding to be made available through a trust fund to ensure that victims of sexual violence receive adequate psychosocial support as well as access to economic opportunities. It is important that Northern Uganda's unique gender needs are not relegated to the margins or constrained by an absence of resources. JLOS should therefore deliberately lobby to ensure sustained and long-term funding for a range of initiatives aimed at the support and well-being of Northern Uganda's victims of sexual violence.

6. There is need to audit the role of traditional justice mechanisms in a gendered manner. Local or traditional justice mechanisms play a strong and

positive role in community-level reintegration of victims and combatants as well as in driving healing and reconciliation processes. However, given the patriarchal nature of Ugandan society, some of these practices may perpetuate gender inequalities and undermine the rights of women. JLOS, with the help of civil society partners and traditional institutions, should carefully audit local practices to assess their effectiveness and impartiality in pursuing reconciliation and reintegration that respects the rights of all citizens.

²⁴ Vaji, Nahla, *supra* note 7.

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About JRP and IJR

The Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) has played a key role in transitional justice (TJ) in Uganda since 2005 through seeking to understand and explain the interests, needs, concerns and views of communities affected by the LRA conflict. JRP promotes locally sensitive and sustainable peace in Africa's Great Lakes region by focusing on the active involvement of grassroots communities in local-level transitional justice. To learn more, visit <http://www.justiceandreconciliation.com>. For comments related to this brief, please e-mail info@justiceandreconciliation.com.

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) was launched in 2000 in the aftermath of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission with an aim of ensuring that lessons learnt from South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy be taken into account in the interests of national reconciliation. IJR's Transitional Justice in Africa Programme works with partner organisations across Africa to promote reconciliation and socio-economic justice in countries emerging from conflict or undergoing democratic transition. IJR is based in Cape Town, South Africa. For more information, visit <http://www.ijr.org.za>, and for comments or inquiries contact info@ijr.org.za.