

UNAMIR

CONFERENCE ON GENOCIDE

11 AUG - 5 NOV 1995

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CONFERENCE ON GENOCIDE, IMPUNITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Workshop, Group V

Kigali 1-5 November 1995

The role and responsibility of the international community in addressing the post-genocide situation

PREAMBLE:

- The Conference recognises that the genocide which occurred in Rwanda in 1994 was a crime against humanity, and therefore implicates the international community, defined both as states and governments, and as the individuals represented by non-governmental organisations.
- The Conference submits that the occurrence of this crime in Africa engendered a silence and complacency on the part of the international community, despite clear and consistent early warnings provided to the international community. The Conference believes that this negligence on the part of the international community to act reflects the marginalisation and unsympathetic attitude to African interests. However, despite this lack of political will, the Conference maintains that the crime of genocide imposes moral and legal responsibility.
- The Conference recognises the importance of encouraging the participation of the governments of the world in the interdiction of those responsible for the crime of genocide, and urges that in this regard the agencies and modalities responsible for disseminating information concerning the genocide and its particular Rwandan context refrain from simplifications, such as constructed ethnic dichotomies, in determining the causes and circumstances of the genocide.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

I. THE LEGAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE GENOCIDE.

The Conference agrees, pursuant to Paragraph 148 of the Preliminary Report by the Independent Commission of Experts and the Special Rapporteur for Human Rights on 4 October 1994, that "After careful deliberation, the Commission of Experts has concluded that there exists overwhelming evidence to prove that acts of genocide against the Tutsi group were perpetrated by Hutu elements in a concerted, planned, systematic and methodical way. Abundant evidence shows that these mass exterminations perpetrated by Hutu elements against the Tutsi group as such, during the period mentioned above, constitute genocide within the meaning of article II of the convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted on 9 December 1948.

- Therefore, the Conference urges the international community to ensure that it observes its obligations under international law.

II. ACCOUNTABILITY AND CREDIBILITY

II.1. General accountability

- The Conference notes that the international community's abandonment of Rwanda before and during the genocide and the withdrawal of the United Nations following the events of April 1994 damaged the credibility and reputation of the international community.

II.2. Specific accountability

- The Conference notes the specific accountability of the United Nations and the Security Council during the period of the genocide, and its failure to inform the population of the impending danger. The Conference notes that the Secretary General had publicly acknowledged that the United Nations had failed at the time of crises in Rwanda.
- The Conference notes that those state Governments with specific direct and indirect complicity in the genocide, in particular the Government of France, must be held legally accountable, under international law. The Government of Belgium through its divisive colonial policies, must be held morally and legally accountable, under international law. These States must be held legally accountable, under international law, to pay compensation to the victims of the genocide and the crimes against humanity. The Conference suggests the setting up of a compensation fund to complement, and not substitute, assistance programmes already in place.

The Conference notes that the extensive destruction of Rwandan public and private property during the Turquoise Operation by the Government of France and urges that appropriate compensation be provided.

- The Conference expresses concern over the silence of the Church, which the Conference finds is both generally and specifically accountable for its role during and after the genocide.

The Conference urges the Church to take seriously its moral responsibility and to make public acknowledgement of and restitution for its role.

III. EXTRADITION OF PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE

- The Conference urges, pursuant to the United Nations Resolution 978 (1995) "States to arrest and detain, in accordance with their national law and relevant standards of international law, pending prosecution by the International Tribunal for Rwanda or by the appropriate national authorities, persons found within their territory against whom there is sufficient evidence that they were responsible for acts within the jurisdiction of the International Tribunal for Rwanda".
- The Conference submits that those state Governments which continue to aid and abet the perpetrators of the genocide, such as Kenya, Togo, and Zaire, are morally and legally responsible to institute all measures, such as the freezing, repatriation, or seizure of assets of perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda harboured within their territories, to extradite

ameliorate the consequences of the genocide, and to ensure its non-repetition within the family of nations:

- a) To develop a systematic campaign of sensitising the world community on the causes, aspects and effects of genocide. This should encourage ordinary citizens to participate in the identification and apprehension of perpetrators of crimes against humanity,
 - b) The Rwandan Government should develop strategy provide an effective leadership within the continent of Africa and all other States.
 - c) It is also urged that focal points called the “Friends of Rwanda” be established in different part of the world.
 - d) The international community should be urged to rapidly disburse those funds it has pledged,
 - e) The Government should strengthen the research projects on genocide carried out by students in the National University of Rwanda.
- The Conference suggests that this Conference constitutes a permanent body and a Steering Committee be formed to follow-up of the resolutions of this Conference.

Kigali, 5. November 1995; 18:08 h

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



Kigali, le 27/10/1995

Office of the President
Conference on Genocide and Justice
Tel: (250) - 85392
Fax: (250) - 85392 / 84390

Son Excellence Ambassadeur Shaharyar Khan
Représentant Spécial du Secrétaire Général
Nations Unies au Rwanda

Excellence,

J'ai le plaisir de vous informer que la Conférence Internationale sur le Génocide aura lieu comme prévu du 1er au 5 novembre 1995 et que les préparatifs vont bon train. J'en profite pour vous remercier pour le support matériel que vous nous avez accordé pour pouvoir réaliser cette Conférence.

J'aimerais encore une fois faire recours à vous pour vous demander s'il vous est possible de nous prêter un ou deux mini-bus pour nous aider dans les déplacements des invités durant la période de la Conférence.

Nous aimerions aussi vous demander s'il serait possible de prêter un hélicoptère pour transporter le Président de l'Assemblée Nationale de l'Afrique du Sud, Dr. Freene Ginwala, à Nyarubuye, le Vendredi 3 novembre 1995 en début de l'après-midi.

Vous trouverez ci-joint, une copie de l'Agenda Provisoire de la Conférence. Vous voudrez bien remarquer que nous vous demandons d'intervenir comme discutant ("discussant") dans l'atelier "ROLE ET RESPONSABILITE DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE A L'EGARD DE LA SITUATION DE L'APRES GENOCIDE" qui commence ses travaux le vendredi 3 novembre 1995 dans l'après-midi à l'hôtel des Mille Collines.

Veuillez agréer, Excellence, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Murigande', written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Charles Murigande
Ministre des Transports et Communications
Coordinateur de la Conférence

**"GENOCIDE, IMPUNITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY :
DIALOGUE FOR A NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE"**

"AGENDA"

MONDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1995

18:30 ARRIVAL OF MOST OF THE PARTICIPANTS ON SABENA FLIGHT

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1995

**9:00 - 12:00 REGISTRATION AT HOTEL DES MILLES COLLINES
(IN THE LOBBY)**

14:30 - 16:30 VISIT OF NTARAMA GENOCIDE SITE

14:30 DEPARTURE BY BUSES FROM HOTEL DES MILLE COLLINES

16:30 BACK TO THE HOTEL

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1995

8:30 - 14:30 VISIT OF MUGOMBWA GENOCIDE SITE

8:30 DEPARTURE BY BUSES FROM HOTEL DES MILLE COLLINES

14:30 BACK TO THE HOTEL

PLENARY SESSIONS

(AT THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENT)

17:00 - 18:30 OPENING CEREMONY AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING

- WELCOME BY THE SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

- PRESENTATION BY H.E. THE PRÉSIDENT OF RWANDA

Topic: "THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE"

**19:00 PM: COCKTAIL WITH CULTURAL DANCES
AT HOTEL DES MILLE COLLINES**

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1995

Theme 1: GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: CAUSES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Chairperson: Dr. Jose Kagabo, CNRS

8:00 - 8:15 : Dr. BERENBAUM, US HOLOCAUST RESEARCH INSTITUTE, USA

Topic : "THE MEANING OF GENOCIDE"

8:15 - 8:45 : Mr. Wilson RUTAYISIRE, ORINFOR , RWANDA

**Topic : " GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAUSES;
ITS SYSTEMATIC CONCEPTION, PLANNING AND EXECUTION
AND HOW IT WAS STOPPED"**

**8:45 - 9:20 : Dr. JEAN PIERRE CHRETIEN, CNRS, France
Dr. Alain VERHAAGEN, Associate Director, CERIS, ULB, BELGIUM
Father Octave UGIRASHEBUJA, COMPAGNIE DE JESUS, Rwanda**

**Topic : " THE ROLE AND REPOSIBILITY OF COLONIALISM AND THE
CHURCH AS CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS TO GENOCIDE"**

9:15 - 9:30 : Dr. CLAUDINE VIDAL, CNRS, France

**Topic: "THE ROLE OF POLITICS OF HATRED AND INTELLECTUALS
IN THE GENOCIDE"**

9:35 - 9:50 : Mr. FRANCOIS XAVIER VERSCHAVE, Association Survie, France

**Topic: "THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POWERS IN PROMOTING AND
ABETING GENOCIDE: THE CASE OF FRANCE"**

9:50 - 10:05 : Mrs COLETTE BRAECKMAN, Journalist, Le Soir, Belgium

**Topic: "THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEDIA IN INCITING THE GENOCIDE
AND THE IMPACT OF THE PRESS ON POLITICAL DECISIONS"**

10:05 - 10:45 DISCUSSION

10:45 - 11:05 coffee break

**Theme 2: GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES**

Chairperson: Dr. Josue KAYIJAHU, AVP, Rwanda

11:05 - 11:35 H.E. PIERRE CELESTIN RWIGEMA, PRIME MINISTER

**Topic : "THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENOCIDE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF
RWANDA"**

**11:35 -12:05: Mr. BOSCO RUTAGENGWA,
MISS. BERNADETTE KANZAYIRE**

Topic: "THE COMMUNITY OF SURVIVORS OF GENOCIDE: WHO ARE THE
SURVIVORS? WHAT ARE THEIR CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES?
WHAT DOES THE COUNTRY OWE THEM?"

**12:00 - 12:30: Dr. LAMBERGER, AMCHA, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL
Dr. PETER HALL, Physicians for Human Rights, UK**

Topic: "DEALING WITH THE MENTAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAUMA
ARISING FROM GENOCIDE: THE CASE OF RWANDA"

12:30 - 13:20 DISCUSSION

13:20 - 14:45 Lunch time

Theme 3: SEARCH FOR ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE GENOCIDE

**Chairperson: Professor Paul Rutayisire, Judge on Supreme Court
Rwanda**

14:45 - 15:10 : Hon. Martha MUKAMURENZI, JUSTICE MINISTER, RWANDA

Topic: "THE CHALLENGES FACED BY THE RWANDAN JUDICIAL
SYSTEM IN THE AFTERMATH OF GENOCIDE"

15:10 - 15:25 : Prof. Naomi ROHT- ARIAZA, Professor of Law, California University, USA

Topic : "SPECIAL (AD-HOC) COURTS AND POSSIBLE MODALITIES"

**15:25 - 15:40 : H.E. DAWIT JOHANNES, SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
ETHIOPIA**

Topic: " THE CONCEPT OF A SPECIAL PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE"

15:40 - 15:55 : Prof. MADELINE MORRIS, Professor of Law, Duke University, USA

Topic : "PLEA BARGAINING AND ALTERNATIVE SANCTIONS"

15:55 - 16:10 : Dr. Philibert KAGABO, IRST, Rwanda

Topic: "POPULAR JUSTICE IN THE RWANDAN CUSTOMARY LAW "

**16:10 - 16:45 : Mr. EFRAIM ZUROFF, Simon Wiesenthal, Tel Aviv
Mr. ALNO KLARSFIELD, Private Lawyer in Paris, France
Mr. ALLEN RYAN, General Counsel at Harvard University**

Topic: "STRATEGIES FOR APPREHENDING AND BRINGING TO BOOK
THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE"

16:45 - 17:15 coffee break

17:15 - 17:30 JUDGE RICHARD GOLDSTONE, Prosecutor for the International Tribunal for Rwanda

Topic : THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA: WHAT SHOULD WE EXPECT?

17:30 - 17:50 Prof. NAOMI ROHT-ARRIAZA, University of California

Topic: "JUSTICE FOR THE VICTIMS: COMPENSATION THE VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE AS A WAY OF FACILITATING RECONCILIATION AND ITS MODALITIES"

17:55 - 18:20 Dr. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF RPF

Topic: "THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE NECESSITY FOR JUSTICE AND THE IMPERATIVES OF NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION AND DEMOCRATISATION"

18:20 - 19:30 DISCUSSION

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1995

THEME 4: OTHER COUNTRIES' EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS FOR RWANDA

Chairperson: Dr. Emmanuel NDAHIRO, Kigali, Rwanda

8:00 - 8:20 : Dr. Priscilla HAYNER, JOYCE MERTZ-GILMORE FOUNDATION, USA

Topic: "THE EXPERIENCE OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE ISSUE OF TRUTH COMMISSION"

8:20 - 8:40 : Mrs JOAN GAKWENZIRE, UGANDA

Topic: "THE EXPERIENCE OF UGANDA IN DEALING WITH PAST MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS"

8:40 - 9:00 : DAWIT JOHANNES, SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ETHIOPIA

Topic: "THE EXPERIENCE OF ETHIOPIA IN DEALING WITH PAST MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS"

9:00 - 9:20 : Dr. FRENE GINWALA, SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT, SOUTH AFRICA

Topic: "THE EXPERIENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN DEALING WITH APARTHEID AND RECONCILIATION. THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA"

**9:20 - 10:00 : PROF. Dr. GUNNAR HEINSOHN, UNIVERSITY OF BREMEN, GERMANY
PROF. Dr. HARTMUT DIESSENBACHER, UNIVERSITY OF BREMEN**

Topic: "THE POST 2nd WORLD WAR GERMAN EXPERIENCE: LESSONS FOR
RWANDA"

**10:00 -10:20: Mr. Efraim ZUROFF, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL
Mr. Jonathan LAMBERGER, AMCHA, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL**

Topic: "THE EXPERIENCE OF ISRAEL IN DEALING WITH THE HOLOCAUST"

10:20 - 10:40: Dr. BERENBAUM, US HOLOCAUST RESEARCH INSTITUTE, USA

Topic: "THE IMPORTANCE AND HOW TO PRESERVE THE MEMORY
OF THE VICTIMS?"

10:45 - 11:15 coffee break

**11:15 - 11:35 H.E. MAJOR GENERAL PAUL KAGAME, THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF
RWANDA**

Topic : " FEW REMARKS ON GENOCIDE, JUSTICE AND NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION"

11:35 - 12:30 DISCUSSION

12:30 - 14:30 Lunch time

WORKSHOP IN GROUPS

(AT HOTEL DES MILLE COLLINES)

FRIDAY, FROM 14:30 - 18:00 (coffee break at 16:15)

GROUP I : GENOCIDE: CAUSES, MECHANISMES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

**FACILITATOR : AIMABLE NIBISHAKA
RAPPORTEUR : Dr. JEAN PIERRE CHRETIEN**

**DISCUSSANTS: Dr. TITO RUTAREMARA
JEAN CARBONARE
Dr. DEO BYANAMFASHE**

**GROUP II: GENOCIDE: MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
CONSEQUENCES**

FACILITATOR : Mrs. NYIRAMPABWA MARIE FRANCOISE
RAPPORTEUR: Dr. JOSE KAGABO

DISCUSSANTS: PROF. NIZURUGERO
Mrs. VENERANDA NZAMBAZAMARIYA
Dr. ALAIN VERHAAGEN
Hon. PATRICK MAZIMHAKA

**GROUP III: BRINGING THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE BEFORE JUSTICE:
CLASSICAL JUDICIAL SYSTEMS AND ALTERNATIVES**

(TWO WORKING GROUPS WILL BE FORMED)

FACILITATOR FOR GROUP IIIA: SIMEON RWAGASORE
RAPPORTEUR : DAWIT JOHANNES

DISCUSSANTS : JANE ROCAMORA
PROF. WILLIAM SCHABBAS
PROF. PAUL RUTAYISIRE

FACILITATOR FOR GROUP IIIB: GERALD GAHIMA
RAPPORTEUR : ALLEN RYAN

DISCUSSANTS : PROF. Dr. A.H.J. SWART
PROF. JAMES PAUL
PROF. DIESSEMBACHER

GROUP IV: ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS OF THE VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE

FACILITATOR : Dr. ROSE MUKANKOMEJE
RAPPORTEUR: BOSCO RUTAGENGWA

DISCUSSANT : PROF. ADAM CURLE
DR. ANTOINETTE COREA
HON. ALOYSIA INYUMBA

**GROUP V: THE ROLE AND RESPONSABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
IN ADDRESSING THE THE POST-GENOCIDE SITUATION**

FACILITATOR: THELESPHORE KAGABA
RAPPORTEUR: KUMAR RUPESINGHE

DISCUSSANTS: HON. Dr. ANASTASE GASANA
Mr. ROGER WINTER
AMBASSADOR SHAHARYAR KHAN
DR. A. R. TAJUDEEN

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1995,

FROM 8:30 TO 12:30 (coffee break at 10:15)

WORKSHOP IN GROUPS CONTINUED

FROM 14:30 TO 18:00

WORKSHOP IN GROUPS CONTINUED

PLENARY SESSION

(AT THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENT)

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1995, 8:30 TO 12:30

**CHAIRPERSON: Dr. ABDUL RAHEEN TAJUDEEN, SECRETARY GENERAL
GLOBAL PANAFRICAN MOVEMENT**

**RAPPORTEURS : PROFESSOR WILLIAM SCHABBAS
PROFESSOR PAUL RUTAYISIRE**

**DISCUSSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS FROM WORKSHOP GROUPS
AND FORMULATION OF AN ACTION PLAN FOR FOLLOW-UP**

8:30 - 9:30 REPORT FROM GROUP I

9:30 - 10:30 REPORT FROM GROUP II

10:30 - 11:00 COFFEE BREAK

11:00 - 12:45 REPORT FROM GROUP III a AND b

12:45 - 14:30 LUNCH BREAK

14:30 - 15:30 REPORT FROM GROUP IV

15:30 - 16:30 REPORT FROM GROUP V

16:30 - 17:30 COFFEE BREAK

17:30 - 18:30 CLOSING SESSION PRESIDED BY THE PRESIDENT

- A WORD OF WELCOME BY THE SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**
- RECOMMENDATIONS READ BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM SCHABBAS**
- CLOSING REMARKS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF RWANDA.**

RAFII

**PROGRAMME D'OUVERTURE DE LA CONFERENCE SUR LE GENOCIDE A
L'ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE DE TRANSITION
MERCREDI LE 01 NOVEMBRE 1995.**

16H00: Arrivée des Députés

16H10: Arrivée des Invités et Conférenciers

16H20 à 16H30: Arrivée des Ministres et du Corps Diplomatique

16H35: Arrivée du Vice-Premier Ministre

16H40: Arrivée du Premier Ministre

16H45: Arrivée du Président de la Cour Suprême

16H50: Arrivée du Vice-Président de la République

16H55: Arrivée du Président de la République Rwandaise

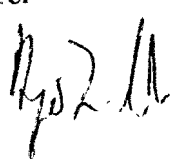
17H00: Cérémonie d'ouverture

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date: 17 October 1995

To: Mr. Wilfrid de Souza, Executive Director

Copied to: Mr. M. L. Condé, Senior Political Officer
Ms. Rafii, Legal/Political Officer

From: Diego Zorrilla, Legal Officer 

Subject: SRSG's letters to support the Government's
invitations to the Conference on Genocide

1. You requested that, following the meeting between Minister Murigande and Mr. Khan, we draft letters from Mr. Khan to support the Government's efforts to ensure participation of the following personalities to the Conference on Genocide: Mrs. Ogata, Mr. Ayala-Lasso, Justice Goldstone and Mr. Degny-Ségui.
2. It was agreed that letters to these personalities would only be sent once we had confirmation that the Government had actually invited them. To date, out of the four requested letters I have only received from the Government copies of the letters of invitation they have sent to Mrs. Ogata and Mr. Ayala-Lasso.
3. Regarding the invitation to Mr. Ayala-Lasso, I wish to call to your attention that originally the Government had also invited Mr. Clarence, former HRFOR chief, who has now been replaced by Mr. Ian Martin. On the other hand, HRFOR has been the organization that has been preparing this Conference in cooperation with the Government. Given the sensitivities that have existed in the past within HRFOR, I believe that the matter of whether to insist for Mr. Ayala-Lasso's participation is best left to Mr. Ian Martin's action.
4. I therefore attach a first draft of the letter from the SRSG to Mrs. Ogata for your consideration. Thank you.



17 October 1995

Dear Mrs. High Commissioner,

I have the honor to refer to the invitation made to you by the Government of Rwanda to participate in the International Conference on Genocide, Impunity and Accountability, which will be held in Kigali from 1st to 3rd November 1995 (copy of the invitation is attached).

In the light of the relevance of this Conference to the issue of the return of refugees to Rwanda, I am taking the liberty of writing to you in support of the Government's efforts to ensure a high-level participation of personalities at this Conference.

Yours sincerely,

Shaharyar M. Khan
Special Representative of the
Secretary-General in Rwanda

Mrs. Sadako Ogata
United Nations High Commissioner
for Refugees
Geneva

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Kigali, 16/10/1995



Office of the President
Conference on Genocide and Justice
Tel: (250) - 85392
Fax: (250) - 85392 / 84390

Madam Sadako Ogata
United Nations High
Commissioner for Refugees
Geneva.

Your Excellency,

Knowing your personal desire and commitment to see Rwanda achieving national reconciliation and peace, I am pleased to inform you that the Government of Rwanda is organising an International Conference on Genocide, Impunity and Accountability.

The Conference, which is organised from November 1st to 3rd, 1995, will assist the Government in its continued search for a national policy to respond to genocide in a manner that uproots impunity but at the same time quickly stabilizes our society.

I am also sending you a copy of the them and background briefs for the Conference. Given the relevancy of this conference to the issue of refugees in our country, we will be pleased if you could send an observer from your office in case you are unable to attend the conference personally.

From the debates and conclusions of this conference, our national policy making institutions will then draw an appropriate policy that responds to our current situation.

Kindly accept Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest considerations.

Sincerely yours.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'MURIGANDE'.

Dr. Charles MURIGANDE
Minister of transport and Communication
Conference Coordinator.



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date: 13 October 1995

To: Mr. M. Condé

From: Diego Zorrilla

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Diego Zorrilla", written over the printed name.

Subject: Assistance to the Government for the organization of the Conference on Genocide

1. In light of the impossibility to contact Mr. Gasasina (he has apparently connected the fax we gave him to his phone line, so that phone communications with him are now impossible), I suggest that we send to him the attached fax.

2. As you will see from the fax, he has neither contacted us to pick up the vehicle nor has he given us the text of the four letters of invitation to Mrs. Ogata, Mr. Degny-Ségué, Mr. Goldstone and Mr. Ayala-Lasso. Following instructions from the Executive Director, we need the text of these letters in order for Mr. Khan to refer to them in his own letters to these four high officials.

Cc: Mr. de Souza
Miss Rafii



OUTGOING FAX NO. _____

PAGE 1 OF 2

MIR NO. _____

MISC NO. _____

TO: Mr. Jean Gasasina Bureau du Président de la République du Rwanda	FROM: Diego Zorrilla Legal Officer Office of the SRSG UNAMIR, KIGALI
ATTN: Mr. Gasasina INFO:	DATE: 13 October 1995
FAX NO: 85392	Phone: 84265/66/68/69/70 Extension: 11078 FAX NO: 86877
ORIGINATOR:	SECTION:
SUBJECT: Offre de matériel en appui de l'organisation de la Conférence sur le Génocide	

Voyez s'il vous plaît la lettre adjointe.



Kigali, le 13 octobre 1995

Cher Monsieur Gasasira,

J'ai le plaisir de me référer à nos conversations téléphoniques sur le sujet de l'appui offert par la MINUAR au Gouvernement de la République Rwandaise pour l'organisation de la Conférence sur le Génocide, sous forme de prêt de certain matériel. Malgré nos constants efforts, il n'a pas été possible de vous joindre par téléphone depuis mercredi le 11 octobre.

Comme convenu, la photocopieuse, la machine de fax et l'ordinateur avec imprimante vous ont été livrés le mardi 10 octobre. Le véhicule est prêt à vous être livré depuis le mercredi 11 octobre, sans que pour l'instant il ait été réclamé. De même, un technicien de la MINUAR est prêt à examiner les problèmes que vous avez eu avec l'installation des appareils prêtés.

Je vous serais très reconnaissant de bien vouloir vous mettre en contact avec la MINUAR pour que ces arrangements puissent être finalisés.

De même, je me permets de vous rappeler que nous n'avons toujours pas reçu copie des lettres d'invitation à la Conférence envoyées par le Gouvernement aux quatre personnalités que Monsieur le Ministre Murigande désire que la MINUAR contacte séparément. Je vous serais donc très reconnaissant de recevoir, tel que nous avons accordé, copie de ces lettres dans les meilleurs délais.

Je vous prie de croire, cher Monsieur, à la manifestation de ma plus sincère considération.

Diego Zorrilla
Officier juriste
Bureau du Représentant Spécial
du Secrétaire général



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date: 11 October 1995

To: Mr. Lamine Condé, Senior Political Affairs Officer

From: Diego Zorrilla, Legal Officer *DZ*

Subject: Assistance to the Government for the preparation of the Conference on Genocide.

1. Following my note of yesterday, I wish to inform you of the following steps I have taken:

- a) Through Mr. Fontie, Mr. Abdi Farah, Budget Officer, has assured me that he delivered the requested items yesterday (except the vehicle) to Mr. John Gasasina at the President's office. The vehicle will be delivered today or tomorrow;
- b) Mr. Gasasina confirmed that the items were received, though some difficulties exist with the functioning of the photocopier. Mr. Farah is trying to solve these problems;
- c) Following my request, Mr. Gasasina will provide us today with copies of the letters sent by the Government to Mrs. Ogata, Mr. Ayala-Lasso, Justice Goldstone and Mr. Degny-Ségué.

2. Mr. de Souza suggested that the letters from Mr. Khan to these personalities be redrafted. The letters would request their participation but without entering into any details on the substance of the conference. He suggested that we attach the original invitation from the Government.

3. If you agree, I can redraft these letters and submit them to you for your approval. Thank you.

Note to Mr. M. Lamine Condé

Telephone conversation with Mr. Gasamira

1. I spoke this afternoon with Mr. Gasamira, who is the contact person at the Ministry of Transportation for the organization of the Conference on Genocide.
2. Mr. Gasamira confirmed that Mr. Ayala-Lasso, Mr. Degni-Ségué and Mr. Goldstone are on the list of personalities to be invited to the Conference. He stated that Mrs. Ogata's name did not appear in the list he had been given.
3. He also confirmed that the Government took the responsibility of issuing the invitations to these officials. Whether this had been done or not he could not confirm, but had it not been done he would see that invitations be sent as soon as possible.
4. In this respect, he stated that despite Mr. Khan's promises, the Government had not received the items UNAMIR had promised to loan to them until the 3rd of November. This state of affairs was impairing the Government's ability to organize the event.

Information E.D.

Copy to CAO

CC: LMR

DZ, 10.10.95

Note to Ladan

1. Following our meeting with Mr. Condé this morning, I believe we should clarify with the Government whether the four VIPs mentioned (HCR, HCHR, Judge Goldstone and Dégni-Ségui) have been sent letters of invitation to the conference by the Government or not.
2. The SRSG's note on his meeting with the Minister of Transport states that his "assistance in the participation" of the mentioned VIPs was requested. The SRSG has requested from the ED to "draft letters from me recommending participation".
3. To be on the safe side, I recommend that we call the office of the Minister of Transport to be sure that letters of invitation to these four people have already been sent, along with a program or outline of the conference.
4. Thank you.

DZ

Diego Zorrilla, 9.10.95

I spoke with the Ministry of Transportation and I was informed that the Minister, Dr. Charles Munigande is out of the country until October 12th. However, the contact person for this conference at the Ministry is Mr. John (Jean) Gasasira (tel. 85392). His secretary, Monique, informs me that they have not yet issued any invitations for this conference due to lack of necessary equipment.

LM
9/10/95



INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5 October 1995

FROM: Mamady Laminé Conde *Mamady Laminé Conde*
Senior Political Affairs Officer

SUBJECT: Conference on Genocide - November 1 - 3, 1995 - Kigali

A committee meeting will be held on Monday 9th. October 1995 to discuss the necessary steps of obtaining office equipment and vehicles from appropriate UNAMIR sections for this very important conference.

Also in the agenda will be a discussion pertaining to the assistance the Government requires and the implementation of the directives given by the SRSG.

NOTE TO THE SRSG

Subject: **Conference on Genocide - November 1-3, 1995**

1. As a follow-up to your memorandum of 26 September 1995, on the above subject, Mr. Condé has recommended the following team for the servicing of the forthcoming conference.

- Senior Officers to participate in the conference

Mr. M. L. Condé	Senior Political Affairs Officer
Mr. N. Ncube	Legal Officer (English)
Ms. L. Rafil	Legal Officer (English and French)

- Secretariat

Ms. L. Ouazany	(French)
Ms. A. Atsila	(English)

- Logistics

Mr. A. Fontie	General Services Unit
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2. I support that recommendation. As soon as you approve this recommendation, I shall ask Mr. Condé to convene a meeting of the team to begin work on the objectives you assigned to it in your memorandum referred to above.

WS
Wilfrid de Souza
2 October 1995

3. Approved. We must ensure full support and success of the
Conference.

Seamus?/Gean
3-10



UNITED NATIONS
ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA

NATIONS UNIES
MISSION POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA

UNAMIR - MINUAR

TO: ED

FROM: SRSG

Shaheryar Khan

DATE: 26 September 1995

SUBJECT: Conference on Genocide, November, 1-3, 1995, Kigali

Dr. Charles Murigande, Minister of Transport, came to see me in connection with the above Conference. He has been given the responsibility to organize it. The Government is attaching great importance to the Conference. Dr. Murigande made the following requests.

- a) Our full support to the Conference. I gave him our concurrence.

Action: A Committee headed by ^{Ambrose} ~~ED~~ and comprising a small team should be formed in UNAMIR to service the Conference (ED may select perhaps 1 English, 1 French speaking)

- b) My assistance in the participation of the following VIPs:

- i) High Commissioner Ayala Lasso
- ii) High Commissioner Sadako Ogata
- iii) Judge Goldstone
- iv) Special Rapporteur Degni Seguy

Action: Draft letters from me recommending representation may be put up for signature.

- c) The loan of following office equipment/vehicles until 3 November 1995:

- i) a vehicle
- ii) Photocopier
- iii) 1 Fax Machine
- iv) 1 computer with printer

The equipment and vehicle may please be made available immediately to Dr. Murigande at President's office.

Reçu le 26 SEP. 1995

ROUTING SLIP

FICHE DE TRANSMISSION

TO: A: Mr. Conde'		
FROM: DE: Wilfrid de Souza <i>WS</i>		
Room No. - No de bureau	Extension - Poste	Date 03/10/95
FOR ACTION	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POUR SUITE A DONNER
FOR APPROVAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	POUR APPROBATION
FOR SIGNATURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	POUR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS	<input type="checkbox"/>	POUR OBSERVATIONS
MAY WE DISCUSS?	<input type="checkbox"/>	POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?
YOUR ATTENTION	<input type="checkbox"/>	VOTRE ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED	<input type="checkbox"/>	COMME CONVENU
AS REQUESTED	<input type="checkbox"/>	SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTE AND RETURN	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION	<input type="checkbox"/>	POUR INFORMATION

Please bring the attached
to the attention of the
members of your team and
take necessary action
according to the SRSG's
request.

To Mr Conde'
as discussed

I propose that you be
in charge of the coordination
of our participation

Copy to the Legal
Officer: Ms Rafii
who will assist
Mr Conde'

30-8-95

WS

A l'attention de : Service du Protocole de l'Etat

De : Présidence de la République
Contact: Dr. Charles Murigande
Tel: 83649

Date : 11/08/1995

Message: Veuillez transmettre ce document à toutes les
Ambassades et Missions Diplomatiques et Consulaires
accréditées au Rwanda. Veuillez aussi envoyer ce
document au CICR, UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF and MINUAR, le
Procureur-adjoint près le Tribunal International, Mr.
RAKOTOMANANA pour le Rwanda.

Je vous ai esquissé une note verbale qui doit
accompagner le document.

This is an
important conf. we
must participate &
support it.

Seabury
27.8

EJ
R. Kant

RECEIVED
24 AUG 1995
OFFICE OF THE SRSG
UNAMIR

Reçu le 28 AOUT 1995

Le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération présente ses compliments à toutes les Ambassade et Missions Diplomatiques accréditées au Rwanda et a l'honneur de leur informer que le gouvernement Rwandais, dans son effort continue de recherche d'une réponse viable et cohérente au génocide de l'an dernier et à ses conséquences sociales, organisera au mois d'Octobre 1995, une Conférence Internationale sur le génocide, l'Impunité et la Rédevabilité.

Il invitera des juristes, des experts en droit de l'homme, des historiens et des dirigeants des pays ayant connus des violations massives des droits de l'homme pour venir discuter et débattre avec les autorités rwandaises, de la manière de répondre aux problèmes causés par le génocide. Il espère que les débats et conclusions de cette conférence aideront les autorités rwandaises à formuler une politique viable et cohérente susceptible de répondre aux multiples problèmes que confronte la société rwandaise à la suite du génocide, en particulier, les problèmes de justice et réconciliation nationale, les problèmes de réhabilitation des survivants du génocide et du rapatriement des réfugiés. *

Veillez trouver, ci-jointe, une copie de la version Anglaise du projet de cette conférence. La version française est encore en préparation et vous sera prochainement transmise avec un agenda détaillé de la conférence.

Le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération
.....



PRESIDENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE
CABINET DU PRESIDENT

N°

Réf. n° :

Annexe :

Objet :

**"GENOCIDE, IMPUNITY and ACCOUNTABILITY:
DIALOGUE for a NATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE"**

Appealing Entity : Office of the President of Rwanda

Executing Entities : Office of the President of Rwanda

Activities: An International Conference on Genocide and Justice in Rwanda

Realizing Partners: President's office, Various Government's Ministries,
National Assembly, Human Rights and Survivors of genocide
Associations, Churches.

Time Frame: October 17-19, 1995

I. Overall Objectives

✓ Provide for the Rwandan government and the Rwandan society a forum for developing a viable and coherent national policy to respond to the genocide in a manner that, on one hand re-establishes accountability and uproots impunity and on the other hand enable us to stabilise the society quickly. This will be achieved by holding an International Conference with the participation of leaders from countries which have experienced massive violations of human rights, including genocide, human rights and legal experts, and historians. The debate and conclusions of this conference will help the relevant national policy-making institutions to elaborate policies and strategies to respond to the various problems facing the Rwandese society in the aftermath of genocide, in particular the problems of the concept of justice and national reconciliation, social problems of survivors, and the repatriation of refugees. Seminars to disseminate the debates and discussions and to explain the national policy developed by National policy-making institutions will also be organised nationwide and in the refugee camps, as a follow up to this international conference.

II. Background and Significance of the Program

Rwanda has recently suffered one of the most traumatic events in world history. Within the brief period of 4 months, from April to July 1994 an estimated one million Rwandans (approximately one seventh of the Rwanda's population) were massacred in an unprecedented genocide. The entire governmental apparatus including the Army and the local administration was used to carry out the genocide and to mobilize or even compel active involvement by a large percentage of the adult population. Genocide is however a recent phenomenon in the history of Rwanda. Although Rwanda has existed as a nation for several centuries, the first signs of ethnic divisions appeared at the turn of this century when racist theories were very popular in Europe and elsewhere. We had successfully strived to build a nation and a people called Banyarwanda from many kingdoms and people. The first ethnic massacres engineered by the authorities in the history of Rwanda occurred in 1959 at the eve of independence. Ever since 1959, there have been human rights violations on massive scale which have been characterized, even in the past, as genocide. Nobel prize winners Sir Bertrand Russell and Jean Paul Sartre called the massacres of Tutsi in December 1963 and January 1964 in Rwanda, the most barbaric and systematic acts of genocide committed since the holocaust of Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War. In March 1993, an International Commission of Inquiry in the violations of humans rights committed in Rwanda since October 1990 issued a report which characterized the massacres of Bahima in 1990, the massacres of Bagogwe in 1991 and the massacres of Tutsi in Bugesera in 1992 as acts of genocide. Why have these massive human rights violations been repeatedly committed in Rwanda? Should we view these as pilot projects for last year's genocide? Why this phenomenon of genocide in Rwanda and what are its causes? Has bad governance and bad leadership contributed to the genocide? Is the culture of impunity a factor that contributed to last year's tragedy?

The high-level of societal participation in the Rwandan genocide is virtually without historical precedent. The sheer numbers of potential defendants threatens to completely overwhelm the newly-emerging legal system. Yet the new Rwandan government and the international community have, under international law, an obligation to sanction those who perpetrated genocide. Justice is also needed for the sake of healing and stabilizing the society and the necessity of uprooting the impunity. Can classical enforcement mechanisms adequately deal with these issues of bringing justice and preventing impunity, while contributing to the stated objective of stabilising the society? What strategies to use to deal with this tremendous problem? What is the experience of other countries which experienced genocide and/or massive human rights violations? Are there alternatives to classical judicial systems that can suit the situation in Rwanda? Can classical and non classical judicial processes coexist in dealing with the crimes committed during last year's genocide?

Similarly, in the area of popular culture, the new government confronts a daunting challenge. The society has been seriously affected by the culture of human rights violations leading to genocide and its social consequences. A new culture emphasizing respect for the rights of all individuals, must be actively promoted. We know that there will no peace without reconciliation. We view the process of national reconciliation as a rebirth of the nation of Rwanda where all Banyarwanda have the same fundamental rights and enjoy opportunities and equal protection from the state. This process requires us to come to terms with what has happened in our recent history. We must acknowledge that terrible mistakes and crimes were committed in Rwanda and undertake courageously to repent and correct the mistakes of the past. This will facilitate forgiveness and administration of appropriate sanctions. We come to terms with our past by understanding it. We believe that we are under obligation to keep the memory of the victims. We have no right to obliterate the memory of a crime against humanity, a crime that violates international law. It is the denial of genocide which creates conditions of its recurrence. A comprehensive documentation of what happened should be part of this process of national reconciliation. Most of survivors of genocide live in absolute poverty as a result of having lost the family bread winner, their properties and their relatives. We believe that reconciliation would be facilitated by a judicial process that include compensation for the victims. To come to terms with our past is therefore, by and large, to make room in our society both for the victims and the wrongdoers. How do we bring people to acknowledge their mistakes? How do we preserve the memory of what happened? How do we compensate the victims? What is the moral and legal obligation of the international community to assisting us in this exercise? What is a realistic expectation for such support?

III. Specific Objectives

The proposed International Conference is designed to provide a forum in which governmental and non-governmental leaders in Rwanda assisted by International experts from countries where genocide or other massive human rights violations have been committed and from human rights organizations and historians, can discuss options and alternatives to respond to genocide in Rwanda in a manner that, on one hand re-establishes accountability and uproots impunity and on the other hand enable us to stabilise the society quickly. This debate will then enrich the ongoing discussion within the government and the National Assembly and will contribute to the formulation of an appropriate national policy and strategy to respond to the various problems facing the Rwandese society in the aftermath of genocide, in particular the problems of the concept of justice and national reconciliation, social problems of survivors and the repatriation of refugees. This International Conference is envisaged for October 1995. The specific objectives of this Conference are:

1. Understand how the genocide in Rwanda was conceived, planned and carried out. Analyse the birth and causes of ethnic divisions which led to mistrust and animosity in the Rwandese community. What are the factors that contributed to genocide? What are the responsibilities? What is the psychology of a

"genocider" and that of the victim? How did the Rwandans get conditioned to kill their neighbours? What are the social consequences of genocide (orphans, raped women, widows, traumatized population: victims and victimizers alike, etc)? Did past impunity facilitate the development of genocide? What are the social consequences of impunity? How to prevent impunity? How can we make sure that genocide never happens again in Rwanda?

2. What are the obligations under international law of governments which succeed governments which have committed massive human rights violations? What mechanisms exist to deal with these massive human rights violations when those who perpetrated them enacted laws that ensures their impunity and when we have the principle of non retroactivity of laws? Compare and contrast the experiences of other countries which have gone through political transitions from regimes which engaged in gross violations of human rights to successor governments committed to promoting the respect for human rights. What lessons can be drawn for Rwanda?
3. What strategies for bringing perpetrators of genocide to justice exist in the case of Rwanda where you have a high-level of society participation?
 - a. Analyze the prosecution strategy for genocide cases in the classical legal system. How do we apply laws designed to deal with a normal situation to exceptional circumstances generated by the genocide? Stimulate the necessary legal reforms to attach criminal sanctions to violations of existing international human rights law including genocide.
 - b. Examine alternatives to the classical legal system for sanctioning participation in the genocide, with the objectives of establishing the truth, bringing people to acknowledge their wrongs and repent, thus facilitating national reconciliation. These alternatives include for example:
 - Exploring the use of Rwandan customary law
 - initiation of plea bargaining to obtain guilty pleas
 - seeking alternative sanctions (e.g. establishing work camps to rebuild infrastructure, mechanisms for the rehabilitation of participants, especially the children)
 - establishing a Special Prosecutor's Office
 - creating para-legal mechanisms such as a Truth Commission
 - c. Role and responsibility of the international community in punishing genocide. What strategies can be developed to make this role effective?

4. The importance of preserving the memory of the victims and how to achieve it? How to document the genocide? Is compensating the victims important and how to do it?
5. What is the meaning of national reconciliation after a tragedy like genocide and how to achieve it?

IV. Structure of the Conference on genocide

This Conference would bring top scholars and practitioners with expertise in the law of impunity for human rights abuse to Rwanda for a three-day working session with governmental and non-governmental leaders. The categories of individuals from abroad to be invited should include:

1. **Heads of Truth Commissions:** e.g. Professor Buergenthal, head of the United Nations Truth Commission for El Salvador, Chile's Rettig Commission, the 1986 Ugandan Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights, the Truth and Justice Commission in Haiti, Argentina's Sabato Commission and the Argentine chief prosecutor in military junta cases, the legal advisor to President Zenawi of Ethiopia, etc.
2. **Leading scholars:** e.g., Kader Asmal, South African/ANC lawyer involved in issues of impunity associated with the former South African government; James Paul, first dean of law school founded in Ethiopia and expert on the use of imposing criminal sanctions for violations of international human rights law; Cherif Bassiouni, law professor at De Paul University in Chicago, Illinois and on the Commission of Experts in the former Yugoslavia, William Shabas, Professor of law at Quebec University, etc.
3. **Directors of major human rights NGO's:** e.g., Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch/Africa, International Human Rights Law Group, International League for Human Rights, La Federation des Droits de L'Homme, Rakia OMAR of Africa Rights, Gasana Ndobu of Coalition pour les Droits de l'Homme au Rwanda, etc.
4. **Historians and World Leaders** who have studied or followed the recent history of Rwanda and can help us understand what went wrong in Rwanda's society: e.g. Jean-Pierre Chretien and Claudine Vidal, Researchers at the CNRS, Luc De Heusch and Alain Veraegen, Professors at ULB, Brussels, H.E. Julius Nyerere, Former President of Tanzania, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr. Salim A. Salim, Secretary General of OAU, Mrs. Machel, etc.

5. **Experienced people in preserving the memory of genocide victims:** e.g. Eli Wiesel and/or Mark Talisman, initiators and respectively former Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Washington Holocaust Museum, etc.
6. **People who have experience in hunting down Nazis:** e.g. Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, responsible of doggedly pursuing hidden Nazis in Latin America and in Europe and who are responsible for finding and bringing Klaus Barbie to the bench of justice. Michael Wolfe, David Maxwell and Alan Ryan, former members of the Office of Special Investigations of the Department of Justice, an office charged with seeking out and deporting Nazis living in the United States, etc.
7. **The United Nations specialized Commissions:** e.g. the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the UN Special Rapporteur on Impunity, the UN Special Rapporteur on Civil Compensation for Gross Human Rights Violations, the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions and/or the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Prosecutor for the International Tribunal for Rwanda, etc.

The Rwandan invitees would include:

1. the Minister of Justice
2. the Minister of Social Affairs
3. the Minister of Internal Affairs
4. the Minister of the Family and Women's Affairs
5. the Minister of Youth and Cooperatives
6. the speaker of the National Assembly
7. three representatives from the National Assembly
8. the chef de cabinet, President's office
9. the chef de cabinet, Vice President's office
10. the chef de cabinet, Prime Minister's office
11. the chef de cabinet, Ministry of Rehabilitation
12. the deputy chief of staff of Gendarmerie
13. representative of the National University, IRST and Grand Seminar
14. representative of Rwandan legal practitioners
14. representative of local human rights group
14. president of the RPF's Human Rights Commission
15. representatives of the Rwandan Churches (Catholic, Protestant, Muslim)
16. two representatives of associations of survivors of genocide

In general, the format of this conference would resemble that of a working group. First, there would be short presentations by the foreign and Rwandan participants on specific topics. These presentations would be followed by a focused discussion on each topic. At the end of each discussion, a summary of the group's conclusions would be drawn up. These conclusions would be compiled at the end of the three days

to produce a brief position paper with proposals for follow-up. It is expected that these discussions will help the Rwandan policymakers (National Assembly and Government) develop a comprehensive and coherent policy and strategy for a national response to the genocide and its social consequences notably the problem of justice, the social problems faced by the survivors and the problem of refugees.

The conference would be limited to a small, select group of Rwandan leaders and foreign experts, of somewhere between 40 to 50 participants. It could be held as retreat, if possible, in a location away from the capital to remove Rwandan participants from their busy routines. This more removed, less formal setting for the three days of the seminar, we believe, would facilitate more social and spontaneous exchange among the participants. If a remote location cannot be found, the conference will be held in a Hotel, in Kigali. The discussions and speeches (it is expected that the President, Vice-President and Prime Minister of Rwanda will address the conference at various points) at the conference could be taped and also broadcast live by Radio Rwanda to help stimulate public interest and debate on these issues.

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