

**THE STATUS
OF
HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS
IN
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

The International Human Rights Internship Program

and

The Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights

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PREFACE

The Status of Human Rights Organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa is the result of a very rewarding collaborative effort that included a large number of human rights activists and organizations. The project was undertaken at an historic moment for human rights protection in sub-Saharan Africa, following the emergence over the last several years of a large number of human rights organizations in the region. It was an appropriate moment to try to discern patterns or trends in these developments.

The Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights and the International Human Rights Internship Program (IHRIP) are the project sponsors, but the bulk of the work behind the report fell on the shoulders of the nine individuals who served as project researchers. Each country report was written by the researcher whose name appears at the end of the report. The first several sections of the Overview were written by one of the researchers, Richard Carver, and the last section, on training resources, by IHRIP staff. The Overview as a whole reflects discussions between researchers and project sponsors both prior to and following research travel.

The direct participants in the project--the sponsors and researchers--have already learned and gained a great deal from this effort. Through this report we have an opportunity to share the information gathered and analyzed by researchers with human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. The many organizations with which researchers met were invariably hospitable and generous with their time, and we are thankful to them. Our greatest hope with respect to this report is that it will assist these and other human rights organizations in the region to get a fuller sense of the bigger picture within which their critical, day-to-day work fits, and facilitate their being in touch with other organizations in the region that work in areas of particular interest to them. We also hope it will promote a dialogue between the human rights organizations and donors, creating greater understanding by and concerned participation on the part of donors. Finally, we hope and expect that the report will improve the work of the two sponsoring organizations, especially when it comes to the provision of training.

This report is not intended to be a comprehensive inventory of human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. Due to resource constraints we were not able to include in the project all of the countries in the region. However, since human rights organizations in the region have difficulty communicating with each other because of language barriers reflecting the countries' varying colonial pasts, we made a particular effort to ensure that anglophone, francophone and lusophone countries were all represented, and that the report would be available in both French and English. Because of limited resources, researchers could also visit each country for only a limited period of time and were generally unable to meet with all of the human rights organizations in a country. Thus, this report should thus be understood as presenting something more in the nature of a "big picture", a broad overview, rather than a detailed survey. To extend the metaphor, the report can be seen as a "snapshot", a quick picture of the countries and organizations taken at a specific point in time--between November 1993 and March 1994, the period during which researchers travelled to the various countries. Needless to say, the situation has already changed significantly in some of these countries, most notably South Africa and Rwanda.

We will distribute the report not only to national organizations in sub-Saharan Africa, but also to other international donor agencies and NGOs. A number of these organizations and institutions were helpful to the project, particularly in the preparatory stages when we were gathering preliminary information about organizations in different countries in sub-Saharan Africa. We appreciate their assistance and are sending the report to them in the hope that it will provoke some serious discussion and initiatives on a number of the critical issues identified in the report.

As project sponsors we owe our greatest thanks to the nine very competent researchers who, out of a deep commitment to the development of human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa, have given generously of their time, energy and focused attention throughout the past year. They have worked in a collaborative and good-humored spirit that has been a privilege to experience. Although this report is a collective effort, each researcher has assumed responsibility for the accuracy of country reports to which his or her name is attached.

The researchers are:

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We are also grateful to Danida which provided funding to support IHRIP staff work and travel on the project.

We look forward to learning about your reactions to and comments on the report.

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OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Human rights activism in Africa is long-standing. For decades concerned individuals, including lawyers, journalists, trade unionists and members of religious organizations, have monitored and reported upon human rights violations, often in the most hazardous of circumstances. However, what is new for many African countries is the emergence in recent years of open and self-professed human rights organizations. Especially since the late 1980s, these voluntary associations of citizens have taken on the task of monitoring abuse of human rights, educating the people about their rights under national and international law, and making recommendations to governments about how to improve their protection of human rights.

It has become a truism to refer to the democratic changes which have swept across Africa, particularly since the end of the Cold War, and the consequent increase in space for the institutions of civil and popular society--not only human rights organizations, but also political organizations, trade unions, women's organizations, law societies and others. This has been the pattern in countries as widely varied as Benin, Ethiopia, Malawi and Zambia.

However, this process of democratization is only one pattern. At the other extreme are countries such as Rwanda and Angola, where nascent human rights organizations are unable to function in situations of total political breakdown and civil war. In Liberia and Mozambique, which are shakily emerging from civil wars involving gross human rights abuses, organizations still face enormous obstacles--not least the fear that, like Rwanda and Angola, these countries might slip back into uncontrolled violence. In other countries, such as Kenya and Senegal, where civil society has a stronger history, human rights groups are nevertheless firmly restricted from monitoring serious political violence and human rights abuses.

On the other hand, in a few countries, notably South Africa and Zimbabwe, human rights organizations date from earlier than the post-Cold War era. One South African organization, for example, was founded in 1955. It is probable that in these two instances the peculiar contradictions of a white settler society obliged repressive governments to allow a certain political space for their opponents within the white community, in order to validate their claims to be bastions of western democracy. Political and human rights activists were able to take advantage of that space to develop stronger organizations of civil society than was possible in most of Africa which moved fairly rapidly from repressive colonial rule to authoritarian one-party states or military dictatorships.

Thus it should be apparent that although many African human rights NGOs are of recent origin, they have varying histories and operate in different circumstances. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to try to identify some of the common issues facing African human rights NGOs. However, it should be read with the proviso that the organizations themselves differ considerably. Although in many countries respect for human rights has improved in the past five years or so and human rights activists work in a much more favourable environment, this is far from being the dominant trend. Apart from the extreme examples of Rwanda and Angola, respect for human rights and the environment for civil society is weak in a large number of other countries of sub-Saharan Africa, from Mauritania and Chad, through Zaire and Burundi to Swaziland and Lesotho. In many instances human rights groups are able to make sophisticated plans for the future, confident of foreign funding and a growing professional staff, but for many others the future is shaky. The international community still owes these human rights organizations an elementary duty of solidarity in order to safeguard their very existence.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

The transition to a more democratic political environment in some African countries clearly provides human rights organizations with new opportunities. However, it also forces many to redefine their role in relation to political parties. In the past, when opposition political parties were unable to function, the line between political and human rights criticism of the government became blurred or totally obscured. As the transition has taken place, many human rights activists have emerged as prominent figures within political parties--often, of course, a political party which comes to power in democratic elections. Thus human rights groups are being forced in a

number of countries--for example South Africa, Malawi and Zambia--to define their mandates more closely in order to underline the politically impartial nature of their work. In some other countries, this division between active political engagement and human rights work has been less successfully negotiated.

In other countries--Rwanda, Angola, Chad and Somalia are among the most glaring examples--African human rights monitors continue to try to function under the old conditions of extreme repression. Many other countries fall into a middle category in which human rights activity is tolerated but activists are constantly harassed and operate under difficult conditions.

In a small number of countries--Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia and lately Rwanda--the local state has almost ceased to exist and most of its functions have been assumed by intergovernmental agencies. In a number of other countries--for example, South Africa until recently--there is a strong presence of intergovernmental organizations involved in seeking reconciliation or assisting in political transition. However, these intergovernmental bodies have themselves become political actors and need to be subjected to scrutiny and independent monitoring. United Nations troops in Somalia and the West African peacekeeping force in Liberia (ECOMOG), for example, have both been accused of serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, while the UN forces in Mozambique are also alleged to have committed abuses against the civilian population. At the same time, it is unclear who monitors these bodies or by what standards they are to be judged; the UN in Somalia has indicated that it does not consider itself to be bound by the Geneva Conventions, and in Liberia, it has been difficult for local human rights groups to criticize ECOMOG because it is seen as the main guarantor of their security.

These brief examples underline the variety of political contexts within which African human rights groups operate. The economic environment is in many respects more uniform. The continent is in a deep economic crisis resulting from declining terms of trade, a growing burden of debt and overpopulation. The measures taken to address this crisis--usually consisting of some form of "structural adjustment"--carry enormous social costs which are met by the poorest sections of society. In most African countries, as a result of the strong tendency of international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to dictate the political agenda, both government and opposition parties support structural adjustment measures and effectively abdicate responsibility for economic policy-making to the IFIs. One of the consequences of this abdication is that political parties offer the population no alternatives among which to choose with respect to economic policy. In the absence of such choices, parties tend to draw support on the basis of factors such as regional and ethnic affiliations.

In addition, the international political consensus--which is echoed by many African human rights groups--links together the introduction of multi-party political systems, respect for human rights and free market economics under the general heading of "good governance". In practice movements for political change and respect for civil and political rights in countries such as Zambia and Nigeria have often been stimulated by the failure of the state to enforce economic and social rights. However, the explicit linkage of human rights to a single economic doctrine impedes African rights groups from addressing the impact of structural adjustment policies from the perspective of social and economic rights. It is not that human rights groups should align themselves with a single alternative view, but rather that they should take as their starting point the human impact of any policy. Thus a vital aspect of their work has to be monitoring the impact of economic policies on the economic and social well-being of the population. The human rights movement risks becoming marginalized if it is unable to address issues of such primordial importance.

Two broad exceptions can be identified where human rights organizations have analysed and campaigned on social and economic issues from a rights perspective. One is South Africa where, for peculiar historical reasons, issues such as housing, pensions, education and land are seen as central elements in the struggle for human rights. The other is the many African organizations campaigning for women's rights, which have generally been equally active on political/legal rights and social and economic issues. It was our observation that in this--as in other areas--the African women's movement can offer important lessons to the broader human rights community.

SOME ISSUES FACING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS

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The purpose of this section is to identify some of the particular human rights issues confronting organizations in a number of African countries in the present context of political transition and increased international interest in human rights. The section is not intended to be an inventory of all such issues, but instead an analysis of a few that pose particular problems or challenges to African NGOs.

Many African countries are plagued by political violence, which creates enormous difficulties for the work of human rights organizations. In an increasing number of cases this violence is instigated by government agencies and carried out by surrogate bodies. In part, the intention is to evade detection by human rights monitors, both local and national. It is perhaps the flip side of the somewhat unwilling transition which many African governments have made to multi-party political systems. By presenting violence as somehow "traditional" and resulting from deep-seated ethnic rivalries, African governments succeed both in pandering to the common Western caricature of the "dark continent" and in evading responsibility for their own actions.

The very characterization of such abuses as "violence" rather than "human rights violations" serves to conceal their real nature and carries the implication that all bear an equal responsibility for its resolution. Thus, in South Africa "the violence" was largely instigated by the government-supported Inkatha movement against supporters of the then-illegal African National Congress. It was inaccurately represented as stemming from "tribal" rivalry between the Zulus of Inkatha and other ethnic groups. In reality, as the recent elections showed, many Zulus support the ANC and the violence is largely political in nature.

In Kenya, the government sponsored members of the Kalenjin ethnic group to attack settled Rift Valley communities which were expected to vote for the opposition in the country's first multi-party elections in 1992. Many voters were disenfranchised by being driven from their homes and sixteen government candidates were returned to parliament unopposed. Yet this repression is usually referred to as "tribal clashes". The former ruling party in Malawi, which has close links with its Kenyan counterpart, attempted to use a similar tactic in the campaign for the May 1994 multi-party elections, while use of surrogate repression has also been reported in Zaire and Nigeria, among other countries. The clearest example of the potential outcome of these tactics can be seen in Rwanda, where a government which was obliged to accept a transition from one-party to multi-party rule employed party militias to harass and repress the opposition. In that case, government tactics were well documented by human rights groups, yet the international community ignored the issue until "violence" spilled over into genocide.

This new use of "privatized" or surrogate repression poses particular problems for human rights groups, not least the need to ensure that the international community clearly understands the complicity of governments in instigating violence. This will require greater cooperation among human rights groups from affected countries in order to share an understanding of these new repressive methods. Groups will also need to develop and refine their investigative techniques in order to ensure that these abuses are fully documented.

This is not the only technique used by governments to deflect international pressure. Most African governments now understand that the international community is highly intolerant of the use of detention without trial. Arresting authorities--aware of the constant refrain from human rights groups that political prisoners should be "charged or released"--increasingly respond by the use of criminal charges against political opponents, journalists and human rights activists themselves. In some countries a pliant judiciary is prepared to comply with the wishes of the executive and imprison critics of the government in a parody of due process. This has been the case in, for example, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon and sometimes Kenya. Elsewhere, criminal charges have been used frivolously, with no intention that the accused will ever be brought to court. Instead opposition politicians, journalists and others must labour with the threat of outstanding sedition or subversion charges. In the worst cases the accused are refused bail and spend months or years in prison before charges are dropped. For example, in recent years in Uganda more than one hundred people have been charged with treason--an offence where the courts have no discretion to grant bail. Few of these cases have ever come to trial.

The effectiveness of using criminal charges to punish political dissent lies in the reluctance of the international community to "interfere" in the domestic affairs of a country by criticizing the workings of its judicial system. If criticized, governments can claim that their human rights critics are "moving the goalposts" by complaining when they invoke criminal law rather than administrative detention. At the same time, legal proceedings can tie down

the domestic human rights and legal community in costly and time-consuming preparations to defend cases which never materialize.

A more positive development on the legal front in some African countries has been the recent adoption of enforceable guarantees of human rights in constitutions or through statutory human rights institutions such as national commissions or ombudsmen. The possibility of constitutional litigation or the pursuit of complaints through a statutory body both gives legitimacy to the activities of non-governmental human rights bodies and provides them with a new and potentially effective area of activity.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS NGOs

First, it should be repeated that African human rights organizations vary enormously in their history, structure and aims. For example, many have a legal emphasis and may indeed have evolved as committees of the local law society or bar association. Some—including some of the most effective—originate in religious organizations and may be able to draw upon the resources and structure of a church. Some are membership organizations, although many are not. Some have a specific and closely defined mandate, such as working on issues affecting women's health, while most have mandates that are much broader and more vaguely-defined.

The growth and achievements of the African human rights movement in a short space of time have been remarkable. If this section appears to place emphasis on the shortcomings of human rights NGOs—as identified by the groups themselves and by the project researchers—this is because the aim of the study is to help strengthen the movement.

Lack of regional coordination and collaboration: One of the principal problems is that the phrase just used—"African human rights movement"—is more wishful thinking than reality. The lack of contact and exchange of experience and materials among groups in different African countries is clearly recognized by human rights activists themselves, but is nevertheless difficult to overcome. This lack of articulation between the activities of human rights groups—"networking" in the overused jargon—could even be observed within the same country. Organizations often fail to consult with each other and coordinate their activities, let alone coordinate with other sectors of society with interests and activities in common, such as the media or the legal profession.

A particularly acute example of this lack of contact and coordination lies in the split between francophone and anglophone human rights groups. (Human rights groups in the lusophone countries have been traditionally weak—the one exception, Guinea-Bissau, has tended to fall under the francophone bloc). It is sad and dispiriting that colonial political rivalries, perpetuated by post-independence governments, should continue to find a reflection in the human rights movement. In this, as in several other areas, the women's groups have made a stronger effort than most to overcome the linguistic division.

Even where regional human rights bodies exist—such as the *Union Interfricaine des Droits de l'Homme* (Inter-African Union for Human Rights), based in Burkina Faso—they tend to be hampered by political and personal rivalries, as well as organizational weaknesses. A number of regional human rights groups were encountered in the course of the survey; the ones concentrating on women's rights tended to be the best organized, with the clearest mandates and the least blighted by personal and political conflict. It is quite clear however, that none of the groups that profess to address human rights from a regional perspective have been very successful at doing so. This is partly a resource issue, but also relates to the "top-down" or inorganic fashion in which they have developed, without first assessing the appropriate strategies to adopt in pursuing the idea, or without much prior consultation with the groups that would ostensibly benefit from the operation of a regional coordinating mechanism.

The seminar organized by the International Commission of Jurists preceding each session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights was identified by our researchers as a forum from which more African NGOs could benefit, even if just to meet each other.

Unclear goals and objectives: For many of the organizations visited, further development was impeded by the absence of defined goals and objectives. Many organizations are spread too thinly. Given the scale of the

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human rights problems facing many African countries this is understandable. However, instead of having an impact in one area, there is a tendency for organizations to take on all sorts of issues and to handle them all ineffectively. In some cases, local organizations hold themselves out as pan-African when in fact their activities are concentrated in only the country where they are based and their methods of work are not easily transferable elsewhere. Few of the organizations surveyed have much sense of planning, and to the extent that they do, it is mainly of a short-term and reactive nature. Few of the organizations either monitor or evaluate the effectiveness of their operations in order to integrate these lessons into the next stage of their operation and development. A vast number of groups define their main function as "human rights education"--a rubric under which a wide variety of activities take place. Unfortunately, the methodology and the content of many such programs are ill-defined and inappropriately targeted. A clear need exists for human rights organizations to better conceptualize and execute such educational programs, not only to ensure their relevance to the community addressed, but in order to carry them out in a sustainable fashion.

Emphasis on civil and political rights: The work of most human rights groups in Africa has tended to focus predominantly, if not exclusively, on rights in the civil and political area--freedom of expression and association, political participation, the right to be free from arbitrary detention and torture, and so on. This emphasis is perhaps due in part to the significant involvement in human rights initiatives of lawyers, journalists and other professionals whose interests and activities tend to be substantially affected by infringements of these types of rights. As mentioned earlier, however, it is essential to the future effectiveness of human rights organizations in Africa that they broaden their work to include economic and social rights. At the same time, groups that have sought to do this have often been seriously constrained by the lack of involvement of individuals--social workers, statisticians, medical professionals, economists--who have the expertise that an organization needs to be able to monitor and report effectively on these rights. In addition, many groups have the perception that donors are less interested in supporting work on economic and social rights.

Lack of national coordination and collaboration: In many countries, there is a tendency towards duplication and overlap among groups and a significant lack of coordination in their activities. While there is an obvious need for greater communication, sharing of information and collaboration, there is often, in reality, competition and a desire to dominate rather than cooperate: "Everybody should affiliate to us" is a sentiment not uncommonly heard. In this respect--as in others--it would appear that women's organizations have performed much better than other human rights organizations and significant lessons can be learned from their experience.

Urban-rural split: Most groups are based in towns--and above all in the capital city--in a continent where the population remains overwhelmingly rural. The capital cities have their own dynamics and are often not representative of the human rights issues which most people face in the rural areas or even in provincial towns. A few organizations have tried to create branches outside the capital but with only limited success. Church groups have generally been more effective in this regard--probably because they have a ready-made national network--and other human rights organizations could usefully look at this experience and modify it to suit their own aims and capacities.

Societal divisions: Human rights groups are not immune to the ethnic, racial and class divisions which affect the societies in which they operate. This is most striking in the human rights organizations in southern Africa which inevitably reflect the division of labour imposed by the racist states of South Africa and Rhodesia. Whites--and to a lesser extent Asians and "Coloureds"--have used the greater political freedom allowed them in order to become active on human rights issues. The effectiveness of the human rights movement in southern Africa will clearly be strengthened to the extent that those groups who have been most discriminated against in the societies are increasingly involved in the work of organizations.

Elsewhere, human rights groups may be perceived as reflecting ethnic biases, especially in a situation where violent ethnic conflict is a major human rights issue. Monitoring such situations can be particularly difficult if a human rights worker belongs to one or the other of the ethnic groups involved in the conflict; his or her impartiality is likely to be called into question.

In other situations human rights groups may also reflect the concerns of the dominant (and particularly urbanized) groups in society rather than marginal groups such as pastoralists, hunter-gatherers and other minorities.

Undemocratic organizational structures: Another identifiable problem across the region is the lack of internal staff processes to include program level staff, such as staff attorneys, researchers or journalists, in decision-making. Many of the organizations visited were "one man shows". Sometimes, this may be due to funding constraints, but even in the organizations with a large staff, the head of the organization noticeably dominated. In a number of groups, decisions are made by the head of the organization with no consultation with anyone at all. There is a need for groups to think about ways to strengthen and democratize their internal decision-making structures. While this is not a problem specific to Africa, it does impair the ability of an institution to grow and sustain itself because there is no investment in training a competent professional staff.

Gender imbalance: There is a noticeable dearth of women in professional positions in African human rights organizations, except for those specifically dedicated to women's issues. In general human rights organizations, women in professional positions usually focus on "women's issues". The organizations need to think about genuine ways in which they can bring women into leadership roles in the movement.

Access to funding: Lack of money for day-to-day operations is another serious problem. Every organization has funding problems, with the partial exception of those which have church affiliations. Many organizations are functioning without basic office equipment. In one organization which a researcher visited, a donated computer was sitting on the floor because the group did not have enough money to buy a table. Another group had a number of its computers stolen by the security forces and could not afford to replace them.

There is very little of a local philanthropic community to fall back upon in these countries. The Nigerian human rights community and a few others, for example, have attempted to get local support, yet it has not been enough to sustain them. It is important to note that in many cases the personal contributions of small numbers of highly committed individuals who are often hard-pressed themselves have been fundamental for maintaining groups through difficult times.

Even so, all groups, regardless of stature or length of operation, face the same problem of donor-dependency, which, even if not overtly, has a significant and growing impact on the nature, character and programs of African human rights organizations. Most importantly, of course, human rights organizations need to develop programs that take as their starting point the needs of the community they are serving. At the same time they need to be able to design and execute the programs they want, rather than those dictated by donor agencies--whether subtly or directly.

Many groups remain unaware of the various donor organizations from which they could solicit funding. Equally importantly, groups need to learn how to write funding proposals. Although African human rights groups are likely to continue to be dependent on foreign funding, they need to develop ways to facilitate this funding at the same time that they define and prioritize the human rights agenda for themselves.

Relations with international NGOs: There is a need for close links between African human rights NGOs and their international counterparts. International organizations can amplify the campaigns of African groups and offer particular skills and experience. However, many African human rights activists felt that the relationship between the two has been largely exploitative, with international organizations utilizing the work of local groups without acknowledgment. As the number of African NGOs has increased in recent years, international organizations have found themselves competing with domestic organizations for the same sources of funding. This has led to occasions when international organizations have used local human rights groups to fund-raise for themselves without consultation or involvement. We would recommend that a code of conduct be developed to govern applications for joint funding between international and local NGOs.

TRAINING NEEDS OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS

For young human rights groups there are clearly many areas where training is required. The following section is an attempt to identify some broad categories of training needs which were identified by human rights groups themselves or observed in the course of this study. The list outlines some of the priorities arising from the individual country studies; the country chapters themselves examine these needs in greater detail.

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Fact-finding, investigating and monitoring: Curiously, one of the most fundamental aspects of human rights work—the investigation and reporting of abuses—is seldom identified as a training need and is not a popular area for funding. The reason is probably that donors prefer to operate in less controversial areas, such as human rights education, and human rights groups themselves may choose to begin working in areas such as education or legal advocacy where they are less likely to come into direct conflict with the authorities. Nevertheless, one of the conclusions of this study is that training in fact-finding and investigative techniques is a high priority, since it is such an important part of human rights work and one where the skills of most African organizations are underdeveloped.

The precise need varies from organization to organization. A large number of groups could benefit from training in investigating abuses of economic and social rights. Some groups require sophisticated training in forensic techniques, while others could benefit from basic training in establishing and checking facts. In particular, the phenomenon of informal repression requires the development of advanced research techniques. Some groups have already developed sophisticated approaches and training materials for fact-finding on this and other issues, and these could be usefully employed elsewhere.

Monitoring requires somewhat different skills and approaches. This category includes monitoring demonstrations, elections, trials and media reporting.

International and regional standards and mechanisms: The potential uses of international human rights standards and mechanisms in the work of an organization depends on the susceptibility of the government to international pressure and the status of international law in the domestic legal system. Nevertheless there is a value to such training in all places. Of particular importance would be training in the application of international standards on economic and social rights. In many countries, however, there is such a lack of understanding about the potential uses of international standards and mechanisms that groups are not even aware of the value that training could have. In many of the francophone countries, for example, it is constitutionally permitted to apply international law in the local courts, but it is rarely done. In Nigeria, however, where the African Charter applies as local law, the human rights groups have succeeded in educating themselves and the court system as to its uses. In South Africa there is now some consideration of the potential use of the United Nations instruments and procedures but none of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. In general, the women's groups across Africa have tended to be more sophisticated about the uses of international mechanisms.

Litigation: There is a great and largely unrealized potential for sharing both the strategies and the jurisprudence of human rights litigation across the continent. The sharing process is easiest and best developed among the anglophone jurisdictions with a shared common law tradition. On the other hand, the francophone jurisdictions offer a great potential, especially where the constitution permits the application of international treaty law by the local courts. Generally, groups are not sufficiently informed about others' experiences, existing jurisprudence and potential strategies in order to articulate needs. Again, the women's groups offer a limited exception, having begun to share jurisprudence and information across national and linguistic lines.

Legal Aid: Although a large number of organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa provide legal advice and assistance, the demand far exceeds existing capacity, particularly in rural areas. One of the major problems facing those committed to making legal aid widely available is the relative dearth of lawyers willing and able to provide free legal assistance. In this context the use various organizations make of paralegals--non-lawyers trained to provide a wide range of advice and assistance on legal issues--becomes a key to the ability of organizations to respond to the demand they face from the population. Training needs in this area include such questions as how to structure and operate an organization using volunteer lawyers, how to ensure that legal assistance is available to rural populations, and how to train individuals to provide effective paralegal services.

Organizational management, administration and development: There is a need, in general, to strengthen management and to develop and control administrative structures. Such strengthening needs to be supported through the training and development of human rights workers, because commitment alone is an insufficient basis on which to proceed with building an effective organization. This heading covers a host of areas where African human rights organizations have serious training needs. These include: formulating a mandate and

realizable strategy for developing the organization; developing democratic and accountable forms of management and decision-making; developing gender sensitivity, both in internal functioning and in mandate and strategy; fund-raising, both domestically and internationally, and financial accounting and reporting; developing low-cost communications, for example, by electronic mail; learning basic administrative procedures appropriate to small NGOs and membership organizations; learning computer skills. This list is not exhaustive, yet the acquisition of these basic skills and methods of operation is in many cases crucial to the future development of organizations.

Campaigning and lobbying: Lobbying or the use of public campaigns depends on the particular conditions in the country and its human rights groups. Press releases, billboards and government lobbying which might be useful in a country with a relatively strong government or an engaged population would be useless in a country, such as Zaire, where there is neither. Thus strategic planning is crucial, with a particular need to identify how information can be most effectively used. Once this is done, training in specific campaigning techniques could be useful.

Documentation: Documentation, in one form or another, is a need for all groups, whether it is to document the group's own investigations or to create a resource centre serving the community. In some countries one group has emerged which is able to act as a documentation centre for the human rights movement as a whole. Training would have to consider both documentation techniques and the uses of documentation.

Popular education: This is perhaps the area in which African human rights groups have most experience and expertise, since almost all are engaged in human rights education at one level or another. Thus training needs in this area are perhaps fewer, although the continuing need for popular education in human rights is overwhelming. Sharing of information among African human rights groups regarding strategies and techniques, as well as actual training materials, would be most useful.

TRAINING RESOURCES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

This section discusses resources within the region itself which could be of potential use in enabling groups to meet some of their training needs. While there are training resources outside of sub-Saharan Africa potentially available to groups in the region, there are a number of reasons why it is time highly desirable to utilize resources in the region. Due to frequent similarities in the political, social and economic contexts within which organizations in different countries in the region work, the experience of an organization in one country in sub-Saharan Africa will often be more directly relevant and applicable to the work of an organization in another country in the region than will be the work of organizations elsewhere. In light of the limited financial resources in the field, intra-regional training also has the added benefit of cost-effectiveness, since travel between and living costs within countries in the region are often less than those incurred in participating in training in other regions.

In the context of this project the term "training" has generally been used to denote education with an emphasis on practical skills development. Since the best potential trainers in practical skills related to human rights work are the practitioners of those skills, researchers in their travels sought for the most part to identify training capacity or potential capacity in activist organizations. For similar reasons the researchers generally did not explore strictly academic programs. However, they did meet with a number of academically-based human rights programs in African countries which have an activist component in the form, for example, of clinical legal programs or internships in human rights work. Since programs such as these are often closely related to work done by NGOs outside the university and are often critical to introducing individuals to and training individuals in human rights work, these types of programs were included in the search for "training resources".

Training Formats

Training in the practical aspects of human rights work can occur in a number of different formats. These include seminars or workshops, "professional attachments" or internships, exposures or "study tours", and on-site training. This project focused on current or potential capacity to train others using one or more of these different formats. Some explanation of these various terms:

A seminar or workshop was considered a training resource if it included some focus on skill development--if,

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for example, the subject of the workshop were international human rights law and there was a focus on or practice in how that law might be used in the ongoing advocacy work of organizations.

Internships or "professional attachments" is a second type of training format. Researchers met with a number of organizations who had hosted interns and expressed mixed opinions about internships, questioning the usefulness of interns to their ongoing work. At the same time these same organizations usually expressed interest and willingness to be involved in "South-South" exchanges with colleague organizations. In reviewing researchers' findings, it became obvious that in order to identify organizations' capacity and willingness to train human rights advocates from other countries, it would be essential to clarify these apparently contradictory statements.

When organizations talked about "interns", they tended to be referring to students from universities in the U.S. or Western Europe who typically spend two to three months with the organizations. The organizations' reservations often seemed to focus on the lack of preparedness of a number of the interns, the lack of serious attention by a number of the interns to the work to be done, and the inability of interns, in such a short period of time, to make any significant contribution to the ongoing work of the organization.

On the other hand, most organizations appeared very willing to share their knowledge and skills with experienced human rights advocates from other countries in Africa or other regions of the South. While recognizing that visits from such individuals also require quite a bit of planning and devotion of considerable time to oversee the visitor's program, in most cases there seemed to be a sense that the host organization could also learn from the visitor's experience, and that this type of sharing of experience is also an important means of demonstrating solidarity with human rights efforts elsewhere.

Because of the confusion generated by the word "intern", it may be preferable to use the term such as "professional attachment" to denote such longer-term visits by experienced human rights activists. While these visits may serve a number of purposes, they can, in particular, be an important means by which an individual experiences some in-depth skill development. For example, professional attachments can be a valuable educational tool for acquiring techniques in human rights fact-finding or community legal education.

Exposures or "study tours" are short-term visits to an organization or organizations of a few days up to a couple of weeks. Exposures generally provide a visitor with an overview of an issue or area of work undertaken by the host organization. They can be very helpful in broadening the visitor's perspective of how work can be done, but due to their short duration, they rarely enable any in-depth skill development to occur.

On-site training occurs when an individual with experience in a specific area or areas of human rights work provides training to the staff, volunteers or members of an organization at the organization's locale. Depending upon the subject matter of the training, on-site training can often be the most cost-effective means of enhancing the skills of a number of staff within one organization.

Infrastructural Support to Develop Training Potential

This project has sought to identify not only current training resources or capacity, but also potential capacity. It is important to dwell for a moment on this issue of potential training capacity. Project researchers identified such potential capacity in a number of the more established organizations in the region, where individual staff or key volunteers have accumulated substantial experience in, for example, test case litigation or investigative techniques. It is important, however, to highlight some significant obstacles to the realization of this potential.

When, for example, an organization hosts an activist from an organization in another country to enable that person to develop his or her knowledge and skills through a "professional attachment", there is a considerable drain on the host organization's resources. The latter has to develop a plan of activities and work for the visitor that will enable the visitor to learn what he or she wants to learn. In order for the program to go well, the host organization also needs to assign a staff person or key volunteer to assist the visitor, ensuring that the program suits his or her interests and that the plans are smoothly implemented, answering questions the visitor may have, making any changes or adjustments along the way, and so on. In addition, to the degree that the visitor is interested in a specific staff member's work area, that staff member's time is also diverted from his or her

ongoing work.

If the experienced organizations identified by the researchers as potential trainers are to be able to fully realize their potential in this regard, they will need greater infrastructural support to enable to take on this additional work area.

There are other training formats which would require other types of infrastructural support that are currently lacking. For example, fact-finding is a critical skill in human rights work. There are experienced fact-finders or investigators in a number of different organizations in sub-Saharan Africa who could be of great help to other organizations by visiting an organization and training the latter's staff in fact-finding. However, it is generally recognized that excellence in a specific area of work does not automatically translate into excellence in teaching others how to do that work, and this is no less true in human rights than in other fields. At the same time there are currently very few programs in Africa, or elsewhere for that matter, that in any substantial way train experienced human rights workers how to translate their experience into teaching materials and training programs for others.

If the full training potential of experienced human rights organizations or individual activists in sub-Saharan Africa is to be realized, programs focused on the the pedagogy of skills training will need to be established to assist experienced activists to develop their capacity to train others. It would be most logical and cost-effective that such programs would be developed in Africa itself.

Existing or Potential Training Resources in Sub-Saharan Africa

This section discusses resources which researchers identified that currently do or potentially could help meet training needs in the major areas identified.

Fact-finding, investigating and monitoring: There is currently no regular training program in sub-Saharan Africa on human rights fact-finding. However a number of organizations in different countries have accumulated quite a bit of experience in this field. It may be timely for these organizations to meet and exchange their fact-finding experiences with an eye to developing training materials to assist other organizations enhance their fact-finding activities. Organizations with experience in fact-finding include the **Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR)**, **Peace Action**, **Diakonia**, and **Lawyers for Human Rights** in South Africa. Organizations in other countries with significant experience in fact-finding are the **Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace** and the **Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre** in Zimbabwe; the **Voix des Sans Voix pour les Droits de l'Homme** and the **Ligue des Droits de l'Homme-Zaire** in Zaire; the **Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO)** and the **Constitutional Rights Project** in Nigeria; the **Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples** in Burkina Faso; the **Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme (RADDHO)** in Senegal; and the **Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem** in Guinea-Bissau.

International and regional standards and mechanisms: Aside from international human rights courses available at universities or law faculties, there are quite a number of informational seminars or workshops run by human rights organizations at the national level. For the most part activists do not need to go beyond their national borders to secure basic information on international and regional standards.

There are also, however, occasional seminars or workshops that draw attendees from a number of countries in the region or a sub-region. The **African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies**, together with the International Commission of Jurists and the African Commission of Human and Peoples' Rights, has run a series of workshops prior to the biannual meetings of the Commission where regional standards and mechanisms are discussed. The Centre also has a program on the use of international human rights standards and procedures. **Human Rights Africa** in Nigeria has run seminars on international human rights for government officials and journalists from different countries. The **Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace** in Zimbabwe has run workshops for other Justice and Peace Commissions in other countries.

Once they are familiar with them, NGOs can make use of international and regional human rights standards in a number of ways. They can analyze national laws and practices, comparing them to the standards set internationally or regionally, and call for reform of the laws and practices to bring them into compliance with

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these standards. Very few organizations in Africa currently utilize such a strategy. Three organizations with significant experience in this regard are the **Civil Liberties Organisation**, the **National Association of Democratic Lawyers**, and the **Constitutional Rights Project** in Nigeria.

A related use of regional and international standards is in litigation, whereby shortcomings in national laws and practices are challenged in court using these standards as the yardstick. The **Legal Resources Foundation** in Zimbabwe has substantial experience in this regard, as do the **National Association of Democratic Lawyers**, the **Constitutional Rights Project**, and the **Civil Liberties Organisation** in Nigeria.

Organizations can also use mechanisms set up under regional or international human rights treaties or conventions. A few organizations have experience in submitting complaints or counter-reports to government reports to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. These include **Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme (RADDHO)** in Senegal, and the **Committee for the Defence of Human Rights**, and the **Civil Liberties Organisation** in Nigeria.

There is virtually no sustained experience among the groups visited in working with United Nations human rights bodies and mechanisms, with the exception of the experience that **Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)** has with the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Litigation: In a number of countries of anglophone African human rights organizations and individual advocates have used test case litigation and constitutional litigation as tools for protecting and promoting human rights. For various reasons these tool appears not to have been widely used thus far in francophone and lusophone countries.

A "test case" is one where the law, legal issues or practices being challenged affect or potentially affect a larger group than the individual client on whose behalf the case has been filed and where the case is filed in order to benefit not simply the individual client but also this larger group. Organizations with expertise in test case litigation include: the **Legal Resources Centre** in South Africa; the **Legal Assistance Centre** in Namibia; the **Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre** in Zimbabwe; the **International Association of Women Lawyers-Ghana (FIDA-Ghana)**; and the **National Association of Democratic Lawyers**, the **Constitutional Rights Project**, and the **Civil Liberties Organisation** in Nigeria. A number of individual advocates in these and other countries, including Kenya, also regularly use this tool.

Constitutional litigation challenges laws and practices that violate human rights through appealing to provisions in a nation's constitution. **Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre** in Zimbabwe, as well as the **Civil Liberties Organisation**, the **Constitutional Rights Project**, and the **National Association of Democratic Lawyers** in Nigeria all have significant experience in this area. The Law Society of Kenya has scheduled a training course on constitutional litigation for mid-1994.

Legal Aid: There are a large number of legal aid organizations or organizations with a legal aid component in the countries visited. Some of these have been in existence for a number of years and have accumulated a great deal of experience in several aspects of legal aid work. These include **Kituo Cha Sheria** in Kenya, the **Legal Resources Foundation** in Zimbabwe, as well as **Black Sash** and **Lawyers for Human Rights** in South Africa.

Most of the legal aid organizations visited are involved in providing legal advice and in taking individual cases to court. Another strategy commonly employed by these organizations in their legal aid work is the use of paralegals. The work of paralegals varies among organizations, some being involved in simply providing legal advice on request, others more directly involved in legal education and empowerment projects in communities. Organizations that have considerable experience in paralegal work include: the **Association pour le Développement des Initiatives Villageoises (ASSODIV)** and **AHAVA** in Benin, the **Comité Africain pour le Droit et le Développement (CADD)** and the **Centre d'Informations Juridiques of the Réseau Africain pour le Développement Intégré (CIJ-RADI)** in Senegal; the **Legal Resources Foundation**, the **Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre** and **Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)** in Zimbabwe; the **Legal Assistance Centre** in Namibia; **Kituo Cha Sheria** in Kenya; the **Legal Research and Resource Development Centre (LRRDC)** in Nigeria; **Black Sash**, **Community Law Centre (Durban)**, **Diakonia**, **Lawyers for Human**

Rights, the Legal Resources Centre and the Street Law Programme in South Africa. **The Legal Education Action Project (LEAP)** at the Institute of Criminology of the University of Cape Town in South Africa has extensive experience in training trainers of paralegals. Also of interest is A Paralegal Trainer's Manual for Africa, written by Amy S. Tsanga and Olatokunbo Ige, recently published by the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva.

A large number of organizations have developed materials for popular legal education in the form of primers or comic books in local languages. These materials are already circulating among groups in sub-Saharan Africa, and this exchange of information is useful itself to enhance the knowledge and skills of groups working in this area. An organization with extensive experience in this area is the **Street Law Programme** at the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies in South Africa, which works with schools, community organizations, prisons, youth groups, service organizations, unions, domestic workers organizations and development projects.

Work on Economic and Social Rights: In general, organizations in South Africa have the most extensive experience working on this set of rights; organizations with this expertise include **Black Sash**, the **Community Law Centre** and the **Legal Resources Centre**. Organizations in other countries include: the **Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace** in Zimbabwe; the **Comissão Católica de Justiça e Paz** and the **Conselho Cristão de Moçambique** in Mozambique; and the **Civil Liberties Organisation** and the **Constitutional Rights Project** in Nigeria.

Organizational Development and Strategy: In most of the countries visited, researchers found that there are resources to train organizations within the country in such matters as bookkeeping and other specific administrative tasks. Therefore there is generally no need for organizations to look outside their own country for training in such skills.

This is less true with respect to broader issues of NGO management, development and strategy. There are some resources along this line available to NGOs, for example, in South Africa, and church-related organizations in a number of countries in Africa use a resource developed in Africa, Training for Transformation: A Handbook for Community Workers to train their workers on organizational development and management issues. The **Gorée Institute Centre for Democracy, Development and Culture in Africa** in Senegal has run some well-organized workshops on these issues for human rights NGOs from different countries. **Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)**, headquartered in Zimbabwe, works regularly with groups on institutional building issues, as well as gender sensitivity.

CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA

ERITREA

BACKGROUND

The state of Eritrea was established on April 27, 1993 after 99.8 percent of its population voted in a United Nations-sponsored referendum to separate from Ethiopia which annexed it in 1962. The country, with a population of 3.2 million people, is ruled under a one-party system by the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF) headed by Isaias Afewerki. There are as yet no plans for elections.

In Eritrea fundamental human rights are legally guaranteed and most of the violations of human rights are non-systematic instances of police abuse, poor prison conditions, etc. However, citizens are under pressure to respect and not challenge the authorities. There is widespread feeling and official hints that dissent is "unpatriotic", especially at this early stage of political independence. At the moment, the government has suspended the activities of several non-governmental organisations, including the Regional Centre for Human Rights and Development in Asmara, on the pretext that there is no law regulating their operations. The suspension order is expected to be lifted early in 1994 when the law is expected to go into effect. Details of the only human rights group surveyed in this report are provided below.

THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS

At this stage the only known human rights group in the country is not in a position to provide training to other human rights NGO's and activists in the region, because it is still new and is presently non-operational.

Regional Centre for Human Rights and Development

History

The Regional Centre for Human Rights and Development was established in April 1992 to promote human rights and social and economic development. It undertakes education, research, communications and advocacy.

Structure

The Centre is headed by an Executive Director, Paulos Tesfagiorgis and has the following other staff: Karen Hausser, Programme Co-ordinator; Abebe Kidane, Assistant Director; a Communication Director; and an Executive Secretary. The Board of the Centre is not fully established.

The Centre is currently located in an office space of seven rooms.

Status

Early in 1993, the interim government of Eritrea suspended the operations of the Centre. Since then its activities have been limited. The Centre expects to begin full activities as soon as the government enacts a law to regulate the activities of non-governmental groups in the country. This law is expected to be enacted at the end of 1993 or early in 1994.

Programme

In 1992, the Centre held a workshop on "Consultation on NGO Policy, Multilateral Policy and Rural Credit in Eritrea". The idea of the workshop was to facilitate and promote analysis and development of NGO strategies. In 1993, the Centre set up an independent project known as the Citizen's Referendum Monitoring Group, which trained 215 domestic monitors to observe the referendum for independence held in Eritrea.

In November 1993, the Centre co-sponsored a workshop on Institution Building Strategies for Human Rights and Women's Rights Organisations in East Africa in cooperation with Canada-based Human Rights Internet and Banjul-based African Centre for Human Rights and Democracy Studies. The Centre plans to establish a newspaper and printing press early in 1994 when the government is expected to enact a press law. The Centre plans to become involved in human rights education in schools.

- Clement Nwankwo

ETHIOPIA

BACKGROUND

In 1974, Mengistu Haile Mariam led a rebellion that overthrew the monarchical rule of Emperor Haile Selassie, who had ruled Ethiopia for decades. Mengistu ruled for more than seventeen years in a most repressive manner, perpetrating serious human rights abuses under a Marxist-style government that did not tolerate dissent or opposition. This led to factionalisation of the country and a long civil war.

In May 1991, rebels led by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) overthrew the Mengistu regime. The EPRDF, headed by Meles Zenawi, and a host of other rebel coalition groups including the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the Tigrayan Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) established a coalition government known as the Transitional Government of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia consists of more than sixty ethnic groups. The Transitional Council or Parliament is composed of more than thirty political parties most of which are ethnic-based. The country is divided into fourteen ethnic-based regions, with local autonomy and police forces. The Oromos comprise the largest ethnic group and are organised around a political party, the OLF, which boycotted the June 1992 regional election in protest against alleged EPRDF subversion and rigging of the electoral process, vacating its twelve seats on the eighty-seven member council.

A new national constitution is being prepared and elections originally scheduled for January 1994 have again been postponed. Ethnic conflicts abound. The Amharas, mostly elites based in Addis Ababa, see themselves as losers in the current domination of politics by EPRDF and are challenging Zenawi's government.

Living conditions are poor, wages are low and unemployment is high. As a result prostitution is a serious problem as is the large number of street children.

Although respect for human rights is guaranteed by the Transitional Government Charter, abuse of human rights is common. Police torture of suspects in custody and refusal to grant permits for rallies are reported to be some of the human rights problems faced in Ethiopia. The independence of the judiciary is questioned. The press, however, is relatively free, operating with little hindrance from the government.

THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS

Since the overthrow of Mengistu Haile Mariam, human rights organisations have began to emerge. Following the establishment of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO) in 1991, more groups have emerged including the Human Rights and Peace Center (Addis Ababa University), A-Bu-Gi-Da, the Center for Human Rights and Democracy, Forum-84, the Inter-Africa Group, and the Anti-Red Terror Committee.

EHRCO is the main human rights group and the only organisation emphasizing human rights monitoring. All other human rights groups concentrate on civic and human rights education. Several of the groups are unfocused. There is very little coordination or cooperation, and intense rivalries often exist among the groups.

NEEDS

Needs of human rights organisations in the country include:

- i. Office equipment, such as computers, typewriters, photocopiers, fax machines, books and legal materials, etc.
- ii. Staff needs: Most of the staff working in Ethiopian human rights groups have had little or no training in human rights and often work on instinct and basic knowledge. Training of this staff would be an important contribution in developing the focus and sophistication of the activities of these groups. Staff training is

needed in the areas of report writing, advocacy skills, use of international standards, charters and procedures, documentation, computer use, lobbying strategies, internal management and administrative skills, and fundraising skills.

A-Bu-Gi-Da-Ethiopian Congress for Democracy

History

A-Bu-Gi-Da, a local word meaning the second stage of alphabet-counting or a beginning in the democracy struggle, was established in June 1991 by Abraham Abebe, a management expert and consultant who was dismissed from a government-owned management centre for his views. A-Bu-Gi-Da, also known as the Ethiopian Congress for Democracy, was set up to teach basic civic education and leadership skills to young people, for which training it charges a small fee. It recently started providing teaching in democracy and civic education.

Structure

A-Bu-Gi-Da's President is Abraham Abebe. He works with a programme co-ordinator, two secretaries and three volunteers. A Board of five members makes policy decisions for the group.

Programme

A-Bu-Gi-Da organises leadership and democracy training programmes aimed at fostering a democratic culture. According to A-Bu-Gi-Da's President, the organization's aim is to help individuals, businesses and the government create a democratic climate, through the realisation that an organisation can perform best if it is governed by a democratic doctrine practiced by a democratic leader.

A-Bu-Gi-Da has conducted about seven, two-week courses on leadership and democracy, with approximately 500 people graduating to date. Course objectives include: to impart democratic values to participants, to acquaint participants with international human rights values and practices, and to teach leadership skills. Course contents include human rights and democracy as well as leadership concepts and practices. The leadership development component includes exploration of the functions of a leader, leadership psychology, decision-making, communication, delegation, evaluation, conflict resolution, management of meetings, management of change, power and influence, team work, finance and resource management.

Ad-Hoc Committee on Peace

History

The Ad-Hoc Committee on Peace was set up in February 1991 to mediate ethnic conflicts and clashes in Ethiopia.

Structure

The Committee has a five-member Board of Directors that sets policy. Three of these Board members reside in the United States. Two professional and two administrative staff maintain daily operations of the organisation. The Committee has applied to the Public Security Department for registration.

Programme

The Committee has held approximately four peace workshops to date. The fifth workshop is planned for January 1994. The purpose of the workshops is to explore peaceful methods of conflict resolution.

Anti-Red Terror Committee

History

The Anti-Red Terror Committee was established in 1991 as a non-governmental organisation to represent victims and families of victims of torture and human rights abuse perpetrated by the Red Terror under the rule of ousted dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam. The Mengistu government launched the Terror to flush out members of the opposition Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

Structure

The Committee works out of the Special Prosecutor's Office and seeks to complement the Special Prosecutor's efforts to bring to justice past officials involved in perpetrating the Red Terror campaign. The Committee is registered with the Prime Minister's office and the Ministry of the Interior, and has 21 members who work on a volunteer basis. The Committee has an executive of seven, elected by the members, to serve for two-year terms.

Programme

The Committee's main activity is collection of information on abuses perpetrated during the reign of Mengistu and the forwarding of such information to the government's Special Prosecutor's Office. The Committee estimates that nearly 54,000 people were killed in Addis Ababa during the period of the Red Terror campaign, and is working to erect a monument or museum to commemorate the victims of the Terror. In addition, the Committee is campaigning for payment of compensation to victims of the Red Terror. The Committee is also helping to rehabilitate the survivors materially and medically, in addition to assisting them to recover their properties, such as cars and houses, seized by the Red Terror campaign.

Centre for Human Rights and Democracy

History

Set up in 1992, the Centre for Human Rights and Democracy documents human rights abuses that were perpetrated under the regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam. It works closely with the Anti-Red Terror Committee, to collect information for use by the Special Prosecutor's Office.

Structure

The Centre was set up by the Ethiopian Community Development Council (ECDC) based in the United States of America. It presently has a part-time Researcher, Mr. Fantahone, as well as a full-time Secretary, and operates from an independent office.

Ethiopian Human Rights Council

History

The Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO) was established in 1991 to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Ethiopia. Since its establishment, EHRCO has been involved in monitoring human rights abuses and providing legal assistance.

Structure

EHRCO is a membership organisation whose current membership of about 200 constitutes the General Assembly of the organisation. The General Assembly elects an Executive Committee of seven members to serve for two-year terms. It currently has a Secretary-General and an Investigator, both lawyers, as well as three full-time administrative staff, including an Accounts Officer, a Secretary and a Clerk. EHRCO's office is located in a large room in downtown Addis Ababa.

Programme

EHRCO has written five reports to date, highlighting human rights abuses in Ethiopia. Its fifth report on the human rights situation in Ethiopia monitors the government's compliance with international human rights standards. The report cites instances of extra-judicial killings, torture, disappearances, unlawful detention and other violations of human rights by the Ethiopian government. EHRCO provides legal advice to victims of human rights abuse, receives complaints of human rights abuse and intervenes administratively to seek redress. It is presently considering the use of litigation to seek redress of human rights abuses, and is planning to produce a newsletter.

Forum-84

History

Forum-84 was established in 1991 to create awareness of human rights and conduct electoral and civic education.

Structure

Forum-84 is registered with the Council of Representatives. It has a membership group of about 200 who elect the 13-member Executive Committee that runs the organisation. The Chair, Teshome Asrat, heads the Executive Committee. A full-time secretary runs the office.

Programme

Forum-84 organises public panel discussions on current issues. These discussions are conducted in public places where experts are invited to join the panel, with the public contributing or asking questions. Most of the time, these discussions are televised. Discussion topics include human rights and government. The organisation participates in election monitoring and joined in monitoring the Eritrean independence referendum.

Human Rights and Peace Center Addis Ababa University

History

The Human Rights and Peace Center at Addis Ababa University was established in 1991, 10 years after the idea was first proposed by Dr. Fasil Nahim, formerly a Professor of Law in the University and now Minister in the Prime Minister's office of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia.

Structure

The Director of the Center is Ibrahim Idris, Dean of the Faculty of Law. Daniel Wuobishete, a lawyer, is the Programme Director and the Center's only full-time employee. Its office is located within the Law School at

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Addis Ababa University. There is no Board of Directors, although plans are under way to constitute one. The Center was established by a Charter and is affiliated to the University.

Programme

The Center's aims include the promotion of human rights through:

- Teaching of human rights law and international humanitarian law;
- Preparation of teaching materials, manuals and publications dealing with human rights law and humanitarian law;
- Training of personnel through seminars, conferences, workshops and training sessions;
- Collection and documentation of human rights materials and books, and strengthening the law school library.

On August 19-20, 1993, the Center organised a workshop for superior court judges on the administration of justice in Ethiopia. Held at the Red Cross Centre in Addis Ababa, a large number of judges and lawyers attended the workshop.

Another workshop for teachers at the secondary school level is planned for December 30-31, 1993. The aim will be to develop a programme for the teaching of civic education in secondary schools. The Center also encourages research into human rights and the publication of such research in the bulletin of the Law Faculty. The Center has established a collection of human rights publications in the Faculty of Law library. It is a small collection of mostly United Nations human rights publications.

Inter-Africa Group Centre for Dialogue on Humanitarian Peace and Development Issues in the Horn of Africa

History

The Inter-Africa Group is a regional organisation working on countries in the Horn of Africa, namely, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia and Djibouti. It was established in 1991 to provide humanitarian assistance and relief to victims of civil strife and war in the region.

Structure

The Group has about ten staff, four of whom are professional staff. The Executive Director of the Group is Abdul Mohammed; a part-time staff member, Jalal Abdel Latif, is Programme Director. There is also a full-time Women's Education Officer.

The Group is registered as a civic education group with the Foreign Ministry.

Programme

Since its establishment, the Group has worked towards creating awareness on human rights and democracy issues through public seminars and town meetings. The Group also conducts radio broadcasts for the public on humanitarian issues. The Group joined in monitoring the June 1992 legislative elections held in Ethiopia.

- Clement Nwankwo

KENYA

BACKGROUND

Kenya, with a population of 25 million, achieved its political independence from Britain in 1960. Soon after independence, the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) Party made it a legal offence for any other party to exist in the country. Multi-party democracy was reintroduced in December 1991 and an election conducted on December 29, 1992. The election, won by incumbent president Daniel Arap Moi, was criticised as unfair. Although multi-party democracy now exists, the government has yet to fully adjust to the freedoms that this should provide.

Ethnic clashes, which first broke out in 1991, have emerged as one of the most serious human rights issues in Kenya. Kenya is composed of approximately forty different ethnic groups made up mainly of the Kikuyu (21 percent), the Luhya (14 percent) and Luo (13 percent). Other smaller ethnic groups include Kamba, Kalenjin (Moi's tribe), Kisii, Meru, Maasai, Turkana and Teso, who, together with immigrant settlers such as Indians, Arabs and Europeans, constitute the rest of the population.

Most of the ethnic clashes have taken place in the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western provinces and result from long-standing land disputes among the different tribes living in the region. There is a fear that these ethnic clashes are politically motivated and supported by government and KANU officials.

Cases of torture, poor prison and police cell conditions, police brutality, unlawful arrests and detention, rape, and abuse of women are rampant. Although freedom of the press is constitutionally guaranteed, and independent newspapers and electronic media operate, the government has often arrested and detained journalists or seized news publications. The government has also been accused of using the courts to deny freedom to political opponents, charging them in court with unbailable offences, even if the evidence adduced lacks credibility.

The economic and social conditions in Kenya are worsening. Inflation and unemployment are on the rise, and many people are having increasing difficulty living under the harsh economic conditions imposed by a structural adjustment programme intended to revive the economy.

THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS

The government of Daniel Arap Moi is still unsure how much freedom to permit even under a multi-party democracy in Kenya. This has created a serious dilemma for Kenyan human rights groups, who react by exercising caution in their activities. They avoid the more controversial areas of human rights monitoring and politically contentious public interest litigation. Indeed, only the newly-formed Kenya Human Rights Commission lays any claim to human rights monitoring and is proposing to institute legal challenges of government human rights violations.

Some of the groups, however, are experienced in areas of raising awareness, public education, empowerment as well as legal services and advice. *Kituo Cha Sheria* is one of the best examples of a group versed in these activities and is in a good position to provide training to other groups in the sub-region.

NEEDS

Needs of human rights organisations in the country include:

- i. Office equipment, such as computers, typewriters, photocopiers, fax machines, books and legal materials, etc.
- ii. Staff needs: Most of the staff working in Kenyan human rights groups have had little or no training in human rights. Training staff will be an important contribution towards developing the focus and sophistication of

the groups. Staff training is needed in the areas of report writing, advocacy skills, use of international standards, charters and procedures, documentation, computer use, lobbying strategies, internal management and administrative skills, and fundraising skills.

International Commission of Jurists-Kenya (ICJ-Kenya)

History

The International Commission of Jurists-Kenya Section (ICJ-Kenya) is affiliated to its main body, the Geneva-based ICJ. ICJ-Kenya has been registered since 1974 under the Societies Act. ICJ-Kenya's objectives include the promotion of human rights, rule of law and democracy in Kenya.

Structure

ICJ-Kenya is made up of approximately 160 lawyer members and has a governing Board headed by a Chairman. There are five staff, and the Secretariat is headed by the Executive Director, Christopher Mulei.

Programme

ICJ-Kenya's activities focus on public advocacy and articulation of human rights and democratic issues. The group produces publications on human rights issues. Publications include the books Law and the Administration of Justice in Kenya and Law and Society. A quarterly, The Kenya Jurist, contains analyses as well as human rights news, events and opinions. The group has organised workshops, conferences and paralegal training sessions. ICJ-Kenya played a prominent role in monitoring Kenya's recent elections. The organisation plans to begin a public interest litigation programme soon.

International Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya [FIDA(K)]

History

The International Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya Section [FIDA(K)] was established in Kenya in 1985 to provide legal aid services for women, to monitor human rights abuses against women and to analyze the status of women in law and development.

Structure

A membership organisation of about fifty women lawyers, FIDA(K) is governed by a policy-making council of nine, headed by Grace Githu, and a staff of three, headed by the Executive Director, Jean Kamau.

Programme

FIDA(K)'s main activities are the provision of legal assistance to women. Cases handled have dealt with issues such as freedom of expression, violence against women, forced marriages, genital mutilation and impediments to inheritance. FIDA(K) also intervenes administratively to secure the rights of women.

Kenya Anti-Rape Organization

History

The Kenya Anti-Rape Organization was registered under the NGO (Co-ordination) Act in 1992 to create public awareness about violence against women, particularly violence relating to rape and sexual harassment.

Structure

The organisation has a twelve-member Board that makes policy decisions. The Chair of the Board is Professor Yusuf Eray. The daily affairs of the organisation are run by the Executive Director, Mrs. Anyanzwa, who is presently its only staff person. The organisation currently operates from the residence of its Executive Director.

Programme

In May 1993, the Executive Director of the Anti-Rape Organization led a protest in front of the High Court in Nairobi over the sexual assault and killing of six school girls. Between November 25 and December 10, 1993, the organisation sponsored a seminar where experts presented papers and opinions on the psychological effects of rape on the victim. Social workers discussed the nature of cases they handled. The Kenyan Minister of Culture gave the opening address at the seminar.

The organisation also provides counselling and rehabilitation for rape victims. Plans are being made to publish a report on abuse of women in Kenya.

Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC)

History

The Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) was established in 1992 with a focus on human rights protection and monitoring. The organisation is still seeking registration under the NGO Registration Act.

Structure

The organisation has a seven-member Board headed by Dr. Makau Wa Mutua, who is based in the United States of America. The Vice-Chairman of the Board is Dr. Willy Mutunga, President of the Law Society of Kenya. Maina Kiai is the Executive Director of the organisation and runs the day-to-day activities of the group, supported by an administrative staff.

Programme

KHRC has issued the following four reports:

- Academic Freedom in the Universities
- Violence during the 1993 Kenyan Presidential Election
- Show Torture--detailing the denial of health care to political detainees
- Amos Wako--The Fallen Angel

The group plans a series of programs on the promotion of rights awareness.

Kituo Cha Sheria (Legal Advice Centre)

History

Kituo Cha Sheria, Swahili for Legal Advice Centre, was established in 1973 to provide legal services to the poor and heighten awareness of the law through publication of legal education materials and organising meetings and workshops. *Kituo* also works towards enhancing the democratic process and rule of law.

Structure

Kituo is officially registered and is a membership organisation with about 400 members. It is governed by a Board of Directors who make the policy decisions that are implemented by the staff. There are eighteen staff members, including an Executive Director, four lawyers, one administrator, two community organisers and three secretaries.

Programme

Legal services provided by *Kituo* include representation of the poor in the courts and provision of legal advice on the following areas of law: family law, land disputes, employment and labour disputes, landlord and tenant issues, criminal offences, accident claims, rape cases, women's rights issues, and others.

Kituo organises paralegal training programmes in rural areas in order to provide access to and knowledge of the law in those communities. *Kituo* printed a Civil Rights Card in both English and Kiswahili outlining the powers of the police and educating the people on their rights. *Kituo* has also encouraged the establishment of human rights clubs in schools to promote student awareness.

Law Society of Kenya

History

The Law Society of Kenya was established by an Act of Parliament in 1949. All Kenyan lawyers called to the Bar automatically become members of the Society. The Society is primarily established to protect lawyers' welfare as well as to monitor the state of the law in Kenya and its effect on the practice of law. In recent times, the organisation has become concerned with human rights issues, setting up two committees in this regard--the Human Rights Committee and the Legal Aid Committee.

Structure

The policy-making organ of the Society is its Executive Committee, which is elected annually and is headed by the Chairman. The day-to-day running of the Society is handled by the Secretary, a lawyer, who is assisted by three administrative staff.

Programme

The Human Rights Committee of the Society is exploring the idea of writing a new constitution for Kenya. It is cooperating with other human rights groups in this regard. The Society does not provide legal services or representation; however, its Legal Aid Committee refers deserving cases to other human rights groups providing such services.

Legal Education and Aid Programme (LEAP)

History

Legal Education and Aid Programme (LEAP) was established in July 1990 as a unit of the Kenya Adult Education Association of the Church of Kenya. The organisation is now an independent body, working towards providing legal education and assistance to the less privileged in the society.

Structure

LEAP is governed by an eight-member policy-making Board and a management team headed by the Director, Chiuri Ngugi, and Legal Officer, Violet Maribi. There are presently five administrative staff. LEAP is applying for registration under the NGO Act.

Programme

LEAP provides legal advice to the needy and organises legal education and training programmes in order to create awareness of the law among the people. The organisation plans to begin filing cases in the courts and embarking on public interest litigation.

Peace Foundation (Africa)

History

The Peace Foundation (Africa) was founded by Reverend Dr. Benjamin Mwangi in 1990 as an ecumenical studies program with a focus on empowering the church and civil society. The Foundation started with courses on the environment, church education and social transformation. In 1991, the focus shifted to economic and justice issues and, in 1992, to human rights education.

Structure

The Foundation has a Governing Council of thirteen, comprised of clergy, lawyers and other professionals who make policy. A full-time General Secretary heads the staff, assisted by a programme officer, an administrative officer, an accountant and a clerk.

Programme

The Foundation began its programme on human rights education in 1992 and organised a training programme in January 1993. Since then four programmes or courses have been conducted, with approximately 100 persons participating. Each course lasts about eight weeks and is conducted at the premises of the Peace Foundation which is located on large grounds on the outskirts of Nairobi. Four workshops on human rights have also been conducted in Mombasa and Nakuru.

The programmes of the Foundation are meant to be regional. The courses are based on biblical teachings and religious values, and not necessarily international human rights standards.

The Foundation monitored the 1992 Kenyan elections and issued a report. The Foundation plans the publication of a regular Peace Monitor, to track the state of human rights in Kenya.

Public Law Institute (PLI)

History

The Public Law Institute (PLI) was created by the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and the Law Society of Kenya (LSK). The Institute was registered as a legal entity in 1981, and also under the NGO (Co-ordination) Act of 1990, to promote and protect human rights and the rule of law in Kenya. Its scope includes consumer and environmental protection as well as legal representation and services to the poor and disadvantaged in Kenya.

Structure

The Joint Policy Council, composed of the Board of Trustees and an Executive Committee, is the Institute's policy-making organ. The LSK and NCCK jointly appoint the Council. At the management level is the Executive Director who, together with the staff, run the daily affairs of the Institute. The Institute has a total of twenty-three staff members, of which twelve are professional and eleven administrative. The Institute has recently acquired an office into which it intends to move soon.

Programme

The Institute's legal representation in human rights cases is mostly focused on public interest issues. In 1988 PLI represented the family of Peter Karatija, a political prisoner arrested and tortured to death in police custody. PLI's intervention led to a court order for the prosecution of the police officials accused.

PLI also handles more routine legal matters. It takes on consumer rights issues and in 1988, together with the Kenya Consumer Organisation (KCO), successfully sued Kenya Power Lighting Company for a reversal and refund of power supply tariff increases. On the environmental front an unsuccessful legal challenge of a planned construction of a skyscraper in Uhuru Park, a public recreational centre in the city of Nairobi, exerted pressure on the government and the backers of the project that led to its abandonment.

PLI has also embarked on legal education of the public through publications, workshops, seminars, and paralegal training programmes. PLI's legal aid centre operates with full-time lawyers as well as volunteers who interview applicants seeking legal assistance in order to determine eligibility.

- Clement Nwankwo

RWANDA

[The situation in Rwanda changed dramatically after this report was completed. On April 6 President Habyarimana's plane was shot down and Rwanda militias began to massacre Tutsis and members of Rwanda's moderate opposition. All of the organizations listed in this report were affected by the massacres and the war that followed. All of them lost essential members of their staff and boards. The addresses and telephone/fax numbers of the organizations listed in Appendix 2 were mostly non-functional at the time this report went to press.]

BACKGROUND

As described by its own human rights activists, Rwanda is a small, overpopulated and isolated country in central Africa. The population of about eight million is almost entirely divided between Hutu (85%) and Tutsi (14%), two categories--not necessarily "ethnic groups"--that have strong historical significance, but are far less distinct than commonly believed. Acknowledging that there exist typical "Hutu" or "Tutsi" features, the distinction has more to do with social than ethnic characteristics. The Belgian colonizer enforced the relatively fluid categories through the use of national identity cards, and adapted a system in which the numerically fewer Tutsis ruled the Hutus.

Rwanda, which was administered as a trust territory by Belgium, became independent in 1962. In 1973, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu from the north of the country, took power in a military coup, marginalizing Tutsis and Hutus from the south. Habyarimana established a single legal party, the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement* (MRND). In 1988, he was "elected" to another five-year term by nearly 99% of the electorate.

One hundred fifty thousand Rwandese, almost entirely Tutsi, fled the country in 1959 at the time of an uprising against Tutsi control. They fled to Uganda, Zaire, Burundi and Tanzania where they have lived without the possibility of returning for more than thirty years. By the 1990s the number of stateless refugees had reached 400,000-500,000. In a 1988 speech to the United Nations, President Habyarimana implied that there was no place for the refugees in Rwanda.

On October 1, 1990, refugees based in Uganda, many of whom had fought with Yoweri Museveni when he took power in 1986, took up arms against the Habyarimana regime. The attack by the forces, known as the *Front Patriotique Rwandaise* (FPR), came at a time of increased internal pressure for change. The previous July, President Habyarimana had promised reform leading to multi-party democracy by 1992. Many disempowered Hutus joined or sympathized with the largely Tutsi rebel force. The government responded with round-ups of thousands of supposed sympathisers and, as discovered later, massacres of large numbers of civilians. Zairian troops joined in the attack. Belgium and France also sent troops to the country in support of the Habyarimana regime.

In April 1992, President Habyarimana expanded his government to include four parties from the internal opposition: the *Mouvement Démocratique Républicain* (MDR), the *Parti Libéral* (PL), the *Partie Démocratique Chrétien* (PDC) and the *Partie Sociale Démocrate* (PSD). On August 4, 1993, the Rwandan government signed a peace accord with the rebels in Arusha, Tanzania. The accord, which, together with the 1991 Constitution, constitutes the fundamental law of Rwanda, calls for the establishment of human rights and the rule of law. With the arrival of UN forces, planned for September 11, 1993 the treaty provided for a transfer of presidential authority to a cabinet composed of the three principal political blocs. The UN forces were delayed, however, until the end of 1993. And most recently, in late February 1994, the transition was still blocked and tense, largely due to the February 21 assassination of Gatasazi, and political and ethnic clashes in Kigali. In the meantime, the coalition of the former single party and the internal opposition formed in April continues to govern.

NATURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Prior to the invasion of October 1990, President Habyarimana had taken measures to liberalize freedom of the press, assembly and religion. Even in early 1990, however, the government had begun to crack down on many of those who took advantage of their newly-recognized rights. With the invasion came a state of emergency that led to the suspension of all normal procedures for arrest and detention. About 10,000 people were detained in 1990 and 1991, mostly Tutsis. As many as 2,000 were killed in individual attacks or organized massacres.

Fighting continued during 1991, with government-supported violence against Tutsis, particularly in the northern regions of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri. At the same time, independent newspapers began to flourish and, despite periodic crackdowns, the government continued to respond to pressure for political liberalization.

Human rights abuses were increasingly "privatised" as political parties established their own militias, which were tolerated by the government but also allowed the President a means of claiming ignorance. The government eventually removed some local officials for involvement in the violence, but there have been no significant prosecutions. In any event, the responsibility of higher authorities has been obscured.

The war has created an immense problem of refugees and displaced persons. About one million Rwandans were displaced. Approximately 300,000 remained in camps at the end of the 1993.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

There are four principal human rights groups in Rwanda, organized into a coalition known as the *Collectif des ligues et associations de défense des droits de l'homme au Rwanda* (the Rwandan Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defense of Human Rights) (CLADHO). The groups all came into existence in the period just before or during the war, and have followed a similar course of development:

- the *Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (the Rwandan Association for the Defense of Human Rights) (ARDHO) was formed on September 30-31 1991;
- the *Association des Volontaires de la Paix* (Association of Peace Volunteers) (AVP) was formed on August 6, 1991;
- the *Ligue Rwandaise pour la Promotion et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (Rwandan League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights) (LIPRODHOR) was formed in 1991;
- the *Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de la Personne et des Libertés Publiques* (Rwandan Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Person and of Public Liberties) (ADL) was formed on September 4, 1991.

All four groups are recognized as non-profit corporations ("ASBL").

The war served as the catalyzing event for the human rights groups and shaped their work during their first year of existence. In 1992, the Rwandan groups called for an international investigation into the human rights violations committed during the war. The investigation was eventually carried out in January 1993 by an International Commission with the close collaboration of the Rwandan groups. A confluence of political forces and timing allowed the investigation to proceed without incident, but the threat of violence hung over the participants and exploded as soon as the international investigators left the country on January 23, 1993.

The government response to the International Commission report issued on March 8, 1993 was complicated. On the one hand the government responded by "recognizing and regretting" the abuses that had taken place and promising a ten-point set of reforms reflecting the recommendations of the Commission. On the other hand, the government supported the creation of four new human rights groups--all with names and acronyms similar to the four reputable groups that participated in the creation of the Commission--whose chief purpose was to denounce the report internationally. There is even a competing coordinating committee--The Rwandan Federation for Human Rights. Since their efforts to counter the impact of the report, however, the four new groups--ARDVI, ARHO, LIDEL and Miséricordia--and the Federation have not been heard from.

There have been various reprisals against human rights activists and citizens who have collaborated with the human rights groups. Monique Mujawamaliya, an organizer of the ADL who was actively involved in organizing the International Commission (and who is currently the Permanent Secretary of the *Ligue des Droits de la*

Personne dans la Région des Grands Lacs) was injured in a suspicious car accident just before the arrival of the Commission. As the Commission left the country, she was publicly threatened with death by Captain Pascal Simbikangwa, a military official known to have participated in acts of violence and torture. Most recently, in January and February of 1994, Ms. Mujawamaliya was stopped, threatened and robbed by members of Interhamwe, the militia associated with the ruling party.

A number of other activists and members of the other major human rights groups have been threatened or attacked. On November 14, 1993, Alphonse Marie Nkubito, President of the CLADHO and a leader in the human rights movement--who is currently the Prosecutor General of the country--was attacked by several assailants. Grenades hurled by the assailants first hit his car and then him. Although permanently injured, he was able to return to work in early 1994.

Each of the human rights groups has incorporated the same basic structure. There is one Permanent Secretary and a series of subject-oriented committees composed of active members. In contrast with organizations in Zaire, for example, the leading figures instrumental in creating the human rights groups tend to remain outside of their day-to-day operations. For example, Abbé André Sibomana, President of the ADL, and Alphonse Nkubito, President of CLADHO and ARDHO, while active, leave the day-to-day operations to the Permanent Secretaries, primarily jurists, who tend not to be well-known figures with broad human rights experience.

Each group is engaged in a range of activities including monitoring, educating and assisting victims in particular cases. Each has an open-office policy of receiving complainants during office hours. There is a general plan for the groups to develop specialization, although it has not yet been put into action. Under the plan, ARDHO would concentrate on developing a network inside the country; AVP would develop a judicial assistance program; ADL would lead a major campaign of education and consciousness raising; and LIPRODHOR would specialize in cases of arbitrary detention.

In general, the groups appear to cooperate well and to have good links to both the international community and domestic institutions. While some accuse the NGOs of close political affiliations, there is an awareness of the need for--and, I believe, sincere effort at--political independence and balance on the question of Hutus and Tutsis. There is another group, *Association pour l'Union et la Justice Sociale*, that remains outside the coordinating committee, CLADHO. They are considered to be predominantly Tutsi, though still credible. The Catholic Church has played an important role in the human rights movement. LIPRODHOR was formerly known as the "Christian League for Human Rights." The Legal Representative of AVP is a priest, as is the President of ADL.

All of the groups essentially expressed the same interests with regard to training:

- human rights law and institutions;
- office organization and document production;
- grant writing.

They would appreciate exchanges with the international community and other groups in Africa.

THE INDIVIDUAL ORGANIZATIONS

Regional Organization

Ligue des Droits de la Personne dans la Région des Grands Lacs
(League of the Rights of the Person in the Great Lakes Region)
(LDGL)

The *Ligue* is an umbrella organization which is currently composed of members from Rwanda, Burundi and Eastern Zaire. The *Ligue* was created at a meeting held May 28-30, 1993 in Kigali. While it plans to extend membership to human rights groups in each of the countries of the Great Lakes region (Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire), it is currently limited to the three French-speaking former Belgian colonies. The three principal officers are respectively affiliated with organizations in each of the countries: Joseph Mudumbi,

the President, is from Grace in North Kivu; the Vice-President is from Iteka in Burundi; and Monique Mujawamaliya, the Permanent Secretary and permanent staff member, is the former Permanent Secretary of ADL in Rwanda.

The *Ligue* has opened an office in Rwanda under the direction of Monique Mujawamaliya and one principal staff member. Its activities until now have been limited largely to promotion and planning for future activities.

The *Ligue's* six primary goals are to:

- Coordinate the activities of promotion and defense of human rights and basic liberties;
- Elaborate the justification and basis of the actions led by the *Ligue* and associations which are members;
- Research and mobilize resources in order to promote and support the actions undertaken by the members;
- Develop common strategies to guarantee the enjoyment of human rights;
- Work actively to strengthen the ties among the people of the region over and above ethnic, tribal, professional or other barriers;
- Cooperate to achieve the human rights and security objectives of relevant international instruments.

The *Ligue* held an Extraordinary General Assembly January 17-19, 1994 at Lwiro in South Kivu, Zaire. There were more than thirty participants at the meeting, including members from the three countries and observers from human rights groups (VSV and LIZADHO from Kinshasa), development organizations (Oxfam-Goma, CNONGD-Kinshasa), and support organizations (PREFED-Bujumbura, IRED-Bukavu) (See descriptions of these organizations in Zaire section). The members exchanged information on their countries and reviewed the proposed activities for the coming year. The meeting was extremely well-organized in light of the limited infrastructure. The proposals were well-prepared and presented. They include the following:

- Human rights training for activists;
- Distribution of information on and popular education in human rights laws;
- Investigation, research and education in the areas occupied by Rwandan refugees;
- Colloquium on the problem of the Banyarwanda;
- One month of intercultural events for the promotion of human rights in the Great Lakes region; and
- Office structure and organization.

The advantage of the *Ligue* is that it has a broad participation of groups from the three countries, including individuals with a wide range of talents and experience. Communications are relatively good among the four areas (the two Kivus in Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi) and the leading members of the *Ligue* have already developed a pattern of collaboration.

National Organizations

Association des Volontaires de la Paix
(Association of Peace Volunteers)
(AVP)

AVP has its permanent office in two rooms. Ms. Kanzayire, who was trained as a jurist, is the organization's first Permanent Secretary. There are about ten active members out of eighty total members. AVP is involved in educational activities, judicial assistance, investigating and reporting.

AVP programs include a program for education and consciousness raising for which they have targeted public officials, church people and their own members, and a program of judicial assistance to support the victims of the war massacres.

Association "Haguruka" pour la Défense des Droits de la Femme et de l'Enfant

("Haguruka" Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Woman and the Child)

Haguruka was created in June 1991 and registered in December 1992. It is a member of the women's collective, *Pro-Femme/Twese Hamwe*.

The *Association* has an office in Nyamirambo where it provides information, training and judicial assistance. Its projects include expanding legal assistance to women, providing training on women's rights through other associations, and undertaking a study of the laws of succession and marital regimes.

***Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme*
(Rwandan Association for the Defense of Human Rights)
(ARDHO)**

ARDHO has some of the best office space and equipment which it shares with CLADHO. The President of ARDHO, Alphonse Nkubito, is also the President of CLADHO. There are 260 members of which 70 are in Commissions. Nevertheless, many members are inactive. The Permanent Secretary of ARDHO was also trained as a jurist. He is assisted by a secretary/researcher. ARDHO is actively working to open offices outside the capital. It now has chapters in Butare, Cyangugu and Kibuye. One major current project of ARDHO is to collect and distribute information throughout the country through the chapters it plans to create and through a bulletin. Another project involves training and education among teachers and students.

***Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de la Personne et des Libertés Publiques*
(Rwandan Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Person and of Public Liberties)
(ADL)**

ADL's current Permanent Secretary, Rosalie Mukarukaka, replaced Monique Mujawamaliya (currently Permanent Secretary for LDGL) in December 1993. Like Ms. Mujawamaliya, she was trained as a social worker. There are 104 members of whom only the Board of Directors (*bureau exécutif*) is active. The Permanent Secretary is assisted by a lawyer who reviews the individual cases that present themselves.

ADL is better situated than other organizations, occupying one large space and a smaller office. There is a computer but little other office machinery. The ADL has published a significant annual report on human rights in the country. Otherwise, its work program is largely the same as the other organizations. It has a project to work on training and education together with an agricultural collective, "Imbaraga." ADL is actively seeking to expand membership to areas outside the capital.

***Collectif des Ligues et Associations de Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Rwanda*
(Rwandan Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defense of Human Rights)
(CLADHO)**

CLADHO was formed in March 1992, following the massacre at Bugesera on March 8, 1992. Its purposes are:

- to serve as a structure for support and combined action for its members;
- to reinforce the collaboration among the human rights groups;
- to promote a national human rights consciousness;
- to establish contacts with organizations and institutions that pursue the same objectives;
- to undertake any mission assigned to it by its members.

CLADHO is far more than a forum for collaboration. It is the executing agent of major human rights actions. It might be viewed as an independent human rights organization whose members are the the human rights groups themselves. It has credibility among all of the groups and, in turn, it reinforces their own credibility. In addition, it has the means--unavailable to any of the groups singly--to undertake serious investigations and reports.

Its projects for the future include:

- a national human rights newsletter;
- creation and implementation of a human rights curriculum;
- regular publication of investigations.

As part of the last project, CLADHO plans to develop a serious printing capacity that could serve the other human rights groups. CLADHO also recognizes the need to provide training to all of the human rights groups and to help them build their office and staff capacities.

**Ligue Rwandaise pour la Promotion et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme
(Rwandan League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights)**

(LIPRODHOR)

(formerly known as LICHREDHOR or *Ligue "Chrétienne"*)

LIPRODHOR has its permanent office in one small room. The Permanent Secretary is trained as a lawyer and was formerly a magistrate. He has held the position since mid-1993. He is assisted by a full-time secretary. There are about 70 members of the organization though only a few are actively involved in Commissions. Many of the principal members are originally from the Cyangugu area in the southwest of the country, an area with a history of hostility to the rule of President Habyarimana.

LIPRODHOR researches cases, issues statements and declarations, and pursues recourse at the administrative and judicial level. It has a periodic newsletter which is issued in the Kinyarwanda language. It accepts written complaints from individuals, though there is no formal system for determining how to act on the complaints. The organization has held several seminars and conferences to discuss human rights and to publicize its work with the local population. In that connection it often works through the local Catholic Church or missionary groups.

- Peter Rosenblum

TANZANIA

BACKGROUND

Tanzania achieved political independence from Britain in 1964 and was ruled for several years by Julius Nyerere under a one party state. In 1985, Nyerere resigned as President and handed over to Ali Hassan Mwinyi. In 1992, the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Party set up a commission that recommended a multi-party system. Mwinyi, whose five-year mandate expires in 1995, will then compete with about twenty other parties in a general election. With a population of approximately ten million occupying a space of 362,820 square metres, Tanzania is one of world's poorest countries.

Several years of socialist economic policies have hindered growth and investment. These policies have now been reversed in favour of a structural adjustment and liberalisation programme. There is hope that the country, which is presently the most stable in the sub-region, will attract more foreign investment that will help to uplift its economic situation.

The new Constitution has a bill of rights. However, routine abuses of human rights, such as unlawful arrests and detention, poor prison conditions and torture by the police occur. The press is free, although it is only just beginning to savour its new-found freedom.

THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS

Since the introduction of a multi-party system in 1992, Tanzania has become a more tolerant and open society. Human rights organisations operate freely and are not restrained from applying for registration. The most active group in the country is the Tanzania Media Women Association, TAMWA, whose activities are well-articulated and focused. TAMWA is perhaps the only group in the country that is sufficiently experienced and established to provide training to other organisations in the sub-region, although it may have its own growth problems. Most of the other groups are nascent and will need a lot of encouragement to make a meaningful impact. There are no monitoring or advocacy organisations in the country as all of the groups are focusing primarily on education for human rights and civic awareness.

NEEDS

Needs of human rights organisations in the country include:

- i Office equipment: computers, typewriters, photocopiers, fax machines, books and legal materials.
- ii Staff needs: Most of the staff working with Tanzanian human rights groups have had little or no training in human rights and often have only basic knowledge. Training this staff will be an important contribution towards developing the focus and sophistication of the groups. Staff training will be needed in the areas of report writing, advocacy skills, use of international standards, charters and procedures, documentation, computer use, lobbying strategies, internal management and administrative skills, and fundraising skills.

Legal Aid Committee (University of Dar es Salaam)

History

The Legal Aid Committee is a Committee of the Faculty of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam. Originally established in 1967, it was inactive for some time before being revived in 1978.

Structure

The Committee is run by a Chairman and a committee of seven, all staff of the Faculty of Law. The Committee has no independent office or staff. Members of the committee are elected annually from the Law Faculty academic staff.

Programme

In recent times, the Committee has again been inactive. In its active days the Committee focused on legal counselling, legal literacy and litigation. It sponsored weekly clinics, staffed by two members of the Committee, to provide legal advice to poor clients. These clinics functioned in two centres--Magomeni and Temeke.

The legal literacy method involved publication of enlightenment booklets and the organisation of seminars in villages and legal aid camps. Education of the people on issues relating to human rights and land rights, inheritance, and so on, was provided. The Committee undertook litigation on such matters as land rights, labour, landlord and tenant, and matrimonial causes (focusing on conciliation).

SUWATA Legal Aid Project

History

SUWATA is a women's organisation that provides credit schemes and other services to women in Tanzania. It was registered in 1984 as a limited liability company. Its legal aid project provides legal counselling for its women members.

Structure

The legal aid project of SUWATA is staffed by a Coordinator, Mrs. Tenga, who combines this portfolio with other jobs in SUWATA. SUWATA itself has a Board of ten women and four men, a General Manager who is the organisation's chief executive and two heads of department--Legal/Administration and Finance/Operations.

Programme

The organisation's activities include legal counselling and representation of women both in court and administratively. This work focuses on matrimonial cases, inheritances, probate, and so on. In 1993 the project filed about fourteen cases in the courts. The project also organises legal literacy campaigns and paralegal training. There is a legal aid unit which provides women with guidance and counselling on legal issues. This unit visits the rural areas to provide services.

Tanganyika Law Society

History

The Tanganyika Law Society was established by law, and is comprised of all lawyers called to the Bar in Tanzania (numbering about 230). Only about forty of these lawyers actually practice.

Structure

The Tanganyika Law Society has a Human Rights Committee and a Legal Assistance Committee, which has about six lawyers as members.

Programme

The Human Rights Committee monitors human rights abuses in the country, while the Legal Assistance Committee takes up cases of human rights abuse in the courts. The association has been representing victims of abuses committed by *Sungu Sungu*, a voluntary vigilante group. Cases arising from their excesses have been filed in the courts and payment of damages sought.

Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA)

History

The Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) was formed in 1987 and registered as an NGO the following year with the objective of promoting positive images of women in the media.

Structure

TAMWA's structures include a General Assembly of about sixty-five members and an Executive Board. The Executive Board is the decision-making body of TAMWA and is headed by Fatima Alloo. Pili Mtambalike is the General Secretary of the association. There are also Unit Coordinators who execute projects of the organisation.

Programme

TAMWA runs a women's and children's rights project and maintains a crisis centre where women go for legal advice and counselling. The organisation provides legal assistance to women on issues relating to child custody and inheritance rights, rape and assault. Women lawyers and social workers visit the centre to assist. TAMWA organises paralegal training and workshops for women with a view to promoting awareness of the law and its remedies. The organisation publishes a magazine, *Santi Ya Siti*, to reach and educate rural women. It is published in Swahili. The magazine includes articles and entertaining stories pertaining to the rights of women. About twenty issues of the magazine have been produced so far.

The organisation has a Publishing Unit that has published about 11 booklets, focusing on work conditions for women, violence against women, rape therapy, school girl pregnancies and drug abuse. The Unit is planning to produce books in English on NGO management, reproductive health, violence against women and gender issues. The Video Unit has also produced women-related materials and documentaries--about five to date.

The Radio Unit of TAMWA has produced several programmes for broadcast on women and sexual violence. On the health front, TAMWA has campaigned on AIDS, child labour, sexual harassment, birth control, rape, and other subjects. TAMWA has an Economic Unit under which a savings project functions. A profit-making venture, the sewing project produces batiks, cloths and handicrafts with women's rights messages on them.

Welfare Through Law (WTL)

History

Welfare Through Law (WTL) was established in 1992 and is registered under the Tanzanian Trustees Incorporation Ordinance. WTL objectives include: disseminating information on human rights and the law, and the provision of legal assistance and counsel to the needy, to children and to women.

Structure

WTL's structures include a membership and a Board of Trustees which presently has five members. Ms. Hamida Sheikh, one of the Trustees, is also Secretary-General of WTL and, together with a Management Committee, runs the organisation on a daily basis.

Programme

The organisation's only known activity is a seminar on human rights organised for law enforcement officials in October 1993 and attended by judges, magistrates, police, lawyers and human rights activists. The organisation plans to train and rehabilitate street children and child prostitutes. In addition, there are also plans to organise more seminars and workshops and engage in studies of the administration of justice and police practices.

Zanzibar Legal Services Centre

History

The Zanzibar Legal Services Centre was established in Zanzibar in February 1992 as a non-governmental organisation whose aim is to provide legal services to the poor, women, children, the disabled and other disadvantaged sections of the society. The Centre also seeks to provide education and consciousness raising on peoples' basic rights and responsibilities.

Structure

The Centre is located in Zanzibar, Tanzania. Its structure consists of a three-member Board of Trustees, chaired by Haroub Othman, lawyer and founder of the Centre. The Centre's Secretariat is run by a staff headed by the Director, Hassan Mze, a lawyer who works on a part-time basis. The Centre also has associate members who cooperate with the Centre in its activities.

Programme

In mid-December, the Centre organised a paralegal training programme in Zanzibar, its very first activity. Future activities planned by the Centre include legal literacy campaigns, legal aid, paralegal training, a newsletter, conferences, workshops and seminars.

- Clement Nwankwo

UGANDA

BACKGROUND

Uganda, with a population of approximately 17 million, gained political independence from Britain in 1963. The country is presently governed by President Yoweri Museveni, who seized power in January 1986 after a five-year guerrilla war waged against the previous regime of Milton Obote and Tito Okello. A National Resistance Council, made up mainly of Museveni's supporters, dominates the legislative process. Opposition parties are suspended, and the National Resistance Army (NRA) is responsible for maintaining security.

The government continues to fight a war in the North and Northeast regions against insurgents who are opposed to Museveni. This war, however, is not felt in the rest of the country. Allegations of human rights abuse, especially against NRA and rebel soldiers, are rife, with reports of torture and extra-judicial killings common. The government has also been accused of using the Treason Law, under which the courts cannot grant bail for up to six months, as a ploy to sanction administratively-motivated detentions. The Constituent Assembly, to be elected in March 1994, is expected to hold debates on the current draft constitution, following which a new constitution is scheduled to come into effect. The press enjoys considerable freedom, and a few opposition papers are published. There are independent radio and television stations. Occasionally, however, the government has levelled sedition and other charges against journalists.

On the economic front, the country's fortunes have come a long way during Museveni's tenure. The country is implementing a structural adjustment programme and has received support from the international community, although poverty is still a problem. On the whole, there is a strong feeling of patriotism and support for Museveni among the population.

THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANISATIONS

The Uganda Human Rights Activists (UHRA), the Uganda Law Society and the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA-U), are the three oldest organisations concerned with human rights issues. FIDA-U has been very active on women's rights issues and educational activities, and appears sufficiently organised and experienced to provide training to other groups in the region. Newer groups, such as the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative and the Uganda Gender Resource Centre, are still trying to establish a precise focus for their activities. There appears to be some measure of cooperation among the groups here, although coordination among them is as yet unclear.

NEEDS

Needs of human rights organisations in the country include:

- i. Office equipment: computers, typewriters, photocopiers, fax machines, books and legal materials.
- ii. Staff needs: Most of the staff working with Ugandan human rights groups have had little or no training in human rights and often have only basic knowledge. Training this staff would be an important contribution to improving the focus and sophistication of these groups. Staff training will be needed in the areas of report writing, advocacy skills, use of international standards, charters and procedures, documentation, computer use, lobbying strategies, internal management and administrative skills, and fundraising skills.

Action for Development (ACFODE)

History

Action for Development (ACFODE) was formed in 1985 to stimulate awareness in Uganda of the needs and rights of women. ACFODE is committed to providing support to improve the quality of the life of women in Uganda.

Structure

ACFODE is a membership organisation of about 500 women. A Programme Committee plans and implements programmes for the organisation. An Executive Committee constitutes the decision-making body of the organisation. It formulates policies and approves programmes proposed by the Programme Committee. An Executive Secretary heads the Secretariat of about 20 staff, which includes two lawyers, two researchers and an Education Officer.

Programme

ACFODE lobbies and advocates for women's representation and participation at all levels of decision-making and for the reform of laws adversely affecting women, in addition to working for the introduction of gender issues at all levels. ACFODE also assists women to improve their income-generating activities by offering training and technical assistance, as well as by linking them with donors and providing material support.

ACFODE carries out research on issues affecting women, including women's income-generating projects, causes of schoolgirl drop-outs, and obstacles to the realization of women's rights. Research is also carried out on legal and cultural constraints on the legal rights of women. Other issues of concern to ACFODE include the prevalence of female circumcision, dietary stipulations, ignorance, and inheritance of widows by their families. ACFODE organises seminars and workshops to articulate these issues.

In addition, ACFODE publishes a quarterly journal called Arise, which highlights legal and human rights issues and events affecting women. Education on family life and women's health issues, particularly AIDS, are also addressed by ACFODE.

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI)

History

The Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI) was established in 1992 to promote human rights education and research, and to advocate for the reform of laws in Uganda.

Structure

FHRI is a membership organisation with an eight-member Board. Membership is presently around 100. The organisation is registered as a non-governmental organisation under the NGO Registration Act of 1991. The group is also incorporated as a company limited by guarantee. The group has a Secretariat of ten staff, including an Executive Director, a Programme Officer, editor-publications, a social worker and a research assistant. The administrative staff includes two secretaries, driver, cook and a cleaner/guard.

Programme

FHRI has eight project activities:

- Paralegal Training: Persons are trained to provide legal advice to the public. Two major workshops have been held so far, the latest in October 1993;
- Publications: Includes a journal published twice a year;

- Citizens Advice Bureau: Receives complaints and provides legal advice. Where litigation is involved, the case is referred to the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers or the Legal Aid Project;
- Penal Reform Project: Set up to deal with prisoners' rights issues and research prison conditions; and
- Constitution Project: Under this project, FHRI plans to do a critique of the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution, organise a conference for the constitution-drafting Commission, and monitor debate at the Commission.

In addition, FHRI is planning to set up a Lawyers for Human Rights Network to encourage the participation of lawyers in human rights work.

Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC)

History

The Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC) was established on December 2, 1993 after approval from the Council of Makerere University, Kampala. HURIPEC's objectives include the systematic development and dissemination of academic human rights programmes to institutions of learning and to the public.

Structure

The Centre has the status of a Department under the supervision of the Human Rights Committee of the Faculty of Law. This status is intended to make it independent of the Law Faculty. The Chairperson of the Centre's Board is the Dean of the Faculty of Law. Three other department heads in the Faculty of Law are members, and there are representatives from the Women, History and Sociology Departments and the Social Science Centre of the University. Joe Oloka-Onyanga, a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, is the Coordinator of the Centre. The Centre intends to hire independent staff as soon as it gets established.

Programme

HURIPEC has published two editions of a journal, East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights. The Journal will be an outlet for articles, comments, legislation and other human rights materials and resources. It will be published biannually. Research into police practices, the judiciary and other democratic institutions will be undertaken.

HURIPEC is also opening a library and documentation unit to compile, collate and develop materials and literature on human rights and peace. It presently has a project, the Constitutionalism Digest (CD), which is an abstract of all the documentation submitted to the Ugandan Constitutional Commission by academics, politicians, resistance committees, elders, women, etc. The Centre will also produce a human rights bibliography of published and unpublished human rights materials.

The Centre plans to organise internship programmes for students to enable them to work with human rights groups. It will also embark on regular reviews of the human rights curricula at the Law Faculty, with the aim of expanding the teaching of human rights at all levels of education. The Centre intends to organise seminars, conferences and symposia as one of the methods of achieving its goals.

Legal Aid Project (LAP)

History

42 UGANDA

The Legal Aid Project (LAP) was established in 1992 under an agreement between the Norwegian Bar Association and the Uganda Law Society. LAP's objectives are to provide legal advice and assistance to indigent persons and to undertake legal education. LAP currently has branch offices in Jinja, Kabarale District, and East Uganda. It has a central office located in Kampala.

Structure

The project has a Board of Trustees headed by the President of the Uganda Law Society (ULS). Its Secretariat is headed by a Director who is assisted by two professional staff and four administrative staff. Its legal status derives from the ULS.

Programme

The Project receives complaints from clients and provides court representation. In October 1993 alone, LAP received 23 new cases, 13 involving women. To date 82 cases have been received, with some of the cases involving such issues as long-term detention without trial and unfair dismissal. LAP has also been involved in seminars on continuing legal education, succession and wills, AIDS, and children. LAP has also issued several publications to create awareness, including a booklet, Making a Will, a handbook for resistance committee courts, a newsletter and a handbook entitled Know Your Rights.

Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA-U)

History

The Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA-U) was first established in Kampala in 1974, but did not become active until 1988. Its objectives include promoting knowledge and awareness of the law, as well as assisting women (especially widows) and children to attain protection under the law.

Structure

FIDA-U is a membership organisation open to all women lawyers. At present there are over 100 members. The organs of the association include the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat.

The General Assembly elects the Executive Committee, which in turn supervises the association's programmes. The Executive Committee is made up of seven members--a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, Publicity Secretary and two committee members. FIDA-U was registered as an NGO under the NGO Registration Act in 1993. It has a branch office in Mbale. An Administrative Secretary, Deodatha Namusoke, runs the Secretariat on a full-time basis, assisted by two full-time Legal Officers. There is also a Programme Officer, and some volunteers come in to assist.

Programme

FIDA-U runs a legal clinic in cooperation with Uganda Finance and Credit Trust. Most of the association's activities are project-based and include a will-writing project, a children's project and a legal education.

The will-writing project operates in Mukono and Mpigi. It educates people on the necessity of writing a will. AIDS is a serious problem in Uganda and people frequently die without leaving a will. In such situations the family of a dead husband often seizes his property without concern for the widow and children. Thus, FIDA-U

encourages husbands to write their wills. FIDA-U also provides legal advisory services, mostly to women, regarding inheritance, land, maintenance, and similar matters.

Uganda Gender Resource Centre

History

The Uganda Gender Resource Centre was established in 1992 to analyse the position of women, especially rural women, in the areas of health, legal rights and cultural rights, and to empower women to participate in all aspects of national life in Uganda.

Structure

The Centre is a membership organisation. In addition, there is an Advisory Board and a Board of Directors, which sets policies and supervises the staff. The Centre's staff includes two professional staff, the Executive Director and the Programme Officer, Yeri Wakabi, and support staff. The Centre is housed in a two-room office in Kampala.

Programme

Most of the Centre's activities are consultancy-based, which means that it receives requests from women's groups to organise training of groups or communities in gender and social analysis. In 1993, two women's groups in Kabari and Nganga were trained. The Centre also educates women on various aspects of the law, and refers complaints from women to some other groups.

The Centre has also embarked on an education project on voting procedures, and issued a pamphlet for the recent Constituent Assembly elections in Uganda entitled Know Your Voting Rights for the Constituent Assembly. The Centre also carries out paralegal training in conjunction with ACFODE. It is currently working on a study on the needs and directions for rural women .

Uganda Human Rights Activists (UHRA)

History

Uganda Human Rights Activists (UHRA) was established in 1985 as a non-governmental organisation to create awareness and promote respect for human rights in Uganda.

Structure

UHRA's structure includes a General Assembly of members, a nine-member Board of Directors, and a Secretariat. The head of the Secretariat is the Executive Secretary who works part-time and is assisted by a Deputy Executive Secretary. The group has thirteen staff. UHRA is currently at a new stage in its existence. After a few years of little activity, it is re-establishing itself. An important step in this direction was its move to new offices.

Programme

UHRA's methods include education, empowerment and human rights monitoring. It publishes a quarterly journal known as The Activist and also a newsletter. A series of Know Your Rights booklets are also issued by the organisation to create awareness of human rights. UHRA also publishes a quarterly report on human rights violations in Uganda.

44 UGANDA

UHRA organises seminars, workshops and paralegal training courses. It has also established UHRA branches and human rights clubs in schools and institutions of higher learning. It provides legal advice and services to the people.

Uganda Law Society (ULS)

History

The Uganda Law Society (ULS) was set up to protect the welfare of lawyers in Uganda and advise the public and government on the law. The ULS acts as an advocacy group.

Structure

ULS has an Executive Committee of ten, headed by the President. All lawyers in Uganda are members. The Society does not have independent offices, and operates from the office of its President and the Legal Aid Project. An Administrator currently runs the office.

Programme

The major human rights activities of the Law Society are carried out through the Legal Aid Project (LAP), set up as an independent body by ULS. ULS publishes a journal known as the Uganda Law Society Newsletter. It plans to launch a human rights project soon that will monitor human rights violations.

ULS is currently organising a training programme at the local level on election monitoring. It is also involved in a project known as the Civil Education Project under the National Organisation for Civil Education and Election Monitoring (NOCEM).

- Clement Nwankwo

ZAIRE

BACKGROUND

Zaire is a vast and extremely diverse country of about 35 million people bordering on eight countries in central Africa. For the past thirty years, it has been dominated by Mobutu Sese Seko, who took power definitively in 1965 and established a highly repressive one-party state. On April 24, 1990, after a phase of increasing internal and external pressure for change, President Mobutu announced a transition to multi-party democracy and respect for human rights. Since then, however, the country has faced accelerated economic decay and gross abuses of rights while Mobutu has blocked every significant initiative for transition and refused to relinquish power.

Despite the political and economic chaos, there has been a dynamic resurgence in some parts of civil society, newly liberated from suffocating, single-party rule. Non-governmental organizations with the goal of educating the population about their rights, establishing the means of protecting those rights, and monitoring their abuses, have played an essential role in this movement.

At the current time, there are human rights NGOs operating at various levels throughout Zaire. The best known organizations are based in Kinshasa. There are, however, a plethora of initiatives in cities across the country. Some of these are professional associations involving lawyers and development specialists. Others are grassroots operations that are well-organized and take advantage of the structure offered by churches or existing development NGOs.

Human rights NGOs which initially focused on monitoring and reporting abuses, intervening where possible, and providing assistance to victims of abuse, are now increasingly involved in education and consciousness raising related to human rights, democracy and elections. Elections, in particular, are a galvanizing issue. At the current time, human rights groups, church groups and development NGOs are all planning major initiatives to prepare the terrain for elections, whenever they may actually come.

THE NGO MOVEMENT IN ZAIRE

The human rights NGOs are increasingly integrated into the dynamic NGO movement, which began to grow in the late 1980s and developed rapidly after the National Conference opened in August 1991. The National Conference was composed of three major groupings--public institutions, political parties and the so-called "Civil Society," which was composed of NGOs, church groups and professional societies. The official structure for this movement is the *Conseil National des ONGs de Développement du Zaïre* (the National Council for Development NGOs of Zaire) (CNONGD) and the Regional Councils (or CRONGDs) which are, in principle, located throughout the country, but which, in fact, vary from fully functional to barely existing, depending on the region. In addition to the CRONGD structure, some regions have a separately-incorporated¹ "Civil Society" which includes the CRONGD, the churches and professional societies. Among the members of the CRONGD there are also sub-groupings, like the *Fédération des ONGs Laïques à Vocation Economique du Zaïre* (FOLEZA).

The development NGOs--CNONGD, CRONGDs, Civil Society, FOLEZA, and their members--frequently collaborate in human rights and democracy-related projects.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

¹Except for the CRONGD and CNONGD themselves, few of the NGOs are actually incorporated. Typically, they have filed for status as non-profit corporations, but have not received the official presidential authorization. As a result, they have *de facto* legal personality, but cannot, for example, open bank accounts in the name of the NGO.

While developing rapidly to occupy an important space in Zaire, the human rights movement faces a number of serious challenges. They can be broadly grouped into issues of coordination, funding and training. One problem that afflicts the Zairian groups far less than those of many other countries is politicization. The human rights groups support the democratization process embodied in the National Conference. However, with rare exceptions, they are not directly linked to any political party.

Coordination is a problem on three levels: coordination among the groups in a region, coordination between the regions, and coordination with international organizations. In Kinshasa, for example, the effort to coordinate the activities of human rights NGOs has increasingly faltered because of competition. Suspicion among the groups has become more intense as each of them has gained stature, experience and, particularly, outside support. Nevertheless, efforts to overcome this problem continue, and the groups remain open to advice and assistance.

Between the regions, the problem is one of structure and communication. Communications are extremely poor--although possible with the collaboration of the church or NGOs--and they remain *ad hoc*. Regional groups are largely unaware of the talent and experience that already exists in other areas of the country, just as the Kinshasa groups are unaware of what happens in the interior. Better coordination and communication could vastly improve the effectiveness of the groups as a whole. In the election context, such coordination would be absolutely necessary.

With the international human rights community, there is currently some coordination and sharing of expertise with groups in Kinshasa. However, there is no international human rights presence in the country and little, if any, contact with groups in the interior.

As for funding, a number of the Kinshasa groups have benefitted from external support for the past three years. The groups in Kivu, in the east of the country, are also beginning to get some external support. However, because of the absence of a coordinated approach, each of the groups is "out for itself," seeking funding for programs which often overlap. Also, there is a growing imbalance in who gets funded, exacerbating rivalries and leading to increasing accusations that the funded groups are nothing more than sponges for foreign money.

All of the human rights groups in Zaire are young, but in many ways they are quite sophisticated. They have responded innovatively to an extremely complex and trying situation. Nevertheless, groups throughout the country expressed the need for information and training in various areas, ranging from management and finance to international law and mechanisms for the protection of human rights.

This report treats human rights groups in the urban Kinshasa area and in four regions. The Kinshasa groups seek to be national in scope, although they are largely limited to the urban area and to political issues that occur in the capital. The regional groups--in South Kivu, North Kivu, Haut Zaire and Shaba--are discussed in the sections that follow.

Kinshasa Area Groups

In Kinshasa, four human rights groups grew to prominence between 1990 and 1993: the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme-Zaire* (Human Rights League-Zaire) (LIZADHO), the *Association Zaïroise de Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (Zairian Association for the Defense of Human Rights) (AZADHO), the *Voix des Sans Voix* (Voice of the Voiceless) (VSV) and Amos. The first three are primarily monitoring and reporting organizations while the fourth is a loose association of church and lay people active in human right education and consciousness raising.

Amos

Amos is an unusual organization that began as a discussion group among primarily Catholic religious and lay people interested in human rights and democracy. The Coordinator ("*animateur*") of the group is José Mpundu, a parish priest in Kinshasa who has published a number of pamphlets about democracy and human rights and

their connection to Christian values. In a country where the Catholic Church is the only national structure besides (what remains of) the state, the importance of Amos and the work of José Mpundu should not be underestimated. They have a moral force and mobilizing capacity out of proportion to their size or informal structure.

Association Zaïroise de Défense des Droits de l'Homme
(Zairian Association for the Defense of Human Rights)
(AZADHO)

AZADHO is an increasingly solid organization that has been extremely productive over the past year. It also has the quality of being very responsive to requests for information and assistance from the groups in the North. AZADHO has recently produced a number of useful booklets to educate citizens about elections and about their rights (*Vos Droits Face à l'Administration, Pour une Bonne Observation des Elections au Zaïre*). It publishes a periodic review of human rights and reports on various issues. Its founder and President, Ngefa Atondoko, is a young law graduate who was recently a human rights fellow at Columbia University. The Vice-President, Kambale Kalume, recently attended the Human Rights Commission meetings at the United Nations under the aegis of the International Service for Human Rights. There are about five others who work close to full-time with AZADHO. Their offices, which were set up last year, are now relatively well-equipped and staffed.

Droits de l'Homme, Maintenant
(Human Rights Now)

In 1992, the four leading organizations together with the Committee for Democracy and Human Rights (led by a close adviser to opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi) formed *Droits de l'Homme, Maintenant* (Human Rights Now), a forum for coordinating activities. *Droits de l'Homme, Maintenant* successfully resolved a conflict between the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme-Zaïre* (LIZADHO) and AZADHO at one of its initial meetings. The groups then managed to hold the forum together during the next year despite tensions that erupted whenever they sought to put together a joint project. By the end of 1993, *Droits de l'Homme, Maintenant* was largely moribund due to a series of conflicts over grant proposals and a controversial declaration criticizing, not only President Mobutu and Bishop Monsengwo (the President of the National Conference and the High Commission of the Republic), but also the leader of the opposition, Etienne Tshisekedi. Despite some pessimism about the future of the coalition, however, the human rights groups continue to acknowledge the importance of having a forum, both for internal coordination and for collaboration with outside groups.

Ligue des Droits de l'Homme-Zaïre
(Zairian Human Rights League)
(LIZADHO)

LIZADHO is the best established and most professionally connected of the organizations. It produces frequent reports, many of which are of a very high quality. It has also undertaken productive work in international fora, particularly the United Nations. Its founder and leader, Buana Kabue, is a former journalist with extensive experience in Europe and other parts of Africa. He is assisted by about ten full-time staff members, some of whom have now been working with the *Ligue* for several years. It is interesting to note that the *Ligue* is the only one of the major Kinshasa-based groups to have a number of women working in important positions. There are also a significant, but varying, number of volunteer collaborators. The offices of the *Ligue* are large and well-equipped.

One of LIZADHO's top priorities for the coming year is to build the documentation center that it has already begun in one part of the office. In addition, the *Ligue* has been very actively seeking support to train and put into place election monitors. On a small scale, they have already undertaken some training courses. There is also a plan for training paralegals. The *Ligue* is working very closely with the NGOs connected with FOLEZA.

Voix des Sans Voix pour les Droits de l'Homme
(Voice of the Voiceless for Human Rights)
(VSV)

La Voix des Sans Voix pour les Droits de l'Homme (VSV) is the only one of the major groups that existed before 1990. It operated clandestinely for several years before that, producing well-documented reports of events in the Kinshasa area. Its fact-finding and reporting on human rights abuses continues to be of a very high quality. In addition, it has collaborated with and even helped to finance other human rights initiatives in Kinshasa, including the *Association des Cadres Pénitentiaires* (the Association of Prison Professionals) and the *Toges Noires* (Black Robes), a small group of magistrates and lawyers involved in human rights. VSV is also sponsoring a theater troupe, a newsletter, *L'Eveil du Patriote*, (together with the CNOGND) which is aimed at popular education in human rights, and a program of assistance to victims of torture.

The President and Vice-President of VSV, Floribert Chebeya and Bruno Lokuta, have been involved in the organization since the beginning. They have added several staff members over the years.

Since *Droits de l'Homme, Maintenant* was formed in 1992, a number of other groups have emerged in the Kinshasa area which are engaged in human rights activities. These include:

Association pour la Promotion d'un Audiovisuel Responsable et Démocratique
(APARD)

APARD is a press and broadcast rights group that was created primarily by broadcast journalists, most of whom were eventually dismissed from their positions at the Voice of Zaire. The members include some of the best, young broadcast journalists in the country. They have no office or full-time staff. Their activities have been largely limited to press releases and other public declarations.

Association des Cadres Pénitentiaires
(The Association of Prison Professionals)

The *Association des Cadres Pénitentiaires* was created in 1990 by graduates of the special prison training of the *Ecole de Formation du Personnel Judiciaire* (Training School for Judicial Personnel). Without any financial support, they prepared two high-quality reports on prison conditions which they presented to the National Conference. The President, Laurent Kantu Lumpungu Wa Mwamba, collaborated closely with Human Rights Watch during its study of prison conditions in 1993. They have no office.

Ligue Zaïroise des Electeurs
(The Zairian League of Voters)

The *Ligue* was created in 1990, and its members participated as observers in the elections in the Congo. However, it remained relatively inactive for most of the next two years. More recently, it has established a small office (in the space belonging to the *Organisation des Femmes Chrétiennes pour la Démocratie et le Développement* (The Organization of Christian Women for Democracy and Development) and engaged in very active education and training, focussing on professionals and members of other NGOs, including one special training session for women.

Organisation des Femmes Chrétiennes Démocrates pour le Développement
(The Organization of Christian, Democratic Women for Development)
(FCDD)

The *Organisation des Femmes Chrétiennes Démocrates pour le Développement* (FCDD) was created in 1991 to work for the effective integration of women in the process of democratic change. It operates out of an office next to the offices of its President, Mme. Anne Mujinga Kalonji, a chemist who is owner of a pharmaceutical

business. The office is staffed by a volunteer in the mornings. There is no full-time staff, though there are between six and seven active members, all of whom are professionals. The FCDD was active during the National Conference. Since then, they have held numerous seminars on their own or in conjunction with other human rights or development NGOs. Their main activities have been in popular education, although they would like to become involved in paralegal activities.

Service Chrétien des Droits de la Femme
(Christian Service for Women's Rights)

The *Service Chrétien des Droits de la Femme* is housed by AZADHO. Thus far, it has largely been the project of one woman, Marie-Christine Sedua. The *Service* has issued one report on sexual violence during the January 1993 military pillaging. It is interested in reporting on violence against women and engaging in popular education and legal consultation directed at women.

Toges Noires
(The Black Robes)

Les Toges Noires is a small but active group which has been assisted by the *La Voix des Sans Voix*. Its members have used their status as lawyers and magistrates to investigate conditions of detention and focus attention on important cases in the courts. They operate out of the office of Maître Muile Kayembe, their President, though they hope to establish a separate office in the future. Many of the active members, including, in particular Roger Cimanga, come from the public ministry (*parquet*) of the Ndjili district court in Kinshasa.

Groups in Other Regions--South Kivu, North Kivu, Haut Zaire, Shaba

Each region of Zaire presents its own particularities which affect the work and the composition of the human rights groups. For example, the Kivu regions in the east of the country, have closer links, in many regards, with Rwanda and Burundi than with Kinshasa. The Zairian NGO movement was born in South Kivu which today benefits from the most developed and organized "civil society" in the country. In part because of this, the region has resisted disintegration more successfully than the remainder of the country. There has, for example, been no "pillaging" in the principle city of Bukavu.

In **South Kivu**, the human rights groups are an active part of the civil society movement which itself has a strong human rights and democracy bent. In fact, one of the first human rights groups in the country, *Droit pour Tous* (Rights for All), intended primarily to train paralegals and offer legal representation, was founded there in the 1986. Since March 1993, when President Mobutu named a Prime Minister, Faustin Birindwa, from South Kivu, there has been a concerted effort to break the unity of the civil society and the opposition. Though it has had a disruptive effect, the effort had largely failed by the time that Birindwa introduced the disastrous reform of the currency beginning December 1993.

North Kivu, on the other hand, has been the site of the most destructive violence in the country. As many as 7,000 people were killed in the spring of 1993 in what is locally referred to as a war between "Banyarwanda"--Hutus and Tutsis, many of whom have migrated from what is now Rwanda over the last century--and members of other ethnic groups in the region (Nande, Nyanga, Hunde and others). The human rights community, like the larger NGO community, which is strong but somewhat less developed than South Kivu, is riven by suspicion and conflict rooted in ethnic identity and perceived loyalties.

The region of **Haut Zaire** presents an entirely different image. There is a vibrant human rights movement in the region, but it is of a completely different character than the relatively cosmopolitan and diverse groups found in the Kivus. The region of Haut Zaire is cut off from the East and the West. The river barges which have been essential to travel, transport and communication between Kisangani and the west of Zaire, including Kinshasa,

have not been functioning for more than a year. A road between Kisangani and Goma has been largely impassable.

Since 1990, diamonds have been discovered in the region north of Kisangani. There is no organized production, but "mining fever" has taken over the region. Rural schools have been abandoned, and the children of the urban poor have joined the masses of laborers prospecting in the fields. But except for the fifty or more diamond counters in Kisangani (largely, if not exclusively, controlled by Lebanese), there are no signs of wealth benefitting the region. (Diamond exports from the neighboring Central African Republic have apparently increased significantly, however.)

There is little organized civil society in Haut Zaire, but the Catholic church and, in particular, a number of parishes, are deeply involved in human rights and democracy activities. Essentially all of the active human rights groups are connected in some way to the church. While this has its drawbacks, it appears to give the human rights groups a cohesion, structure and sense of purpose that is not always present in other regions.

The **Shaba** region is the most urbanized region of Zaire, having developed with the copper and cobalt mining industries which once provided the country with seventy percent of its foreign income. Its links to the outside world run through Zambia and, increasingly, South Africa. It is a rich and contested region with a history that includes independence and violent efforts at secession. It is currently the site of a vicious and ongoing campaign to rid the region of "Kasaines"--residents whose immediate or distant ancestors came from the neighboring region of Kasai. Although there has certainly been manipulation from the outside, there is also a genuinely local and populist quality to the hate campaign. Its authors are largely local, including, in particular, Governor Kyungu wa Kumwanza, who has built a base of power and authority which makes him much more than a mouthpiece for President Mobutu or the former Prime Minister from Shaba, Nguz Karl-i-Bond.

The human rights movement in Shaba is largely made up of lawyers and other professionals who have benefitted from the excellent schools and career opportunities connected with the mining industry. It does not appear to be closely linked with the civil society movement as a whole which, in any event, is not very developed. In light of Shaba's particular problems, it is important to note that the movement is multi-regional and multi-ethnic, composed of people with origins all over the country.

South Kivu

South Kivu has a highly developed civil society, with a large number of well-financed development NGOs in main city of Bukavu, as well as "development support" organizations, like *Innovations et Réseaux pour le Développement* (IREN) and the *Programme Régional de Formation et d'Echanges pour le Développement* (PREFED). The main coordinating body for non-governmental activities is currently the "Civil Society", which is structured as a non-profit corporation (ASBL). The CRONGD--the first of its kind in Zaire--has had organizational problems in the past year that affect its functioning. It is important to note, however, that CRONGD-Sud-Kivu has valuable assets, including the only independent radio station known to be functioning in the country.

There is a relatively large number of human rights groups that are active, well structured and integrated into the NGO community. The groups include professional and grassroots organizations. Their work is directed almost exclusively inward towards the community itself. There is little monitoring and far more emphasis on education and assistance. Both the Catholic and Protestant churches are active in democracy and human rights activities. The legally-oriented human rights groups--the *Commission Justice et Paix*, *Héritiers de la Justice* and *Bureau d'Assistance Juridique* (BAJ)--coordinate their activities through "HAKI ACO." ACO stands for *Action Croisée pour les Opprimés*, but together the acronym means "Your Rights" in Swahili.

Association pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme
(Association for the Promotion of Human Rights)
(APDH)

The *Association pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme* (APDH) was formed in July 1991. It has about fifty members, eight directors and three permanent commissions, and works out of the office of the Civil Society or one of their members, Maître Kajongu. They have no office of their own. They have been given some assistance by local groups, including IRED, the Anti-Bwaki Society (a large, local NGO) and the Civil Society of South Kivu. One of their recent projects was a December 11, 1993 conference held in Bukavu with local civil, judicial and military authorities to celebrate the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and discuss human rights problems in Zaire. In addition to conferences, they are engaged in human rights education and case work.

Bureau d'Assistance Juridique
(Office of Legal Assistance)
(BAJ)

The BAJ is primarily an organ for training paralegals.

Union des Jeunes Démocrates pour la Réconstruction
(Union of Young Democrats for Reconstruction)
(BBC-Carrefour)

BBC-Carrefour is a group engaged in political consciousness raising and distribution of information. It began as an informal gathering of people at a central Bukavu intersection, the *Rond-Point Martyre de la Rébellion*. Each evening up to 300 people gathered to exchange information garnered from the primarily foreign radio broadcasts. In February 1993, they began to post newspapers at the intersection.

The BBC operated informally without interference until Faustin Birindwa was named Prime Minister in March 1993. Political authorities urged BBC to stop its activities, then attacked the homes of participants. Finally, on July 19, 1993, its billboards were torn down and soldiers occupied the intersection. The leaders were called in to the prosecutor's office. Although they were released uncharged, they were told not to return to the intersection.

At that point, with the assistance of IRED and Maître Kajongu (APDH), BBC organized and created a formal structure. Since then they have acted openly, primarily in spreading news and other information throughout the city. They played an important role in preparing for a general strike on January 19, 1994 to protest President Mobutu's effort to take control of negotiations to end the political deadlock in Kinshasa.

BBC-Carrefour receives essentially no support, except contributions from sympathisers and logistical support from groups like IRED. The members are interested in spreading their organization to rural areas, and developing international contacts to disseminate information.

Commission Justice et Paix-Sud-Kivu
(Justice and Peace Commission of South Kivu)

The *Commission Justice et Paix-Sud-Kivu* is one of the oldest and most active human rights organizations in the country. Already in 1989, the Commission had employed a full-time lawyer to work in the prisons. The Commission is now engaged in education and assistance throughout the twenty-seven parishes of the diocese.

Maître Bagaya works in conjunction with the *Commissions Justice et Paix* of each parish. Much of the work in the interior involves education and organizing to protect land rights. The traditional leaders, supported by administrative authorities, tend to claim rights over all of the land. The *Commission* has tried to inform farmers of their rights and organize informal mediation and reconciliation committees through the churches. Besides land problems, the farmers face problems of arbitrary detention and illegal fines and taxes.

The *Commission* has also put into place a system of controlling detention in police lock-ups. Using their vehicle, the *Commission* accompanies one prosecutor twice a week to the seven detention centers in Bukavu and monthly to one or two in rural areas. Each Thursday they visit the central prison. In addition, the diocese is responsible for bringing food to the prison four times a week.

The Commission publishes a newsletter, The Flash, in French, Swahili and Mashi (a major local language), and trains paralegals.

Héritiers de la Justice
(Heirs of Justice)

Héritiers de la Justice was founded in 1991 by Maître Emmanuel Lubala. Maître Lubala was one of the founding lawyers of *Droits pour Tous*, a 1980s' human rights initiative in South Kivu. He remains the President and one of the Coordinators (*animateurs*) for *Héritiers*, responsible for the "rights of victims." There are six directors, two of whom come from the Protestant churches. The staff is composed of an Executive Secretary, two *Animateurs* and one Secretary/Bookkeeper. The Executive Secretary, Belemba Zahinda, works full-time as does one *Animateur* in education.

Héritiers is involved in mediation, education and training of local officials and "paralegals" (although the organization avoids the term "*parajuriste*" and, instead, uses the term "*agent sociale*").

Maître Lubala is well known and active both in Kivu and in Burundi. In addition to his work with *Héritiers* and the LDGL (of which he is the advisor for legal affairs), he maintains a private practice. *Héritiers* tends to work closely with Protestant churches in and around Bukavu and uses them as a base for reaching out into the community.

Other groups of importance to human rights activities:

Innovations et Réseaux pour le Développement
(IRED)
and
Programme Régional de Formation et d'Echanges pour le Développement
(PREFED)

Both of these organization provide training and support to NGO initiatives. They are extremely important, particularly for new initiatives that do not have access to funding.

Solidarité Paysanne
(Peasant Solidarity)

Solidarité Paysanne was one of the first development NGOs in South Kivu, and has been the starting point for many of the leaders of the NGO movement. With the National Conference, many of its current and past leaders became involved with politics as representatives of the "Civil Society." Although some feel that its purely development activities have suffered, it continues to play a strong role in education and organization generally.

North Kivu

The situation in North Kivu is similar to South Kivu, though less developed. There is a relatively well-developed civil society that has recently been torn by ethnically-based violence. The Catholic church is viewed as pro-Banyarwanda (Hutu and Tutsi who are residents or citizens of Zaire). A majority of the development NGOs have their base in the non-Banyarwanda communities. Some international organizations already had small a presence in Goma, including Oxfam-UK, *Médecins Sans Frontières* (MSF) (Netherlands) and, more recently,

the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Although every effort at reconciliation faces intense suspicion, there has been some success at convincing displaced people to return peacefully to their homes. On the other hand, the problems in the northern part of North Kivu--violence in the region of Bunia along the Ugandan border--has largely escaped the attention of groups in Goma.

Like South Kivu, there are both grassroots and professional initiatives that are well-structured and active. Again, like South Kivu, monitoring has not been a high priority. Recently, group activities have been focused on attempts at reconciliation. Otherwise, there is strong emphasis on education and assistance.

Association Muungano-Solidarité
(Muungano)

Muungano is an extraordinary association created as the *Maison Caritas Paroissiale* in 1984. It is engaged in all forms of education, child support and rehabilitation. Since 1989, *Muungano* has trained paralegals for the community. It has also played a special role in connection with the prison which sits just outside its walls.

Centre de Formation pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme
(Training Center for the Promotion of Human Rights)
(CFPD)

CFPD was formed in 1992 by young lawyers and associates in Goma. It has held a number of training sessions in basic rights. Its lawyers have taken various human rights-related cases without pay. One of its members is in the High Council of the Republic in Kinshasa. The CFPD participates in the Coordination Committee for urgent aid to the displaced people of the zones of Walikale, Rutshuru and Masisi.

Commission Justice et Paix-Nord-Kivu
(Justice and Peace Commission of North Kivu)

The *Commission Justice et Paix* is significant, though less active in North Kivu than in South Kivu. Essentially the structure is the same as in South Kivu, as is the means of relating to the individual parishes. The *Commission* was established in 1991 within the development bureau of the diocese. The main activities are training and judicial assistance. Its office is perhaps the only place where "walk-in" clients can be received, though a lawyer is not present full-time. It is also very active in controlling detention in the police lock-ups. It issues regular reports and is developing a training program for police.

Like other groups, the work of the *Commission* has been essentially taken over by the ethnic conflict. Their activities are focused on discussing the causes of the war and teaching people to resist manipulation from the outside.

Groupe d'Appui-Conseils aux Réalisations pour le Développement Endogène
(Advice and Support Group for the Realization of Internal Development)
(GRACE)

The *Groupe d'Appui-Conseils aux Réalisations pour le Développement Endogène* (GRACE) was created in December 1991 by two members with considerable experience in other associations. In an environment where groups tend to be identified either with the Banyarwanda or other ethnic groups, GRACE is recognized to be multi-ethnic. There are four principal associates, including Joseph Mudumbi, a lawyer who is also President of the LDGL, two development specialists and one engineer. GRACE has modestly furnished but ample office space, with one of three rooms reserved for a library and documentation center. There are three permanent staff members: a Secretary, a Librarian and an Assistant.

Initially, GRACE worked in three areas: civic education and judicial aid; support for development associations; and training and documentation. It publishes leaflets, participates in seminars and has translated international human rights texts into the Swahili spoken in Kivu. Like all of the groups in the region, its work was abruptly stopped when "war" broke out in the Walikali region in March 1993. Since then, it has been very active together with Oxfam and other groups in the Coordinating Committee ("Coordination Committee for Urgent Aid to the Displaced People of the Zones of Walikale, Rutshuru and Masisi") in working for ethnic reconciliation.

Recently GRACE has begun a partnership program to develop mutual support mechanisms with groups in the area. One of the first partnership agreements is with the recently created "Free University of the Great Lakes Region." GRACE will take second-year law students for July and August. Another agreement is with PAIF, an initiative for women's development.

Other groups of importance to human rights activities:

Groupe d'Etudes et d'Action pour un Développement Bien Défini
(Study and Action Group for a Well-Defined Development)
(GEAD)

The *Groupe d'Etudes et d'Action pour un Développement Bien Défini* (GEAD) is a non-governmental development organization which, like many of the other NGOs, grew out of contacts with *Solidarité Paysanne*. It is deeply involved in the non-Banyarwanda communities. As President of the CRONGD-Nord-Kivu, GEAD's President, Bushoki, has been involved in assisting in the preparation of general reports on the violence in North Kivu.

Oxfam-UK

The Oxfam office in Goma is actively involved in all of the activities related to ethnic reconciliation, although British law seems to limit its involvement in human rights support *per se*.

Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines
(Program for Development Centered on Women)
(PAIF)

Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines (PAIF) is a rare initiative, founded by a group of experienced professional women who felt marginalized and coopted trying to work within the development NGOs. They have recently entered into a cooperative agreement with GRACE. Their plans include training, income-generating activities for women, information and educational programs.

Syndicat des Consommateurs de l'Eau et de l'Electricité
(Union of Consumers of Electricity and Water)

The *Syndicat des Consommateurs de l'Eau et de l'Electricité* has been actively involved in educating people about their rights generally, using many of the materials that come from human rights groups in Kinshasa.

Haut Zaire

Haut Zaire has been relatively calm, though largely cut off from the rest of the country. The civil society is isolated and poorly developed. Communication and travel within the region are difficult. The Catholic church appears to provide the main structure for humanitarian assistance and other support. The significant human

rights groups all function in connection with the Catholic church under the umbrella of *Justice et Libération* (Justice and Liberation) whose major officers are all clerics.

Justice et Libération
(Justice and Liberation)

Justice et Libération is an extremely active organization that includes as members all of the functioning human rights groups in Kisangani. It recently celebrated its second anniversary in a major gathering attended by representatives from two of the human rights groups in Kinshasa, among others. The President is a young Zairian priest who is in charge of a program for children in the city. He uses his travels through town to mobilize the other human rights groups and help coordinate their activities.

Justice et Libération reflects a "Christian" preference for the poor. It is engaged in education, training and support for human rights actions. It issues papers and holds open meetings. The Executive Committee meets monthly.

Principal members of *Justice et Libération* are *Les Amis de Nelson Mandela pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (The Friends of Nelson Mandela), Lotus, and Horeb. All of these groups are grassroots human rights organizations which use the parish space for their own meetings and many of their activities. There are ten to twenty active members in each group. They have been involved in disseminating information, popular education and consciousness raising. Because of the cooperation within the diocese, there are many occasions when the groups travel to areas of the interior to aid in popular education activities.

Shaba (Katanga)

Shaba is a developed mining region with a sophisticated urban middle class. It is torn by divisions between original inhabitants ("Katangans") and those who have settled in the region since the period of colonization--primarily coming from the neighboring region of Kasai. The human rights groups are primarily professional associations with links to the church and the University in Lubumbashi.

Ligue des Droits de l'Homme
(Human Rights League-Katanga Branch)
(LIZADHO)

The Katanga branch of LIZADHO (based in Kinshasa) has been quite active during the past few years, at least in holding meetings and issuing press statements. There is no permanent staff, but there are members--mostly young professionals--in many of the major cities of Shaba.

Centre des Droits de l'Homme et du Droit Humanitaire
(Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law)
(CDH)

The CDH was created in January 1993 by Jean Mbuyu Luyongola, formerly President of LIZADHO in Katanga and head of the Lubumbashi Bar Association. CDH publishes a newsletter, *La Voix du CDH*, and has put out a few reports. Its major goal is to establish a documentation center and to engage in human rights education and training.

Commission Justice et Paix-Shaba
(Justice and Peace Commission)

There is a functioning *Commission Justice et Paix* in Lubumbashi which is engaged in some legal work, although it does not have a full-time legal capacity.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

MALAWI

Despite the ill health and growing incapacity of President-for-Life Hastings Kamuzu Banda, his persona continues to dominate the political and civil context of present-day Malawi, even 30 years after he first took the reins of power at independence. Regardless of the momentous transition from a single-party dictatorship to a multitude of political groupings in 1992 and 1993, Malawians remain under the yoke and domination of Banda's Malawian Congress Party (MCP). With an election slated for May 17, 1994, all attention has turned to the levelling of the political playing field and the potential of the opposition political forces to break the MCP's domination of political activity in the country. The recent past has also seen the intervention of the Army for the first time in the political framework of the country, an event welcomed by many observers (including local human rights monitors), but one portending an uncertain (and even ominous) future in terms of civil/military relations in the country, and by implication, the operation of human rights groups. This occurred within the context of the Army's dismantling of the MCP's "Tonton Macoutes"--the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP)--who had been created by the ruling party as a secret police, albeit under the guise of a youth wing. It is troubling that very few human rights organizations (HROs) are even questioning the mode or the method by which the dismantling of the organization was effected, as well as the possible ramifications that this action has on the general context of human rights and freedoms in the country. This is explicable in terms of the relative youth of the groups in Malawi, and is also a manifestation of their being a direct outgrowth of the opposition movement in the country.

Given the fairly extensive legacy of oppression coupled with the suppression of several of the major human rights and political cases, an immediate task for HROs is the reconstruction of the past and the attempt to seek recompense for it. This is nevertheless taking place in a situation (akin to that of Kenya in the run-up to the 1992 elections) where the opposition is poised to fracture into several fragments and thus fail to unseat the MCP's monopoly of the political process. This could have significant implications for the future operation of HROs. Even if the MCP is unseated, HROs in Malawi must be prepared to operate in a fashion that is independent of the political context. Unfortunately, it is as yet unclear whether the emerging groups are merely facades, or extensions of the opposition political forces, rather than being genuinely committed to the broader struggle for human rights.

Church and Society Department of the Blantyre Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP)

Established on November 25, 1993, the Church and Society (C&S) Department of the Blantyre Synod is part of the human rights department, and intends to concentrate on civic education, reporting and monitoring. C&S has designed a course to educate voters on their rights (which covers the theology of human rights), a course on democratic principles (which covers the implications of voting), and basic human rights as contained in the international human rights conventions and other relevant instruments. The seminars are designed to train trainers, who will then proceed into the field and train others, so as to facilitate the development of a community-based scheme. The Department also intends to coordinate its efforts more closely with other human rights groups.

The Civil Liberties Commission (CLC)

Established in early 1992, the Civil Liberties Commission (CLC) developed as an expression of the need for organized monitoring of human rights violations by domestic groups--a function previously carried out by external organizations. However, CLC remains a loose network of individuals rather than an organization with clearly-defined objectives in actual operation. CLC's objectives are the documentation of human rights abuses, public education, and case action on the behalf of victims of abuse. Few strides have been made with respect to either public education or documentation, and there is still exploration of the possibilities of activating this aspect of the CLC's functions. Most of CLC's achievements have been registered in case action, where there has been

success in obtaining judicial review of a police decision preventing lawyers from visiting detained clients without permission, and questions relating to the right to bail. The CLC intends to establish a national rights network based in each of the twenty-four districts of the country to act as information sources on human rights questions.

Evangelical Alliance for Rights and Development (EVARD)

The main focus of EVARD is civic education related to the general elections projected for May 1994, but also beyond this time, especially because of the newness of opposition politics and problems associated with the legacy of a single-party dictatorship. When formed in 1988, EVARD initially focused on the plight of Mozambican refugees in the south of the country, in particular dealing with questions of the environment and traditional relief work.

Human Rights Movement of the Christian Council of Malawi (HRM/CCM)

The Human Rights Movement (HRM) was founded by the Christian Council of Malawi (CCM) in November 1992, but a lack of resources prevented its activation until a year later when Reverend Chande Mhone was appointed Human Rights Coordinator. As a result, the organization is still in its infancy, and has yet to clearly define its role and function in the human rights struggle. The broad focus of HRM is human rights abuse (monitoring, exposure, documentation and seeking accountability); education (civic and voting rights); and reporting on violations (for example, arrest, detention, and police brutality). HRM is built around a National Human Rights Forum, which is composed of fifteen to twenty members who are annually elected from regional human rights fora. Supervision of all activities at the headquarters in Lilongwe is under the Coordinator. The Coordinator is also responsible for the initiation of national programs and campaigns, liaising with the press, and the promotion of linkages with other groups and activists (lawyers, and so on) in the field.

Legal Resources Centre (LRC)

Established in March 1993 under the auspices of the Law Society of Malawi (LSM), the LRC began actual operation in July of the same year. Headed by veteran activist and former long-time Banda detainee Vera Chirwa, the LRC focuses on the education of Malawians about their human rights, legal representation of the indigent and low-income earners, as well as related research. The LRC has been particularly active in holding conferences on constitutional and electoral reform. It intends to expand its activities to the investigation of past abuses, and to this end, has placed several advertisements in the local papers requesting information. A number of cases have already been handled by the LRC, predominantly related to police brutality, illegal detention and unlawful deaths. The LRC also intends to train paralegals to carry out human rights work. Documentation is already part of the program of the LRC, but the library is still in its infancy and requires further development.

- Joe Oloka-Onyango

MOZAMBIQUE

INTRODUCTION: 1975-1993--From "garrison socialism" to "savage capitalism"

On a September 1993 visit to Mozambique's five pre-university secondary schools, almost one year after the October 4, 1992 signing of the General Peace Accord between the ruling *Frente para a Libertação de Moçambique* (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) (FRELIMO) and the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Mozambican National Resistance) (RENAMO), I asked a number of final year students what they understood by the term democracy. Almost all stressed freedom of expression and access to reliable information. For these young people, all of whom were born just before or just after Mozambique's independence in 1975 and whose only social and political experience has been that of the centrally-controlled FRELIMO state, hopes for the future are pinned to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration.

During my visit in December 1993, it became clear that, at least as far as the literate urban population is concerned, peace and the introduction of political freedoms and civil rights are the welcome benefits of the passage from the one-party socialist state to multi-party democracy. Indeed the Constitution of 1990 enshrines all basic human rights and sets the stage for the formation of a system of governance based on liberal principles. The seamier features of "garrison socialism"² such as the much-feared security police, the *Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular* (National Service for Popular Security) (SNASP), political detentions, re-education camps, travel passes, public floggings and executions, all of which have been well-documented,³ are now things of the past. The press, which is gradually freeing itself from government control, is critical and lively. Ratification of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its second Optional Protocol, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women are further indicators of the determination of Mozambique to brush away its Marxist-Leninist past to join the "New World Order."

By the same token, however, the perceived erosion of basic social and economic rights, in particular the rights to health, education and an adequate standard of living, are also attributed to the new order. In the opinion of many, the *Programa de Reabilitação Económica e Social* (Economic and Social Rehabilitation Program) (PRES), financed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and in operation since 1987, and concomitant changes in governance, while securing many basic freedoms and introducing necessary economic reforms, have so far had the overall effect of replacing "garrison socialism" by "savage capitalism."⁴ The contrast between the ostentatious wealth of the foreign technical advisors and the few Mozambicans who are able to benefit from the flow of development aid, and the poverty of the majority is the most strikingly visible feature of Maputo, and, to a lesser extent, of the provincial capitals. Furthermore, drastic cuts in government spending threaten to implode the State. Declining civil service salaries encourage public functionaries either to abandon the State for the greener pastures of the "private sector" or the mushrooming international and national NGOs, or to remain in the State by boosting their government salaries from alternative sources. Corruption seeps downwards, resulting in the denial of the most basic services to those who cannot afford to "purchase" them. The press and the radio comment daily on the fact that access to public schools and public health services is increasingly dependent on the payment of bribes to teachers and health officials. By the same logic, policemen and women are suspected of a greater interest in exacting bribes than furthering justice. Because

² This term, attributed to Professor John Markakis, is utilized by the authors of the excellent Africa Watch Report Conspicuous Destruction: War, Famine and the Reform Process in Mozambique, Human Rights Watch: New York, Washington, Los Angeles, London, 1992.

³ Conspicuous Destruction, Human Rights in Developing Countries 1989 Yearbook, Amnesty International Report 1989, 1991.

⁴ This term was coined some years back to describe the economic (dis)order in Brazil.

trained lawyers find more lucrative employ in the private sector, the depleted judicial system is unable to meet out justice in a timely fashion. Men and women accused of common crimes languish in appalling prisons for up to four years before judgments are handed down. As a result, the people themselves are meeting out "justice" with their own hands. Lynchings of suspected criminals have become a regular feature of suburban life and the principal attraction of Mozambique Radio's early-morning program "*Onda Matinal*" (Morning Wave). On Monday December 13, 1993, the *Onda Matinal* reporter, having interviewed people involved in two lynchings, commented: "The increase in the tide of criminality is causing many people to believe that in our country laws do not exist."

In general terms, therefore, the passage from the Marxist-Leninist phase of Mozambique's post-independence history to the new phase of "multi-party democracy" has effectively resulted in a year of peace, the formal introduction of all basic human rights and the promise of general elections in October 1994. While this marks a dramatic improvement on the past, it must nevertheless be noted that in practice the principal beneficiaries of the new liberal dispensation are the urban elites. While these people now enjoy most of the trappings of a modern democracy, the urban and rural poor struggle to survive in a most hostile environment caused by the ravages of war--over two million people were forced to seek refuge in the urban centers or in neighboring countries--and the incapacity of an impoverished and corrupt State to guarantee rights to personal security, protection of the law, work, an adequate standard of living, health and education. In effect, only those rights which do not require the active intervention of the State, such as the freedoms of expression, association, movement, and so on, are freely available to all. Those that depend on concrete State action, such as social and economic rights and the right to protection under the law, are increasingly available only to those who can afford to purchase them.

The above comments apply strictly only to those areas of the country controlled by the FRELIMO government. Knowledge about the human rights situation in RENAMO-held regions--almost all of them rural areas--is sparse. Recently, however, RENAMO has been accused of utilizing brutal means to curb opposition, and while RENAMO members have total freedom of movement throughout the country, people from FRELIMO areas wishing to enter RENAMO zones are obliged to obtain permission from local RENAMO officials. Although RENAMO President, Afonso Dhlakama, has recently held political rallies in a number of FRELIMO-controlled areas, including the Province of Gaza--home of FRELIMO's three Presidents Mondlane, Machel and Chissano--similar FRELIMO events have not been reported in RENAMO-controlled zones.

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISM

From within the State (1975-1993)

A marked characteristic of the FRELIMO State was that opposition to its more repressive laws and actions came from within its own ranks. While the leadership introduced public flogging, re-education camps and the like, other government officials were responsible for conducting research on traditional law and undertaking public education programs on the rights of citizens under the law.

From independence in 1975 until the promulgation of the 1990 Constitution, non-governmental organizations were beyond the law. All social thought and action emanated from within the State and the Party, which operated through "mass movements," such as the *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (Organization of Mozambican Women) (OMM), the *Organização do Trabalhador Moçambicano* (Organization of Mozambican Workers) (OTM), and the *Organização do Jornalista Moçambicano* (Organization of Mozambican Journalists) (OJM). Soon after independence in 1975 and the implementation of "garrison socialism," a process of the gradual erosion of human rights began. At first this involved the withdrawal of certain "first generation" rights (freedom of expression, association, and movement) in the name of socialist development, which was supposed to give priority to "second generation" rights such as the rights to education, health and a decent standard of living. With the intensification of the Cold War and the destabilization policies of neighboring South Africa which provided support for the rebel RENAMO, however, increasingly harsh measures were adopted to curb what were seen as "the enemies within." These included "Operation Production" by which the urban unemployed--including many single women accused of being prostitutes--were shipped out to be more productive in the distant province of Niassa, "re-education camps" to which thousands were banished without due legal process, and detention without trial, flogging and the death penalty. The *Grupos Dinamizadores* (Dynamizing Groups),

which had originally been conceived as community organizers, aided the much feared East German-trained SNASP in hunting out "internal enemies." Even the Law Faculty of the *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* (Eduardo Mondlane University) (UEM) was closed down in 1984 for reasons which have never been made explicit, but which certainly had to do with a desire to eradicate this potential focus of opposition to the regime.

However monolithic the design of the FRELIMO State may have been, many of its servants who had never affiliated themselves to the ruling party held contrary views to prevailing policy. Notable among these was a small group of lawyers working within the Ministry of Justice and the judicial system. Responsible for designing a system of "popular justice" after independence, they came to play a significant role in attempting to mitigate the worst effects of repressive legislation and judicial practice. Avoiding open confrontation with government, they operated within the law and existing political conditions to assuage the effects of the wave of repression. They developed a public education campaign designed to increase citizens' awareness of their rights under the law, and utilized their positions of influence to release as many citizens as possible from the injustices of detention without trial and, which amounted to much the same thing, banishment to re-education camps. In addition, they embarked upon a prison reform program and conducted important research to develop legislation--particularly in relation to family law--which would take into account the cultural, social and political specificities of Mozambique's many ethnic groups.⁵ In 1987, the Minister of Justice established what was called the Human Rights Dossier, chaired by the Vice-President of the High Court, José Noberto Carrilho, and composed of three other prominent lawyers and judges. Its mandate was to oversee the human rights situation in the country and it was instrumental in bringing about the ratifications of the international covenants and conventions mentioned earlier.

To date, lawyers from the Ministry of Justice's *Departamento de Investigação e Legislação* (Department of Research and Legislation) (DIL) and the *Instituto Nacional de Assistência Jurídica* (National Institute for Legal Assistance) (INAJ), in particular Anna Pessoa and Abdul Carrimo, continue to be most active in promoting citizens' rights through the publication of pamphlets and a series of "Know Your Rights" programs broadcast over the State-controlled Mozambique Radio. In 1989, it was this same group of lawyers which was responsible for drafting the new liberal Constitution which was approved by the Assembly of the Republic in 1990 after extensive public debate. More recently they have been active in drawing up the new Electoral Law, which was approved in December 1993.

The emergence of non-governmental activism (1990-1993)

With freedom of association guaranteed under the new Constitution and with abundant resources available for the "strengthening of civil society" from international NGOs, foreign governments and foundations, and multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations system, a number of Mozambican non-governmental organizations have come into being over the past three years. Most of these organizations address issues of rural and urban development. In tune with the dominant development ideologies of the times, they place strong emphasis on "democracy," "popular participation," and the "empowerment" of women. Notable among these are the *Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade* (Mozambican Community Development Foundation), the *Associação PROGRESSO* (Progresso Association), *Mulher, Lei e Desenvolvimento* (Women, Law and Development Association) (MULEIDE), and *Associação Moçambicana para a Defesa da Família* (Mozambican Association for the Defense of the Family) (AMODEFA). The Canadian NGO, Cooperation Canada Mozambique (*Cooperação Canadá Moçambique*) (COCAMO), has been very active in the provincial capital of Nampula where it has given birth to three local NGOs, an adult education organization (Karibu), the *União Geral de Cooperativas* (General Cooperatives Union) (UGC), and *Associação de Mulheres Rurais* (Association of Rural Women) (AMR). In response to the economic and political dominance of the southern provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, a number of provincial development organizations have also recently been formed in the northern and central provinces. In Nampula, *Mwakhulele* ("respond" in Emakhuwa, the dominant language of Nampula) was formed to promote pride in Makhuwa culture. In

⁵ It is difficult objectively to quantify ethnic plurality in Mozambique since boundaries between ethnic groups and linguistic communities are in a constant state of flux and are defined by changing criteria. The River Save divides the country into two descent systems, however. Groups to the north practice matrilineal descent, while those to the south, patrilineal descent.

Quelimane, the *Movimento Cívico de Zambézia* (Civic Movement for Zambezia) was founded by a group of intellectuals to develop projects in the Province of Zambezia.

While most of these movements operate to further social and economic rights, only MULEIDE places special emphasis on constitutionality and the law, conducting public education campaigns and providing legal assistance in cases of divorce and separation. MULEIDE played a significant role in campaigning for the Assembly of the Republic to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Non-governmental human rights activities in the strict sense of the term are thus far confined to teaching at the Law Faculty of the UEM and two infant organizations, NARIHRA (Network of Activists and Researchers on Integrated Human Rights in Africa) and the *Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos do Homem* (Mozambican League for Human Rights).

As one Mozambican sociologist and political commentator observed, resuming the thought of the many people which whom the researcher talked, ideology is a thing of the past. The issues are now about ethics. Dignity, he suggests, is giving way to subservience. As the State implodes and corruption and dishonesty become the norm rather than the exception, the restoration of public ethics and the defense of human rights are fundamental to safeguard a society in massive transition from Marxism-Leninism to multi-party democracy, and from bitter war to a lasting peace. The obstacles are legion. The economy is in tatters, 78 percent of the state budget is provided by foreign aid, the minimum wage of about US\$14 per month cannot purchase subsistence, and mistrust between the leadership of RENAMO and FRELIMO is proving difficult to overcome. On the positive side, civil and political liberties are formally guaranteed by the Constitution, the press is increasingly critical and free from government control, the peace has held, and reconciliation in most rural areas is a reality.

The ability of a Mozambican human rights movement to become firmly established will not depend on the availability of international funds and advice alone. Peace and the construction of democratic governance may be facilitated by the United Nations, but their consolidation will surely depend ultimately on Mozambicans' own ideas and efforts. By the same token, while international support for human rights is readily available, strong and legitimate human rights organizations will emerge from within Mozambican society through the will and determination of committed groups and individuals.

Given the incipient nature of the human rights organizations in Mozambique, the list of their needs seems endless. However, in reality, they are more basic than endless. While most would agree on the extreme importance of an independent human rights movement as a fundamental guardian of the rights of citizens at this time of political and economic turmoil, effective forms of organization and action have yet to be found.

There is much that the international community can do in this situation, the effects of which could be either negative or positive. Negative effects will result from the wanton distribution of funds and advice to projects whose rhetoric is appealing but whose basis might be shaky. Positive effects will come from the establishment and promotion of the kind of dialogue that allows for the sharing of understandings rather than the imposition of agendas. The incipient Mozambican human rights movement already counts on dedicated men and women, but they would all like to know more about the human rights field in order to define their own goals and strategies.

Thus, assistance provided to the nascent human rights community of Mozambique should be structured around the imparting of knowledge rather than advice. This can be done by:

- making available as much relevant literature as possible, if necessary translating key texts into Portuguese; and
- funding human rights exchanges between Mozambique and other countries.

Experienced human rights workers from abroad could visit Mozambique to converse with their Mozambican counterparts and Mozambican activists would certainly benefit from visits to established organizations elsewhere. These exchanges should initially concentrate on enabling the Mozambicans to define their primary goals and viable strategies for action. By these means, the international community may be able to contribute to a process whereby the human rights field is allowed to develop on the sound basis of local ideas and people. Even if many Mozambican institutions will remain financially dependent on the international donor community

for some time to come, there is no reason why they should as a consequence lose control over the forms, goals and strategies of their own institutions.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

***Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)**

In 1993, under the leadership of the Director and Vice-Director of the Faculty of Law of the *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane*, Machatine Munguambe and Teodósio Uate respectively, Human Rights was introduced as a regular discipline in the undergraduate curriculum. Directed by Teodósio Uate, the course covers the history of the human rights movement with special reference to the situation in Mozambique.

***Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos do Homem* (The Mozambican League for Human Rights)**

Invited to the World Conference on Human Rights because of her interest in forming an Association of Women Lawyers in Mozambique, Maria Alice Mabota, a third year law student at the UEM Law Faculty, was exposed for the first time to a major human rights discussion. In further contact with other Portuguese-speaking delegates, she decided that to found such a movement in Mozambique. Armed with a copy of the statutes of the Guinea-Bissau League for Human Rights, she drew up a very similar document for Mozambique and organized a few informal meetings with about a dozen Maputo intellectuals drawn from the press, government and the universities.

The primary goals, strategies and methods of the *Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos do Homem* have not yet been clearly defined. Areas of possible concern are the state of prisons, abuses by public officials, in particular the police, and the increasing poverty of the majority of the population.

Network of African Researchers and Intellectuals on Integrated Human Rights in Africa (NARIHRA)

In 1991 lawyers from throughout Africa met to discuss human rights issues in the continent. A year later another workshop resulted in the foundation of the Network of African Researchers and Intellectuals on Integrated Human Rights in Africa (NARIHRA), under the Presidency of Teodósio Uate and with Kenyan lawyer, Shadrack Gutto, as Secretary General. Members of the Executive Committee were drawn from Ethiopia, Egypt, and Senegal. For the first year, MULEIDE provided NARIHRA with an office space and a post box number, but withdrew these services due to NARIHRA inaction. The organization has not been registered in Mozambique.

The Religious Community

The Catholic Church, the Protestant *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique* (CCM) and, to a lesser extent, the Islamic Council and the Islamic Congress, have played a crucial role in bringing peace to Mozambique.⁶ During the 1980s the Protestant churches initiated mediation between RENAMO and FRELIMO. The Catholic Church then hosted the peace negotiations (1990-1992) at the Santo Egídio Community in Rome. Subsequently the churches have launched reconciliation programs and have been instrumental in facilitating collaboration between

⁶ I rely heavily on the data and insights of Alex Vines and Ken Wilson in their, "Churches and the Peace Process in Mozambique," unpublished paper presented to "The Christian Churches and Africa's Democratization" conference, 20-23 September 1993, University of Leeds.

the government and RENAMO at the local level. After having been one of the major targets of FRELIMO anti-colonial ire (in 1975 all church assets and services were nationalized), the churches are now perceived as a neutral force for peace and justice.

Comissão Católica de Justiça e Paz
(Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace)

Presided over by the Archbishop of Beira, Dom Jaime Gonçalves--who also heads CARITAS-Mozambique--the *Comissão Católica de Justiça e Paz* has been inactive since the early 1980s, when protests were made over the forced relocation into communal villages, torture, public floggings and executions and "disappearances." Now, however, the *Comissão* appears to be taking on an active role again. In 1992 a national seminar was held under the auspices of CARITAS on "Reconciliation," and in 1993 a second was organized around the theme of human rights. Important initiatives are also being undertaken at the parish level, where small groups of priests and lay people conduct training sessions in politics and economics in an effort to prepare the people for the exercise of the democratic vote in 1994. These groups are also encouraged to document "situations of injustice." In the archdiocese of Maputo, Father José Angel of the industrial parish of Nhangene is the "Spiritual Animator" of the *Comissão Católica de Justiça e Paz*. With minimal resources he has concentrated his work thus far on social and economic rights, taking up cases of non-payment of salaries as well as unjust and uncompensated dismissals in the local factories. He would like to extend his work to the documentation and denunciation of the arbitrary behavior of the police, but lacks staff and resources for the compilation of reliable data.

Conselho Cristão de Moçambique
(The Christian Council of Mozambique)
(CCM)

Composed of the Protestant churches and increasing numbers of "syncretic" Christian churches (Mazion), the *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique* (CCM) is deeply involved in preparing the people, especially the poor, for taking a more active role in relation to their rights. Through the Program for Justice and Peace, which is a continuation of the Program for Peace and Reconciliation which preceded the General Peace Accord and which is headed by the Anglican Bishop of Maputo, Dinis Sengulane, popular education programs are developed for all the member churches. In the context of the preparations for Mozambique's first general elections, the CCM is most active in voter education. The CCM is, however, like the non-governmental organizations mentioned earlier, less concerned with strictly legal issues and "first generation" rights and more with growing poverty. The emphasis lies in stimulating initiative and local level and of encouraging active participation among a population which has for many years been necessarily the passive object of government action. Communities are being encouraged to speak out on such issues as low wages, unemployment, the abuse of authority and access to land. The CCM has been in constant dialogue with Maria Alice Mabota, who has requested their advice and support for the League.

- Peter Fry

NAMIBIA

Four years after independence, Namibia is struggling to put behind it a past of egregious human rights violations under the South African colonising power. In order to do this, it has adopted a two-faceted policy--one of redress, the other of national "reconciliation". Although there have as yet been no major problems with the implementation of the policy, both aspects are very finely balanced and face the ever-present danger of causing more problems than they solve. Within this paradigm, the activities of SWAPO (now the ruling party) as a liberation movement have also come under scrutiny, with demands for the establishment of a "Truth Commission" to deal with the legacy of human rights violations by both sides in the guerrilla war. National reconciliation is designed to encourage a collective working together of all Namibians to build a new nation and heal the wounds of the past. This theme is abundantly clear in Namibia's constitution, which is recognised as an exemplary document as far as the protection of human rights is concerned.

There are several problems inherent in the policy of national reconciliation, not least of which is SWAPO's extreme reluctance to allow a thorough investigation of its past. In addition, many South Africans who were allegedly deeply involved in atrocities during the liberation struggle today occupy prominent positions in the Namibian government and law enforcement agencies. Every so often an event, such as the opening of the Anton Lubowski inquest⁷, will bring this issue to the fore. The question of redress has been manifested in the land question, as well as in unemployment and problems of housing for the majority black population. The measures so far adopted, coupled with economic restructuring, appear to have exacerbated the problem.

One issue on which the performance of the Namibian government has been extremely negative is the question of refugees, although human rights organizations report that there appears to have been a relaxation in the garrison attitude that prevailed in the period immediately following independence. Otherwise, the government has been notorious for forcibly returning refugees fleeing from some of its neighbours, and is extremely sensitive to accusations of having done so. On the positive side, the Namibian government is generally sensitive to the need for reform of the law enforcement agencies inherited at independence and reconstitution of the juvenile justice system.

Human Rights and Documentation Centre (University of Namibia)

Following the establishment of the University of Namibia in 1992, a Faculty of Law was established, with a strong emphasis on the need for a human rights component in its curriculum. At the same time, the Ministry of Justice wanted to set up a human rights and documentation centre. Soon after independence it was decided to locate the centre at the Faculty. After several bureaucratic bottlenecks, the Centre came into existence, albeit without any personnel.

Still in its formative stages of development, the Centre intends to have both a national and regional focus. The latter has already begun to crystallize, with the Centre forming part of a twinning linkage with several Southern African and European universities. Locally, the Centre is involved in the translation of the Namibian Constitution, and, in particular, the Bill of Rights, into simple and accessible language. The Centre has already begun collecting library materials.

Legal Assistance Centre (LAC)

LAC was established in mid-1988 to address the issue of public interest litigation before independence. At that time the work of LAC mainly related to the liberation war, access to the legal system, relief to security victims (especially in Northern Namibia), and the persecution of persons accused of hosting guerrillas. Since

⁷ Anton Lubowski was SWAPO's Deputy Election Director and its highest-ranking white member. He was assassinated on September 12, 1988. Reports in the international press implicated members of the South African police in the killing.

independence there has been a reassessment of the goals and needs of the Centre, leading to an emphasis on legal education rather than litigation. In this regard, the Centre has carried out extensive work, and publications in several languages are disseminated over a large part of the country. The Centre has developed several other facets of human rights work, including women and children's rights; legal work and litigation, especially related to unlawful police action; police education and training; the status of refugees; cooperative unions; housing; AIDS; reform of criminal law and justice; test case litigation; and networking.

The Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID)

The researcher was unable to interview any NID official during his visit to Namibia, and thus the following information relating to NID was culled from publications received.

Set up towards the end of 1991, the NID is a kind of think tank that develops educational programs and utilizes the media, seminars, discussion groups and community information programs, in a quest to "...secure support and advice for the development and execution of training and information programs aimed at educating and informing Namibians about the content of the Namibian Constitution and principles of multi-party democracy." To this end NID has held a number of seminars and conferences on a variety of issues, with a focus on civic education, public information and what it refers to as "Education for Democracy". The NID has also published a number of documents on women's rights, affirmative action and ethnicity, under the rubric of a publication called Namibian Views. It evidently operates in close collaboration with the German Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the aid agency of the German Christian Democratic party. Although it carries out many human rights-related activities, it is apparent that the community at large does not quite consider it as a human rights organization.

National Society for Human Rights (NSHR)

The National Society for Human Rights (NSHR) was established on December 1, 1989 as an organization to address both the colonial past and the independent future. It is involved in monitoring, campaigning and lobbying, legal defence, research and reporting. One of its primary areas of focus has been the past violations of SWAPO (the ruling party), when it was still a liberation movement, and allegations made against it of torture and "disappearance" of opponents. The Society is organized around a branch network, linked to the headquarters based in Windhoek, but is premised on what the Director described as an "ethnolinguistic" philosophy, with a cross-section of the nationalities of Namibia represented on its National Secretariat. NSHR also has observer status at the African Commission on Human Rights.

- Joe Oloka-Onyango

SOUTH AFRICA

BACKGROUND

South Africa has the most highly developed non-governmental sector in the whole continent, with apparently more than 50,000 NGOs in total. Although we did not try to estimate how many of these might be described as human rights organizations, the answer would probably be more than a hundred. The largest of these, Lawyers for Human Rights, has more than 130 paid staff. The Legal Resources Centre has nearly as many. Our visit to South Africa took place almost on the eve of the first democratic elections in the country's history. Throughout the entire trip we were undecided as to whether this was a very good or a very bad moment to conduct a mission like ours. In one sense, being on this historical cusp gave us an extraordinary vantage point, both looking back at the rich history of the human rights community in South Africa and looking forward to the new tasks facing it under a democratic system. However, while we were in the country, the very future of the elections was in question. There were daily negotiations as to whether the right-wing Freedom Alliance would take part in the poll or launch a campaign of violent disruption. It seemed almost certain that the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal would boycott the election and intimidate hundreds of thousands of Zulus into following its line. Although a vote would certainly go ahead on 27-28 April and an ANC-led government seemed the inevitable outcome, all other events seemed uncertain. Human rights groups primarily engaged in monitoring political violence found it difficult to plan far beyond the next three months.

The history of South Africa under apartheid is well known, yet the problems of political violence which have bedevilled the country since the mid-1980s are less well understood. In the outside world two assumptions are often made about the violence which are both profoundly incorrect. First, it is assumed that the violence is primarily "tribal" or "ethnic" in character. Secondly, the violence is seen by many as being somehow a necessary, if unfortunate, concomitant of political transition which will fade away when the apartheid system is finally swept away and a non-racial government is in power. A correct understanding of these issues has a bearing both on the future activities of South African human rights organizations and on the continuing support that they require from the international community.

"Township violence" erupted in the mid-1980s in the course of the most significant popular uprising since the Soweto events of 1976. To some extent this violence was between different factions of the liberation movement itself--the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front and AZAPO, which was heir to the black consciousness tradition. Primarily, however, the violence arose because of state backing for right-wing black organizations--generally known during that period as vigilantes--either within the townships or aligned to the governments of the black homelands. The violence between "comrades" and "vigilantes" occurred in many areas of the country--Natal, both the Eastern and Western Capes and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) region. In none of them did it have a significant ethnic dimension.

In most of the country, state repression quelled the township uprising and political violence subsided as a result. The area where it continued unabated from about 1985 onwards was Natal. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of the Kwa Zulu homeland and leader of the Inkatha "cultural movement", used the resources of the homeland exchequer--as well as secret military training from the South African Defence Force--to prepare his supporters for a bloody war against the UDF/ANC in Natal. Two points must be underlined. First, until recent months Buthelezi, who is after all a political functionary of the South African state, waged his war against the ANC with the active support and encouragement of the government in Pretoria. The "Frankenstein's monster" metaphor tends to be overused in these situations, but as Buthelezi threatens to wreck the 27 April elections in Natal, President de Klerk may be ruefully reflecting on its accuracy. Secondly, all protagonists in the violence in Natal are Zulus. Current opinion polls suggest that the ANC, not the IFP, is the largest party among Zulus. Not only does this show why ethnic explanations for the violence are inadequate, it also explains why Buthelezi, in alliance with the white right wing, simply cannot afford to participate in the forthcoming elections.

In 1990 violence erupted in the PWV region, where it has continued ever since, focused in recent months in the townships of the East Rand. Again, there is ample evidence of covert security force involvement in the violence, although, unlike Natal, there is an ethnic dimension. Much anti-ANC activity has emanated from the migrant workers' hostels which are to be found on the edge of most of the townships in PWV, the country's main mining

region. As early as 1976 the uprooted migrant workers, many of them Zulus, were mobilized by the police against militant township youth.

Essentially what has taken place since the mid-1980s and, more particularly, since 1990--when the ANC was unbanned and the transitional process began--has been the "privatization" of state repression. In order to evade outside scrutiny the state has given covert support to surrogate repressive agencies, notably Inkatha. Thus state repression can be explained away as "ethnic violence", and human rights violations can be reconceptualized as "violence", with the implication that all parties to the conflict are equally culpable. This has had important implications for the work of human rights organizations, which have had to acquire new monitoring and investigative skills. These skills--along with the political lessons of the South African violence--could be very important in countries like Kenya, Zaire and increasingly Malawi, where the human rights movement faces a similar "privatization" of repression.

Several human rights activists interviewed were firmly of the view that there would be no significant reduction in political violence after the election of an ANC-dominated government. Primarily this is because the main perpetrators of the violence are the IFP. However, it is also because a significant element in the violence is the disenchantment and alienation of poor urban communities who feel that they have not benefited from the "new South Africa".

South African human rights organizations have enormous and perhaps incomparable experience in pursuing issues of social and economic deprivation from a rights perspective. The historical reason for this, clearly, is the institutionalized racism which denied people access to social and economic rights on the basis of skin colour. It continues to be reflected in the large amount of time which human rights organizations spend advising on issues such as pensions, labour rights and housing. This area of work also is likely to continue under the new government.

However, the new constitutional order will also throw up areas of work which pose new issues for South African human rights activists. The very existence of a constitutional Bill of Rights, for the first time, creates possibilities for new areas of campaigning and advocacy, in particular constitutional litigation. Although South Africa has a highly developed legal human rights sector, it still has much to learn in this area. Also, the Constitution creates new statutory mechanisms for human rights protection, notably a human rights commission. There is also an Ombudsman, which has been in existence for two years or so, but which, according to those we interviewed, has not so far been very effective. Another challenge for the human rights NGOs will be how to work with these statutory bodies.

Other institutions of state should also be expected to change under the new order. Most notably the police will be expected to undergo a transformation from a repressive agent of racial domination to a guardian of the entire community. The problem is that not only the police themselves, but the communities and human rights activists, have no experience of how such a non-repressive police force should behave. Thus the human rights organizations need exposure to democratic models of police behaviour in order to develop the standards to which they will hold the police accountable.

Finally, the rather delicate question of the current racial composition of the human rights community needs to be addressed. For strong historical reasons, human rights NGOs have tended to be dominated by those sections of society which were permitted the greatest political freedoms under apartheid--whites primarily, and, to a lesser extent, "coloureds" and Asians. This has left a strong imbalance, especially in the leading echelons of many human rights organizations. We had lengthy discussions with one organization--the Black Lawyers Association (BLA)--which is specifically committed to black advancement in the human rights sector. We believe that affirmative action is needed within human rights organizations, as well as in society at large. The BLA argues convincingly for the continued need for black organizations even within an ostensibly non-racial South Africa.

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

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At a moment when it is impossible to predict political developments even a month ahead, it is particularly hazardous to try to envisage in what situation human rights organizations will find themselves in the years ahead. However, it is clearly necessary to try. Some of the South African organizations have thought deeply about their future (although others show little sign of having considered it). A number of factors bearing on the future of South African human rights NGOs seem fairly certain:

- The overall level of outside funding for human rights work will decrease, if not immediately, then certainly over the coming years. The high level of outside support was largely a product of the peculiar nature of apartheid. It is likely that donors will consider that the past level of support will no longer be necessary. The fact that some organizations seem to have secured adequate long-term funding does not alter the fact that there will be fewer overall resources.
- Some organizations will be weakened and may disappear altogether because of the call upon their leading personnel to assume positions in the new government.

The two previous factors are likely to lead to some reconfiguration of the human rights organizations, with a number of organizations either uniting or developing a more clearly defined division of labour (this latter process is already under way, especially among the legal organizations).

- The enactment of a constitutional Bill of Rights and the creation of statutory human rights mechanisms will open up a new field of work for NGOs, of which they have no experience and little knowledge. However, NGOs may have to play an important role in ensuring that these new mechanisms function properly.
- The issue of social and economic rights will be of central importance. Already a large part of the work of any organization doing advice work or litigation is taken up with issues such as land, housing, pension and labour rights. The anguished debate which takes place elsewhere about whether these are really "rights" seems irrelevant in South Africa. When people have been denied access to basic social and economic provisions for racial reasons, there is no question that correcting that imbalance--the "equality clause" in the Constitution--is an issue of human rights.
- Political violence will continue at some level after the elections. Most of the organizations directly engaged in monitoring the violence think it is likely to increase. The most extreme scenario, which is by no means improbable, is outright civil war in Natal.

However, the great imponderable is simply: how repressive will the new government be? The answer to this partly relates to the question of how great a security threat is posed by Inkatha and the white right wing. But there is also an important question of the ANC's subjective intentions. On this, there are conflicting signals. On the one hand, the Transitional Executive Council, dominated by the ANC and the National Party, has so far refused to repeal Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which permits detention without trial. Many ANC supporters endorse this position. On the other hand, many others, including Kader Asmal, a law professor who is likely to hold a senior position in the new government, have rejected this reliance on the means of repression used by the old regime. Significantly perhaps, Asmal is also a strong advocate of establishing a truth commission and seeking some accountability for past human rights violations. However, that does not appear to be the majority view among the ANC leadership. South Africa, like Zimbabwe, may face the unedifying prospect of a new government unleashing the old racist security apparatus on its political opponents.

If the government takes a repressive line, the South African human rights movement will face its greatest crisis. The majority of people involved in the human rights organizations are sympathetic to the ANC; all are profoundly unsympathetic to the right wing. How they stand up for the rights of people whose political views they detest will be a test of the maturity and independence of the human rights organizations.

The investigation of the past is an issue of great significance both to ordinary South Africans and to some people in the human rights community, although it is a need which is being compromised by the ANC for the sake of political expediency. For many families in South Africa there is still a fundamental need to account for those who have "disappeared" or died in custody. A representative of one monitoring group asked in some detail about

the possibility of training in techniques of forensic pathology, anthropology and archaeology for local personnel. It is likely that, as in Argentina, some sort of official blessing would be needed for an outside forensic team to enter the country to investigate burial sites, and train local people in the appropriate techniques.

HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING NEEDS IN THE "NEW SOUTH AFRICA "

The peculiar environment in which the South African human rights organizations have evolved has created a relatively well-trained cadre of activists. A highly repressive political situation has forced the organizations to be resourceful and inventive, while they have been well funded and have had the resources of a sophisticated "First World" type society to draw upon. However, there have also been enormous gaps in their education. A number of issues emerged as common needs for several organizations:

- Constitutional litigation: South African organizations have no experience of working with a justiciable bill of rights. All the legal organizations interviewed identified a major need to be developing litigation strategies to respond to this new situation.
- Work with statutory human rights bodies: Not many organizations identified working with the statutory human rights commission or the Ombudsman as a training need. However, it is clear that even those groups which have not thought about the new dispensation will have to adjust their work to accommodate the existence of governmental human rights enforcement mechanisms. They could learn from countries where such mechanisms are already in operation.
- International human rights standards and mechanisms: Some organizations consulted identified their ignorance of international human rights law and mechanisms as a major weakness. Others, it seemed to us, continue to think only in national terms and do not see South Africa as part of the UN or OAU human rights systems. There is clearly a need not only for training in the narrow sense, but also education about the relevance and applicability of international human rights law.
- Paralegal training: A number of organizations have highly developed training programmes for paralegal workers, yet others, especially the small monitoring groups, identified this as a significant need. Thus, although the training resources are clearly available locally, there is a need to match up the organizations to make sure that the training requirements are met.
- Police/investigative/forensic skills: A number of groups involved in monitoring identified training in investigative techniques as an important need. Even a well-established and effective group like the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) has had to develop its own forensic techniques more or less from scratch, and said that it needs further training. However, the IBIIR has developed its own materials--standard reporting forms, pictures of guns, uniforms, etc.--which could be usefully shared with other organizations (not only in South Africa). The absence of skills in forensic pathology, anthropology and other techniques has already been identified.
- A related but broader question is the standard of investigation (and conduct) which is to be expected of the police. Not only do South African human rights organizations have no first-hand experience of how police should behave in a democratic society; generally, the NGOs, for all their inexperience, are actually better at carrying out investigations than the police. Future police training in South Africa should include an element of exposure to NGOs, in order that familiarity can be developed on both sides. However, the NGOs also need specific training in standards of democratic policing.
- Conflict resolution: A number of organizations mentioned this as an important dimension of their work in which they felt that they needed further training. Clearly good resources are available locally, including the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA) and the Vuleka Trust.
- Documentation: Monitoring organizations mentioned documentation techniques as a training need, but expressed some scepticism about the usefulness of the HURIDOCs-based training being provided by

the Goldstone Institute. Among the more experienced groups there was also a recognition that the use of computer databases was both highly labour-intensive and not particularly useful.

- Management/administration: In general, South African human rights organizations have had to develop relatively sophisticated management structures, and administrative and financial techniques. Not surprisingly, a number of organizations, especially the smaller ones, continued to identify this as an area of need. There are a number of organizations locally, including the Human Awareness Programme in Johannesburg, which provide basic office and management training for NGOs.

THIRTEEN HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

With such a large non-governmental human rights sector, it was clear that there was no chance of seeing all active organizations in the space of two weeks. We decided not to spread ourselves too thinly, but to meet a cross-section of organizations doing different types of human rights work. We also felt it would be more useful to meet different branches of the same organization in the various centres we visited rather than simply to increase our total score of organizations contacted. We met with thirteen different organizations, often with a number of branches of the same one.

It must be stressed that the choice of organizations interviewed was deliberately selective, in order to ensure a range of organizations doing different types of work. The selection does not reflect any judgment on the value of the work of those consulted (or those not consulted).

Black Lawyers Association/Legal Education Centre (BLA)

The Black Lawyers Association (BLA) was formally established in 1980 with the aim of increasing black access to the legal profession. Only about 700 out of 7,000 lawyers in South Africa are black. South Africa has a split legal profession, and there are fewer than 100 black advocates. The BLA is in large measure a training organization. Its central project is a Legal Education Centre. It also provides bursaries for trainee black lawyers and runs seven advice clinics. It employs ten people in the Johannesburg headquarters with about forty countrywide.

The Director of the BLA is currently seconded to the Independent Electoral Commission and, given the scarcity of black lawyers, it seems likely that the BLA, like the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL), will find itself decimated by similar demands from the new post-election government.

Black Sash

Black Sash, dating from 1955, is the longest-standing South African human rights organization. It is a women's organization (although men can be associate members). While it does not aspire only to deal with "women's issues", it has a particularly valuable perspective on such questions. Although it began as an organization of white, liberal women, there is a clear consciousness among many members and staff of the need to outgrow those origins. Staff were interesting and informative about the particular practical problems of women working together across the racial divides, which, although they no longer exist in law, continue to govern the daily realities of life in South Africa.

Black Sash has a dual legal structure--on the one hand, a national network of nine advice centres, and on the other, a campaigning organization. All Black Sash staff we talked to stressed the interdependency of the two; in other words, the organization's campaigning priorities derive from the issues raised by clients at the advice centres.

Black Sash has 2,500 members and 40 staff. The organization is currently professionalizing its management structures, taking due account of the particular issues posed by a structure where paid staff are managed by volunteers. It sees its future role identifying and campaigning on outstanding human rights problems, which it feels well placed to do by virtue of its advice centre network.

Community Law Centre

The Community Law Centre in Durban was established in 1989 and is the nucleus of a network of mainly rural community centres, run by voluntary management committees and dispensing advice to a target area of about one million people. The Centre itself has a staff of 24. Human rights education is also an important component of the work, using a Zulu translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

A large part of the Centre's work, in conjunction with the University of Natal, is training of paralegal workers. Suitable people in the communities are identified to train as paralegals. The selected candidates undergo training over a period of two years, during which time they also help develop the skills of the committees which run the community centres. The training programme is determined by the needs of the communities, as decided by their representatives. The Community Law Centre's task is to develop training aids and programmes to meet those needs.

Diakonia

Diakonia is a Durban-based ecumenical agency established in 1976, which links eight churches and one church organization. Most of its funding comes from overseas church organizations. Its initial aim was to "respond effectively to the massive problems caused by the apartheid system in this major South African urban area". Diakonia has some seventeen staff, organized into four teams: a Justice Network Team; a Reconstruction and Democracy Team; an Administrative Team; and the Director's Office. The latter includes the Peace Process Fieldworkers, who are involved in monitoring of violence and mediation. Diakonia runs a Community Resource Centre Programme, which has twenty-six staff in fourteen centres around the Durban area. These centres provide paralegal services, advice and voter education.

Freedom of Expression Institute (FEI)

The Anti-Censorship Action Group and the Campaign for Open Media, two bodies campaigning on censorship and press freedom issues, merged in January 1994 to establish the Freedom of Expression (FEI) Institute.

FEI differs from most of the other organizations visited in that it is neither a legal nor a community-based organization but a small pressure group (with two employees). FEI is sponsored by media trade unions, editors and journalists. In its previous incarnations it ran effective campaigns, in particular for the establishment of an independent regulatory body for broadcasting.

A major focus now, which will require expansion and professionalization of the Institute, is to campaign for the repeal of many laws remaining on the statute books which restrict freedom of expression, as well as helping to foster genuine diversity among both printed and broadcast media.

Human Rights Commission (HRC)

We met staff of the Human Rights Commission (HRC) at its national headquarters in Johannesburg and in the Western Cape. It also has regional offices in the Eastern Cape and Natal. HRC, which has been in existence since 1988, is a small organization with a staff of approximately 10. It is the successor to the banned Detainees

Parents' Support Committee. Its National Director commented that it might need to change its name again, with the creation of a statutory human rights commission under the interim Constitution.

The work of the HRC is exclusively concerned with the documentation of political repression through regular weekly and monthly publications. As such it is in constant contact with other monitoring organizations for the exchange of information. It is a member of the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM).

HRC was established by a group of five founding organizations. It is governed by a Board of fourteen Commissioners who are elected annually and most of whom are themselves active in different human rights organizations. This background of human rights activism on the part of the Board has created a fairly harmonious working relationship in which the Board has expertise to offer, but does not interfere excessively with the activities of the staff.

Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR)

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) was established in 1989 as a response to attacks and death threats against leading anti-apartheid campaigners--notably Reverend Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches, who nearly died when his clothes were impregnated with organo-phosphate poison. In its early stages, it primarily investigated "hit squad" activities. The IBIIR played an important role in the Harms Commission in 1990, a judicial body set up to investigate allegations of state complicity in hit squad activity. It submitted a greater number of exhibits to the inquiry than did the police.

In mid-1990 the IBIIR's orientation changed with the eruption of political violence in the PWV region. Its role since then has been to investigate incidents of political violence, with much of its work oriented towards information gathering for attorneys in court cases and for investigations of the Goldstone Commission.

An important and interesting dimension of the IBIIR's work has been its training of members of local communities in basic investigative skills, including taking statements, photographing scenes of attack, securing evidence, identifying different security force units, weapons and vehicles. Often their forensic skills seem better developed than those of the police.

The IBIIR currently has five staff.

Institute for the Study of Public Violence (Goldstone Institute) (ISPV)

The Institute for the Study of Public Violence (ISPV) was set up in 1993 by the Commission of Inquiry into public violence chaired by Justice Richard Goldstone, which had itself been established under the 1991 Peace Agreement. The "Goldstone Institute" has three main functions: to assist the Commission in information gathering; to establish and service a database of information on violent conflict in South Africa; and to offer training, particularly in documentation methodology.

The ISPV, by virtue of its links with the Goldstone Commission, is not an NGO, although it aims to service human rights NGOs monitoring violence. Staff at the Institute noted that most South African NGOs do not have much experience in documentation techniques. They also stressed the need to switch from a "liberation mode to human rights mode"--this included training in international human rights standards and systems. They are planning intensive six-week internships for activists from the regions, starting in May 1994.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR)

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) was established in 1980 to further the legal protection of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in South Africa. It is an association of lawyers, which elects a governing National Council. This, in turn, appoints a National Director and a directorate comprising some 130 staff in 14 regions throughout the country. In terms of staff this makes it the largest human rights NGO in South Africa.

LHR has projects or departments dealing with, among other things, litigation, human rights education, paralegal training, penal reform (including the death penalty) and law reform. The organization has clearly thought ahead about its future role and, in particular, its need to safeguard its independence from any political movement.

Legal Resources Centre (LRC)

The Legal Resources Centre, a public interest law firm/NGO, was established in 1979 and has offices in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and Grahamstown, employing some 130 staff. With its concentration on test case litigation, the LRC was in the past involved in vital cases concerning issues such as influx control and the state of emergency. Increasingly, the work of the LRC is focusing on social and economic rights, above all, land rights.

The LRC runs a fellowship programme for the training of candidate attorneys which aims to increase access to the legal profession by disadvantaged groups as well as increasing the experience and commitment of the legal profession to public interest law.

Media Monitoring Project (MMP)

The Media Monitoring Project (MMP) was established in early 1993 (as the Broadcast Monitoring Project), with the aim of encouraging fairness and impartiality in the publicly-funded mass media. It monitors radio, television and print media, analysing the content, selection and manner of presentation of news and current affairs. It aims to "educate the broadcasting authorities, political parties and the public at large in the principles of Human Rights in communications especially as they affect the freedoms involved in the democratic process". Inevitably much of the MMP's monitoring and education has been directed towards coverage of the first non-racial elections.

The MMP, which is externally funded, operates from an office in Johannesburg with a small staff and team of monitors, mainly students, at a number of centres in the country. Overall policy is directed by an independent board of journalists, human rights activists and media specialists.

Peace Action

Peace Action is a recently formed organization based in the PWV region which is engaged in monitoring political violence and conciliation. It was formally constituted as an organization only last year, as an initiative of 29 human rights, lawyers and church bodies, among others. Its membership is drawn from the founding organizations, as well as from the communities it serves.

It has nine staff who monitor political violence (mainly in the East Rand), mediate disputes, train communities in monitoring and dispute resolution, and publish monthly and periodic reports on political violence. An important stated aim is to "portray the 'human face' of violence so that human suffering is not reduced to mere statistics".

Street Law

Street Law is a national organization based at the University of Natal, Durban, with regional offices in the Cape and Transvaal, and Coordinators at twenty-one universities throughout the country. The international Street Law

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movement originated in the United States and was introduced into South Africa in 1985. School teachers attend Street Law seminars at the universities and university law students go each week to schools, prisons and other centres in the community.

Street Law aims to provide citizens with information to help them use the law, change the law, and settle disputes without using violence. Information is imparted through role playing, including mock trials, and a series of simply written manuals making extensive use of cartoon strips and other illustrations.

- Olisa Agbakoba and Richard Carver

ZAMBIA

Despite the euphoria over the defeat of President-since-independence, Kenneth Kaunda's, United National Independence Party (UNIP) in Zambia's first ever multi-party elections, it has become clear that elections did not herald an end to the prominence of human rights issues in the political life of the country. The ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), led by Frederick Chiluba, has been beset by political scandal, defection, corruption and allegations of involvement in the traffic of illegal drugs. The new government has also demonstrated a certain degree of intolerance by declaring a state of emergency and detaining several opponents, following claims of a coup plot hatched by members of UNIP. At the same time, law enforcement agencies for the most part remain fixated on their erstwhile methods of operation, which were, to say the least, not human rights-sensitive. The press is often targeted for harassment.

Human rights organizations (HROs) in Zambia are, in the main, faced with extending the experience they gained in the monitoring of elections and civic education to other areas of human rights work. While the elections were an issue around which it was fairly easy to galvanize interest and attention, there is a need to aggressively promote knowledge of human rights among the general populace--broadly described as "apathetic". Some prominent cases from the past regime, such as the detention-without-trial of Katiza Cebekhulu (the key witness in the trial of Winnie Mandela, who was spirited away from South Africa in order not to give testimony expected to be potentially damaging), have been passed over to the new government, but the government has done little to address the concerns expressed by human rights groups about them. Torture is reported to take place on a regular basis. In addition, there have been reports of a number of incidents where police have detained the relatives of their intended victims, in order to flush them out of hiding--the case of opposition UNIP member, William Banda, being the most prominent. The new HROs that have come into existence are largely believed to be "elitist", and need to cooperate more effectively with the press and others involved in the human rights struggle.

Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (CHRD)

The Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (CHRD) has yet to make a significant impact on the human rights scene in Zambia, although it runs an office for *pro bono* counselling on legal and human rights matters. The Centre faced initial problems with registration, as the authorities suspected their motives. Although the registration matters were overcome, it continues to encounter problems with government obstruction of receipt of external funding granted to the organization. The Centre is nevertheless looking around for alternatives, and intends to organise a paralegal training course to be conducted in June 1994.

Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ)

The Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ) was part of the group that was active in the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), but it has, in general, adopted a low profile with respect to advocacy on human rights issues in Zambia. Instead it deals with questions such as refugees and relief, some gender questions, ethics, development and unemployment. This activity is all conducted under the auspices of the Social Justice Committee of the CCZ.

Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP)

Initially begun as a monitoring group prior to the 1991 general elections, FODEP is an umbrella organization comprised of several church groups, women's organizations, the Law Association and the Press Association. Today, FODEP has broadened its mandate to cover civic education for the purposes of enhancing the general awareness of the population. Drawing on its experience in the elections, FODEP intends to focus on civil and

political rights at the local level, and to involve parliamentary and other elected representatives in the dissemination of knowledge and information about these rights.

**Human Rights Committee of the Law Association of Zambia
(LAZ)**

The Law Association of Zambia (LAZ), a statutory body recognized by law in 1973, established a Human Rights Committee to function under its auspices. The Committee was heavily involved in civic education around the elections and produced a number of programs for the broadcast media on elections and civic rights. The Committee transcribed the notes from these seminars and circulated them as a further mechanism of sensitization. In conjunction with the Catholic Secretariat, it has also designed a program for the conduct of simultaneous seminars on human rights in all the provincial centres of the country, as a starting-point for the sensitization of the broad populace on general human rights issues. A series of seminars for the police force have also been designed, the first to commence in Lusaka. As a major human rights actor, the Committee has received several reports on police violence and prison conditions, and attempts to ensure that these issues are expeditiously addressed.

**Interafrican Network for Human Rights
(AFRONET)**

AFRONET is billed as an organization designed to promote coordination and networking among African HROs. As yet, it has only begun to meet with various organizations within Zambia and to publicize its operations outside the country. Although it has observer status at the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, it still has a long way to go, both in the conceptualization of its precise goals and programs, and in raising the the consciousness of HROs throughout the continent on the need for coordination and networking. Its programs focus on communication, the promotion of good governance and sustainable development, human rights, and the interaction of law and society.

**Legal Resources Foundation
(LRF)**

The Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) was established as a company limited by guarantee, in order to obviate the possibility of the authorities' exercising their powers to ban a society under the provisions of the Societies Act. The idea of the LRF was conceived in 1991 prior to the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGUM) in Harare. LRF has several objectives, including the promotion of an interest in human rights; the development of law (through the publication of cases, law reports and a monthly newsletter); and reform of the law. So far, however, LRF has not commenced operations and has yet to formulate specific programs to actualize its objectives.

National Women's Lobby Group

Established on July 20, 1991, the National Women's Lobby Group (WLG) is a pressure group established to pursue the rights of women, children and minorities, especially in relation to the policy-making bodies in the country. It is headed by a Secretary General, who is presently assisted only by a secretary. WLG is composed of a number of women's NGOs and its approach is broad in ambit. It is involved in networking and is a resource base for information and policies about women. It also lobbies the President and informs the electorate about issues of women's rights. WLG has developed a three-year plan by which it will work towards a core budget to cover training in human rights and, especially, in lobbying and outreach.

**Office of Social Education of the Zambian Episcopal Conference
(ZEC)**

Often working in collaboration with the other church groups in Zambia (the Christian Council and the Evangelical Fellowship), the Zambian Episcopal Conference (ZEC) has been more public and active in the arena of human rights, especially in the issuance of public statements or pastoral letters, than have its counterparts. ZEC statements have covered issues such as structural adjustment and its impact on human rights, a review of the Constitution, and problems with the transition to the third (present) republic. The ZEC has embarked on an active program of encouraging the formation of Justice and Peace Committees at the local level, building on the model of the Zimbabwean experience. To this end, it has conducted a total of five seminars over the past two years in order to sensitize its members on the spirituality of justice and peace, and the need for respect for human rights. The attendees at these seminars have then proceeded out into the countryside, and sought to disseminate the information they have culled to the broader populace. The results have varied, but are a significant beginning for a process that will invariably take some time to gel. Individual Justice and Peace Committees also identify areas of specific concern to their local communities. Among the issues that have been addressed are: the treatment of prisoners on remand, the payment and condition of domestic workers at large and within church institutions, the issue of allocation of places in schools, and the effect of the structural adjustment program. A national Justice and Peace Committee/Commission has yet to be established.

Women's Rights Committee of the Law Association of Zambia (WRC)

Established in 1988 as part of the LAZ, the Women's Rights Committee (WRC) gained impetus after the passing of the Intestate Succession Act. Following this, WRC established a National Legal Aid Clinic for Women in November 1990, which has been run in the main by volunteer lawyers. A full-time Coordinator for the Clinic was appointed in 1991, and continues to be assisted by volunteers. The clinic still has problems of recognition and has not been formally registered, but utilizes the framework of the Citizen's Advice Bureau of the LAZ in order to appear in court. The WRC functions like a private law firm, and the majority of its cases are on inheritance, divorce, custody and maintenance matters. The clientele are mainly the unemployed who are charged only a nominal fee.

Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA)

The Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA) initially commenced as a program of UNIP--the former ruling political party--as a mechanism in its "revival campaign" to meet the challenges following the general election, but the party was not extremely responsive to its overtures. Consequently, the group has attempted to distance itself from any direct political affiliation and claims to be wholly independent. The ZCEA is under the organizational control of a Chair, who is the only full-time worker, while all its programs are implemented by volunteers. One of its first actions was to inaugurate what it calls "clinics", which are held every Saturday and Sunday, where ZCEA holds public information sessions, discussing the role of public officers, human rights education and issues such as health, hygiene and the environment, as the most "basic needs" of the community. The group has also targeted the police and attempted to implement a community-policing scheme in at least one area of peri-urban Lusaka. This has been approached as a pilot project, and an attempt has been made to deal with common problems in the relationship between police and the community. The scheme has also addressed conditions at the stations, related to the cells, women prisoners, and so on. The ZCEA has also designed a "right to shelter" project in Mapoloto township.

- Joe Oloka-Onyango

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe today is in the process of emerging from the status of a near-*de facto* one-party state--a situation that persisted from independence until 1990. Among government officials, however, there are still lingering traces of the erstwhile monopoly they exercised over the political process. This has serious implications for the observation and monitoring of political and civil rights in the country. The electronic media is still wholly state-controlled, and the government retains a monopoly over the print media, although several independent newsheets have emerged and are operating with some degree of freedom, tempered by self-censorship. Since the mid-1980s, following the extensive violations that took place during the anti-insurgency operations in Matabeleland, the Zimbabwean government has made efforts to avoid a situation of gross human rights violations. Needless to say, individual cases still abound and are the subject of the attention and concern of the several human rights groups that operate in the country. There is still a certain degree of sensitivity over the Matabeleland troubles, which involved the Zimbabwean Army in conflict with rebels of rival, pre-independence liberation groups, and a virtual siege of the area. This has had implications for the construction of the historical record, and the pursuit of suitable redress for the victims and successors of the brutalities of the 5th Brigade of the Zimbabwean army. Indeed, the government has to date failed to affirmatively accept responsibility for any of the atrocities committed in the area.

Of growing concern to human rights groups, such as the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (Zimrights) and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, is the deteriorating framework for the realisation and enhancement of social and economic rights. This situation has been aggravated by the impact of a structural adjustment program (SAP) that has been in place for the past several years. Within this framework, the colonial legacy lingers on in ambivalent fashion. The land question--characterized by the domination of the most productive and dominant portions of land by the white settler class--has emerged as a critical constitutional issue, while simultaneously being deployed as a political weapon against opposition forces. This was clearly the case with evictions from Churu farm--the property of long-time government opponent, Ndabaningi Sithole--in which hundreds of families were evicted from land on which they had settled for several years. It is ironic that the evictees should be the very persons who were supposed to benefit from the government's long-touted program of resettlement of the landless. Human rights organization (HROs), however, have been somewhat ambivalent as to whether the issue is one of process or redress.

The land issue has spilt over into issues of judicial independence and autonomy, as the government has either defied or circumvented with impunity, related court orders and injunctions. Such practices, say observers of state/court relations, are becoming more common, particularly after the courts struck down a legislative amendment to reestablish capital punishment, ruling that it was inhuman and degrading treatment, and thus offensive to the Bill of Rights chapter of the Constitution. There is a clear danger of a pattern of interference developing, which was compounded when President Mugabe pardoned two persons convicted of attempting to assassinate a member of the opposition. Such actions have undermined the independence and autonomy of the judiciary, and have had a negative impact on the enthusiasm of the legal profession as a whole, and the human rights community in particular, towards the pursuit of constitutional test cases.

AMANI: The Consequences of Organized Violence in Southern Africa

Newly registered in Zimbabwe but with a regional focus, the Amani Trust is an interesting and valuable effort to deal with the case of victims of organized violence in the Southern African area, and is perhaps the first organization of its kind, dealing exclusively with the question in the region. It is poised to offer potentially significant resources to victims both in and from countries in the region (Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, and so on), and outside it. The prime movers behind the Trust include psychologists as well as social and medical workers who have some experience with post-traumatic stress. The Trust's focus will be the holding of training workshops on the analysis and treatment of post-traumatic stress in refugee camps, as well as the treatment of victims of torture. Conceptually, the main focus of the treatment will be community-based. The work of the Trust will involve both the creation of training manuals and the deployment of fieldworkers and managers in a cost-effective manner. It also intends to develop a regional program for rehabilitation of victims of torture and

organized violence, from which several of the countries of the region and beyond stand to benefit. It has only recently acquired a building in Harare and has yet to begin work.

Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre (BLPC)

The Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre (BLPC) functions under the overall supervision of the Legal Resources Foundation in Harare, but operates in a fairly autonomous fashion. The BLPC is pursuing several interesting initiatives, especially in the areas of paralegal training, operating from their Legal Advice Centre, and test case litigation, which seeks to bring to judicial scrutiny cases that impinge on the Bill of Rights section of the Constitution. Such cases have so far focused on citizens' rights, sexual harassment, freedom of expression, and access to the media. The BLPC also conducts legal education programs, which are held several times through the year at a variety of locations. It has also targeted the police and other agencies through its Law Enforcement Agency Program.

Of particular relevance in terms of training are the paralegal programs, which have been developed in a systematic and well-thought-out fashion. The programs are conducted by several highly experienced and qualified personnel, and there is now in place a regional diploma. The programs' emphasis on mediation and conciliation would be of particular relevance and applicability to HROs elsewhere. Also of interest is the recently-established Alternative Sentencing Program that is targeted at high-level judicial officers, and which could be usefully emulated by HROs developing training programs elsewhere in Africa. Although facing several difficulties, BLPC's experience in attempting to unearth and chronicle the atrocities of the 5th Brigade in Matabeleland in the mid-1980s could provide a useful precedent to other HROs attempting to excavate and bring to account human rights abuses committed in the past.

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJPZ)

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ) has been a prominent actor in the human rights arena since well before independence, and continues to be a vocal critic of flagrant state-sponsored transgressions of human rights. Especially significant has been the CCJPZ's critical focus on social and economic issues and the assault by the structural adjustment program (SAP) on respect for these rights. With an extensive network that is founded in the church, the Commission carries out educational programs, which include the production of materials and a newsletter. It has also focused on critical human rights questions of importance to the development of respect for human rights in the country. As a site for training, the Commission would be ideal, but there are several issues, such as space, that would be involved. In addition, the Commission would be interested in developing its links with other African Justice and Peace Commissions.

Legal Aid and Advice Centre (University of Zimbabwe)

The Legal Aid and Advice Centre (LAAC) was located at the University as a public interest law firm with a clinic that gave advice to indigent people. It was operated principally by the students, under the supervision of a member of staff, the last being Derek Matyszak. It eventually collapsed due to the intermittent nature of student participation (resulting from vacations, etc.), and the consequent shifting of workload to the faculty, which eventually became overbearing.

A committee that investigated the issue decided that only test cases should be taken up, with two stationary and mobile clinics that would visit a variety of places and dispense legal advice in a periodic fashion. There remains, however, a shortage of resources and personnel, because experience has shown that delegation is not feasible, and the work cannot be done on a part-time basis as had hitherto been the case. A reformulation of the project is essential, one that would provide for a full-time Director and the integration of a strong research bias into the project (for example, on the death penalty or prison conditions), rather than an emphasis on a clinic as such. A proposal for the revival of the scheme in a reformulated manner is in circulation.

Legal Resources Foundation (LRF)

The Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) is the largest and most prominent legal assistance/human rights organization in Zimbabwe. It is experienced in the field, and conducts a number of comprehensive training programs. It has been, and will continue to be, an extremely important location for the training of human rights workers from around the continent, and could also provide personnel to carry out in-country training programs for other groups. Such programs would, of course, be dependent on available resources and space.

The LRF has a staff of nearly sixty, with established branches in Bulawayo, Gweru, Masvingo and one to be set up at Mutare. The LRF operates a Citizen's Advice Bureau which gives legal advice to indigent persons; conducts an extensive paralegal education program; runs a program on law enforcement for state officials, such as magistrates and police officers; and has a test case program. The LRF also publishes several different materials, ranging from Legal Forum to popular pamphlets on a variety of issues, and contributes regularly to debates on legislation and other matters of a public interest nature.

Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (Zimrights)

Zimrights was established in February 1992 following the identification of the need for a nationally-based human rights group; it was designed to address some of the questions that remain insufficiently targeted by existing HROs. The primary activities of the organization are human rights education, documentation, and advocacy, although the parameters of operation have yet to be strictly defined.

Zimrights' draft constitution is to be debated and adopted at the first General Meeting to be held on February 12, 1994. The draft envisages Trustees, a National Council composed of approximately twenty people countrywide, and regional Councils in the nine regions of the country. Also proposed are district and local branches with at least five members. At present, only the Bulawayo branch has an officer in station.

Zimrights was registered in 1993. The Secretariat is under the supervision of the Secretary General, with a skeleton staff of one secretary and a full-time volunteer intern. The rest of its activities are carried out by volunteers who come in intermittently. Active members and branches of Zimrights are spread around the country, but none appears to have fully crystallized into structures of operation, independent of the centre; therefore, it is difficult to gauge the extent of their formalization within the operation of Zimrights as a whole.

The main focus of the organization has been:

- human rights education. Several training workshops, focused at the grassroots level, have been conducted in order to provide a grounding in the Constitution, the African Charter and the UN instruments;
- research, publication and documentation. Activities include providing information on abuses in the national context, producing the newsletter and developing a data bank on human rights issues in the country;
- legal assistance and advice, which envisages a support service for the indigent. At the present time, this activity is limited by resources, and by the operation of the Legal Resources Foundation, but a number of interesting cases have been brought to Zimrights, including "disappearances", deaths in custody and the issue of offensive legislation impinging on the realization of human rights; and
- general awareness and education, a part of which includes a focus on the general elections scheduled for 1995.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Zimbabwe also plays host to several regional organizations, such as Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) and Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), both of which focus on women's rights, but are coordinating, umbrella groups with important resources for training and research that could be utilised.

Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA)

Women and Law in Southern Africa includes six national HROs involved in research into the status of women's rights under the law. Its coordinating office is located in Harare. WLSA's principal function is to provide information as well as training, with an Afrocentric approach. WLSA's approach to research is not traditional, and it attempts as much as possible to utilize small samples, with in-depth interviews and radio programs, accompanied by several workshops and seminars, particularly in the rural areas. WLSA also conducts a diploma program in women's law in collaboration with the University of Zimbabwe, which has already produced several graduates, and has much potential for the empowerment of workers in women's groups throughout the region, particularly by way of critical and alternative research methodologies.

Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)

Established in early 1990, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) is a women's rights network that covers fifteen African countries, and is designed to promote and strengthen strategies of action linking law and development, in the bid to empower women and improve their general status. WiLDAF conducts several training programs focused on issues such as legal literacy, educational materials, lobbying, mobilization and networking strategies. Its work is thus of particular relevance to both newly-established and long-standing HROs.

- Joe Oloka-Onyango

WEST AFRICA

BENIN

BACKGROUND

Benin is a small country of West Africa, situated between Nigeria, Togo, Niger and Burkina Faso. It is flat, except for one mountain, and is open on the sea (the Atlantic Ocean). The climate is intertropical. There are numerous lakes in the country and the vegetation is luxurious and the soil fertile. The country has a population of 5,000,000, composed of approximately fifty ethnic groups. The main ones are the Fon and Aja in the south, the Yoruba in the central region, and the Somo and Peulh in the north. The economic capital is Cotonou while the political one is Porto-Novo.

Benin is primarily an agricultural country, with agriculture occupying 45% of the population and producing 40% of the country's GNP. There is considerable smuggling from Nigeria, primarily of oil products. Labor is available and cheap in the country and there is substantial unemployment. As a result, the government is working to develop economic activities to generate employment. It is, for example, providing access to the port of Cotonou to its landlocked neighbors at advantageous rates. The policy has been given impetus by the troubles in neighboring Togo.

Benin is a former French colony, which became independent in the early 1960s. After the first decade of independence, Mathieu Kerekou became President through a military coup, and established a Marxist-Leninist regime. The main industries were state-owned. For eighteen years, Kerekou ruled Benin with an iron hand. Human rights were violated on a daily basis. There was no freedom of expression or of the press, and extra-judicial killings and detentions were commonplace.

In 1989, following riots throughout Benin, Kerekou accepted a transitional government, and a National Conference was held. The result was free elections in which former President Kerekou was a candidate. The National Conference denounced the numerous violations of human rights, and authors of the major gross violations were brought to court.

Now Benin has a freely-elected President, and appears to be one of the leading democracies in Africa.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

All observers agreed that the national elections were fair. A new government and a multi-party Parliament were established. Human rights organizations, however, say that people are still detained for days in very bad conditions. This detention is the major focus of organizations' work in the country.

As a result of the difficult economic situation and related unemployment, there is an increase in robberies, banditry and other criminal activities, and the security situation has declined. This threat to security, however, is experienced by everyone in the country, and not simply by NGOs. NGOs generally work in a relatively peaceful environment, and there is no harassment by government authorities. NGOs are usually successful in getting all the required information on human rights violations they are investigating from the authorities. The government is attentive to their criticisms, and reacts by correcting the situation or stopping the violation.

There are numerous human rights NGOs in Benin, which were created in the transition period. The organizations do not network among themselves; it is normal for organizations working in the same area to not know each other. As a result, there is duplication of efforts. NGOs did make an attempt to coordinate their work, but the organization created to facilitate this coordination is not functioning. This networking, coordination and cooperation must be a priority for NGOs in the country.

The following are nine out of the fifteen NGOs with which the researcher met:

Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Bénin

**(Christian Action for the Abolition of Torture-Benin)
(ACAT-B)**

History

Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Bénin (ACAT-B) is a non-governmental, non-profit association established in 1989 and officially recognized in 1990. ACAT-B is a member of an international organization which has member organizations in several African countries.

Mandate

ACAT-B's objective is to work for the abolition of torture.

Structure

ACAT-B is a Christian-based organization composed of different professionals.

Program

The former President of ACAT-B reported that the organization is not presently active. The group perceives that since democracy is more operative in the country, there is no more torture or large-scale human rights violations, decreasing the need for ACAT-B.

AHAVA

History

AHAVA was formed in 1990 when a group of four people decided to leave the town for the village and create a network of rural human rights educators. AHAVA is an officially recognized non-profit, non-political NGO.

Mandate

AHAVA's main objective is to bring legal knowledge to the rural population.

Structure

From its four founders, AHAVA has developed into a membership of lawyers, magistrates, teachers and rural workers. It has no paid staff and no office premises. All work is done on a volunteer basis, except for the work done by teachers at the school AHAVA has established.

Program

AHAVA has established a school with a human rights program. Human rights principles and instruments are taught in the school, and a particular emphasis is given to women's and children's rights. AHAVA also conducts a program of legal education for local elected officials (mayors, members of local assemblies, and so on), and teaches human rights in regular schools. It trains paralegals and legal education trainers. All the training is based on the African Charter, the Penal Code, and other human rights instruments, particularly the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

AHAVA has skills to train human rights activists.

***Association des Femmes Juristes du Bénin*
(Association of Women Lawyers of Benin)
(AFJB)**

History

The *Association des Femmes Juristes du Bénin* (AFJB) is a non-political, non-profit organization, created in January 1990 and recognized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 11 March 1992. AFJB's headquarters are in Cotonou, and its activities are concentrated there. Recently, however, they have been trying to extend their activities to the south of the country.

Mandate

The main objective of AFJB is to help women know their rights and exercise them.

Structure

AFJB's membership is composed entirely of women lawyers. It has two staff, a lawyer and administrative assistant, who work in large, very functional office space.

Program

AFJB's activities are concentrated on educating women about their rights by way of:

- radio broadcasts in French and other national languages. The shows are thematic (on issues such as marriage, inheritance, rape). They inform women about their rights, and what to do when those rights are violated;
- seminars in national languages in different parts of the country; and
- publication of brochures, and primarily of a *Guide Juridique de la Femme* (Women's Legal Guide) in French and two other languages, Fon and Batanou.

In 1992 AFJB opened in a legal clinic in the center of Cotonou, which is visited by both women and men. They see over 350 people annually in the clinic.

Association pour le Développement des Initiatives Villageoises **(The Association for the Development of Village Initiatives)** **(ASSODIV)**

History

The *Association pour le Développement des Initiatives Villageoises* (ASSODIV) is a non-political, non-profit association created on 12 September 1987 and officially recognized as an NGO on 11 April 1988.

Mandate

The main objective of ASSODIV is to help rural communities achieve integrated development and promote their own initiatives.

Structure

ASSODIV has a diverse membership, including agronomists, lawyers, economists, sociologists, peasants and others. The organization has eight staff who work in its office in Cotonou and its training center in Tango.

Program

ASSODIV's program falls into two main areas: socio-economic programs and legal programs. Its main activities are:

- training of young peasants on the technique "*Houe Manga*", which is a cultivating machine imported from Burkina Faso;
- training of paralegals, since 1989. The organization trains people living in the villages to be paralegals so they can help peasants know their rights; and
- a legal clinic in Cotonou where free legal advice is given, and where, if necessary, cases are taken to court.

These latter two activities are performed by lawyers, magistrates and law teachers who are members of ASSODIV and who work on a voluntary basis.

ASSODIV frequently receives information about human rights violations, primarily illegal detention. When ASSODIV receives a complaint, it documents it, investigates, mediates (if possible), and litigates, with the help of members who are lawyers.

ASSODIV is active in the field of human rights education, through radio broadcasts and legal education of village leaders, police, and so on.

The organization has skills in training paralegals and is working on a paralegal training manual.

***Commission Béninoise des Droits de l'Homme* (Benin Human Rights Commission) (CBDH)**

History

The *Commission Béninoise des Droits de l'Homme* (CBDH) is a governmental organization, created by law in 1989 (Law No.89-004 of 12 May 1989). CBDH, however, acts independently of the government, criticizing actions and denouncing violations. It has its own funding and own administration.

Mandate

CBDH's objective is the promotion and protection of human rights.

Structure

CBDH has "members by right" (the Bar Association, the Organization of Magistrates, and the Organization of Doctors); membership by NGOs (seventeen); and individual members, including lawyers, teachers, doctors, and magistrates. The *Commission* has office space and an Administrative Officer. Members work on a volunteer basis.

Program

The *Commission's* main activities are investigating human rights violations, human rights education, and helping the government to write its periodical reports due to U.N. or international human rights treaty bodies.

When CBDH receives a complaint of a violation, it designates one of its members to investigate and write a report. The *Commission* then writes to the violator. If the violator doesn't react, CBDH issues a press release or launches a press campaign. The organization is not involved in litigation.

CBDH educates the population about its rights through radio broadcasts and national seminars, although they feel their action in this field is insufficient.

Institut des Droits de l'Homme et de Promotion de la Démocratie
(Institute for Human Rights and the Promotion of Democracy)
(IDH)

History

The *Institut des Droits de l'Homme et de Promotion de la Démocratie* (IDH) is a non-governmental, non-profit, scientific organization established in Cotonou in 1992.

Mandate

The main objective of IDH is to teach human rights to the population, to help them know their rights and act as good citizens.

Structure

Members of IDH are high-ranking magistrates, lawyers and university teachers. The organization does not have a paid staff and depends on volunteers. It does not have its own premises and uses facilities of the City of Cotonou, the Church, and others.

Program

IDH has developed two human rights courses--one for participants who have reached between a primary and secondary school level of education (Level A), the other for participants who have finished secondary school and beyond (Level B).

The Benin Constitution is the main focus in the Level A course. IDH uses the Constitution to make citizens aware of the roles of different public institutions--the government, Parliament, local assemblies, and democracy at the village level, for example. The course began in November 1993 and currently has 51 participants. The Level B course consists of lectures on human rights, human rights instruments, and democracy, as well as research on specific themes. 149 participants are following this course.

Ligue pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Bénin
(League for the Defense of Human Rights in Benin)
(LDH)

History

The *Ligue pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Bénin* (LDH) is a non-political, non-profit association. It was established on 10 May 1990, and was officially recognized in 1992. It is a successor to the *Association des Anciens Détenus Politique et de Leurs Parents* (the Association of Former Political Detainees and their Relatives), since there have been no political detainees since the beginning of the transition period.

Mandate

The primary objectives of LDH are the promotion and protection of human rights, and the protection of the interests (material and psychological) of victims of human rights violations.

Structure

LDH has a diversified membership, including lawyers, teachers, youth, members of civil society, etc. It has no paid staff and no headquarters. It currently uses the premises of a lawyer member as a meeting locale, to receive complaints, etc. It is currently seeking funding to lease or build premises for a headquarters.

Program

LDH's main activities are:

- reporting on violations of human rights brought to their attention by victims, their parents, neighbors, and so on;
- investigating human rights violations;
- training their membership; and
- humanitarian intervention to help victims.

LDH has also opened a medical center to help victims of human rights violations and the poorest part of the population of Cotonou. The organization was the first to assist refugees from Togo, and during the past two years has worked extensively with these refugees. It has published a "white paper" on torture and other human rights violations during the military regime, and produces a report on the current human rights situation in the country biannually.

When LDH receives a complaint of a violation, it sends a letter to the author of the violation, investigates the complaint, sets up a meeting between the victim and perpetrator, issues a press release if the perpetrator of the violation doesn't respond to its other initiatives, and takes cases to court.

LDH trains its own membership, but also the population at large. It has sponsored a course on the African Charter for its membership and membership of other NGOs. It produces a radio broadcast in French and other national languages, and publishes a newsletter, *Tribune*, with a special page, "Know Your Rights."

- Seny Diagne

BURKINA FASO

BACKGROUND

Since 1960 Burkina Faso has experienced ten different political regimes--three constitutional and seven military, the latter the results of *coups d'etat*. In terms of years, the country has had fifteen years of constitutional government and nineteen of military rule. The military regimes have, in general, been autocratic and dictatorial, with accompanying violence and massive violation of human rights.

Country analysts, however, view as a watershed the period from 1983 to 1987, when the *Conseil National de la Revolution* (National Council of the Revolution) (CNR) came to power under the dynamic and charismatic leadership of Captain Thomas Sankara. That period opened a new chapter in civilian-military relations in Africa in general, and Burkina Faso in particular. The Sankara government deliberately mobilized the peasants, who constitute the bulk of the society, to participate in the democratic process. Civil society was also given a boost by the state in the form of empowerment of women, peasants, students, workers and other organizations. Never before were the basic needs of the ordinary Burkinabe as attended to as they were by the Sankara regime. Certainly it was not a representative democracy, but it was a participatory one.

Saying this should not create any impression that Burkina Faso witnessed a golden age of human rights protection under the Sankara government. Human rights abuses occurred, including cases of torture, arbitrary detention and other violations. Sankara's revolutionary zeal led him to target certain elements of the society as enemies, and they were persecuted.

In October 1987 Sankara was assassinated during a *coup d'etat* by his friend, Blaise Campore. After the bloodiest coup in the country's history, Campore installed the country's ninth political regime. Monitors recorded the highest ever number of political assassinations, hit squads and "disappearances" under this regime; one study sets the number of assassinations at about twenty. Burkina Faso during this period ratified international human rights conventions, including the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights in 1984. In addition, the regime adopted a new constitution in 1991. In spite of these formal posturings by the state, the systematic violation of human rights, including assassinations, continued. There was persecution of university professors and students, and some students of the University of Ouagadougou "disappeared." Arrests, detention, and torture became a common feature of the political landscape of Burkina Faso under Blaise Campore. The regime's purge of the society resulted in the destruction of the political, legal, administrative, economic, social and cultural order of the country. The regime abused the judicial system in particular, creating revolutionary tribunals which have, more often than not, been used to persecute perceived political opponents. The *Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples* (The Burkina Faso Movement for Human and Peoples' Rights) (MBDHP) became a the target of state intimidation and threats, as were trade unionists and opposition parties. The press, out of fear, opted for self-censorship.

In response to the general continental search for democracy, Blaise Campore preempted a popular demand by setting up a transitional government and organizing elections. He won the elections, although the results were disputed. He formed a new government in 1992.

In order to understand developments in Burkina Faso, it is important to remember the feudal character of the country. The Mossi Kingdom and its king wield a lot of influence, and have vested interests in land. This can be problematic for reform efforts and human rights-related issues. In addition, Burkina Faso suffers from a high rate of illiteracy.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Association Burkinabè pour la Promotion d'un Etat de Droit et la Défense des Libertés
(The Burkina Faso Association for the Promotion of a State of Law and Defense of Liberties)
(APED-LIBERTES)

History

Experience with the arbitrary and repressive character of military regimes in Burkina Faso led to the creation of the *Association Burkinabè pour la Promotion d'un Etat de Droit et la Defense des Libertés* (APED-LIBERTES) in 1990. The organization is registered as an NGO.

Mandate

APED-LIBERTES' mandate is to promote the rule of law and protect human rights through human rights sensitization, the creation of a human rights culture, and fighting for the rights of peasants.

Structure

APED-LIBERTES has a General Assembly as the supreme decision and policy-making body. There is an Executive Committee which implements the decisions of the General Assembly. The Executive Committee includes the President, Vice President, Secretary-General, Assistants and members of various commissions.

Program

APED-LIBERTES has made visits to the provinces to educate the population about their rights, and to prisons to study prison conditions.

Association pour la Promotion Féminine **(Association for the Promotion of Women)**

History

Before 1992 there was no activity on women's rights in Poni province, so a group of women came together and formed the *Association pour la Promotion Féminine* as an affiliate of the *Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples*.

Mandate

The *Association's* mandate is to protect the rights of women through development assistance in the rural area.

Structure

The supreme body of the *Association* is a General Assembly. There is also an Executive Committee made up of a President, Vice-President, Secretary General, Treasurer and Assistants. There are various commissions which deal with specific issues.

Program

The *Association*

- gives small credit facilities to women in rural areas;
- carries out sensitization programmes and other self-help projects; and
- sponsors literacy campaigns for illiterate women.

Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples **(Burkina Faso Movement for Human and Peoples' Rights)**

(MBDHP)

History

The *Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples* (MBDHP) was formed in 1989 as a non-governmental organization to work towards the promotion of human rights which the Burkina Faso governments, especially the military regimes, have been violating since independence in 1960.

Mandate

MBDHP's mandate is the promotion, protection and the defence of human rights.

Structure

The organization has a national Executive Committee of fourteen members, who are charged with the implementation of the decisions and policies of the General Assembly. It also has approximately six commissions dealing with specific tasks on human rights, and branches in all regions of the country.

Program

MBDHP has:

- organized conferences and seminars to sensitize both rural and urban populations on their human rights;
- educated the population on international human rights standards and procedures;
- denounced executions and torture by the state;
- participated in the drafting of the country's constitution of 1989;
- published periodicals, bulletins and reports on human rights situations in Burkina Faso and other African countries;
- participated in a number of fact-finding missions; and
- embarked upon a number of human rights litigation cases.

Réseau Sous-Régional Femmes Africaines et Droits Humains **(African Woman and Human Rights Sub-regional Network)** **(REFAD)**

History

Conscious of the social inequalities and injustices facing women in Africa, in 1993 a group of women from Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Togo came together to form a regional network to defend their rights. They named the network the *Réseau Sous-Régional Femmes Africaines et Droits Humains* (REFAD), and located its headquarters in Burkina Faso.

Mandate

REFAD's mandate is to:

- facilitate women's access to human rights information;
- promote research on women's rights;
- encourage the formulation of alternative laws for the protection of women's rights;
- publish legal materials on women's rights in local languages; and
- sensitize the public at both national and international levels on the rights of women.

Structure

REFAD has a General Assembly, a Coordinating Committee and an Emergency Committee.

Program

REFAD is involved in the dissemination of information and sensitization on women's rights, and has produced publications on the rights of women in local languages. It has organized diverse conferences and seminars on women's rights. It undertakes training of paralegals, and has conducted legal research on issues of women's rights.

Union Inter africaine des Droits de l'Homme **(Inter-African Human Rights Union)** **(UIDH)**

History

Human rights violations on the continent and the difficulties which have been encountered in the transition processes motivated some thirty organizations, committed to protecting and defending human rights in Africa, to come together at a congress organized in Burkina Faso in July 1992. The meeting formed the *Union Inter africaine des Droits de l'Homme* (UIDH) as a pan-African, non-political, human rights body.

Mandate

UIDH's mandate is:

- the promotion of the rule of law and protection of human rights and liberties;
- to be a common watchdog at the African level of the principles stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. UIDH's mandate is carried out in collaboration with national human rights NGOs; and
- to encourage research studies and the collection of documents dealing with human rights in general, and Africa in particular.

Structure

UIDH consists of 18 African leagues and human rights NGO founding members.

The Congress of UIDH is the supreme organ, and it elects a Coordination Bureau with one Chairperson, four Vice-Chairpersons and four additional members.

The Executive Secretariat is the body entrusted with assisting the Bureau in executing the decisions of the Congress. It consists of the following: an Executive Secretary, an Assistant Executive Secretary, a Secretary for External Relations, a Secretary for Information and Press, and a Treasurer-General.

Program

UIDH has:

- carried out a number of fact-finding missions and made pronouncements on violations of human rights in a number of African states;
- monitored elections in many states;
- sponsored seminars and workshops on various human rights issues;
- published bulletins, journals and other research papers; and
- been involved in human rights litigation cases in a number of countries.

COTE D'IVOIRE

BACKGROUND

Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) is a coastal country with a population of 14 million. It is largely irrigated by four rivers, and has a hot, humid climate. Côte d'Ivoire is an ethnic puzzle; ethnic groups are numerous and diversified. The population, however, essentially derives from four groups, each divided into many sub-groups. They are: Mandé (primarily Malinké, Bambara and Foula) in the North, Don in the West, Bete in the Central and Southwest areas, and Akan (subdivided into Baoule and Agni) in the Central and Southeast areas.

Côte d'Ivoire is the world's leading producer of cocoa and the third in coffee and palm oil. It also has fishing and minerals industries. In the 1970s the country was believed to be one of the wealthiest in West Africa, benefitting from the high prices of cocoa and coffee on the world market at the time. The government built an efficient road system during these years. Since the 1980s, however, coffee and cocoa prices have continued to drop, and this in turn has prejudiced the Ivorian economy. The authorities have taken measures to lower the standard of living in the country. These have been unwelcome by the population, and the political situation has started to deteriorate.

Côte d'Ivoire has been ruled since independence by a one-party regime and a "strong man" President. As long as the economy prospered, Ivoirians did not complain about the lack of liberties and the general human rights situation. A free press did not exist, and the only newspapers were government-owned. The regime outlawed political parties, and prohibited freedom of expression, whether oral or written.

Once the economic situation began to deteriorate, however, people raised their voices, demanding greater respect for human rights. The demands started in the university and secondary schools, and then spread beyond. Students were killed. An investigating committee concluded that the military was responsible, but the government refused to take action, and riots ensued.

After several months of an unstable political situation, the government finally agreed to allow political parties to form and independent newspapers to begin publishing. As a result, there is currently a multitude of political parties in Côte d'Ivoire, and the newstands are fairly well stocked. A "spirit of democracy", however, is still absent in the country. Journalists have been imprisoned and some organizations are not officially recognized. Illegal arrests and detentions continue, and the situation of detainees in prison is very bad. In one prison in Abidjan, an average of three prisoners die each day.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Relations between NGOs and the government are poor. The *Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme* (LIDHO), the main human rights organization in the country, does not have the cooperation of the authorities in its job of human rights monitoring. The President of LIDHO was imprisoned following a demonstration. Members of NGOs currently do not feel under any threat to their lives, but their situation is not made easy. There is also a general climate of insecurity in the country, due to activities of thieves and bandits, which NGOs along with the general population, experience.

Association Chrétienne pour l'Abolition des Tortures et pour le Respect des Droits de l'Homme
(Christian Association for the Abolition of Torture and Respect for Human Rights)
(ACATDH)

History

A group of young people formed ACATDH in 1990, receiving official recognition in September 1992. The organization has observer status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Mandate

ACATDH's main objective is the promotion and protection of human rights and the struggle against torture.

Structure

ACATDH is composed of students, lawyers, school children, teachers, and others, and has approximately three hundred members. It has its headquarters in Abidjan, but has no office space of its own. It has no paid staff, and all work is done on a voluntary basis.

Program

ACATDH

- produces audio-visual cassettes on key human rights provisions and makes these available to the population;
- sponsors campaigns to sensitize and conscientize the population on their human rights and the necessity to react in cases of violations;
- holds seminars and workshops on the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; and
- issues press releases in cases of mass violations of human rights.

ACATDH also envisions opening a documentation centre on human rights.

Association des Femmes Juristes de Côte d'Ivoire
(Association of Women Lawyers of Côte d'Ivoire)
(AFJCI)

History

The *Association des Femmes Juristes de Côte d'Ivoire* (AFJCI) was formed and received legal recognition in 1984. It was very active for some time, then went through a long period of inactivity. It resumed its activities at the end of 1993.

Mandate

The main objective of AFJCI is to struggle against all forms of discrimination against women.

Structure

AFJCI's membership is exclusively women lawyers. The organization does not have paid staff or an office of its own.

Program

In order to carry out its mandate, AFJCI has emphasized the necessity for women to know their rights, exercise them, and struggle against their violation. In the beginning they held a series of workshops and conferences with women throughout the country. They have given free legal advice in the ten departments of Abidjan and in some other parts of the country. They have published a series of booklets on marriage, and intend to produce one on family rights. Their main goal currently is the opening of legal clinics for women throughout the country.

Centre Ivoirien de Recherches et d'Etudes Juridiques

**(The Ivoirian Centre of Research and Legal Studies)
(CIREJ)**

History

Le Centre Ivoirien de Recherches et d'Etudes Juridiques (CIREJ) was created in 1973 by a decree of the President of Côte d'Ivoire, and is thus not an NGO.

Mandate

CIREJ's objective is to promote human rights and human rights education.

Structure

CIREJ's members are law teachers and civil servants from the different ministries. The organization has a large staff, all paid by the government.

Program

CIREJ's activities include:

- fundamental research on the legal problems of the country;
- applied research;
- legal documentation; and
- seminars on human rights, including promotion and protection of human rights in West Africa; rights of landowners; protection of the forests in Côte d'Ivoire, women, and access to land.

They are also planning to develop a program of vernacular translations of the law for use in rural areas.

***Groupe d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Démocratie et le Développement en Afrique-Branche de Côte
d'Ivoire***
(Research and Study Group on Democracy and Development in Africa-Côte d'Ivoire Branch)
(GERDDES Côte d'Ivoire)

History

GERDDES Africa, created in 1990, is a pan-African, non-profit organization with headquarters in Benin and a branch in Côte d'Ivoire. The Côte d'Ivoire branch was formed in 1991.

Mandate

The main objective of GERDDES Côte d'Ivoire is the monitoring of democracy through civic education, training of election observers, research, political intermediation, and so on.

Structure

GERDDES Africa has over 1,000 members in twenty African countries. The membership in Côte d'Ivoire is composed of intellectuals from all professional branches. GERDDES Côte d'Ivoire has an office in Abidjan, and employs an administrative officer to manage it. All other members work on a voluntary basis.

Program

GERDDES Côte d'Ivoire has held a series of training workshops to discuss democracy with:

- journalists, to discuss their role and to establish codes of professional ethics;
- heads of different medias, including radio and television. This workshop included participants from Mali, Senegal, Cameroun, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire;
- women, about their role in the process of democracy;
- youth, and their role in the democratic process; and
- magistrates and their role in the promotion of justice.

GERDDES Côte d'Ivoire also has a program of civic education of the population on citizenship, the vote, and similar matters.

Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme
(Ivoirian League for Human Rights)
(LIDHO)

History

The *Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme* (LIDHO) formed in March 1987, and received official recognition from the government in July 1990. In the same month the organization held its first congress.

Mandate

The main objectives of LIDHO are the promotion and protection of human rights.

Structure

LIDHO's membership is diverse, and is composed of various professionals, citizens and activists. According to its records, it has 750 members.

LIDHO has its headquarters in Abidjan, although it has no paid staff and no office of its own. It uses a church as a meeting and work locale. The organization has sought to open sections in Abidjan and elsewhere around the country. It now has four sections in Abidjan and fourteen in the whole country.

Program

Since its creation LIDHO has denounced human rights violations in the country by means of press releases and conferences. In 1992, following gross violations of human rights at the University of Abidjan, LIDHO, along with some political parties, organized a public protest through the streets of Abidjan. The police violently suppressed this demonstration, and arrested the Secretary General of LIDHO and imprisoned him for several months.

LIDHO monitors abuses. When it receives a complaint, it responds according to the nature of the violation. If there is a violation of an individual's rights, it contacts the person whose rights have been violated, investigates the situation, negotiates with the perpetrator of the violation to bring an end to the violation, and if no agreement is reached, they take the case to court. If the rights of a group have been affected, LIDHO contacts as many of the victims as possible, and searches for any who have disappeared; it tracks down witnesses, investigates and analyzes the reports; it issues press releases and launches campaigns; and it appeals to external partners (in Africa and outside) to protest against the violations.

LIDHO also works on the situation in prisons. It issues press releases on the situation of prisoners, the number of deaths, the sanitary situation, etc. Côte d'Ivoire's prisons are very harsh. Prisoners are tortured and are not given enough food.

LIDHO published a pamphlet entitled *Je Connais Mes Droits* (I Know My Rights), but did not have the funds to continue in this sphere.

Mouvement Ivoirien des Femmes Démocrates
(Ivoirian Movement of Democratic Women)
(MIFED)

History

The *Mouvement Ivoirien des Femmes Démocrates* (MIFED) was formed in 1990 by a group of women who believed in an increased role for women in the development of Côte d'Ivoire.

Mandate

MIFED's primary objective is the promotion and protection of women's rights. MIFED believes that Côte d'Ivoire cannot develop without the full participation of women.

Structure

Members of MIFED are women professionals and others, literate or illiterate, living in towns and in rural areas. The organization's records indicate a membership of approximately 1,000. The organization has paid staff, based primarily in the Abidjan office the organization.

Program

MIFED's activities include:

- sponsoring conferences and workshops on the following themes: family law, access of women to credit, sexual mutilation, AIDS;
- issuing press releases to denounce violations of human rights in general and women's rights in particular;
- holding press conferences on the situation of women in Côte d'Ivoire;
- sponsoring solidarity actions with the prisoners in MACA (the main prison in the country), with an emphasis on women prisoners;
- sponsoring workshops on democracy, because MIFED believes that a democratic society will mean the end of discrimination against women; and
- running a Centre for Legal, Economic and Social Assistance for women. In this centre women can learn about their rights, receive medical assistance, and be trained as artisans.

- Seny Diagne

THE GAMBIA

CONTEXT

Gambia is often hailed as one of Africa's few democracies and, accordingly, little international attention is paid when human rights violations occur. Presidential and parliamentary elections returned President Dawda Jawara to office for a fifth term in 1992. Also in 1992, the government announced an amnesty for coup plotters who had participated in an unsuccessful coup attempt in 1981. There have been some reports by Amnesty International of ill-treatment of prisoners in custody by police officers, but abuse of prisoners is not endemic and police are held accountable. Prison conditions are below standard and prisoners receive inadequate medical care and nutrition.

Despite the fact that the African Commission on Human and People's Rights and the regional African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies are based in Gambia, the local human rights community is small. The International Society for Human Rights is the main organization, and its stress is human rights education work. There is also another research and education center, the Foundation for Research on Women's Health, Productivity and the Environment (BAFROW), which concentrates on issues affecting women's health and productivity. There is little or no documentation or advocacy work being done in the Gambia, and that is a gap that should be filled.

African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies

History

A unique organization in many ways, the Centre was established by the Gambian government soon after the the establishment of the African Commission. It was set up in 1989 as a regional organization to cooperate with other African and international institutions on human rights issues. It has been granted diplomatic immunity by the Gambian government.

Mandate

Its mandate is exclusively to promote human rights.

Structure

The office is divided into six core programs: human rights procedures (raising awareness of international human rights procedures); a research program (conducting and commissioning studies on human rights problems, including one on prisons); a publications unit (a newsletter and occasional papers); a human rights internship program to enable African and other interns to work at the Centre; a documentation programme; and a training and education program. The Centre has a professional staff of seven.

Program

The Centre has done a number of training workshops for NGOs and law enforcement officials on human rights standards. As a result of a funding crunch, the programs have been collapsed for the time being, and staff are working only on programs that still have funding.

African Society of International and Comparative Law

History

The African Society of International and Comparative Law was founded in 1986, and was previously based in London, until it moved to Gambia in 1993. It has a membership of approximately 550.

Mandate

The organization's objective is the advancement of public education in law and related areas in Africa.

Structure

There are two full-time staff members in Gambia and two in England.

Program

The Society hopes to create a network of interested lawyers and scholars on the African continent and to play a role in an African contribution to international law. It plans to help establish branches of the organization in other African countries. The Society publishes a newsletter and law journal. It has plans to start a legal aid and education project in Gambia, to initiate and encourage law reporting services in different countries, to write a commentary on the African and OAU Charters, and to produce a yearbook on state practice in Africa.

**Foundation for Research on Women's Health, Productivity and the Environment
(BAFROW)**

History

The Foundation was set up in 1991 as a research project to study and work on issues that pertain to women's health and productivity. It was formed because of a lack of empirical data on women's issues from which to analyze issues related to women's health for policy formulation.

Mandate

The organization's purpose is to conduct research on issues, including environmental issues, that affect women's health and productivity.

Structure

The office has two full-time staff members.

Program

The organization has done extensive work on female genital mutilation, both researching its prevalence as well as providing information and education sessions to women to end the practice. It is interested in setting up a temporary shelter for girls who are fleeing genital mutilation. Other issues on which the organization has worked include access to schooling for girls and the implications of polygamy for women.

**International Society for Human Rights-Gambia
(ISHR-Gambia)**

History

The Gambian section of the International Society for Human Rights was established in December 1991. Although it is formally affiliated to its German counterpart and receives rent money from them, its program activities are independently determined.

Mandate

The organization is an education and advocacy group.

Structure

It is headed by the International Governing Council based in Germany and a National Executive Committee of five members.

Program

ISHR-Gambia's activities include seminars and workshops, as well as investigating human rights abuses and filing communications with the African Commission on Human and People's Rights. The organization includes the following committees: youth, welfare, bilingual (translation of human rights documents into local languages), and women. It has published reports on prison conditions, lobbied for law reform, written articles and produced a newsletter. It also views itself as a regional group and has travelled to Guinea on a fact-finding mission and assisted a human rights group there obtain observer status with the African Commission.

- Binaifer Nowrojee

GHANA

CONTEXT

In January 1993, after eleven years of often brutal military rule under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings was sworn in as a civilian ruler following a national election which brought him back into power. Rawlings won the presidential election with 58% of the vote as the head of a three-party coalition led by his own National Democratic Congress (NDC). A new constitution with institutional checks and balances came into effect after the election. Opposition parties accused the government of electoral malpractice and vote-rigging and boycotted legislative elections in December.

The growth of human rights organizations in Ghana is a recent development, subsequent to the election. Most of the groups in Ghana are at a preliminary stage of formation, with the Ghana Committee on Human and People's Rights being the oldest. Most are constrained by inexperience and funding problems. Ghanaian human rights activists identify arbitrary arrests, detention, and restrictions on freedom of expression as common violations. However, since the election, they believe the situation has improved somewhat, although rights violations have by no means ceased. In the early part of 1993, police forcibly broke up a demonstration held by an opposition party to protest the budget.

The new Constitution, which came into effect January 7, 1993, provides for a system of checks and balances, with an executive branch headed by the President, a parliament and an independent judiciary. The Constitution also provides for a Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice to investigate alleged violations of human rights and to take action to remedy proven violations. The Commission was sworn in in October 1993, but to date has not taken a strong lead in addressing violations. At the same time, the government created a national media commission to ensure the freedom and independence of the mass media in Ghana.

Lack of independence of the judiciary has been a frequent complaint of Ghanaian lawyers. However, it has been widely acknowledged that the judiciary has become more outspoken since the election. The Supreme Court ruled illegal the police action mentioned above, stating that no permit was needed to organize a demonstration, protest or rally. On another occasion, the courts ruled that the state-owned media had a duty to afford equal access to all political parties. The media has also become more outspoken since the election.

African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters (Ghana) (CAPSDH-Ghana)

History

The African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters (*La Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des Droits de l'Homme*) (CAPSDH) is a regional, non-governmental organization created in 1989 by African medical professionals with the guidance of the World Health Organization and the International Commission of Health Professionals at a conference in Brazzaville, Congo. The Ghana branch formed in 1990.

Mandate

CAPSDH-Ghana is dedicated to the defence and promotion of the ideals enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, but with an emphasis on the health and rehabilitation of victims of human rights violations.

Structure

The organization has a National Executive made up of seventeen members, including founding member, Dr. Edmund Delle. There is a small office staff. The organization intends to set up regional branches at a later date.

Program

CAPSDH-Ghana has established a treatment and rehabilitation center, and has counselled, treated and housed over 150 former political detainees. Financial assistance has been given to allow members of detainees' families to stay with them at Dr. Delle's clinic and to permit their children to attend school. Both psychological and physical treatment is provided to detainees. Some efforts have been made by the organization to help former detainees seek employment following their treatment. Former detainees are housed at Dr. Delle's private clinic.

African Human Rights Heritage**History**

African Human Rights Heritage is a regional organization formed in 1992 which focuses broadly on political, economic, cultural and social issues.

Mandate

Its mandate is to create chapters throughout Africa to promote human rights, ensure the establishment of a human rights court, African High Command and federation for African human rights; assist human rights victims in the form of aid; encourage training and investment in projects to achieve economic emancipation; and support exposure of economic crimes.

Structure

The organization is supposed to be governed by a Council of members, one member from each OAU member state which will meet twice a year. Each country will have a National Committee comprised of government and opposition party representatives, church groups and NGOs as well as others. The regional headquarters are based in Ghana.

Program

Activities to date have been limited.

Decade of Human Rights Education**History**

The Decade of Human Rights Education formed in 1991 as a branch of a larger Decade for Human Rights Education started by Shula Koenig of New York.

Mandate

The Decade of Human Rights Education is a non-profit initiative to energize and facilitate local, regional and national activities for the purpose of human rights education in Ghana.

Structure

The organization is currently led by ten part-time volunteers and is a membership organization. There is a National Organizing Committee comprised of nine members.

Program

The organization does human rights education work targeted at the education system, local communities, government institutions and the business sector.

Ghana Committee on Human and Peoples' Rights

History

The Ghana Committee was formed in 1991 after a visit by a Commissioner from the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights to Ghana.

Mandate

The Committee is a "non-governmental independent organization aimed at ensuring the promotion and protection of and respect for human and peoples' rights in their broadest sense".

Structure

The organization has an eight-member National Executive consisting of three trade unionists, one journalist and four lawyers who all work on a voluntary basis. There are no full-time professional staff. The organization plans to be national and is setting up branches outside Accra. To date, it has established chapters in Western, Central and the Greater Accra regions. The organization is a membership organization which concentrates on the rights of vulnerable groups, as well as on economic and social rights.

Program

The Committee produces a quarterly newsletter which addresses recent human rights developments, documents violations and discusses international human rights standards. The newsletter has a readership of 4,000. The Committee has sponsored a number of seminars and workshops including a two-day conference on "Human Rights in the Fourth Republic". It has collaborated with other organizations a number of times on joint seminars, including one on "The Journalist and Human Rights in Ghana" with the Ghana Journalists Association, and others with the Red Cross and the African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters.

Ghana Journalists Association

History

Created in 1984, the Ghana Journalists Association is a professional association for Ghanaian journalists.

Mandate

The Association's purpose is to improve the standard of professional practice in the press, encourage the growth of the mass media, and protect freedom of expression.

Structure

The Association is a membership organization of journalists with a National Executive elected by the members.

Program

Activities are sponsored by the human rights committee of this professional body to raise awareness in the press about human rights. The Association publishes a newsletter dealing with issues pertaining to the media. It held a joint seminar on human rights with the Ghana Committee on Human and Peoples Rights.

Human Rights Forum

History

In 1992 five former student unionists established Human Rights Forum.

Mandate

The Forum's focus is on human rights education.

Structure

The Forum is a five-member group consisting of the President, the Secretary General, a lawyer (the Executive Secretary), a social scientist, and a computer scientist.

Program

The organization has done some human rights education in the schools and is interested in giving workshops.

International Association of Women Lawyers-Ghana (FIDA-Ghana)

History

FIDA-Ghana formed in 1985.

Mandate

The primary objective of the program is the provision of legal services to indigent women and children within the community. Men who seek the services of FIDA-Ghana are not denied help if they qualify. The organization also have a legal literacy component to educate the public on women's rights.

Structure

The FIDA office is run by a five-member steering committee which drafts the organization's annual report and organizes the volunteer lawyers to provide legal services. A full-time Legal Administrator runs the office and is assisted by two lawyers and one non-lawyer.

Program

FIDA-Ghana provides legal aid services (over 1,000 clients serviced) and legal literacy awareness materials printed in local languages, on the intestate succession law, marriage laws, the wills act and maintenance of children.

- Binaifer Nowrojee

GUINEA

BACKGROUND

In 1958 Guinea voted in a referendum to be independent of Gaullist France. From 1958 until 1962 the country's President, Sekou Toure, tolerated multi-party politics. Thereafter, however, he started purging the country of its intellectuals and professional classes, and the government adopted a one-party state policy, an approach which was then very much in vogue in Africa.

Under Sekou Toure Guinea suffered a repressive, personal rule, which did not allow for the development of any autonomous political or social institutions. The ruling party and the state became one, and all organs of the state were subordinated to the executive, which, in essence, was President Sekou Toure. High level corruption became the norm. The state also assumed the character of the President's ethnic group, the Malinke. The regime purged or forced into exile members of other ethnic groups, while others were killed, tortured, "disappeared" or imprisoned under the Preventive Detention laws. This period also saw the economic decay of the country. Economic entrepreneurship did not thrive in a climate where scholarship and political discourse were interpreted as political dissent and thus not encouraged.

Throughout this period the official Guinean position on human rights held that people's collective rights took precedence over individual rights—an excuse that the government used to justify a lot of human rights violations. Guinea ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights in 1982.

Sekou Toure died in 1984, and the military under General Lassana Conte seized political power. General Conte promised to liberalize Guinea politically and economically, which he did to some extent. In the 1990s, as elsewhere on the continent, democratic forces emerged to demand a return to a multi-party system. Elections took place, although they also brought to the fore existing polarization between the three dominant ethnic groups, the Fula, Malinke and Susu. General Conte won the elections, although some disputed the results. He was sworn in in 1994 under a new constitution.

The Constitution makes explicit provision for the protection of individual liberties and freedoms. Since the elections, however, the government has been gradually sliding into dictatorship, tightening its grip over civil society. Opponents of the ruling party are subject to attacks and threats. The media as a whole remains state-dominated, and private press houses are intimidated. There is a strong military presence in the city of Conakry, with road blocks and interrogation at every stop.

The government refuses to recognize NGOs, which it views as "opponents". For example, it has to date refused to respond to the application for legal registration of the *Organisation Guinéenne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* (Guinean Organization for the Defense of Human and Citizens' Rights). Civil institutions in Guinea are very weak and virtually non-existent. Where they do exist, they are run by people who have had no democratic exposure since the early Sekou Toure years. The judiciary, which is a vital organ in the protection of human rights, is manifestly corrupt and incompetent with very poor conditions of service. Police officers and the army are no less corrupt. In fact, corruption affects almost every aspect of social life, going hand in hand with poor economic conditions. Essentially, there is not even a modicum of modern democratic culture in Guinea.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Association Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme
(Guinean Association for Human Rights)

History

The *Association Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme* was formed when some members of the *Organisation Guinéenne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* (OGDDH) decided that the OGDDH had become very politicized, taking the side of one of the political parties. They broke away from OGDDH to form their own, independent, non-political human rights NGO, the *Association*, in 1992.

Mandate

The *Association's* mandate is to promote and protect human rights in Guinea.

Structure

The *Association* has a General Assembly, which is the supreme decision and policy-making body. There is an Executive Committee, which is made up of the President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Treasurer and Assistants.

Program

The *Association* has visited prisons and made reports on its findings. It has embarked upon human rights sensitization and education programmes in Guinea, and has translated human rights instruments into the main local languages of Guinea. It also educated the populace on the electoral system before the elections.

***Association Guinéenne des Enfants* (Guinean Children's Association)**

History

During the reign of Sekou Toure a lot of children lost their parents and relatives, who were either killed or died in detention. After the *coup d'état* of 1984, the country began to liberalize, and a number of such children decided to form an organization to defend their rights. The *Association Guinéenne des Enfants* was created in 1992.

Mandate

The Association's mandate is:

- to educate the public to prevent a repetition of the violations of the Sekou Toure years;
- to fight for the rehabilitation of those who lost their parents, property and education; and
- to convert the concentration camps of Sekou Toure's Guinea into monuments of remembrance.

Structure

A General Assembly elects an Executive Committee to implement its decisions.

Program

The organization is involved in human rights advocacy. It holds demonstration to commemorate the massacre by the Sekou Toure government of its opponents in the 1960s and 1970s.

***Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des Droits de l'Homme-Guinée* (African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters-Guinea) (CAPSDH)**

History

A meeting held in Congo-Brazzaville in 1989 developed a pan-African initiative, the *Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des Droits de l'Homme* (CAPSDH), to deal with issues of health as they relate to human rights. In 1993 the Guinean section was formed to focus on the right to health within Guinea. CAPSDH also has sections in Ghana and Congo.

Mandate

The main objective of the *Commission* is to promote human rights as a whole, with special emphasis on the right to health.

Structure

At both the national and regional levels, the supreme decision-making body is a General Assembly. There is a national Executive Committee for each country, which is empowered to implement its own national policies. The Executive Committee is composed of a President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Treasurer and Assistants.

Programme

CAPSDH-Guinée has worked on the psychological rehabilitation of released political detainees, and held seminars on human rights.

***Organisation Guinéenne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* (Guinean Organization for the Defense of Human and Citizens' Rights) (OGDDH)**

History

During Sekou Toure's rule no human rights organization or forum existed which permitted the citizenry to discuss political issues pertaining to the country. When the military took over, they promised some liberalization, of which some academics, journalists, and lawyers decided to take advantage. This led to the creation of the *Organisation Guinéenne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* (OGDDH) in 1990.

Mandate

The *Organisation's* mandate is:

- the promotion of human rights;
- human rights education and sensitization; and
- waging campaigns to protect human rights.

Structure

The supreme body of the *Organisation* is the General Assembly, which elects an Executive Committee composed of the President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Treasurer, Secretary for External Relations, and various committees.

Programme

OGDDH has organized seminars and workshops for the public at large, and for members of the security forces. It commemorates notable human rights days, for example, the African Charter Day and International Human Rights Day (October 21st and December 10th respectively). It makes statements in cases of violations, and publishes an annual report on the state of human rights in the country.

GUINEA 115

- Nana K.A. Busia, Jr.

GUINEA-BISSAU

BACKGROUND

The size of Guinea-Bissau--approximately one million people inhabit 36,000 square kilometers bordered by the Francophone states of Senegal and Guinea-Conakry--is inversely proportional to its social complexity. There are about 22 ethnic groups with political systems ranging from the relatively centralized patrilineal Muslim states in the interior (Fula and Mandinga) to the acephalous societies of the coast (Balanta, Manjako, Pepel) and the Bijagós archipelago (Bijagós, Cocoli, Pajendinca). Guinea-Bissau also has a sizeable population of mixed descent. Although the official language is Portuguese, it is spoken fluently by only about ten percent of the population. The effective *lingua franca*--spoken by at least 80 percent of the population--is Kriolo, a creole language based on Portuguese and the various African languages of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau is one of the poorest countries in Africa. The minimum wage is about \$14 per month; female and male literacy rates are 15.7 percent and 20.5 respectively; and life expectancy is only 47 years.

At independence, the victorious liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, PAIGC, the *Partido Africano para a Independência de Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde* (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) introduced a political and economic order based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Procedures and results were not unlike those reported for Angola and Mozambique, where similar highly-centralized systems replaced the equally centralized and authoritarian Portuguese colonial order. Attempts to implement a socialized economy resulted in an inflated and inefficient state apparatus, reduction in productivity and increasing dependence on foreign aid, which now finances over 90 percent of the national budget.

The determination to build a one-party state resulted in a massive onslaught of violations of fundamental human rights and the perpetuation of a political culture based on mutual fear--the government of its rivals, the people of the security forces. After formal independence in 1974 (the PAIGC had unilaterally declared Guinea-Bissau independent in 1973), the security forces of Luis Cabral's government executed about a hundred individuals suspected of collaboration with the Portuguese regime. After a failed coup attempt in 1978, even more met a similar fate and were buried in mass graves in the Oio region. In 1980, a successful *coup d'état* brought Cabral's Prime Minister and one of the most prominent guerrilla leaders of the independence war, Bernardino Vieira ("Nino"), to power. Since then, he himself has allegedly suffered four attempted coups, the most serious of which was supposedly led by Vieira's second-in-command, Paulo Correia. In 1986, after a closed trial by a military tribunal, Correia and five others were summarily executed in spite of pleas for a stay of execution from the Pope, the President of Portugal, Amnesty International and other leading international figures. This event is vividly remembered in Bissau, where rumor has it that Correia's eyes were gouged out before he was shot. True or not, this belief is clear evidence of the gruesome reputation of the security forces.

Soon after taking power, Vieira introduced a number of economic changes, steering the economy away from socialism under a structural adjustment program (*Programa de Estabilização Económica*) funded by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in 1982. Political changes came almost ten years later. In May 1991 the Constitution of Guinea-Bissau was amended to include new guarantees for human rights. In 1993 further amendments were passed, including the abolition of the death penalty, bringing the Constitution into line with international human rights standards. Eleven political parties soon emerged and two independent newspapers were formed, as the country prepared itself for its first general election in 1994. Even so, the human rights situation in practice remains bleak.⁸ The security forces continue to harass political opponents through illegal detentions and the application of torture in the notoriously inhumane prisons. The judicial system continues to be morose and prone to political influence. Political and extra-judicial killings are not uncommon. The police are regularly accused of employing torture during interrogation and the prisons are in an appalling state. In September 1993, Ossumane Quadé, an army officer, was beaten to death in a prison known as the Second Squadron after police detained him on charges of arms trafficking. Seven police and security officers

⁸ See Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1992, U.S. Department of State, February, 1993, and Rapport 1993, *Les Éditions Francophone d'Amnesty International*, 1993.

were arrested and brought before a military court. The trial has, however, not come to an end and the arrested persons are often seen at liberty in Bissau.

On March 17, 1993, Major Robalo Gomes de Pina, head of an elite security unit, the *Força de Intervenção Rápida* (Rapid Intervention Force), was shot dead in Bissau. The military authorities at first claimed that the assassination was related to army discontent over pay and promotions. Later, however, the events were reconstrued as an attempted *coup d'état*, especially after the alleged assassin, Sergeant Amadú Mané, claimed-under interrogation--that prominent members of opposition parties, João da Costa, President of the *Partido da Renovação Democrática* (Democratic Renovation Party), and Tagmé Na Waié, member of the *Resistência de Guiné-Bissau--Movimento Bafatá* (Resistance of Guinea-Bissau--Bafatá Movement), had masterminded the plot. Waié, Costa, and many others were arrested and interrogated. Amnesty International and the *Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem* (Guinean League for Human Rights) brought pressure to bear on the authorities to release the illegally detained and to allow the defendants a fair trial. In January 1994, seventeen people, including Costa and Waié, were brought to trial in open court in the presence of hundreds of spectators, including two impartial observers from Cape Verde called by the *Liga*, and the Ouagadougou-based *Union Interafricaine des Droits de l'Homme* (Inter-African Union for Human Rights). The defendants were permitted to present their version of the facts, which they did in Kriolo with firm conviction. Most alleged that they had been mistreated during interrogation, among them Amadú Mané himself, who denied any contact with João da Costa. Most of those attending the trial felt that there was a reasonable chance that justice would be done, and seen to be done. Even the most vociferous opponents of Vieira recognized that the trial represented a major advance over that of 1986 and were unanimous in recognizing the political opening and the work of the *Liga* in bringing about such change. João da Costa and Tagmé Na Waié were, in effect, acquitted; the remaining defendants received varying prison terms.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

The constitutional changes of 1991, allowing for freedom of association, made possible the existence of non-governmental organizations. These may now be legally approved once their statutes have been examined by SOLEDAMI (*Solidariedade e Amizade*) (Solidarity and Friendship), an organization linked to the Ministry of Cooperation, which was first established in 1984 to coordinate foreign non-governmental organizations in Guinea-Bissau. At the time of writing, some thirty-two local NGOs have been formed or are in the process of formation, most of them staffed by professionals who had previously worked as government servants. In spite of its size and poverty, Guinea-Bissau possesses one of the most impressive human rights organizations in Africa, the *Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem* (Guinean League for Human Rights), a new human rights organization emphasizing women's rights. In addition there is the *Centro de Informação e Orientação Jurídica* (Center for Judicial Information and Orientation), a public policy research and information organization, and the *Associação Guineense de Estudos e Alternativas* (Guinean Association for Studies and Alternatives) (ALTERNAG). Under the aegis of government, Guinea-Bissau possesses a law faculty and a very productive social and economic research institute, the *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa* (INEP).

In this small and complex country, where an even smaller power elite controls the PAIGC, the government and the security forces, yet where all members of the educated elite either know one another or are actually related, ties of kinship and companionship blur the boundaries between politically opposed groups. Given that power has thus far been acquired and maintained by the threat to use force, the human rights organizations do in reality represent, as Amine Saad commented, a counter-power. In calling for the rule of law and respect for constitutionally-defined rights, they effectively demand a change in the political culture of Guinea-Bissau as radical in its way as the attempt to introduce Marxism-Leninism was in the 1970s.

For this reason, the success of the mission of human rights organizations and indeed the very physical survival of their members will depend on their ability to strengthen and maintain their legitimacy in relation to the population at large, and to build even more solid relationships with international human rights organizations. The importance of these relationships may go a long way in explaining why Fernando Gomes is a founding member and Executive Secretary of the *Union Interafricaine des Droits de l'Homme* (the Inter-African Union for Human Rights), based in Burkina Faso, and is also engaged in establishing an association that will bring together all human rights organizations in the African countries with Portuguese as their official language

(PALOPs), the African Forum for the Rights of Man and the Child (the Forum). A first meeting of potential members of the Forum--to which a Brazilian representative is also to be invited--is planned for February 1994. The Forum represents an important human rights initiative for the PALOPs. In spite of the many differences between the Portuguese-speaking countries, they share--apart from a common language and metropolitan culture--a common recent history. They came to independence through war, they introduced political and economic systems based on Marxist-Leninist principles and they are now passing through a massive transition to liberal democracy. Cooperation between the PALOPs and Brazil and Portugal will also become easier following the recent initiative of the Brazilian ambassador to Portugal, José Aparecido de Oliveira, to establish a Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries. A planning meeting of foreign ministers of Brazil, Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe was held in Brasília in February 1994. One hopes that the new Forum will insist on a human rights component in the proposed Community.

There are immediate opportunities for cooperation between Guinean human rights organizations and their counterparts in other Portuguese-speaking countries. The *Núcleo de Estudos da Violência* (Nucleus for the Study of Violence at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, which has been monitoring prison conditions in Brazil for some years and is actively pressing for prison reform in that country, could contribute significantly to the League's work in Guinea-Bissau's prisons. Women's organizations in Brazil could be of great help to the newly-formed *Centro de Informação e Orientação Jurídica*. Contacts with the Mozambican MULEIDE (Women, Law and Development) would certainly also be useful for both organizations.

As the researcher's discussions with human rights activists in Guinea-Bissau progressed, it became increasingly apparent that their role as "counter-power" cannot be underestimated. The notion of individual human rights runs counter to the multiple rights and obligations that derive from a person's affiliation to particular factions, ethnic groups and families, which are sustained by customary legal and supernatural sanctions. While the concept that human rights extrapolate history and culture in their generality provides the strongest possible ideological justification for their dissemination and acceptance, the fact remains that they lie at the basis of a specific political and social order (liberal democracy) which is but incipient in Guinea-Bissau, as in many other parts of the world. The *Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem* and the *Centro de Informação e Orientação Jurídica* are both key materializations of the idea of human rights in Guinea-Bissau. Their work will be long and arduous and should not be measured only by immediate achievements (such as bringing international observers to the recent treason trial, for example), but by their ability to continue to provide the possibility of an alternative to the culture of fear. On one occasion, Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, Director of the *Núcleo de Estudos da Violência* in São Paulo, commenting on the seeming impossibility to propagate the most basic notions of the rule of law among police and prison officers in Brazil, pointed out that he didn't expect his organization to be able to bring immediate change to institutions that are embedded in a culture of nepotism, violence and fear. In its very existence, the *Núcleo* represented the reality of an *idea*, to which individuals and institutions would some day adhere. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the international community would provide the kind of support which will enable the human rights activists of Guinea-Bissau to continue to build and strengthen their legitimacy. Without such points of reference, and indeed sanctuary, the possibility of change in the political culture of fear will be all the more distant.

Centro de Informação e Orientação Jurídica
(Center for Judicial Information and Orientation)

Founded in 1993 by ten lawyers and other professionals, most of whom trained in Europe and Brazil and who have worked in government up until the present, the *Centro de Informação e Orientação Jurídica* was originally planned as simply a human rights organization. After advice from international agencies, the founders resolved to concentrate on the rights of women and children, preparing their statutes accordingly. The Center plans to provide legal advice to citizens (principally women), to publish brochures on human rights, to collaborate with women's groups, other NGOs, and the government in the organization of conferences and seminars, and to train "animators" who will propagate rights information in the rural areas. The Center expects to become particularly involved in family disputes resulting from divorce, separation and domestic violence. An important aspect of this emergent group is its sensitivity to cultural differences in Guinea-Bissau. It anticipates field research to understand better the relationships between official and customary family law. In addition to women's rights, the Center also plans to become involved in work related to land law.

Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem
(Guinean League for the Rights of Man)

In 1991, the *Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem* was formed under the leadership of Fernando Gomes. A youth leader during the first years of independence, Gomes won a scholarship to study law in Leningrad in 1981. On his return to Guinea-Bissau, he worked in the Attorney General's office. Differences of opinion (Gomes was seen to be too diligent in his attempts to curb abuses by the judicial police) caused him to lose his job and his government house. Since then he has devoted his time to the consolidation of the *Liga*.

In spite of its youth, the *Liga* now has 3,000 members, each of which is supposed to contribute 5,000 Guinean pesos (about fifty US cents) per month. It is established in the capital and in each of the country's eight regions, where a salaried staff member is responsible for running the office. Each office acts as an informal legal advice center where members of the public are free to present their problems. At first the *Liga* attempted to act on behalf of these informal "clients," but with time decided instead only to orient them on their rights and advise them as to the best course of action.

The bulk of the *Liga's* work is to inform the people of Bissau of their legal rights and obligations, to monitor the human rights situation in the country, and to advocate for those whose rights are infringed. Public education is effected through a weekly radio program broadcast over the government radio and the publication of a bulletin called *Diritus Malgós* (Kriolo for "Bitter (or Sacred) Rights"), which contains educational articles, information on human rights abuses in Guinea-Bissau, and accounts of the activities of the *Liga*. Since August 1993, three numbers of the bulletin have been published with a print run of 2,500 each. In preparation for Guinea-Bissau's first general election, the *Liga*, in cooperation with ALTERNAG, is preparing a public education campaign. It is also possible that the *Liga* will be invited to participate in the monitoring of the election.

The activity of the *Liga* which has brought it most visibility has been its advocacy against capital punishment--resulting in its abolition in 1992--and the courageous denunciation of significant human rights abuses in Guinea-Bissau. In 1992, for example, the *Liga* launched a campaign to bring to justice the assassins of Ussumane Quadé, while in 1993, the *Liga* managed to visit those who had been arrested for the attempted *coup d'état* on March 17 and demanded a just and open trial. Through information received from regional offices, the *Liga* forwarded protests about abuses of authority in Oio and Bafatá.

Needless to say, the *Liga's* denunciations of human rights abuses have not gone without reprisal. Fernando Gomes has received telephoned death threats, and, soon after his utterances on the Ussumane Quadé case, he was indicted on charges of abuse of authority during his term of employment in the Attorney General's office. In addition, the *Liga* has been the object of an orchestrated campaign designed to convince public opinion that it is allied to "bandits" and lawlessness in general. Its defense of the abolition of the death penalty is interpreted as an alliance with common criminals. A project to undertake a major investigation of prisons and to train prison staff in conjunction with Prison Reform International had to be abandoned when government refused the necessary permission.

Critics of the *Liga*, however, are not confined to government. At least one opposition leader, for example, having defined the *Liga* as a "Counter-Power," accused it of being, if anything, too lenient toward government and of not being sufficiently allied to the opposition parties. Fernando Gomes defends his position by insisting that the *Liga* must remain politically neutral if it is to consolidate its legitimacy as a human rights organization.

- Peter Fry

LIBERIA

CONTEXT

Since December 1989, Liberia has been in the midst of a bloody civil war involving several warring factions, all of whom have been responsible for egregious violations. The country has remained divided as the various factions vie for power. The bulk of the country is controlled by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Two of the western counties are controlled by the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), a group made up of soldiers from former President Samuel Doe's army, the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). Three more factions have emerged recently: the Liberia Peace Council, the Bong Democratic Front, and the Lofa Defense Council. Since 1990, the capital, Monrovia, has been governed by the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) backed by a West African peace-keeping force, ECOMOG.

Throughout the war, there have been numerous attempts by West African leaders to negotiate an end to the conflict. However, these efforts have been marred by frequent renegeing on the part of Charles Taylor which have resulted in renewed fighting. In October 1992, the NPFL attacked Monrovia, ending two years of a tenuous ceasefire. The offense caught ECOMOG unprepared, and it responded by permitting former AFL fighters to operate alongside ECOMOG in combatting the NPFL. During the fighting, there were charges of human rights abuses by all sides and complaints of ECOMOG's use of carpet bombing, which resulted in civilian casualties. In July 1993, the NPFL, ULIMO and IGNU signed a peace agreement following talks arranged by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the UN. The agreement provided for the creation of a UN observer mission in Liberia and the expansion of the ECOMOG forces to include East African troops.

Until March 7, 1994 when the disarmament process officially began, the process had reached a stalemate. Meanwhile, an estimated 652,600 Liberians remain refugees in neighboring West African states.

Prior to the civil war, no human rights groups existed under the repressive government of President Samuel Doe. Since the war, it has been impossible for any human rights organizations to form except in ECOMOG-controlled Monrovia. A number of human rights organizations have been established within Monrovia and are permitted to function without interference by IGNU and ECOMOG. However, these groups have been constrained in trying to document violations in territory controlled by any of the warring factions. The organizations have been forced to limit their activities to human rights education (through conferences, the media and billboards) and legal aid programs. In Monrovia, NGOs have become a cottage industry. It is one of the few ways to get paid for work. As a result, there are hundreds of registered NGOs--often representing only one person. There are, for example, over 100 women's NGOs registered in Monrovia at the moment.

Although disarmament was scheduled to have begun, delays and renewed fighting appear to have set back the peace process yet again. Human rights training in every area is necessary in Liberia. All the groups have only begun to operate since the war and most of the people running the organizations have no prior human rights experience. The former interim government President, Amos Sawyer, has also begun a human rights group called the Center for Democratic Empowerment since he stepped down in March 1994. One of the major issues that will face Liberian human rights groups is how to deal with the blanket amnesty provisions in the peace accord which exonerate all human rights violators for any act committed during the course of military engagements. Comparative experiences elsewhere could be useful for developing an approach to this issue.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Association of Human Rights Promoters (ASHURIP)

History

The Association of Human Rights Promoters (ASHURIP) was formed in 1991 by a former Doe government employee, Jesse Karnley.

Mandate

The organization's focus is human rights education.

Structure

ASHURIP is a membership organization of approximately 300.

Program

Since 1991, the Association has been sponsoring a joint seminar with the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission on Human Rights Day. They also printed 60,000 copies of the Liberian Constitution for distribution. Lack of funding has rendered the organization effectively defunct.

Catholic Justice and Peace Commission

History

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission was formed in November 1991 by the Catholic Secretariat. Archbishop Michael Francis has a long record of speaking out on human rights abuses in Liberia prior to the war and has ensured that the Commission has the necessary funding.

Mandate

The Justice and Peace Commission is the human rights and peace component of the Catholic Church of Liberia.

Structure

The Commission is headed by a National Director who runs an office staff of five.

Program

The Commission does human rights education work in the schools and churches, runs a legal aid program, visits prisons, documents human rights abuses, and communicates with the rebel leaders to complain about violations.

Center for Law and Human Rights Education

History

The Center formed in 1992 in Monrovia.

Mandate

The focus of its activity is human rights advocacy and legal aid.

Structure

The Center is headed by a Board of Advisors and has a staff of nineteen.

Program

The Center provides legal aid, runs human rights education programs, and has a resource and documentation library. It is responsible for a human rights course being taught at the Law School in Monrovia. The Center has given training to police on human rights standards and developed a program for ex-combatants.

Liberia Human Rights Chapter

History

The Liberia Human Rights Chapter was formed in 1991 by Harry Sie Brooks. The organization's first initiative was the publication of one issue of a human rights newspaper called Humanitas.

Mandate

The Chapter focuses on human rights education and advocacy.

Structure

Currently all of the organization's work is done by volunteers, due to lack of funding.

Program

The Chapter has been responsible for a number of billboards around Monrovia and radio programs on human rights. It also monitors the interim government and has gone into ULIMO territory. There have been a number of subsequent issues of Humanitas. When its funding ended this year, the staff was laid off and there has not been much activity.

Liberia Watch for Human Rights

History

Liberia Watch for Human Rights formed in February 1992.

Mandate

The organization's objectives are, among others, to provide human rights education, improve prison conditions, provide legal aid, and lobby for the repeal of inhumane laws.

Structure

Liberia Watch has a staff of seven. However, their activities have been constrained by inexperience and lack of funding.

Program

The organization has put out a few issues of a newspaper by the same name. However, it has been unable to achieve any of its goals because of lack of funding.

My Sister's Place

History

My Sister's Place received funding after the publicity about the rapes in Bosnia.

Mandate

My Sister's place is an organization run by the National Women's Commission of Liberia to help women who have been sexually abused or coerced during the war.

Structure

The organization has full-time staff, including an in-house lawyer and trauma counsellors.

Program

The projects are being implemented by the National Women's Commission of Liberia (NAWOCOL) and funded by UNICEF. The organization offers trauma counselling; HIV testing/AIDS counselling; legal counselling to women; medical services; income generating activities for women; and short-term shelter for battered women.

- Binaifer Nowrojee

MALI

BACKGROUND

The nature of the transition from 23 years of Moussa Traore's military dictatorship to a democratic regime has, to a great extent, shaped the character, strategies and needs of human rights NGOs in contemporary Mali. Moussa Traore seized political power in a military *coup d'etat* in 1968 and ruled the country until 1991. In 1991--in the face of the mobilization of democratic social forces--another soldier had to step in to head a transitional government until an election was held, ushering in the present democratic government.

For the 23 years that Moussa Traore ruled, Mali was a classic case of an authoritarian African state. There was no rule of law. It was a one-party state, and all institutions were dominated by the party. Organizations within civil society, like trade unions or women's organizations, were all affiliated to the one party, constraining the space for any autonomous organization. The government operated a closed economy, with strong emphasis on the public sector.

Notwithstanding these state practices, Mali during this same period had a constitution (of 1974) which purported to protect human rights, and, what is more, the government ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights in 1982.

With the end of the cold war and the overall quest for the democratic reconstruction of African societies, there was a people's revolt in Mali. The state responded by massacring students and children in 1991. This led to the organization of many NGOs, particularly women's NGOs, to deal with the situation.

With the overthrow of Moussa Traore's government and the call for a national conference, the political space for mass politics opened. The adoption of a new constitution in 1992 and the existence of an elected government made the political climate conducive for human rights NGOs. Many of the persons and organizations who served in the transitional government later found themselves either in the elected government, in opposition parties, or in human rights NGOs. By the close of 1991, as many as ninety-seven national NGOs existed in Mali.

There are a number of current human rights issues, however, to which it is worth calling attention:

- The problem of secession in the north by the Tuaregs has created tension between issues of state security and human rights. Already there have been cases of human rights abuses by the security forces. The not-so-covert support of the rebels by the Libyan government complicates the situation further.
- The mobilization of society, especially students, during the transition period has now created its own problem of rising expectations. The students, it is believed by many, have now developed the notion that they are "king makers," and, as such, can make and unmake governments in Mali at will.
- This state of affairs, coupled with the current structural adjustment policy and devaluation, is posing the biggest challenge to the government. NGOs too have to deal with a population that is disenchanted with democracy and skeptical of human rights advocacy because of the difficult economic situation.
- These issues aside, ethnicity and religion are not politicized issues in the Malian society.

This is the background within which to understand the work of Malian NGOs.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Association Malienne des Droits de l'Homme
(Malian Association for Human Rights)
(AMDH)

History

Following the imposition of a one-party state soon after independence and the coming to power of Moussa Traore in 1968, activities of civil society were nipped in the bud, and, in fact, in most instances criminalized. The *Association Malienne des Droits de l'Homme* (Malian Association for Human Rights) (AMDH) formed in 1988 to challenge this state of affairs.

Mandate

AMDH's objectives are to:

- study and encourage the promotion of human and people's rights;
- work towards respect for human rights and liberties in conformity with the laws and international treaty obligations of the state;
- encourage the respect for law by the citizenry and the society as a whole;
- disseminate information on the principles of human and people's rights;
- encourage research and compile documents on human rights in general, and those of Africa and Mali in particular;
- cooperate with other human rights organizations at both the national and international levels which are working in the area of promotion and protection of human rights;
- publish their studies, articles and bulletins on the promotion and protection of human rights; and,
- organize seminars, conferences and workshops with the view to promoting human rights.

Structure

At the national level AMDH is made up of a Congress, a General Assembly and the National Secretariat. The national office is made up of the following positions: President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Assistant Secretary-General, Secretary for Legal Affairs, Secretary for International Affairs, Secretary in charge of relations with other NGOs, Secretary for Social Affairs, Secretary for Culture, Information and the Press, Treasurer General, Assistant Treasurer, and four other commissioners.

Programme

AMDH has carried out several activities since its inception in 1988. It has undertaken advocacy and education in the form of seminars, conferences and workshops. It participated in the drafting of the country's democratic Constitution of 1992.

Association Muso Yiriwa (Femme Promotion) **(Promotion of Women Association)**

History

Association Muso Yiriwa (Femme Promotion) was created in 1994 by professionals of diverse background to complement the work of other women's organizations. *Muso Yiriwa's* unique feature is its specific focus on rural areas, which are generally neglected.

Mandate

Muso Yiriwa's mandate is to contribute to the awakening of the rural population towards their rights, and to enable the population to participate actively in decision-making which affects their interests.

Structure

The supreme decision-making body of *Muso Yiriwa* is a General Assembly. The implementing organ is the Administrative Council.

The offices are President, Executive Secretary, Treasurer, Deputy Treasurer, Secretary for Information, Secretary for External Relations.

Programme

Muso Yiriwa provides training and information aimed at the population in general, and the rural population in particular. It also works towards the promotion of women through integrated development activities.

***Association pour le Progrès et la Défense des Droits des Femmes Maliennes* (Association for the Progress and Defense of the Rights of Malian Women) (APDF)**

History

The *Association pour le Progrès et la Défense des Droits des Femmes Maliennes* (Association for the Progress and Defense of the Rights of Malian Women) (APDF) formed in 1991 after the massacre of students by the Mussa Traore government. The founders of APDF conceived of it as a democratic women's group designed to fight for change that would ultimately bring about democratic conditions that would allow organizations and interest groups to form outside the state system.

Mandate

APDF's mandate is to organize women to enable them to defend their rights as well as improve upon their socio-economic condition and legal status within Malienne society.

Structure

APDF's General Assembly is the supreme decision-making body. The Executive Committee is elected from amongst the members of the General Assembly, and is mandated to implement the decisions of the General Assembly.

The Executive Committee is made up of the President, Secretary-General, Secretary for Administration, Secretary for Organizations, Secretary for External Relations, Secretary for Information and Sensitization, Treasurer-General, Deputy Treasurer, Commissioner for Conflict, Commissioner for Accounting, Secretary for Education, and Secretary for Social Affairs.

Programme

APDF has carried out activities in the area of sensitization. It has campaigned on violence against women and on the issue of early marriages. It has given economic assistance to women.

***Collectif des Femmes du Mali* (Women's Collective of Mali) (COFEM)**

History

A group of women decided to form the *Collectif des Femmes du Mali* (the Women's Collective of Mali) (COFEM) after the massacre by Moussa Traore's government of the students in 1991. The objective was to create a women's rights NGO completely independent of the state party.

Mandate

COFEM's main mandate is to promote the rights of women by ensuring that they have the requisite information which will enable them to participate more meaningfully in the political, economic, social and cultural development of Malienne society as a whole. The organization also seeks to fight all forms of discrimination against women.

Structure

The General Assembly, which is composed of all registered members of COFEM, is the supreme decision-making body of the organization, and defines its policies.

The General Assembly elects an Executive Committee which is empowered to implement policies decided upon by the Assembly. The Executive Committee is made up of 12 members: the President, Secretary-General, Secretary for Programmes, Secretary for Economic Activities, Secretary for Judicial Affairs, Secretary for International Relations, Secretary for Organization, Secretary for Information and Press, Treasurer, Deputy Treasurer, and Commissioner for Conflict Resolutions.

Programme

COFEM participated in the national conference and thereby took part in the drafting of the Malienne Constitution of 1992. It also contributed to the drawing up of the programme of the transitional government, and campaigned for women to participate in the elections.

COFEM has researched and disseminated information on women's rights, and translated women's rights materials into local languages. It has organized seminars, conferences and workshops, and mobilized women in the industrial sector to fight for their rights.

Comité d'Action pour les Droits de l'Enfant et de la Femme **(Action Committee for the Rights of the Child and the Woman)** **(CADEF)**

History

The *Comité d'Action pour les Droits de l'Enfant et de la Femme* (Action Committee for the Rights of the Child and the Woman) (CADEF) was created in March 1990 to defend the rights of women and children in accordance with the provisions of the UN Conventions related to the rights of women and children. CADEF is part of an international network.

Mandate

CADEF seeks to organize all persons who are interested in the defence of the rights of children and women, and to integrate women's and children's concerns into development processes with the view to promoting their health and improving their standard of living. It is also mandated to help in the consolidation of democracy.

Structure

The General Assembly of CADEF is composed of all of the organization's members and is the supreme decision-making organ of CADEF. The Executive Committee is elected from amongst the members of General Assembly, and has four permanent and twelve non-permanent portfolios. The four permanent portfolios are: President, Secretary-General, Treasurer-General, and Secretary for Management. The twelve non-permanent

members are: Secretary for Legal Affairs, Secretary for External Relations, Secretary for Education and Communication, Secretary for Research, Secretary for Social Affairs, Secretary for Agriculture, Pastoral and Environmental Affairs, Secretary for Youth Affairs, and two Organizers.

Programme

CADEF has been involved in literacy campaigns and sensitization. It has provided assistance to rural and urban women, including efforts to promote their health. It has organized women to get access to bank credits and loan facilities. It has collaborated in research projects, and with NGOs in other countries of Africa, as well as the Americas, Europe and Asia.

***Conseiller Juridique--Association Malienne pour le Développement* (Legal Counselor--Malian Association for Development) (AMADE)**

History

Conseiller Juridique--Association Malienne pour le Développement (AMADE) was an initiative of a group of friends who were interested in addressing, through discussion and discourse, the problems of under-development generally and in Mali in particular. In May 1983, after a number of conferences, the group decided to create a permanent structure to deal more seriously with the question.

Mandate

AMADE is a non-profit NGO with the mandate to promote socio-economic development of the rural population of Mali by initiating development projects with the approval of the village dwellers. Legal advice and assistance is also one of the aims of AMADE.

Structure

The General Assembly is the supreme decision-making body of AMADE. It elects an Executive Committee which is entrusted with execution of the policies and decisions of the General Assembly. The Executive committee is composed of the following officers: President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Deputy Secretary-General, Treasurer-General, Deputy Treasurer-General and two Commissioners.

Programme

AMADE has carried out about eighteen development projects in four regions of Mali.

- Nana K.A. Busia, Jr.

MAURITANIA

BACKGROUND

Mauritania, with a population of 1,780,000, encompasses a large amount of territory, most of which is made up of the Sahara desert. The country has a coastline along the Atlantic Ocean. In the southern part of the country, along the Senegal River, the climate is Sahelian, and the economy primarily agricultural. There are two dominant ethnic groups in Mauritania: the Moors (of Arab origin) and the black Mauritians (Pulaar, Soninké and Wolof). Until 1989 these two groups lived together in peace, but since then, problems have arisen, with some charging that there is a process of arabization of the population.

The main economic activity in the country is fishing, and there is also some mining. The potential exists for a greater future reliance on agriculture, as a result of large dams along the Senegal River. The current economic situation, however, is not good, and there is a lot of unemployment among the youth.

A one-party regime has ruled Mauritania since independence. No other political parties were allowed, and there was no freedom of expression. Arbitrary arrests and illegal detentions occur regularly. Several persons arrested and detained without trial have died in prison. In 1989, as a result of killings of Senegalese peasants in the Senegal River region, riots took place in both Senegal and Mauritania. These riots provided an opportunity for Mauritanian authorities to send around 12,000 black Mauritians to Senegal, where they remain in refugee camps. Mauritanian authorities refuse to recognize their citizenship or allow them to return to Mauritania.

In 1992 the government permitted a multi-party system to develop, and several political parties formed. However, the opposition has claimed that there was massive fraud during the 1992 elections, and the 1993 municipal elections. There is now freedom of the press, and newspapers report that they have suffered little harassment from the government.

The impression now is that Mauritanian authorities want to proceed with arabization of the country. Arabic is now compulsory in schools, and is the only language taught in nearly 80% of the schools. Black Mauritians are not Arabs and do not want their children to study in a language that is not their own, but to date the authorities have not changed this policy.

Human rights activists cite instances of restriction on the freedom of movement of certain populations, mainly in the Senegal River region, who are harassed by police and the army when they travel to other regions. Human rights groups continue to denounce illegal arrests and arbitrary detentions.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

There are a few NGOs working in human rights, but they do not normally receive official recognition. Some activists have been arrested several times in the past, and some still receive threats. Recently officials arrested the President of one organization. NGOs believe the government tolerates them so that it can project a positive image to the world, but that they are not really accepted. At the moment the groups feel a bit more secure, but are unsure of how long that situation will last. A feeling of unease exists in the country due to the belief that the government intends to arabize the country.

Association Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme **(Mauritanian Association for Human Rights)** **(AMDH)**

History

The *Association Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme* (AMDH) was created in 1991, but has not received official recognition by the authorities.

Mandate

AMDH's mandate is to promote and protect human rights, together with monitoring of human rights violations.

Structure

Members of AMDH are university teachers, students, lawyers, high school teachers, and others. The organization has no paid staff, and uses the office of a member of its Executive as its headquarters.

Program

AMDH was created at a time when the three main areas of human rights violations were the mass killings of black Mauritanian soldiers, deportation of soldiers and members of the press to the desert, and massive repatriation of Mauritians from Senegal. With respect to the killings of the soldiers, AMDH launched a press campaign and international action to denounce the killings and request a commission of inquiry. The inquiry took place, but those found responsible remain unpunished; the government has passed an amnesty for those involved.

As the result of efforts by organizations around the world, those deported to the desert were allowed to return. AMDH set up a medical commission to examine the victims. AMDH members who are lawyers took victims' cases to court. However, the amnesty law has meant that those responsible have not been prosecuted. AMDH has, as a consequence, launched a campaign for repeal of the law.

Mauritians who have been repatriated are living in very bad conditions, and the authorities have refused to help them. AMDH has opened a legal advice center for them, and provides humanitarian assistance.

AMDH also undertakes human rights fact-finding, investigates complaints received, issues press releases, and sponsors press campaigns if the authorities fail to respond to the initial press release. AMDH also works with the human rights commissions of the political parties, and alerts international partners to situations in the country.

***Comité de Solidarité avec les Victimes de la Répression en Mauritanie* (Committee of Solidarity with Victims of Repression in Mauritania) (CSVRM)**

History

The *Comité de Solidarité avec les Victimes de la Répression en Mauritanie* (CSVRM) was created following a series of protests of Mauritanian women in the streets of Nouakchott. Between September 1990 and March 1991 some 500 black Mauritanian soldiers were arrested and deported without trial, while others were killed. Authorities regularly harassed the black population. A group of women reacted by marching in the streets. Following the march, they formed CSVRM in May 1991. They have not yet filed for official recognition, but intend to do so shortly.

Mandate

CSVRM's main objective is to help victims recover their rights.

Structure

Members of CSVRM are all women, literate and illiterate. The organization has no paid staff and no office, which leads to organizational problems.

Program

In the beginning CSVRM's main activities included public demonstrations--sit-ins, marches, press releases, etc. Once human rights violations became known outside the country, the organization started to conduct investigations into mass violations and publish the results. It continues to do this, but its chief activity has been to lead a national and international campaign for the repeal of the amnesty law.

CSVRM acts as the voice for the *Association des Veuves* (Association of Widows) and the *Association des Rescapés de la Répression* (Association of Survivors of Repression), two organizations working to have victims' rights recognized.

Ligue Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme **(Mauritanian League for Human Rights)** **(LMDH)**

History

The *Ligue Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme* (Mauritanian League for Human Rights) (LMDH) was formed in 1986 by a group of lawyers and professionals, receiving official recognition in the same year. In the beginning, LMDH, then the only human rights NGO, was highly respected in the country and internationally. Nowadays, however, the independence of the organization from the government is questioned. Only the President represents LMDH, and the rest of the organization does not appear to be functioning.

Mandate

LMDH's objective is the promotion and protection of human rights.

Structure

Members of LMDH are lawyers, doctors, human rights activists, etc. The organization has no paid staff and no office.

Program

LMDH has denounced murders on the part of the military and the deportation of others together with journalists. It has asked the government to open an inquiry into these events, and the government has agreed to do so. The government has also accepted, in principle, the indemnification of families of the victims. LMDH believes that, as a result of a noticeable orientation towards democratization, it is possible to hold talks with the government, and tries to use this opportunity, without at the same time being tolerant of government violations.

- Seny Diagne

NIGERIA

CONTEXT

Although human rights violations in Nigeria have been commonplace under military rule, 1993 was a particularly challenging year for Nigerian human rights groups. Former President General Ibrahim Babangida annulled the results of a presidential election, which would have brought the country back to civilian rule, and installed an interim government. In mid-November, Defense Minister General Sani Abacha forced the interim government to resign, effectively staging the seventh *coup d'etat* since Nigeria's independence. The regime banned all political meetings and associations. No timetable was set for the return to civilian rule.

Throughout this crisis, the human rights community has banded together under a coalition called the Campaign for Democracy (CD). Riots erupted in Lagos in early July 1993 and the regime detained hundreds of protesters for a month. CD called for additional strikes and demonstrations. Human rights abuses during this time were widespread, including ethnically-based attacks, killing of demonstrators, detentions of activists and journalists, and interference with freedom of expression and association. The Nigerian press, known for being outspoken, came under even more fire from government authorities during the political crisis. The government closed down several magazine houses.

Abuses by members of the police and security forces remain a persistent human rights problem. There are frequent cases of harassment and extra-judicial killings by law enforcement officers. Abysmal prison conditions have also been highlighted by the human rights community.

Abuses are also taking place against the Ogoni people, a minority group inhabiting the oil-producing region of Rivers State. They have protested the destruction of their land and culture by multinational oil companies and Nigerian military forces. As a result, hundreds of Ogonis have been killed in attacks believed to be sanctioned by government authorities.

Nigeria has a diverse and large human rights community which has made its presence felt throughout the nation, particularly with the creation of the CD. Many human rights activists and organizations in Nigeria had faced ongoing harassment during the previous Babangida regime. These attacks escalated after Babangida's decision in November 1992 to postpone the transition to civilian rule. The government arrested and harassed a number of human rights activists. The offices of some of the more outspoken human rights organizations have been subjected to forcible police entry and the seizure of materials. The political crisis resulted in a number of human rights organizations' having to divert staff and resources towards the creation of the coalition Campaign for Democracy (CD); as a result, other projects were postponed. In the case of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, the organization's staff, offices and resources were completely engulfed by CD.

The human rights organizations have adopted various approaches to their work, and the government has been less likely to interfere with those that are not publicly critical of the government or whose mandate is purely human rights education work.

There are a number of advocacy and awareness groups, such as the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), and the Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (Port Harcourt), which mount campaigns and conduct fact-finding and documentation work. Other organizations produce materials and hold conferences and seminars to raise awareness. These include the National Institute for Advanced Legal Studies (NIALS), Human Rights Africa and the Legal Research and Resource Development Center. In addition, there are organizations bringing together groups with common interests, such as Women in Nigeria, the Ogoni People's Organization, and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, which address human rights issues.

There have been some attempts to create regional organizations, in particular Human Rights Africa and the Ethnic Minority Rights Organization of Africa (evolving from the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People, MOSOP). Neither organization has succeeded in making a mark continent-wide, but both are recognized as domestic human rights groups within Nigeria. The CLO, while not a regional organization, has attempted to

address the need for more regional contact by creating a division within the organization, called the African Monitoring Group, to increase contact and awareness of human rights developments continent-wide.

There is a high level of knowledge of human rights standards amongst many of the human rights organizations. Accordingly, the human rights reports that are produced are often of high quality and incorporate references to international and national human rights standards. The reports produced by the CLO and the CRP can be used as a model for other organizations in the region in fact-finding, documentation of abuses, use of domestic and international human rights standards, and even typesetting and binding.

A number of Nigerian groups have managed to create strong institutional structures, with narrowly-defined mandates and internal staff structures as well as program plans. While there are still growing pains within many of these groups, this type of planning process has resulted in the Nigerian human rights community's being far ahead of its anglophone neighbors in putting human rights institutions into place.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Centre for Advanced Social Sciences (CASS)

History

The Centre for Advanced Social Sciences (CASS) was formed in 1992 and is based in Port Harcourt. Two other branches are planned, one for East and Southern Africa, the other for francophone West and Central Africa.

Mandate

CASS is a think tank concerned with improving management and public policy in Africa.

Structure

The Centre has a Board of Trustees and is governed by an international Board of Directors.

Program

CASS's research areas are public policy, governance and democratization, and the international system. The Centre runs seminars and training sessions.

Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO)

History

Established in 1987, the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) is one of Nigeria's largest human rights organizations.

Mandate

The CLO is a non-governmental organization set up for the defence and expansion of human rights and civil liberties.

Structure

The CLO is a membership organization with sixteen state branches outside Lagos. It has a staff of 23 and is headed by a National Advisory Council and a Board of Governors. The organization is divided into the following project areas: litigation; police and prison; women's rights; national expansion (membership); annual report; campaign and empowerment (lectures, CD involvement, Liberty magazine); environmental action (in oil-producing areas); documentation and research; resource center; African monitoring group; ethics in government.

Program

The CLO investigates human rights abuses and campaigns through litigation, publications and communications with the government on behalf of people whose rights have been abused. The CLO publishes a quarterly magazine, entitled Liberty, and a Journal of Human Rights Law and Practice. Its prison project has produced two major reports on prison conditions and a number of smaller publications. It has also published a number of reports on police brutality, military decrees, government impunity, the death penalty and annual reports on the human rights situation in Nigeria. Its legal aid project has represented over 4,000 indigent victims of human rights abuses. The organization also undertakes human rights education through its empowerment project, conducting clinics and seminars on rights issues. The organization is extremely active in lobbying the government through dialogue and public censure and launching campaigns to end specific government abuses.

Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR)

History

The Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) formed in 1989 in response to the detention of trade unionist Femi Aborishade. The organization then evolved into a human rights organization.

Mandate

CDHR's objectives are to:

- promote, defend and sustain fundamental human rights;
- establish a system of prompt and efficient assistance for needy persons whose human rights are violated; and
- collaborate with other organizations committed to participatory democracy and social justice.

Structure

The organization has over 2,000 members and 19 state branches. The national branch is headed by a National Executive Committee and each state branch has its own Executive Committee. There are three full-time staff members.

Program

The organization brings legal suits on behalf of people whose rights have been violated. It has also launched campaigns against detention without trial, extra-judicial killings and structural adjustment programs. CDHR also produces a quarterly newsletter and an annual report on human rights violations in Nigeria.

Constitutional Rights Project (CRP)

History

The Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) was set up in 1990.

Mandate

The organization's aims are to ensure that Nigerian legislation conforms with international standards; to monitor institutions whose activities impact on the rights of citizens; and to provide legal assistance to victims of human rights abuses.

Structure

CRP is headed by a Board of Directors with a management committee. The research staff carries out research projects and the litigation staff is responsible for the legal cases.

Program

Among other activities, the Project has litigated numerous cases, conducted campaigns, held seminars and addressed the issues of application of bail and freedom of expression, the administration of justice, and police practices. It publishes a journal and a newsletter in addition to a number of full-length human rights reports.

**Ethnic Minority Rights Organization of Africa
(EMIROAF)/
Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
(MOSOP)**

History

MOSOP was set up in 1990 to protest human rights violations taking place against the Ogoni people, a minority group inhabiting the oil-producing region of Rivers State. EMIROAF was formed out of MOSOP. To date, EMIROAF is more of a Nigerian NGO than a regional one.

Mandate

EMIROAF is an organization dedicated to research in the areas of human rights and environmental protection among ethnic, minority, tribal and indigenous peoples in Africa. EMIROAF's objective is to protest against the destruction of Ogoni land and culture by multinational oil companies and Nigerian military forces.

Structure

EMIROAF is a membership organization with 35 full-time staff members.

Program

The organization publishes a monthly newsletter and organizes public awareness campaigns on the plight of the Ogoni people.

Human Rights Africa

History

Human Rights Africa is an international organization set up in 1988 to address human rights issues from an African perspective.

Mandate

The organization divides its work into three divisions: education, political and civil rights, and economic, social and cultural rights.

Structure

Human Rights Africa has six senior staff members and a membership of over 800. It has three Boards, including a Founders Council, an African Board of Advisors, and an International Advisory Committee.

Program

Most of Human Rights Africa's activities have been based in Nigeria. Its regional work has included a fact-finding mission and human rights report on the situation in Ethiopia, training workshops for West African leaders and local government officials, and assistance in setting up the Ghanaian-based African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters. The organization gives an annual Africa Service Award.

Human Rights Monitor

History

Human Rights Monitor is an organization in Kaduna which was started in January 1993 by about 15 people in response to the need for a human rights body in the North which was not headquartered in Lagos.

Mandate

The purpose of the organization is to address human rights issues in the north of Nigeria.

Structure

Human Rights Monitor has three full-time staff members, and is a membership organization with approximately 50 members.

Program

The organization has taken cases to court with the CLO and issued joint releases with the CLO on human rights issues in the north. The organization is completely self-funded and accordingly its activities have been hampered.

**Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law
(IHRHL)**

History

The Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (IHRHL) was set up in Port Harcourt in 1993 by a former CLO employee.

Mandate

IHRHL's focuses on human rights education and advocacy on issues specific to the Port Harcourt area of Nigeria.

Structure

IHRHL is a membership organization with three full-time staff.

Program

The organization has been hampered by lack of funding, but has been able to publish numerous articles on human rights issues in the local press, conduct human rights education in the schools and do some legal aid work. It is interested in creating a paralegal program.

**Legal Research and Resource Development Centre
(LRRDC)**

History

The Legal Research and Resource Development Centre (LRRDC) was set up in 1990.

Mandate

LRRDC mandate is to act as a catalyst in the promotion of human rights education through research, teaching, exchange of ideas and development of human resources in Nigeria.

Structure

The Centre is governed by a Board of Trustees assisted by an academic Advisory Board and an Administrative Board. There are ten full-time staff.

Program

The Centre's research falls into four major categories: law as a tool for development; women's needs in the developing world; human rights education; and access to legal services. The Centre publishes legal awareness materials on domestic laws aimed at the rural community, government officials and school children. It also visits prisons and refers cases to other advocacy organizations when necessary. There is a small documentation center in the office. The Centre is also trying to create a paralegal program.

**National Association of Democratic Lawyers
(NADL)**

History

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADL) was created in 1983 in response to the newly-established Buhari military government and the perceived inaction of the Nigerian Bar Association. It was set up as an affiliate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers based in Brussels.

Mandate

NADL's goal is to provide legal services and conduct campaigns against human rights violations.

Structure

NADL is a membership organization of approximately 6,000 lawyers, with 15 branches. All office holders are volunteers.

Program

NADL files suits on behalf of disadvantaged groups; challenges military decrees through the courts and through campaigns; and defends the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution and campaigns for democratic rule in Nigeria. The organization provides legal aid and brings public interest litigation. It has also conducted campaigns against the death penalty, illegal detention and banning of organizations. It publishes a newsletter.

National Institute for Advanced Legal Studies (NIALS)

History

NIALS is a government parastatal formed in 1979 as an institute for the University of Lagos. In 1984 it became autonomous, but under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice. It receives funding from the Ministry, but functions independently.

Mandate

The Institute's mandate is legal research and continuing legal education for practitioners.

Structure

There are six staff members.

Program

NIALS sponsors continuing legal education classes for legal practitioners, judges and magistrates as well as training workshops for prison officials and police. It organizes seminars and conferences, and conducts in-depth studies in certain areas such as human rights and the administration of justice, and the rights of the child.

Women in Nigeria (WIN)

History

Women in Nigeria is a national organization set up in 1983.

Mandate

WIN's purpose is to organize and improve the condition of Nigerian women in all areas.

Structure

WIN is an organization of 8,535 members with offices in 22 states. Each office determines its agenda and priorities in consultation with the national office. The National Executive has seven National Officers.

Program

WIN organizes annual conferences on women's issues, produces publications and sponsors campaigns on issues affecting women. It provides legal aid to indigent women. WIN has been active in opposing structural

adjustment programs and has also taken up the issue of income-generating projects for women. It was the only women's group to join the CD coalition in calling for political change.

- Binaifer Nowrojee

SENEGAL

BACKGROUND

Since Senegal attained independence in 1960, the country has functioned with a liberal democratic, constitutional system of government. A multi-party system has been the norm of the Senegalese polity. One legacy of the country's colonial history is that Senegal has produced one of Africa's best intelligentsia. Senegal is a country of ethnic and religious diversity, which has a cosmopolitan outlook on issues. It has, on the whole, a tradition of pluralism, with a highly-organized civil society, including trade unionists, students, academics and other professionals. The pluralistic character of the society is expressed through the lively, albeit often elitist, discourse which is reflected in the spectrum of print media which exists in the country. Senegal has also had strong legal and political institutions since independence.

The Senegalese Constitution of 1963 proclaimed respect for freedom and liberties and provided for their protection. It protects political liberties, the right to form trade unions, rights of the individual, freedom of worship, right to property and other economic and social rights. The country has ratified or acceded to ten international human rights covenants and conventions without any reservations. It also ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights in 1982.

Since 1988, however, the Senegalese state has been sliding gradually into a type of "democratic authoritarianism." Certain articulate sectors of the society challenged the election results of 1988 as having been rigged, and considerable violence ensued. Since that time, the government appears to be narrowing the space for civil society. One study, for example, indicates that from February 1988 to the beginning of November 1993, the government authorized only three applications related to the right to assemble and demonstrate. As recently as March 8, 1994, the authorities refused permission for a number of groups to demonstrate in celebration of International Women's Day.

The continuous invocation of *ordre publique* (public order) by the government is perceived by many human rights NGOs as a pretext to violate the right to assembly. The state appears for some time now to have resorted to the politics of confrontation. The result is that much of the political and social cohesion which existed before is now threatened, and there are signs of fragmentation. Confidence in political and legal institutions, such as the judiciary, has also been shaken.

There are other factors which are sources of political cleavages. The separatist movement in southern Senegal (Casamance) is one. The government has responded to the Jolas' quest for secession with repression by the security forces. Over the last five years or so Amnesty International and Senegalese NGOs have recorded several instances of torture and unlawful detention in that region.

The deportation of black Mauritians to Senegal put great pressure on the government to meet its obligations under the refugee conventions. The deportation resulted in conflict between the two countries, and as a consequence, many Arab Mauritians were killed by individuals in Senegal, apparently in reaction to the killing of black by Arab Mauritians.

A phenomenon which has made subtle inroads into Senegalese political life is religion. The country is 95% Muslim and 5% Catholic. Many people feel that the government is being held hostage by religious leaders called *marabouts*, who wield considerable influence both within the government and in society as a whole. The concern is that their interests are not necessarily harmonious with human rights standards and the interests of human rights advocates. Women's rights organizations, in particular, have been alarmed at the emerging fundamentalism. The government itself has been sufficiently frightened by the activities of one sect to proscribe it. There is also creeping corruption in Senegalese politics as a result of the need to pacify the *marabouts* and other political cronies. These factors, coupled with the recent currency devaluation, has created considerable social tension, evidence of which can be seen in the number of prominent opposition politicians who have been detained unlawfully in the name of "state security" since February 1994.

This is the socio-political context within which human rights NGOs in Senegal operate today.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Sénégal **(Christian Action for the Abolition of Torture-Senegalese Section)** **(ACAT-Sénégal)**

History

A group of Christians of all denominations, believing that torture is a very human rights serious violation, and one that is difficult to monitor, came together to advocate for the protection human rights in general, and especially, for the right to be free from torture. *Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Sénégal* (ACAT-Sénégal) is the Senegalese affiliate of an international federation of similar groups. Other affiliates are in Togo and Benin. Despite the fact that the government had not yet approved its application for NGO status, ACAT-Sénégal was operating as of early March 1994.

Mandate

ACAT-Sénégal's mandate is to monitor and protect against violations of the individual right to be free from torture.

Structure

ACAT-Sénégal is governed by a General Assembly which meets biannually. It has an Executive Committee made up of the President, Vice-President and General Secretariat. The General Secretariat is responsible for the implementation of the policies and programmes adopted by the General Assembly.

Programme

ACAT-Sénégal has:

- disseminated information on torture in the media;
- embarked upon sensitization programmes;
- published bulletins on issues of torture; and
- held seminars and conferences on torture.

Association des Jeunes Avocats Sénégalais **(The Association of Young Senegalese Lawyers)** **(AJAS)**

History

The *Association des Jeunes Avocats Sénégalais* (AJAS) was registered as an NGO in 1976 and is an affiliate of the *Association des Jeunes Avocats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*.

Mandate

The mandate of AJAS is:

- to reform the legal profession;
- to promote the interest of young lawyers; and
- to protect human rights.

Structure

AJAS's office holders are the President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Secretary for Information and Press, Secretary for Organization and Cultural Activities, and Secretary for External Relations. In addition, there is a committee which deals with problems of young lawyers.

AJAS's supreme decision-making body is the General Assembly, which meets annually.

Programme

AJAS has carried out "legal tours" of the regions of Senegal. During the tours AJAS uses the radio to disseminate information on legal rights, organizes seminars, provides free legal consultation, visits prisons, and takes cases of pre-trial detainees to court.

***Association des Juristes Sénégalais* (Association of Senegalese Lawyers)**

History

In 1976 a group of women formed the *Association des Juristes Sénégalais* to protect the rights of Senegalese women.

Mandate

The main element of the *Association's* mandate is to assist in the protection of the rights of women. The organization is also an integral part of a pan-African organization of jurists.

Structure

There is a General Assembly which is the supreme decision and policy-making organ. The Assembly elects an Executive Bureau which executes decisions of the General Assembly. The Bureau consists of President, Secretary-General, Coordinator and other secretaries.

Programme

The *Association* has taken up cases in which women have no means of engaging the services of a lawyer. It has also embarked upon educational programmes to sensitize women about their rights.

***Association Sénégalaise de Droit du Travail et de la Sécurité Social* (Senegalese Association on the Right to Work and Social Security)**

History

A group of scholars, jurists, magistrates, social workers and senior administrators formed the *Association Sénégalaise de Droit du Travail et de la Sécurité Social* because protection of civil and political rights had received priority over protection of economic, social and cultural rights. The *Association* was registered as an NGO in 1993.

Mandate

The *Association's* objectives are to:

- carry out scientific research on the right to work and social security;
- make information available on these two rights; and
- work towards the application of the research findings.

Structure

The *Association* has a General Assembly as its supreme decision-making body. The Executive Committee, which implements decisions of the General Assembly, is made up of the President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, Treasurer and Assistants.

Programme

The *Association* has thus far carried out no activities, in part because it is a fairly new organization, but also because the relevant materials are difficult to come by.

Centre d'Informations Juridiques du Réseau Africain pour le Développement Intégré **(Centre for Legal Information of the African Network for Integrated Development)** **(CIJ-RADI)**

History

A number of African intellectuals came together to create a pan-African network to focus on the problems of peasants on the continent. The *Centre d'Informations Juridiques* of the *Réseau Africain pour le Développement Intégré* (CIJ-RADI) is an integral part of this and is designed to help all persons who are in need of legal assistance, but do not have access to a lawyer. The organization has branches in Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, and the Central African Republic.

The Senegalese section became legally operative as an NGO in 1989.

Mandate

CIJ-RADI's mandate is to:

- assist the population in knowing their rights and duties; and
- facilitate access to justice for the defence of their rights.

The *Centre d'Informations Juridiques* offers its services in all areas of the law, with particular emphasis on the rights and duties of tenants and land owners, family law (marriage, divorce, maintenance, and so on), and the rights of workers.

Structure

CIJ-RADI's decision-making body is a General Assembly composed of its members. There is also a national bureau made up of the President, Vice-President, and Secretary-General.

Programme

CIJ-RADI has:

- given advice to clients on legal problems in the areas mentioned above;
- translated the legal texts of Senegal into simple language and published them in brochures;
- collaborated with school teachers, cultural and sport associations, women's groups and other NGOs, in organizing courses in Wolof and French on legal issues and themes of interest;
- prepared contracts and other legal documents for NGOs and some particular business enterprises; and

- trained paralegals working in the rural areas.

Comité Africain pour le Droit et le Développement
(African Committee for Law and Development)
(CADD)

History

The *Comité Africain pour le Droit et le Développement* (African Committee for Law and Development) (CADD) was registered as an NGO in 1990, and became operational in 1992. It was created as a pan-African NGO with autonomous branches in Benin, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal.

Mandate

CADD's mandate is to:

- promote and protect human rights and incorporate the rule of law in democratic and development processes in Africa;
- defend independence of the judiciary and guarantees of individual freedom;
- advise African NGOs on the use of the procedures of the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights and UN human rights bodies;
- publicize the various human rights instruments;
- provide legal aid, especially to rural dwellers;
- encourage multi-disciplinary study in the areas of culture, law, development and communication;
- publish a periodic newsletter and occasional papers; and
- organize seminars on human rights and development.

Structure

CADD has an Executive Committee of seven members. The Secretary-General's office includes a Programme Officer, Publication and Documentation Officer, Financial and Administrative Officer, and their assistants. The Branch offices are headed by a Director and staffed by an Assistant Administrator and Programme Officers.

Programme

CADD has carried out a legal and educational campaign in two regions of Senegal. It has created a 30 member paralegal staff in each of the two regions.

Conseil des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales d'Appui au Développement
(Council of Non-Governmental Organizations in Support of Development)
(CONGAD)

History

The *Conseil des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales d'Appui au Développement* (CONGAD) was created and registered as an NGO in 1982 in response to the need to coordinate the mutual assistance between NGOs and the population in development matters. It focused essentially on socio-economic development efforts of rural dwellers, peasants and NGOs designed to improve the conditions of the rural and urban populations.

Mandate

CONGAD's mandate is to:

- avoid duplication in development assistance projects by exchanging information and experience among the different actors;

- develop good relations with the government by working together in development matters;
- support and assist in the administration of NGOs; and
- reinforce South-South and North-South relations to consolidate exchange.

Structure

The supreme decision-making body of CONGAD is its General Assembly, which is made up of the NGOs who are its members. The General Assembly meets biannually to define policies, adopt programmes, and elect the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is elected for a two-year period to implement decisions and policies of the General Assembly. The Executive Committee is composed of the General Secretariat and a number of Commissions. The General Secretariat is made up of a group of professionals coordinated by the Secretary-General, who is charged with the implementation of programmes. The Commissions are entrusted with different tasks: Information, Research, and *Animation*.

CONGAD's resources are those of the members of the NGOs. CONGAD also has a network on environment and development.

Programme

CONGAD has

- organized seminars on the role of NGOs in rural development;
- provided legal aid in rural areas; and
- published a quarterly newsletter.

Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA)

History

The Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is a pan-African NGO which was set up in 1973. Its main focus is on African institutes, social science faculties in African universities, and professional organizations. It has its headquarters in Dakar.

Mandate

CODESRIA's General Assembly is made up of African social science research institutes and faculties that are full members. The Assembly is the policy and decision-making organ. It meets every three years to select an Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is composed of social scientists. The Committee meets at least once a year to review the activities of the Council and appointed committees.

There is also a Secretariat headed by an Executive Secretary who is entrusted with implementing decisions of the General Assembly.

Programme

CODESRIA has carried out several activities since its inception. In the human rights area it has

- carried out high level research on the democratization process and human rights in Africa;
- organized a conference on the democratization process;
- organized a conference on Human Rights and Development, with special reference to the Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights;
- sponsored a symposium on academic freedom, research and the social responsibility of the intellectual in Africa; and
- published books, journals, bulletins and working papers on human rights and democracy.

**(Women in Law and Development in Africa)
(FEDDAF/WILDAF)**

History

Femmes, Droits et Développement en Afrique (Women in Law and Development in Africa) (FEDDAF) is the Senegalese section of Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF). The idea of creating WiLDAF started at the 1985 Nairobi women's conference. That forum adopted a number of recommendations, including one proposing the creation of an African regional network of women's organizations to implement regional strategies that had been adopted.

In 1989 sub-regional conferences were held in Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Senegal and Botswana, with a view to creating the national branches and regional coordinating offices. Subsequently, in 1990, 65 women from 16 African countries met in Zimbabwe and formally launched WiLDAF--a pan-African women's rights network. FEDDAF, the Senegalese section of WiLDAF, was registered as an NGO in 1992.

Mandate

WiLDAF's mandate is to:

- facilitate communication between member states of the network in order to exchange experiences;
- reinforce the programmes on women's rights at the national and regional levels;
- improve and defend the rights of women through dissemination of educational materials and information on laws, lobbying and mobilization of women;
- develop a system of rapid response to the violation of women's rights at both the regional and international levels;
- exchange information and coordinate activities with other African NGOs working in the area of women's rights; and
- train paralegals.

Structure

WiLDAF's governing body is the General Assembly which meets every three years to study the progress made in implementing strategies. The General Assembly is made up of all the individuals and NGO members of WiLDAF. WiLDAF's Executive Committee is the body charged with the task of implementing decisions made by the General Assembly. It is made up of fifteen members elected by the women's NGOs in each member country of WiLDAF and it meets annually. The regional secretariat is located in Zimbabwe with a coordinator who is elected by the Executive Committee. There are also three Programme Officers.

Programme

Since FEDDAF has been operational for only a year, not many activities have been carried out. It has, however, started providing legal aid and it took part in the March 8th International Women's Day celebrations.

Gorée Institute Centre for Democracy, Development and Culture in Africa

History

The ANC and Afrikaners of South Africa held a meeting in Dakar in 1987, and out of that meeting came the idea of developing a forum for dialogue. The Gorée Institute was created to strengthen the need for cooperation among all South Africans, and between South Africa and the rest of the continent. The Institute was officially launched in 1992 as an NGO, with its headquarters on Gorée Island in Senegal.

Mandate

The Institute's goals are to:

- promote the study, acceptance and practice of democracy in Africa by using strategies in the fields of interaction, training, research and civic education;
- strengthen the involvement of leaders, individuals and organizations based in civil society, in particular, in all the programmes of the Institute in order to develop a legitimate consensus on what constitutes democracy in the African context;
- assist in the effective networking and strengthening of African democrats and democratic institutions;
- facilitate the exchange of ideas, experiences, hopes and fears amongst Africans from all sectors and all levels of society, in order to promote South-South dialogue and cooperation, as well as to ensure the most effective utilization of African human and other resources; and
- contribute to the regeneration of Africa through the promotion and recognition of culture as a critical terrain for innovation, exploration and communication.

Programme

The Institute has organized training seminars and workshops for NGOs on management and administration.

Institut Africain pour la Démocratie (African Institute for Democracy) (IAD)

History

The *Institut Africain pour la Démocratie* (African Institute for Democracy) (IAD) was created in 1994 on the initiative of the UN Development Program. It is a regional institute established to deal with democratic issues on the continent.

Mandate

IAD's mandate is to:

- support democratic processes on the continent through, among other things, rendering assistance to governments and parliamentarians;
- participate in dissemination of information and education on the rule of law and human rights in Africa; and
- encourage research and documentation on all aspects of democratization in Africa.

Structure

IAD has a six-member staff. Its constitution and structure are yet to be determined.

Programme

At the time of the researcher's visit IAD had just started operations, and thus no programmes were yet underway.

***Institut des Droits de l'Homme et de la Paix* (Institute for Human Rights and Peace)**

History

The *Institut des Droits de l'Homme et de la Paix* (Institute for Human Rights and Peace) was created in 1983 after some professors at the Law Faculty of the University of Dakar decided that there was the need to teach and research human rights law. The *Institut* is an independent body of the Law Faculty; it has its own administration and does not depend upon the faculty financially.

Mandate

The *Institut's* main objective is to promote human rights through information dissemination and research.

Structure

The *Institut* is headed by a Director, who has a Secretarial Assistant.

Programme

The *Institut* has:

- supervised students writing their Masters and Doctoral theses on human rights;
- provided human rights instruction to civil servants, journalists, and others;
- published a book on the status of human rights in five African states; and
- held a workshop on specific problems in the use of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in the protection of human rights.

Ligue Africaine des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples (Section du Sénégal) **(African League for Human and Peoples' Rights-Senegalese Section)**

History

The *Ligue Africain des Droit de l'Homme et des Peuples* (African League for Human and Peoples' Rights) was created in Paris in 1985 by concerned Africans and Africanists to promote human rights on the continent. Each country was to create its own autonomous affiliate. The Senegalese section was formed in 1988, and registered as a human rights NGO.

Mandate

The objectives of the *Ligue* are to:

- educate the population about their rights; and
- inform citizens about the international human rights treaties Senegal has signed and/or ratified.

Structure

The *Ligue's* membership is made up of lawyers, professors, teachers, students and doctors. The organization's supreme decision-making body is its General Assembly, which meets once a year. There is also an Executive Bureau which is made up of a President, Vice President, Secretary-General, Secretary for Information, Secretary for Documentation, Secretary for Organization, and Secretary for Training.

Programme

The *Ligue* has:

- carried out education programmes at the secondary and primary school levels;
- carried out a human rights education programme for the police and *gendarmérie*;
- visited a number of prisons in Senegal to assess conditions of prisoners and the extent to which the prisons conform to or depart from the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners; and
- assisted Mauritanian refugees.

Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme
(African Meeting for the Defense of Human Rights)
(RADDHO)

History

The idea for the formation of the *Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (RADDHO) dates back to 1988 when a petition was signed condemning the imprisonment and execution of black Mauritians. It called upon the international community to bring pressure to bear upon the Mauritanian government to put an end to racial discrimination. RADDHO was created in 1990 on the initiative of professors of the University of Dakar with the view to promoting and defending human rights in solidarity with other African nationals on the continent. The RADDHO initiative was welcomed by refugees from countries like Cameroon, Gabon, Mali, Burundi, Rwanda, and Chad, where substantial violations were also taking place.

Mandate

RADDHO's mandate is to:

- defend, protect and promote civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights;
- work towards the realization of the rule of law, democratic tolerance and conditions for freedom of expression;
- encourage the struggle for total emancipation of Africa and dignity of African persons; and
- work towards peace and solidarity.

Structure

RADDHO was registered as an NGO in 1990. The principal organ of RADDHO is its General Assembly, which elects fifteen officials to serve three-year terms under the Secretary-General. There are also four specialized committees to deal with certain specific tasks: Legal, Medical, Information, Women and Children's Rights.

Programme

The means RADDHO has chosen for the realization of its objectives include:

- human rights education;
- dissemination of information on human rights in Africa;
- collaboration with African and other international organizations with common objectives; and
- mobilization of public opinion through campaigns about violations, invoking international human rights as well as municipal law.

To date RADDHO has:

- investigated a number of torture cases;
- published documents on violations in Senegal, especially related to prison conditions and torture in Casamance;
- condemned violations of human rights in Senegal in radio and press communiques;
- condemned the mass expulsion of Africans from Zambia and the deportations of Mauritians;

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- organized conferences on:
 - human Rights in Senegal;
 - violence against Society by African States: Historical and Contemporary;
 - freedom of expression of refugees;
 - Mauritanian refugees in Senegal;
- participated in the sessions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights;
- coordinated the activities of the Malian Peoples Solidarity Committee (formed by Malian associations, trade unions, political parties) for the popular events of 1991; and
- celebrated African Refugees Day.

- Nana K.A. Busia, Jr.

TOGO

BACKGROUND

Togo is a small country, lying between Ghana and Benin, sharing a border with Burkina Faso to the north, and an opening on the Atlantic Ocean. Its population of 3.4 million is very diverse, composed of approximately 40 ethnic groups, speaking more than 50 languages. Although two groups, the Ewe and Kabye, are dominant, each of the groups has its own very rich culture.

Togo is primarily an agricultural country. The capital, Lome, is a lovely city. Before 1992, the authorities had wanted to make its port into the first free port of Africa, which, it was expected, would have given a boost to the country's economy.

Togo is a former French colony, which became independent in 1960. A few years after independence, General Eyadema perpetrated a *coup*, and has since been head of state. He has declared his willingness to forego military rule in favor of a civilian government. However, he has ruled Togo until now as a "one man show." He has established a cult of personality within the country, while internationally posing as a great democrat.

After riots in Benin and the installation of a transitional government there, people in Togo began to demand more liberties and rights, calling for a national conference. The students, as usual, started the process. Some of them were brutally treated and were put on trial. People broke into the courtroom and sang songs of liberty, beginning an escalating process of repression. Despite protests and condemnations by the international community, human rights violations in Togo have been massive. This situation has culminated in nearly half of the population fleeing to the neighboring countries of Benin and Ghana.

After talks, a transitional government was installed, with a Prime Minister elected by the National Conference. Soon, however, the Prime Minister appeared to lose his independence. After the return of some of the refugees and conciliation initiatives by other African Heads of State, it was decided to hold presidential and legislative elections. The presidential elections were held, and were won by Eyadema, although the opposition has claimed that there was massive fraud during the election. Legislative elections are to be held in February 1994. It is likely that, even if the opposition fails to win the elections, it will be well-represented in Parliament. As a result, things are likely to change.

The human rights situation in Togo has been particularly bad in the past three years, with mass killings, extra-judicial executions, rapes, bombing of houses, etc. A regime of terror has taken over the country, and the authorities appear to be deaf to the appeals and condemnations of the international human rights community. Prisoners were found dead in their cells, political opponents killed, and members of the press arrested. Nowadays things seem to have improved slightly, but violations continue to occur, only more discretely. It is not possible to talk freely in Togo; even in private homes people do not trust one another. People continue to be killed and burned in the streets.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

None of the Togolese NGOs discussed in this report, with the one exception of the *Ligue pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme au Togo*, are officially recognized, although they have submitted the necessary requests to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. NGOs work in very difficult conditions. Executive members are threatened every day, and some have been compelled to flee the country. Work conditions are totally insecure. People do not trust one another; you risk your life by criticizing the government or denouncing human rights violations. The insecurity has spread all over the country; no sector is safe.

It was not possible for the researcher to meet with all the human rights NGOs on her list, because in some cases executive members of an organization were in exile, while in others the NGO did not exist any longer because its executives were in prison.

Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Togo
(Christian Action for the Abolition of Torture-Togolese Section)
(ACAT-Togo)

History

The *Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Togo* (ACAT-Togo) was formed following the government's savage repression of the student demonstrations of September 1990. ACAT-Togo has sought, but has so far not yet received, official authorization to function.

Mandate

ACAT-Togo's objective is to work towards the elimination of torture, whether public or domestic, and to sensitize Christians on the need to eliminate torture.

Structure

ACAT-Togo's members are Christians of all origins. The organization has no paid staff and no office.

Program

When ACAT-Togo receives a complaint, it investigates to determine the truth of the allegation, visits the victim, and alerts national and international NGOs. The organization does not contact the author of the violations, since it has learned from experience that this is not productive. To date, the organization has responded to approximately two hundred cases of torture.

Due to the serious political situation in Togo, the organization has not yet started work on the second aspect of its objective--the abolition of domestic torture (for example, battered women or children, and sexual mutilation). It also does not yet work against psychological torture (for example, threats by parents, harassment by telephone or flagrant surveillance).

Other actions ACAT-Togo undertakes are:

- organizing prayer groups for the benefit of tortured persons and detainees; and
- helping people leave the country.

Association Togolaise de Lutte contre la Torture
(Togolese Association for Struggle against Torture)
(ATLT)

History

The *Association Togolaise de Lutte contre la Torture* (ATLT) was spontaneously created in September 1990 during the trial of students who had led strikes and made declarations about the situation in Togo. The organization's President had to flee the country.

Mandate

ATLT's mandate is to fight against torture in the public and domestic spheres, and to monitor human rights violations.

Structure

ATLT has approximately 100 members and no paid staff.

Program

Currently, ATLT is primarily involved in helping produce reports on human rights violations with the *Ligue Togolaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés Publiques* and the *Ligue Togolaise des Droits de l'Homme*. Financial constraints make it difficult to carry on other activities. It is also a member of SOS Torture International and denounces cases of torture brought to its attention by that organization.

Ligue Internationale pour les Droits de l'Enfant **(International League for the Rights of the Child)** **(LIDE)**

History

The Ligue Internationale pour les Droits de l'Enfant (LIDE) was created in July 1992 after events in Togo provoked a mass panic among the population, forcing people to flee the country. A group of young people, shocked by the effects of these events on children--many becoming orphans or being abandoned, schools being closed, etc.--decided to create LIDE. LIDE has applied for official authorization, but has not yet received it.

Mandate

The main objective of LIDE is the protection and promotion of children and their mothers. In the current situation in Togo, the organization focuses on helping children to survive.

Structure

LIDE's members are lawyers, professionals, students and jobless young people. It has its own headquarters, and an administrative assistant. Others work on a volunteer basis.

Program

LIDE has used the press to sensitize the population about its work. As a result, the population generally knows of its existence, and calls upon it any time they think there is a violation of children's rights. To date, the organization has received six complaints. When it receives a complaint, it investigates by talking with children, neighbors, and other interested persons. It mediates with government authorities, and helps children and/or parents by appealing to other NGOs and administrative bodies. It also publishes reports which are sent to external partners to generate international solidarity.

LIDE also sensitizes other organizations in Togo, including women's NGOs and the press, by holding seminars and workshops focusing on children's rights and their protection. It has also held training seminars with members of Parliament and other NGOs.

Ligue pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme au Togo **(League for the Promotion of Human Rights in Togo)** **(LPDH)**

History

The *Ligue pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme au Togo* (LPDH) was formed and officially recognized in early 1993 by a group of young professionals who wanted to respond to the mass violations of human rights in Togo. It is generally believed in Lome that LPDH was created with the help of President Eyadema. Leaders of LPDH, however, object to this allegation, and say they are independent of all influences and have the same problems as other NGOs working in the human rights field.

Mandate

LPDH's main objective is training and education of the population about their human rights and the means for exercising those rights. It is also interested in training the population in the role of good citizens in a democratic society.

Structure

LPDH's members include lawyers, teachers and high ranking civil servants. It has no paid staff and no office space.

Program

LPDH has held conferences on human rights subjects in all of the large towns in the country. It has made inquiries on abuses committed by the political opposition to the current government; it believes that violations are perpetrated by both the government and the opposition, and thus they should report on and denounce all of them. It has published a book with photographs of different human rights violations (killings, property destruction and so on) allegedly committed by police forces and by opposition groups. It officially requested the government to create an investigating committee to look into the death of fifteen people in police custody, and plans to help the families of the victims present their claims in court.

LPDH has set up sections in eight towns of Togo, and has sent investigating committees to both Ghana and Benin to look at the situation of Togolese refugees. It has organized the return of refugees with the help of the Ministry of Health and Population.

Ligue Togolaise des Droits de l'Homme **(Togolese League for Human Rights)** **(LTDH)**

History

The *Ligue Togolaise des Droits de l'Homme* (LTDH) was established in July 1990, but has not yet been officially recognized. It was the first independent human rights NGO created in Togo and is generally well thought of both inside and outside the country. The authorities threatened some of LTDH's members, physically and by destruction of their houses, cars and other property. From the start, LTDH has resisted this type of government pressure.

Mandate

LTDH has two objectives:

- the promotion, protection and defense of human rights; and
- training of its members and the population to enable them to participate in building a law-ruled state.

Structure

LTDH currently has 3,000 members, who are lawyers, teachers, professionals and citizens at all levels. It has a small staff, but volunteer members do most of the actual work. The organization has no office space of its own, and is currently using the office space and facilities of a lawyer member of the organization.

Program

As soon as LTDH was created, it started receiving complaints, and thus began the process of human rights monitoring and reporting. LTDH registers each complaint it receives, and transmits each to a member of the Executive Bureau, who, in turn, investigates the complaint and reports the findings to the Bureau. Authorities are approached about violations. Where the response is inadequate, cases are taken to court, or the organization launches a press campaign by sending communiques to newspapers, radio and television stations. Letters are also sent to President Eyadema by members of LTDH. Finally, they inform the international community and ask that international NGOs and others take action such as sending letters to the authorities, press releases, etc.

Ligue Togolaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés Publiques
(Togolese League for the Defense of Human Rights and Public Liberties)
(LTDHLP)

History

The *Ligue Togolaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés Publiques* (Togolese League for the Defense of Human Rights and Public Liberties) (LTDHLP) was created in September 1990 by a group of citizens who wanted to respond to the mass violations of human rights in the country. The organization does not yet have legal status. Members risk their lives every day in doing the work. The President, who received threatening letters, has fled the country.

Mandate

LTDHLP's objectives are:

- the promotion and protection of human rights; and
- human rights education.

Structure

LTDHLP has 500 members, but since 1992 most of its members are outside Togo. The organization has no paid staff and no office. It uses the same facilities as the *Ligue Togolaise des Droits de l'Homme*.

Program

LTDHLP's main activity since 1992 has been to work together with the *Ligue Togolaise des Droits de l'Homme* to publish reports on human rights violations in the country. In the past few months members have been working with the private press on a common concern about the disappearance of the free press. They have issued an international alert on this subject.

- Seny Diagne

Appendix 1

PROJECT PROCESS AND METHODOLOGY

PROJECT GOALS

The initial goal of the project to assess the status of human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa was to provide the two project sponsors, the Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights and the International Human Rights Internship Program, with a more systematically-developed base of information upon which to rely in their own planning, priority-setting and decision-making with respect to Africa. As a result of the specific interests of the two sponsors, the project focuses on the needs of organizations (including training needs) and the existing or potential capacity of organizations to provide training to other organizations.

Project researchers added to this goal their hopes that:

- the results of the project could be made widely available, particularly to organizations in Africa, as a means of informing them about developments in other countries of the region and increasing exchange of experience among them;
- identification of training resources in countries in Africa would increase intra-regional training, and;
- the inclusion of anglophone, francophone and lusophone countries in the project would help break down barriers that have developed among organizations in the three groups of countries as a result of language differences.

RESEARCHERS

The project sought to involve as researchers individuals with in-depth experience with and understanding of the functioning of human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. Such researchers could bring to the project not only the information they gathered from their discussions with organizations, but their own personal insights into the complexities of the situations human rights organizations confront. The individuals generally best able to meet these criteria were those who themselves were active with human rights organizations in different countries in Africa.

The project sponsors enlisted the assistance of several individuals, rather than a single researcher, not only to ensure that a variety of perspectives were incorporated into the research, but because the project was too large for any single "activist" researcher to take on in addition to his or her ongoing work.

The researchers had different backgrounds and areas of concentration, but together brought a broad range of knowledge and expertise to the project. These include direct experience establishing and running a human rights organization in Africa; lengthy experience with and knowledge about human rights and organizations in the countries to be visited; experience with university-based programs with an "activist" bent; and experience in training.

The researchers accepted the following areas of responsibility:

- Olisa Agbakoba and Richard Carver: South Africa
- Nana K.A. Busia, Jr.: Francophone West Africa (Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Senegal)
- Seny Diagne: Francophone West Africa (Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Togo)
- Peter Fry: Lusophone Africa (Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique)
- Binaifer Nowrojee: Anglophone West Africa (The Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria)
- Clement Nwankwo: East Africa and the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda)
- Joe Oloka-Onyangogo: Southern Africa (Malawi, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
- Peter Rosenblum: Francophone Central Africa (Rwanda, Zaire)

PROCESS

It was envisioned that the project's assessment of the status of human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa would be based on researchers' discussions with human rights organizations and activists in the different countries. Since the researchers themselves were based in different countries, the sponsors and researchers agreed to meet both prior to undertaking the research and following their travels in order to coordinate the research. The steps in the project were:

- inventory of existing studies,
- a research planning meeting,
- the research travel,
- a research follow-up meeting, and
- production of this report.

INVENTORY

As the first step in the process, the sponsors sent a letter about the proposed project to more than 80 regional and international organizations to determine if any had undertaken or were planning to undertake a similar project. The purpose of the letter was to help ensure that the project would not duplicate work that had already been done or was in process. Based on responses received, it became apparent that no project of a similar nature had been done or was underway.

RESEARCH PLANNING MEETING

The research planning meeting was held at the offices of the Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights in Stockholm on September 15-17, 1993. The objectives of the meeting were to:

- develop a common understanding of the purpose of the project;
- review available information about needs of organizations/training resources;
- review the countries tentatively selected to be visited, the rationale for inclusion, as well as the situation of human rights organizations in each, and make final decisions on countries to be visited;
- identify and develop a common understanding of likely important areas of needs/training resources to be identified through the project;
- develop a checklist for researchers to use in their discussions with organizations;
- decide on purpose, format and content of researchers' report(s) to be submitted; and
- identify and discuss logistical questions related to research, such as travel arrangements, visas, etc.

Countries to be visited: Project sponsors had previously decided that it would not be possible to include all countries in sub-Saharan Africa in the study and had arrived at a tentative list of 25. The planning meeting discussed criteria for selecting countries to be included, recognizing that some countries that met these criteria would nonetheless be omitted. The criteria agreed upon were:

- a reasonable distribution among anglophone, francophone and lusophone countries;
- the existence or emergence of human rights organizations in the country;
- the degree of feasibility for undertaking research in the country; and
- the availability of the project's human and material resources.

Organizations to be visited: Meeting participants agreed that the goal of the project would be to develop a general picture of the status of human rights organizations in the countries visited rather than an inventory of organizations, and that the project thus should not expect to arrive at a comprehensive survey of organizations in various countries. The following criteria were developed to guide researchers in deciding which organizations to visit: The organizations:

- should promote national and international standards related to civil, political as well as economic, social and cultural rights;
- should be non-governmental organizations (NGOs), although the existence of governmental bodies, such as commissions or ombudsmen, may be taken into account as background information or be a specific subject for focus where they have been particularly active in relating with NGOs;

- may be part of a university, as long as they are involved in "activist" types of programs, or have particularly strong relations with human rights NGOs outside the university;
- should not be political organizations. This would not preclude organizations working for a political cause, but which undertake genuine human rights activities;
- should be engaged in advocacy, monitoring, campaigning, education, documentation or services to victims;
- can include organizations that are not properly human rights organizations, but which may be important in assessing the nature and level of human rights activities in a country, such as law societies, trade unions, journalists' and church organizations, and development organizations with an emphasis on promoting rights;
- could be working with specific groups, such as women, children, refugees, ethnic minorities, where these organizations emphasize a "rights perspective"; and
- can be regional human rights organizations based or headquartered in the country.

It was agreed that the researchers should have an open mind to identify human rights activism, even though the activities might not fit in any of the above categories.

Review of situations in countries to be visited: At the meeting researchers made short presentations on the countries to be included in the project. The presentations addressed:

- the main political, economic and social factors affecting the situation and climate within which human rights organizations have formed and are functioning in the country;
- the human rights situation in the country confronting the organizations; and
- the status of human rights organizations in the country (for example, the number of organizations, foci of work, length of time in existence, stability, and so on).

While quite superficial and preliminary, these presentations enabled meeting participants to develop a better sense of the approach to be taken, issues of which they should be aware, and analyses that would need to be developed in the research and reports. They also helped highlight some factors that appear to have an impact on the development and functioning of human rights organizations in a number of countries as well as some potential common characteristics of organizations in more than one country.

Needs of organizations: The participants brainstormed about the needs of organizations, with a particular focus on the knowledge and skills necessary for an organization to function effectively. The results of the brainstorming were then organized in the form of a "checklist" to assist researchers in thinking through their discussions with organizations. The checklist was not developed into a questionnaire format, since participants felt that a formal questionnaire could hinder the discussion process. Items on the checklist were:

- a. Broad needs
 - i. legal status and a hospitable political environment
 - ii. continuity of organizational activities, membership
 - iii. security (local, national, international)
 - iv. solidarity and access to dialogue, exchanges
- b. Knowledge and skills areas necessary for implementation of program and activities (that is, external activities)
 - i. strategic planning
 - contextual (political, social, economic) knowledge and analysis;
 - clarity of goals, objectives, and the relationship of activities to these objectives and goals;
 - ii. knowledge and understanding of international, regional and national human rights standards;
 - iii. education, teaching, training
 - iv. community organizing, mobilization, organizing meetings; building constituency and membership
 - v. fact-finding, research
 - vi. documentation
 - related to fact-finding
 - bibliographical
 - vii. report writing

- viii. legal and constitutional knowledge
- ix. paralegal work and paralegal training
- x. litigation
 - strategy
 - test cases
 - use of international standards
- xi. mediation
- xii. use of regional and international mechanisms
- xiii. legislative and constitutional drafting, lobbying
- xiv. policy formulation
- xv. networking, strategic alliances, relations with civil society
- xvi. elections
 - voter education
 - monitoring
- xvii. campaigning
- xviii. communication skills; media
- xix. medical and/or forensic skills
- xx. gender sensitivity
- xxi. sound judgment

c. Knowledge and skills areas necessary for internal functioning

- i. organizational structure (board, staff)
 - board functioning
 - board-staff relationships
 - staff structure
- ii. internal staff processes (decision-making, communication skills, gender sensitivity, etc.)
- iii. management skills (planning, personnel relations, etc.)
- iv. administrative skills
 - documentation/record-keeping
 - financial record-keeping, accounting/reporting
 - organizing meetings
- v. building constituency/membership development
- vi. funding (identifying sources, managing)
 - local, national
 - international
 - proposal-writing, report-writing
 - understanding donors
 - record-keeping and accountability
- vii. access to information
- viii. equipment and related technical knowledge
- ix. sound judgment

Training Resources: The meeting reviewed a checklist of questions to help researchers identify and assess existing training resources. The list included:

- a. Does the organization do any training? If so,
 - i. what type of training?
 - formal (seminars, lectures, other structured programs)?
 - informal (internships, exposure programs, community legal literacy, other)?
 - ii. has the organization produced any training aids or publications, such as primers, handbooks, manuals, etc.?
- b. What is the purpose of the training?
- c. Who is the target of the training?
 - i. staff, volunteers, members?
 - ii. other domestic NGOs or individuals?
 - iii. foreign NGOs or individuals?

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- d. What is the subject matter of the training?
 - i. human rights standards and principles?
 - ii. skills training (fact-finding, documentation, litigation, and so on)?
 - iii. human rights education?
 - iv. IGO procedures?
 - v. other?
- e. What is the format and process of the training?

It was more difficult to determine how to assess the potential capacity of an organization to provide training. The following factors were considered relevant:

- a. strength and stability of the organization;
- b. level of knowledge and skills in the proposed area of training;
- c. capacity to design a training program in keeping with a trainee's needs, an understanding of the training process;
- d. capacity to provide regular guidance and oversight of the training program;
- e. communication skills;
- f. space, facilities;
- g. security;
- h. hospitable environment within the host organization.

Country reports: Participants agreed that country reports should:

- a. summarize the political, economic and social history and context within which organizations have formed and currently function;
- b. describe the nature of human rights violations in the country, providing an assessment of the major violations that organizations in the country are addressing, and the effect the violations have had on the ability of organizations to form and function freely;
- c. on the basis of information gathered in discussions with different organizations, identify any characteristics, needs or challenges common to many or all of the human rights organizations in the country;
- d. provide more detailed information about the specific organizations visited, including the history of an organization, its current legal status, specific political constraints or risks it faces, its structure (board, staff, volunteers, membership), as well as current areas and extent of activities.

RESEARCH TRAVEL

Researchers visited the countries included in the project between September 1993 and March 1994. They tried to meet with the key human rights organizations in the countries, but this was not always possible due to schedule conflicts. In addition, as a result of the large number of human rights groups in some countries and the limited time available within any one country, researchers could not meet with all the organizations in these countries.

RESEARCH FOLLOW-UP MEETING

Participants reconvened at a research follow-up meeting held in Sigtuna, Sweden March 22-25, 1994. The purpose of this meeting was to review the findings of the research, and, on the basis of these findings, to:

- identify the main factors which have an impact on the development and functioning of human rights organizations in a number of countries;
- identify broad characteristics common to organizations in a number of countries;
- identify main areas of needs, including training needs, specified by organizations;
- identify availability of human rights training resources within sub-Saharan Africa;
- agree on the format for and distribution of the final report; and
- decide on any project follow-up.

FINAL REPORT

This report is the best evidence of the nature of follow-up meeting. Participants only minimally discussed individual country reports, deciding instead to use them as the basis for the analysis of the issues just listed. The results of these discussions are largely reflected in the Overview. The individual country reports developed by researchers are presented sub-regionally. Appendices 2 and 3 were developed on the basis of information submitted by researchers.

As a result of the varying background of the researchers, there are some variations in spelling of certain words in different sections of the report. Some authors have followed British spelling rules, others the rules used in the United States. In the interest of respecting cultural differences, the spelling of such words has generally been left as it was originally submitted by the authors.

FOLLOW-UP

Participants discussed follow-up to the project, and agreed that the report should be distributed widely, particularly to human rights organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. The participants believe that the report contains the "germ" of many potential follow-up projects, and that it is most appropriate for the majority of these projects to be initiated by human rights groups in sub-Saharan Africa.

Appendix 2

**CONTACT INFORMATION
FOR
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Fax: (229) 31 37 01 or 31 38 09

Association des Femmes Juristes du Bénin

B.P. 2753
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Bénin
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***Association pour le Développement des
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***Commission Béninoise des Droits de
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***Ligue pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme
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Réseau Sous-Régional Femmes Africaines et Droits Humains

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Centre Ivoirien de Recherches et d'Etudes Juridiques

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Groupe d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Démocratisation et le Développement en Afrique-Branche de Côte d'Ivoire

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ERITREA**Regional Centre for Human Rights and Development**

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 Fax: (251)(1) 51 57 14

Anti-Red Terror Committee

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 Ethiopia

Centre for Human Rights and Democracy

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Ethiopian Human Rights Council

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Forum-84

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Human Rights and Peace Center

Faculty of Law
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Inter-Africa Group--Centre for Dialogue on Humanitarian Peace and Development Issues in the Horn of Africa

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International Society for Human Rights-Gambia

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African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters

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Decade of Human Rights Education

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Ghana Journalists Association

Ghana International Press Centre
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Human Rights Forum

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International Association of Women Lawyers-Ghana

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Organisation Guinéenne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen

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GUINEA-BISSAU**Centro de Informação e Orientação Jurídica**

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Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem

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Law Society of Kenya

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Kenya Anti-Rape Organization

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Ligue Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme

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Comité de Solidarité avec les Victimes de la Repression en Mauritanie

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Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos do Homem

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NAMIBIA**Human Rights and Documentation Centre**

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National Society for Human Rights

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Committee for the Defence of Human Rights

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Constitutional Rights Project

Clement Nwankwo & Co.
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Ethnic Minority Rights Organization of Africa

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RWANDA

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Association "Haguruka" pour la Défense des Droits de la Femme et de l'Enfant
B.P. 2206
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Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme
B.P. 1868
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Tel./Fax: (250) 74754

Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des Droits de la Personne et des Libertés Publiques
B.P. 1932 Kigali
Avenue de la Justice, entre le rond-point et l'immeuble de l'imprimerie nationale

Collectif des Lignes et Associations de Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Rwanda
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**Ligue des Droits de la Personne dans la
Région des Grands Lacs**

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Tel: (250) 85878/77564
Fax: (250) 77737

**Ligue Rwandaise pour la Promotion et la
Défense des Droits de l'Homme**

B.P. 1892
Kigali
Rwanda
Tel./Fax: (250) 74318

SENEGAL**Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la
Torture-Sénégal**

B.P. 10027
Dakar-Fann
Sénégal
Fax: (221) 21 66 05, Attn. Alain Agboton

Dakar-Fann
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 24 41 01
Fax: (221) 22 07 02

Association des Jeunes Avocats Sénégalais

s/c 152, Avenue du Président Lamine Guèye
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 21 85 50
Fax: (221) 21 48 41

**Conseil des Organisations Non-
Gouvernementales d'Appui au Développement**

KM1, Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop
B.P. 4109
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 21 47 20/21 08 15
Fax: (221) 22 00 42

**Association Sénégalaise de Droit du Travail et
de la Sécurité Social**

s/c Faculté des Sciences Juridiques
Université Cheikh Anta Diop
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 25 70 00

**Council for the Development of Economic and
Social Research in Africa**

B.P. Box 3304
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 23 03 74/25 98 22
Fax: (221) 24 12 89

**Centre d'Informations Juridiques du
Réseau Africain pour le Développement
Intégré**

Sicap, Amite II
B.P. 12.085
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 25 75 33
Fax: (221) 25 75 36

**Comité Africain pour le Droit et le
Développement**

8, Boulevard du Sud Point E
B.P. 15 107

174 CONTACT INFORMATION

Femmes, Droits et Développement en Afrique

57, Avenue Albert Sarraut
Immeuble SIFA
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 21 85 50
Fax: (221) 21 48 41

**Gorée Institute Centre for Democracy,
Development and Culture in Africa**

B.P. 6413
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 21 70 81
Fax: (221) 22 54 76

Institut Africain pour la Démocratie

3, Bd. Djiloi Mbaye
Immeuble FAHD
B.P. 1780
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 23 57 20
Fax: (221) 23 57 21

Institut des Droits de l'Homme et de la Paix

s/c Faculté de Droit
Université Cheikh Anta Diop
Dakar
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 21 01 34

***Ligue Africaine des Droits de l'Homme et des
Peuples***

2 Place de l'Indépendance
Immeuble SDJH
B.P. 21052
Dakar-Ponty
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 21 26 98

***Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des
Droits de l'Homme***

B.P. 15246
Dakar-Fann
Sénégal
Tel: (221) 24 50 16/25 91 63
Fax: (221) 25 28 83

SOUTH AFRICA

**Black Lawyers Association/Legal Education
Centre**

P.O. Box 5217
Johannesburg 2000
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 337 1535/8
Fax: (27)(11) 337 1539

Black Sash

5 Long Street
7700 Mowbray
South Africa
Tel: (27)(21) 685 3513
Fax: (27)(21) 685 7510

Community Law Centre

Berea Centre
249 Berea Road, 7th floor
Durban 4001
South Africa
Tel: (27)(31) 202 7190
Fax: (27)(31) 210 140

Diakonia

P.O. Box 1879
Durban 4000
South Africa

Tel: (27)(31) 305 6001
Fax: (27)(31) 305 2486

Freedom of Expression Institute

P.O. Box 261096
Johannesburg
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 29 6287
Fax: (27)(11) 29 4354

Human Rights Commission

P.O. Box 32723
Braamfontein 2017
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 403 4450
Fax: (27)(11) 339 1422

**Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal
Repression**

P.O. Box 32293
Braamfontein 2017
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 403 3256/7
Fax: (27)(11) 403 1366

Institute for the Study of Public Violence

P.O. Box 784678

Sandton 2199
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 884 0440/3
Fax: (27)(11) 884 0421

Lawyers for Human Rights

713 Van Erkom Building
217 Pretorius Street
Pretoria 0002
South Africa
Tel: (27)(12) 212 135
Fax: (27)(12) 325 6318

Legal Education Action Project

Institute of Criminology
University of Cape Town
Private Bag Rondebosch
7700 South Africa
Tel: (27)(21) 650 2680
Fax: (27)(21) 650 3790

Legal Resources Centre

P.O. Box 9495
2000 Johannesburg
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 836 8071
Fax: (27)(11) 833 1747
or
54 Shortmarket Street
Cape Town
South Africa
Tel: (27)(21) 238285
Fax: (27)(21) 230935
or
20 St. Andrews Street
Durban
South Africa
Tel: (27)(31) 301 7572
Fax: (27)(31) 304 2823

Media Monitoring Project

P.O. Box 366
Wits 2050
Johannesburg
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 838 7522
Fax: (27)(11) 838 7407

Peace Action

P.O. Box 4962
Johannesburg 2000
South Africa
Tel: (27)(11) 832 1351/2
Fax: (27)(11) 832 1436

Street Law

Centre for Socio-Legal Studies
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
Durban 4001
South Africa
Tel: (27)(31) 812358
Fax: (27)(31) 811765

TANZANIA

Legal Aid Committee (University of Dar es Salaam)

c/o Faculty of Law
University of Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 35093
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

SUWATA Legal Aid Project

Lindi Street
P.O. Box 868
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania
Tel: (255)(51) 38329

Tanganyika Law Society

572/25 Ghandi Street
P.O. Box 2148
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania
Tel: (255)(51) 21907

Tanzania Media Women Association

(TAMWA)
P.O. Box 6143
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania
Tel: (255)(51) 32181/29089
Fax: (255)(51) 41905/29347/462290

Welfare Through Law

P.O. Box 3740
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania
Tel: (255)(51) 26776

Zanzibar Legal Services Centre

P.O. Box 3360
Zanzibar
Tanzania
Tel: (251)(54) 32235/30011/31186
Fax: (251)(54) 31186/31988

TOGO

Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Togo

B.P. 399
Lomé
Togo
Tel: (228) 21 20 51
Fax: c/o LTDH, (228) 21 75 20

Association Togolaise de Lutte contre la Torture

s/c LTDH
B.P. 2302
Lomé
Togo
Tel: (228) 21 06 06
Fax: (228) 21 75 20

Ligue Internationale pour les Droits de l'Enfant

Rue Dadzie Passage B2, face Hôtel du
Boulevard
B.P. 30683
Lomé
Togo
Tel: (228) 21 19 24
Fax: (228) 21 75 20

Ligue pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme au Togo

4, Rue Kouaou

B.P. 20248/20393
Lomé
Togo
Tel: (228) 21 44 63/26 38 32
Fax: (228) 21 44 63/21 29 20

Ligue Togolaise des Droits de l'Homme

178 Boulevard du 13 janvier
B.P. 2302
Lomé

Togo

Tel: (228) 21 06 06
Fax: (228) 21 75 20

Ligue Togolaise pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme et des Libertés Publiques

47, bis Rue de Kamina
B.P. 2572
Lomé
Togo
Tel: (228) 21 65 01/21 58 36

UGANDA

Action for Development

ACFODE House, Bukolo
P.O. Box 16729
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 53 23 11
Fax: (256)(41) 53 23 11

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative

P.O. Box 11027
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 250 538

Human Rights and Peace Centre

c/o Faculty of Law
Makerere University
P.O. Box 7062
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 53 29 56
Fax: (256)(41) 53 29 54

Legal Aid Project

94 William Street
P.O. Box 426
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 25 10 54

Uganda Association of Women Lawyers

UDC Building 1st Floor
Parliament Avenue
P.O. Box 2157
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 23 26 06

Uganda Gender Resource Centre

P.O. Box 9933
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 25 02 49

Uganda Human Rights Activists

Plot 10B Buganda Road
P.O. Box 8972
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 25 81 56

Uganda Law Society

c/o Plot 2, Wilson Road
P.O. Box 3277
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: (256)(41) 25 17 17

ZAIRE

[All of the organizations in North and South Kivu maintain post boxes and/or faxes in the Rwandan cities of Cyangugu or Gisenyi. However, as a result of the massacres and war in Rwanda, none of these was functional at the time this report went to press.]

Kinshasa

Amos

B.P. 724
Kinshasa-Limete
Zaire

**Association pour la Promotion d'un
Audiovisuel Responsable et Démocratique**

c/o Jean-René Mputu Biduaya
Centre Culturel Américain
Kinshasa
Zaire

Association des Cadres Pénitentiaires

Palais de Justice
Local 113
Kinshasa/Gombe
B.P. 10750
Kinshasa I
Zaire

**Association Zaïroise de Défense des Droits
de l'Homme**

Immeuble Vivi, 5ème niveau, apte.18
Avenue Mutombo Katshi n°7/91

Kinshasa-Gombe

B.P. 16737
Kinshasa I
Tel: (243)(12) 21 174
Fax: (243)(12) 20 906

Droits de l'Homme, Maintenant

s/c La Voix des Sans Voix
Boulevard du 30 Juin, Galerie Pumbu
B.P. 11445
Kinshasa-Gombe
Zaire

Ligue des Droits de l'Homme-Zaire

Résidence Bandundu
128, Avenue de l'Ouganda
Kinshasa-Gombe
B.P. 5316
Kinshasa X
Zaire
Tel: (243)(12) 34 420
Fax: (243)(12) 20 638
Cellular telephone: (243)(88) 45 652
or
In Belgium :
20, rue Draily
6000 Charleroi
Belgium
Tel./Fax: (32)(71) 31 04 97

Ligue Zaïroise des Electeurs

B.P. 16.379
Kinshasa I
Zaire

**Organisation des Femmes Chrétiennes
Démocrates pour le Développement**

Galleries Présidentielles
2è niveau, Local 13
Kinshasa-Gombe
B.P. 20.644
CCIZ
Kinshasa XV

Service Chrétien des Droits de la Femme

Immeuble Vivi
5ème niveau, apte. 18
s/c AZADHO
B.P. 16737
Kinshasa I
Zaire

Solidarité Paysanne

s/c CNONGD
B.P. 5744
Kinshasa-Gombe
Zaire

Toges Noires

Ave. Lukusa No. 2
(Bldg. du 29 Juin "ex-Mobil")
3ème étage, apte. 32
B.P. 5260
Kinshasa X Z
Zaire

Voix des Sans Voix pour les Droits de l'Homme

Galleries Pumbu (Ex. Albert)
6e étage, Local No.3
Boulevard du 30 Juin
B.P. 11.445
Kinshasa-Gombe
Zaire
tel: (243)(12) 27 040
Cellular Telephone: (243)(88) 40 394

South Kivu (Zaire)**Association pour la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme**

B.P. 2163
Bukavu
Zaire
c/o Professor Wasso Mbilizi
B.P. 130
Cyangugu
Rwanda

Bureau d'Assistance Juridique

B.P. 197
Bukavu
Zaire
c/o B.P. Cyangugu
Rwanda
Fax: (250) 37 173

Commission Justice et Paix-Sud-Kivu

Bureau diocésain du développement
Bukavu
Zaire
c/o B.P. 02
Cyangugu
Rwanda

Héritiers de la Justice

c/o Diocese de Bukavu
Bukavu
Zaire

Innovations et Réseaux pour le Développement

B.P. 2375
Bukavu
Zaire
c/o B.P. 257
Cyangugu
Rwanda

Programme Régional de Formation et d'Echanges pour le Développement

B.P. 1897
Kigali
Rwanda
or
B.P. 61
Kinshasa I
Zaire

Union des Jeunes Démocrates pour la Réconstruction

Buholo III
Zone de Kadutu
Bukavu
Zaire
c/o B.P. 285
Cyangugu
Rwanda

North Kivu (Zaire)

Association Muungano-Solidarité

B.P. 50
Goma
Zaire
c/o B.P. 12
Gisenyi
Rwanda
Tel: (250) 40 804 (Rwanda--Tuesday 8 am -10
am and Saturday morning)

***Centre de Formation pour la Promotion des
Droits de l'Homme***

111 ave. Président Mobutu
Zone de Goma
B.P. 44 and 303
Goma
Zaire
c/o B.P. 528
Gisenyi
Rwanda

Commission Justice et Paix-Nord-Kivu

Diocese de Goma, Bureau Justice et Paix
B.P. 50
Goma
Zaire
c/o B.P. 12
Gisenyi
Rwanda

***Groupe d'Etudes et d'Action pour un
Développement Bien Défini***

B.P. 30
Goma
Zaire
c/o B.P. 280
Gisenyi
Rwanda

***Groupe d'Appui-Conseils aux Réalisations
pour le Développement Endogène***

B.P. 806
Goma
Zaire
Cellular telephone: Joseph Mudumbi (243) (88)
49115

Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines

B.P. 118
Goma
Zaire
c/o B.P. 492
Gisenyi
Rwanda

***Syndicat des Consommateurs de l'Eau et de
l'Electricité***

B.P. 20
Goma
Zaire

Haut Zaire

Justice and Libération

B.P. 505
Kisangani
Zaire

***Les Amis de Nelson Mandela pour la Défense
des Droits de l'Homme***

B.P. 93
Paroisse Christ-Roi
Kisangani
Zaire

Lotus

St. Joseph Parish
Kisangani
Zaire

Horeb

Zone of Kabundu
Kisangani
Zaire

Shaba (Zaire)***Centre des Droits de l'Homme et du Droit
Humanitaire***

B.P. 1583
Lubumbashi
Zaire
tel: (243)(222) 4300

Commission Justice et Paix-Shaba

B.P. 72
Lubumbashi
Zaire

ZAMBIA**Centre for Human Rights and Democracy**

c/o R.M.A. Chongwe & Co.
Plot No. 1653 Pangani Road/
Sodala House (off Mumbwa Rd.)
P.O. Box 33053
Lusaka
Zambia
Tel: (260)(1) 223 183/224 624

Christian Council of Zambia

Church House
Cairo Road
P.O. Box 30315
Lusaka, Zambia
Tel: (260) 229 551
Telex: 45160

Foundation for Democratic Process

2nd Floor, Fintex House
Cairo Road
Lusaka, Zambia

**Human Rights Committee of the Law
Association of Zambia**

Permanent Chambers
MEMACO House
Ground Floor, Room # 113
P.O. Box 35702
Lusaka
Zambia
Tel: (260)(1) 225 884
Fax: (260)(1) 225 049

Interafrican Network for Human Rights

Room 12, 2nd Floor
Carousal Complex
P.O. Box 32569
Lusaka
Zambia
Tel: (260)(1) 224 231

Legal Resources Foundation

c/o R.M.A. Chongwe & Co.
Plot No. 1653 Pangani Road

Lusaka
Zambia
Tel: (260)(1) 223 183/224 624

National Women's Lobby Group

2nd Floor, Fintex House
Cairo Road
P.O. Box 37879
Lusaka
Zambia
Tel: (260)(1)221 236

**Office of Social Education of the Zambian
Episcopal Conference**

St. Ignatius Cathedral
P.O. Box 31965
Lusaka
Zambia
Tel: (260)(1) 212 070/212 239

**Women's Rights Committee of the Law
Association of Zambia**

c/o Law Association of Zambia
P.O. Box 35702
Lusaka
Zambia

Zambia Civic Education Association

P.O.Box 35965
Lusaka
Zambia

ZIMBABWE

Bulawayo Legal Projects Centre

94 Fort Street
Between L. Takawira & Eight Avenues
P.O. Box 1131
Bulawayo
Zimbabwe
Tel: (263)(9) 68926
Fax: (263)(9) 77569

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

31, Selous Avenue
Corner 4th Street
P.O. Box 8493
Causeway, Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: (263)(4) 791 053
Fax: (263)(4) 724 971

Legal Aid and Advice Centre

Faculty of Law
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box 167
Mount Pleasant
Harare
Zimbabwe
Fax: (263)(4) 732 828

Legal Resources Foundation

P.O. Box 918
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: (263)(4) 728 212
Fax: (263)(4) 728 213

Women and Law in Southern Africa

205 Stenar House, 132 Harare Street
Cnr. Kaguvi Street and Speke Avenue
P.O. Box UA 171
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel./Fax: (263)(4) 729 512

**Women in Law and Development in Africa
(WiLDAF)**

Stenar House, Suite #204
Kaguvi/Speke Ave.
P.O. Box 4622
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: (263)(4) 729 151
Fax: (263)(4) 731 901/2

Zimrights

P.O. Box 4111
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: (263)(4) 796 586/7
Fax: (263)(4) 796 589

Appendix 3

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

BENIN

Saidou Agbantou

, *Commission Béninoise des Droits de l'Homme*

Mme. Ahtoundogbo, *Défense des Enfants International*
Grace d'Almeida Adamon, *Association des Femmes Juristes du Bénin*
Professeur Dossoumon, AHAVA
Etienne Hougni, *Association pour le Développement Des Initiatives Villageoises*
Maître Kakoua, *Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture-Bénin*
Koubourath K. Ossen

, *Fédération Nationale des*

Associations des Femmes Béninoises

Albert Tevoedjere, *Centre Panafricain de Perspective Social*
Magloire Yansunnu, *Ligue pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Bénin*

BURKINA FASO

Maître Bernadin Dabire, *Association Burkinabè pour la Promotion d'un Etat de Droit et la Défense des Libertés*
Professor Halidou Ouedraogo, *Le Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples and l'Union Interafricaine des Droits de l'Homme*
Bernadette Palle, *Réseau Sous-Régional Femmes Africaines et Droits Humains*

COTE D'IVOIRE

Association Chrétienne pour l'Abolition des Tortures et pour le Respect des Droits de l'Homme
Koudou Romain Djedje, *Groupe d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Démocratisation et le Développement en Afrique-Branche de Côte d'Ivoire*
Angèle Kouassi, *Association des Femmes Juristes de Côte d'Ivoire*
Maître Françoise Kandjhis Offoumou, *Association Internationale pour la Démocratie en Afrique*
P r o f e s s e u r R e n é D e g n y S e g u i

, *La Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de l'Homme*
Professeur Komenan Zakpa, *Centre Ivoirien de Recherches et d'Etudes Juridiques*

ERITREA

Paulos Tesfagiorgis, Regional Centre for Human Rights and Development

ETHIOPIA

Abraham Abebe, A-Bu-Gi-Da--Ethiopian Congress for Democracy
Teshome Asrat, Forum-84
Yacob Haile-Mariam, Yusuf Hassen, Ad-Hoc Committee on Peace
Prof. Ibrahim Idris, Daniel Wuobishete, Human Rights and Peace Center
Abdul Mohammed, Jalal Abdel Latif, Inter-Africa Group--Centre for Dialogue on Humanitarian
Peace and Development Issues in the Horn of Africa
Tsion Tekkie, Fantahone, Centre for Human Rights and Democracy
Professor Mesfin Wolde-Mariam, Melaku Wolde-Mariam, Ethiopian Human Rights Council

THE GAMBIA

Davies Iber, staff and board members, International Society for Human Rights-Gambia
Donata Rugarabamu, African Society of International and Comparative Law
Safiatou Kassim Singhateh, Foundation for Research on Women's Health, Productivity and
Environment
Raymond Sock and professional staff, African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies

GHANA

Nana Akufo-Addo, Joe Baidoe-Ansah, Joe Nana Ghartey, Ghana Committee on Human and
Peoples' Rights
J. Kobina Andrews, Human Rights Forum
Baffour Anning, African Human Rights Heritage
Kabral Blay-Amihere, Ghana Journalists Association
Dr. Edmund Delle and staff, African Commission of Health and Human Rights Promoters (Ghana)

GUINEA

Sidiki Diakite, *Commission Africaine des Promoteurs de la Santé et des Droits de l'Homme-Guinée*
Jean Alfred Mathos, *Association Guinéene des Enfants*
Maître Christian Sow, *Association Guinéene des Droits de l'Homme*
Thierno M. Sow, *Organisation Guinéene de Défense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*

GUINEA-BISSAU

Augusto Silva Dias, Guinea-Bissau Faculty of Law
Fernando Gomes, *Liga Guineense dos Direitos do Homem*
Adelino Handem, *Associação Guineense de Estudos e Alternativas*
Alfredo Handem, SOLEDAMI
Vera Cabral Handem, Macário Perdigão, Vera Paquete Perdigão, Aduzinda Rodrigues, *Centro de
Informação e Orientação Jurídica*
Eduardo Lobão, Delegate of LUSA
Peter Mendy, *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa*
Amine Saad, *Partido Popular Democrático*

KENYA

Fatma Anyonzwa, Kenya Anti-Rape Organization
 Murtaza Jaffer, *Kituo Cha Sheria*
 Maina Kiai, Kenya Human Rights Commission
 Jean Kamau, International Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya
 Christopher Mulei, International Commission of Jurists-Kenya
 Dr. Willy Mutunga, P.M. Nwangi, Law Society of Kenya
 Reverend Dr. Benjamin Mwangi, Peace Foundation (Africa)
 Chiuri Ngugi, Legal Education and Aid Programme
 Oki Ooko-Ombaka, Public Law Institute

LIBERIA

Harry Sie Brooks, Liberia Human Rights Chapter
 Thomas Bureh, T. Thompson Ade-Bayor, Liberia Watch for Human Rights
 Ruth Caesar, My Sister's Place
 Jesse Karnley, Association of Human Rights Promoters
 Benedict Sannoh and staff, Center for Law and Human Rights Education
 Steve Wilson, Justice and Peace Commission

MALAWI

Vera Chirwa, Legal Resources Centre
 Edger Hielema, Blantyre Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian
 Edge Kanyongolo, Faculty of Law, University of Malawi
 Shadrach Maziya, Christian Service Committee
 Rev. Chande Mhone, Human Rights Movement of the Christian Council of Malawi
 Mordecai Msiska, Law Society of Malawi
 Sheila Stevens, Evangelical Alliance for Relief and Development

MALI

Mazga Sima Damba, *Association Muso Yiriwa (Femme Promotion)*
 Fatoumata Sire Diakite, *Association pour le Progrès et la Défense des Droits des Femmes Maliennes*
 Hadja Aissa Diallo, *Comité d'Action pour les Droits de l'Enfant et de la Femme*
 N'Doure M'Bam Diarra, *Association Malienne des Droits de l'Homme*
 Bakary Sogoba, *Conseiller Juridique--Association Malienne pour le Développement*
 Maître Rakia Ba Toure, *Collectif des Femmes du Mali*

MAURITANIA

Maître Mohamedy O. Batah, *Ligue Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme*
 Maroufa Diabira, *Association Mauritanienne des Droits de l'Homme*
 Dr. Dia Housseynou, *Centre Neuropsychiatrique*
 Ba Mariam Ly, GAVD
 Mamoudou Ly, *L'Eveil Hebdo*
 Fatimata Sy, FAO
 Kane Raky Ibra Wane, *Comité de Solidarité avec les Victimes de la Répression en Mauritanie*

MOZAMBIQUE

Alcinda Abreu, *Mulher, Lei e Desenvolvimento*
Padre José Angel, *Comissão Católica de Justiça e Paz*
Jose Luis Cabaço, Ébano Productions
Abdul Carimo, Ministry of Justice
José Norberto Carrilho, *Tribunal Supremo*
Iraê Baptista Lundin de Coloane, *Centro de Estudos Estratégicos*
Fernando de Lima and Solomão Moiane, MediaFax
Maria Alice Mabota, *Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos do Homem*
Graça Machel, *Associação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade*
Machatine Munguambe, Faculty of Law, *Universidade Eduardo Mondlane*
Ana Pessoa, Department of Research and Legislation, Ministry of Justice
Judith Santos, lawyer
Elizabeth Sequeira, *Associação PROGRESSO*
Manuela Sueiro, *Mutumbela Gogo*
Jamisse Taimo, *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique*
Teodósio Uate, Network of African Researchers and Intellectuals on Integrated Human Rights in Africa

NAMIBIA

Michaela Figuera, Legal Assistance Centre
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 Christine Y. Ngambi, Foundation for Democratic Process
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