

International Decision-Making in the Age of Genocide

Rwanda 1990-1994

The Hague, June 1-3, 2014

Conference Participants



Major-General (retired) **Henry Anyidoho** served as the Deputy Force commander and Chief of Staff for UNAMIR in Rwanda. He has also served in international peacekeeping operations in Lebanon, Liberia and Cambodia. Following his time in Rwanda, he was posted to the Ministry of Defense in Ghana. He served as the Chairman of the Ghana Telecom Board of Directors and is the author of the book, *Guns over Kigali* (1997).



Michael Barnett served as the political officer at the US Mission to the United Nations assigned to cover Rwanda in 1994. His 2003 book, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda*, draws on his experiences from this period. Barnett is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science at The George Washington's Elliott School of International Affairs in Washington, DC.



Ambassador **Jean-Christophe Belliard** served as the French government representative to the Arusha peace negotiations, while posted to the French embassy in Tanzania between 1991 and 1994. He represented the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Goma (DRC) during Operation Turquoise. He has also served as French ambassador to Ethiopia and French Representative to the African Union. He is currently director of African Affairs at the French Foreign Ministry.



Dr. **Jean Damascène Bizimana** is a Senator in the Parliament of Rwanda and the Chairperson of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation & Security. He has held positions as Vice-chairman of the Independent Commission of Inquiry into the plane crash of President Habyarimana (2007-2009) as well as a Member of the National Independent Commission of Inquiry on the role of France in the genocide (2005-2007). Bizimana is the author of the book *A Path to Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda*, which traces the genocide ideology back to 1957.



Dr. **Jean-Hervé Bradol** was the representative of the humanitarian group Médecins sans Frontières (MSF) in Rwanda during the genocide in 1994, and lobbied western governments for military intervention to stop the killing. He was President of MSF-France from 2000 to 2008. He is currently the Director of Research at MSF and editor of *Medical Innovations in Humanitarian Situations: The work of Médecins sans Frontières*. He recently co-authored a study of MSF work in the Great Lakes region between 1992 and 1997.



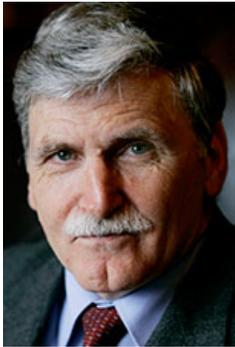
Colette Braeckman covered the events leading up to the Rwandan genocide as a prominent Belgian journalist and Africa specialist for the French language newspaper *Le Soir*. She has published numerous articles on Rwanda, both before and after the genocide, and a series of books on Central Africa, including *Rwanda: Histoire d'un Genocide* (1994) and *Rwanda-Burundi: les Racines de la Violence* (1996). She is a member of the editorial board of *Le Soir*.



Ambassador **Prudence Bushnell** served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the US State Department from 1993 to 1996, and was responsible for the day-to-day handling of the Rwandan crisis in 1994. Since then she has served as Ambassador to the Republic of Kenya (1996-1999) and Guatemala (1999-2002), and Dean of the Leadership and Management School at the Foreign Service Institute (2002-2005). Today, she is the CEO of Sage Associates, and consults on a range of international and leadership issues.



Jean-Philippe Ceppi was the first foreign journalist to use the term “genocide” in relation to events in Rwanda in an article published in the French daily *Libération* on April 11, 1994, describing the Gikondo massacre. He has covered Africa since 1989 for French and Swiss news outlets as well as the BBC French service. Ceppi is the founder of the Swiss Investigative Reporters Network and an Executive Producer for the awarded investigative prime time television program *Temps Présent*, one of the oldest current affairs television programs in Europe.



Lieutenant-General **Roméo Dallaire** (Retired) was the Force Commander of UNAMIR in 1993 and 1994. His book, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, was awarded the Governor General's Literary Award for Non-Fiction in 2004. Since his retirement from the military, he has written and spoken extensively about humanitarian assistance and human rights. He has been a member of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Genocide Prevention, founder of the Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative and a member of the Canadian Senate.



Ambassador **Jean-Marc Rochereau de La Sabliere** served as the director of the Africa Bureau at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris in 1994. He is a former diplomatic adviser to French President Jacques Chirac (2000-2002). He has also served as ambassador to Egypt (1996-2000), and Italy (2007-2011). As French ambassador to the United Nations (2002-2007), he helped formulate the doctrine known as "Responsibility to Protect." His diplomatic memoir, *Dans les Couloirs du Monde*, was published in 2013.



Ambassador **Ibrahim Gambari** was the Nigerian representative on the UN Security Council in 1994, and President of the Council in May 1994. He was also coordinator of the non-aligned caucus. He served as Nigerian ambassador to the United Nations from January 1990 to October 1999. He was a senior advisor to the Secretary General from 1999 to 2007, working on both Africa and Iraq, and Joint United Nations-Africa Union Special Representative on Darfur since 2010.



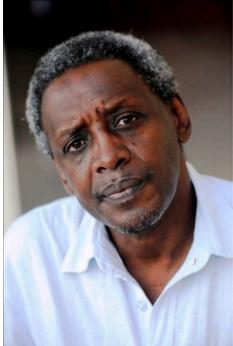
Dr. **James Gasana** was Rwanda's Minister of Defense from 1992 to 1993 when he was forced to flee the country by Hutu hardliners. As Minister of Agriculture and Environment from 1990 to 1992, he drew attention to the political instability caused by environmental and economic factors, including the refugee crisis. He is author of *Rwanda: Du Parti-État à L'État Garnison*. He is now a consultant on environmental issues for leading international organizations, including the Food and Agriculture Organization.



Professor **André Guichaoua** is a French sociologist and specialist in the Great Lakes region who was present in Rwanda at the beginning of the genocide. He served as an expert witness in Arusha for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. His books include a detailed study of the events of April 1994, based on ICTR documents, entitled *Rwanda: De la guerre au génocide (2010)* that will soon appear in English. Other notable works on the topic include *Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda, 1993-1994* (1994) and *Exilés, réfugiés, déplacés en Afrique centrale et orientale* (2005).



David Hannay served as the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the UN from 1990 to 1995. He was elevated to the House of Lords in June 2001. He has since served as Chair of the Board of the United Nations Association UK from 2006 to 2011 and is now Chair of the All Party Group on Global Security and Non-Proliferation. Lord Hannay is also a member of the Top Level Group of UK Parliamentarians for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.



Faustin Kagamé's parents fled Rwanda at the time of the Hutu "revolution" in 1959 that forced tens of thousands of Tutsis to flee the country. Kagamé was brought up by his uncle, Alexis Kagamé, a leading Rwandan intellectual and theologian whose writings inspired the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Kagamé has worked as a journalist in Rwanda and Europe, and is now communications advisor to the President of Rwanda.



Ambassador **Colin Keating** was President of the UN Security Council in April 1994 when the Rwandan genocide started. He served as New Zealand Ambassador to the UN from 1993 to 1996 and a member of the Security Council in 1993 and 1994. He was Council president during the month of April in 1994 when the genocide started. In 2005, Keating became the founding Executive Director of Security Council Report, an independent non-profit organization based in New York.



Ambassador **Karel Kovanda** served as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1994. Ambassador Kovanda was the first UN ambassador to use the term “genocide” to describe events in Rwanda. He has also served as Czech ambassador to NATO and Deputy Director General of External Relations in the European Commission from 2005 to 2010. Kovanda currently works in the private sector.



Ambassador **Joyce Leader** served as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the US Embassy in Kigali. Leader has also served as US Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea and Director of the Office of Refugee Assistance to Asia and the Near East. She wrote *Rwanda’s Struggle for Democracy and Peace, 1991-1994*, which was published in 2001 by The Fund for Peace where she was a Senior Fellow.



Ambassador **Patrick Mazimhaka** held the position of Vice-Chairman of the Rwandan Patriotic Front from 1993 to 1998, and was the principal RPF negotiator in Arusha. He served as Minister of Youth, Sports and Cooperatives between 1994 and 1996 when he was made Minister of Rehabilitation and Social Affairs. Other senior positions include Special Envoy of the President of Rwanda. He is now an independent consultant.



Linda Melvern is a widely published investigative journalist and author, as well as a consultant to the Military One prosecution team at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Her published work on Rwanda includes her two books, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda’s Genocide* (2000) and *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide* (2004). Melvern has visited a wide variety of institutions in the UK and abroad to present on the subject.



Edward Mortimer was the main commentator and columnist on foreign affairs for the Financial Times from 1987 to 1998. He has also written for The Times of London and from 1998 to 2006 and served as chief speechwriter and director of communications to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Mortimer is currently a Distinguished Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, Senior Vice-President and Chief Program Advisor to the Salzburg Global Seminar and chair of the Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace and Justice.



Ambassador **Ami Mpungwe** served as Tanzania's facilitator for the Arusha peace negotiations between 1992 and 1993, and Director for Africa and the Middle East in the Tanzanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other diplomatic posts include High Commissioner to South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia from 1994 to 2000. He currently operates in the private sector and, among others, chairs the boards of TanzaniteOne Mining Ltd, MultiChoice Tanzania, and Chamber of Mines and sits on the Council of the University of Dar es Salaam.



Monique Mujawamariya was a prominent Rwandan human rights activist prior to the April 1994 genocide. She met with President Clinton in December 1993, and lobbied the US government on behalf of genocide victims following her escape from Rwanda in April 1994. She founded the Rwandan Association for the Defense of Human Rights and Public Liberties in 1990, and was the target of an assassination attempt in 1992. She now lives in South Africa.



Charles Murigande was the Washington representative for the Rwandan Patriotic Front from October 1990 to August 1994. He returned to Rwanda in August of 1994 as adviser to the president on foreign affairs. He has held various Rwandan government positions, including Minister of Foreign Affairs (2002-2008), Minister of Governmental Affairs (2008-2009), and Minister of Education (2009-2011). Since 2011, he has served as Rwanda's ambassador to Japan.



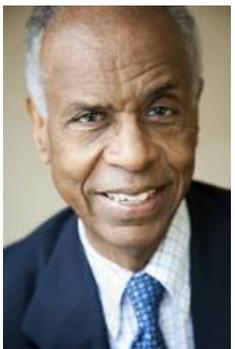
Jean-Marie Vianney Ndagijimana is a lawyer. He served as Rwandan Ambassador to Addis-Ababa from January 1986 to October 1990, and to Paris from October 1990 to April 1994, but broke with the provisional Rwandan government after the start of the genocide. He served as Foreign Affairs Minister in the first post-genocidal government from July 1994 to October 1994. He now is the spokesman of the Committee for Unity, Peace and Reconciliation in Rwanda (Inteko y'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda). He lives in France.



Bacre Ndiaye is a Senegalese lawyer who served as Special UN Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions between 1992 and 1998. In August 1993, he authored a special report on human rights violations in Rwanda. He served as Director of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights at the UN (1998-2006) and Deputy Special Representative in the Democratic Republic of Congo (2007-2008). He is currently a senior aide to the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva.



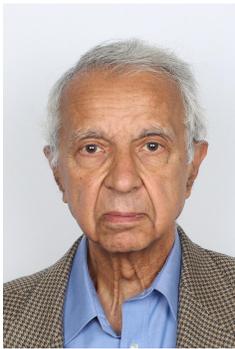
Venuste Nshimiyimana was a UNAMIR press officer in 1993 and 1994, and an eyewitness to the killings at the Ecole Technique Officielle in Kigali, at the start of the genocide. A prominent Rwandan journalist, he now works for the Africa Department and Global News Division of the British Broadcasting Corporation.



Ambassador **Ahmedou Ould Abdallah** was the special representative of the UN Secretary-General in Burundi from 1993 to 1995. He has also served as the special representative of the UN Secretary-General in West Africa based in Dakar and is a member of many international recognized organizations like Transparency international and Search for Common Ground. He is currently the President of the Centre for Strategy and Security in the Sahel-Sahara region.



As an academic and human rights activist, **Filip Reyntjens** publicized the existence of death squads linked to President Habyarimana in October 1992. He is the author of numerous books on Rwanda, including *Rwanda, trois jours qui ont fait basculer l'histoire* (1995) and *The Great African War* (2009). He served as an expert witness to the International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda and the International Criminal Court. He is currently Professor of African Law and Politics at the Institute of Development Policy and Management at the University of Antwerp.



Iqbal Riza served as the Assistant Secretary-General in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at the UN starting in March 1993 until January 1996 under Kofi Annan. He went on to become the Chief of Staff to Annan while he was the UN Secretary General until he retired in 2005. Since then Riza helped to start the Alliance of Civilizations at the UN and has been a Special Adviser to the current UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.



Ambassador **David Scheffer** served as Senior Adviser during the first Clinton administration and advisor to the US Representative to the UN, Madeleine Albright at the time of the Rwandan genocide. From 1997 to 2001 he was the US Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues and led the US delegation in the UN talks that established the International Criminal Court. Scheffer is currently Director of the Center for International Human Rights at Northwestern University in the United States.



Ambassador **John Shattuck** became Assistant Secretary of the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor in 1993 where he played a large role in the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia. He also served as US Ambassador to the Czech Republic and as CEO of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, and Tufts University, where he taught human rights and international relations. He is currently the President of Central European University.



Johan Swinnen was Belgium's Ambassador to Rwanda from 1990 to 1994. Since then he has served as Ambassador to the Netherlands, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Spain. He also served as the Director of the Diplomatic Department in the Belgian Ministry of Defense and Coordinator for External Policies in the Belgian Foreign Ministry since January 2013. He is writing a book on his experiences in Rwanda.



Hubert Védrine was the Secretary-General of the French presidency between 1991 until 1995, and former diplomatic advisor to President François Mitterrand. He has also served as Minister for Foreign Affairs (1997-2002) and founded the *Hubert Védrine Conseil* in 2003. Védrine has been President of the François Mitterrand Institute since 2003 and teaches at the Paris Institute of Political Science. He is the author of *Mitterrand, un dessein, un destin* (2005).



Don Webster served as the Senior Appeals counsel and Senior Trial Attorney at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda from 1999 to 2012. He served as the Senior Trial Attorney and lead prosecution council in the case of Prosecutor v. Karemera et al, where the vice president of the MRND party at the time, Édouard Karemera was found guilty of genocide. Webster now resides in New York City.

Conference Staff



Mike Abramowitz directs the National Institute for Holocaust Education at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. From 2009 to 2014, Abramowitz directed the Museum's Center for the Prevention of Genocide. Prior to coming to the Museum he worked as a reporter and editor for *The Washington Post*, serving as the Post's White House correspondent (2006-2009) as well as the National Editor (2000-2006).



Mark Bailey is the Special Assistant to the President at the Hague Institute for Global Justice. Prior to joining the Hague Institute, Mark was Conflict and Humanitarian Advocacy Officer at Save the Children UK, where he carried out policy research on humanitarian crises, covering cases such as Côte d'Ivoire, Pakistan and Gaza. His career in humanitarian affairs has also included postings at UN OCHA and the European Union Delegation to the United Nations.



Tom Blanton is the Director of the National Security Archive at George Washington University in Washington, DC. He first came to the Archive in 1986 as its first Director of Planning and Research. Blanton has published and co-authored many books, and his articles have appeared in notable international publications such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Boston Globe*.



Michael Dobbs is a senior advisor to the Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and director of the Rwanda documentation project. He is the author of five books, including a biography of Madeleine Albright and a Cold War trilogy, including *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War*. He was previously a diplomatic reporter and foreign correspondent for *The Washington Post*, posted in Yugoslavia, Poland, France and the Soviet Union, where he covered the collapse of communism.



Nadia Ficara was recently named director of Donor Travel Programs and the VIP Speakers Bureau at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, after having served as director of Special Events since 2006. Shortly after starting at the Museum, she developed the International Travel Program. In the past two years, she has worked with the Center for the Prevention of Genocide to develop its Bearing Witness programs. Ficara previously worked for the World Presidents' Organization for ten years as the senior special events manager.



Cameron Hudson is the acting director of the Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Prior to that, he served as the Center's policy director, overseeing initiatives on early warning and the responsibility to protect. Hudson has also served as the chief of staff to the President's Special Envoy for Sudan (2009-2011) and as the director for African affairs on the staff of the National Security Council at the White House (2005-2009).



Marie-Laure Poiré is the Manager for Events and Communications at the Hague Institute for Global Justice. She previously spent time at The Center for Transatlantic Relations, at Women in International Security (WIIS) and also at The Alliance for Peacebuilding designing and implementing programs to educate those from the private, public and nonprofit sectors on national and international security issues, as well as on leadership and professional development.



Kristin Scalzo is currently a research assistant at the Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. She previously interned at the National Security Archive for the Genocide Prevention Project. Scalzo has focused her research on genocide prevention and peace and conflict resolution in Africa.



Emily Willard is the Research Associate for the Genocide Prevention Project at the National Security Archive. She is currently researching the international response to the conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia. Previously, she worked on the Archive's Evidence Project conducting research on Guatemala, Mexico, and El Salvador, and the Colombia Documentation Project. Emily contributed to the publication of the Archive's document collections, *Colombia and the United States*, and *Mexico-United States Counternarcotics Policy*. Willard is also a 2014 Rotary Peace Fellow.



Dr. **Abiodun Williams** was appointed the first President of The Hague Institute for Global Justice in 2013. He previously served as Senior Vice President of the Center for Conflict Management at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington, DC (2011-2012). From 2001-2007, Williams served as Director of Strategic Planning in the Executive Office of the UN Secretary-General, where he was principal advisor to Secretaries-General Ban Ki-moon and Kofi Annan. He has also excelled in academia and has published three books on conflict prevention and multilateral negotiations.