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J. Mendez, cited in Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths* (supra note 184), p. 160

² See Hayner, page 24-31.

³ See Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, Routledge, New York, 2001.

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⁵ Steiner, Truth Commissions, p.17.

⁶ See Steiner, Truth Commissions, p. 53.

⁷ See Mamdani, "When Victims Become Killers", p. 264.

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¹¹ See Hayner, p. 162.

¹² Kader Asmal, Louise Asmal and Ronald Shores Roberts: Reconciliation through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governmance, Cape Town, David Philip, 1996, p. 46.

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¹³ See Jonathan D. Tepperman, "Truth and Consequences", in *Foreign Affairs*, Vo.81, no 2 (March/April 2002).

¹⁴ Brandon Hamber, *The Burdens of Truth: An Evaluation of the Psychological Support Services and Initiatives Undertaken by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, paper presented by the Third International Conference of the Ethic Studies Network, Derry, Northern Ireland, June 1997.

¹⁵ See Hayner, p. 143.

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¹⁶ See Natalia Springer, *Setting Up a Truth Commission in the Middle of a Conflict*, Working Papers of the Law and Society Institute, Faculty of Law, Ku Leuven, 2001.

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¹⁷ See Hayner, p.64.

¹⁸ Cf James Crawford, *The Rights of Peoples* – OUP.

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²¹ See: Repression in Latin America, A Report of the Russell Tribunal Session in Rome, Spokesman Books 1975, Nottingham, UK, p. 4.

²² See op cit, p. 160.

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²³ See For Official Use Only, Secret Plan to Destroy the Russell Tribunal on Germany, Spokesman Books, 1979.

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²⁴ [http://www.namisc.org/newsletters/July 01/russell.htm](http://www.namisc.org/newsletters/July%2001/russell.htm)

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²⁶ The American Society of International Law, *The American Journal International Law*, April, 2001, 95 A.J.I.L. 335

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³² See Henry Steiner, Introduction to Truth Commissions, Harvard Law School Rights Program and Peace Foundation, Truth Commissions: A Comparative Assessment (1997) at 7.

³³ Stanley Cohen, States of Denial, Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, at pp. 157-158.

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³⁴ See Mayerstein, op cit.
³⁵ Stan Cohen, op cit, p. 157.

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