## Lawyers for Human Rights: Promoting a Culture of Human Rights

### Abstract

Lawyers for Human Rights is a non-profit, public-interest litigation organization founded in 1979. The NGO has successfully adapted itself to battle various human rights violations during apartheid rule, the reconciliation era, and more recent years of change. Through thirty-four years of public-interest litigation, LHR has proven itself as an effective, policy-setting organisation that both shapes and reflects the human rights culture in South Africa.

## Key words

human rights, public-interest litigation, human rights lawyers, non-governmental organisations, death penalty, truth commissions

## Introduction

Since its creation in 1979, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) has advocated for countless marginalized communities and individuals in South Africa. Though founded during the height of the apartheid regime, this ground-breaking legal organisation not only survived, but resisted the oppressive environment through its campaign to end the death penalty and its defense of freedom

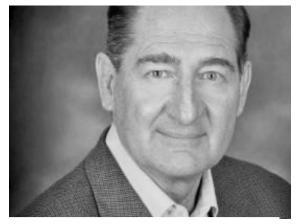


Figure 1. Brian Currin. Concentric Alliance. http://concentricalliance.com/board-

fighters. In 1994, as South African transitioned out of apartheid, Lawyers for Human Rights adamantly supported the creation of the <u>Truth and</u> <u>Reconciliation Commission</u>, a court-like tribunal that enabled victims to seek redress and granted amnesty to human rights violators in exchange for truth-telling and full disclosure. Over the past decades, LHR has expanded both its organisational base and its focus in order combat the injustices that continued beyond apartheid. Though originally based in Pretoria, the growing NGO has extended through South Africa's urban and rural areas and established multiple field offices and project policy centres. As a dedicated non-profit, LHR continues to offer free legal services to underprivileged communities and operates largely on donors' generosity. Described as a 'constitutional watchdog,' LHR uses the four tools of 'advocacy, training, policy development, and litigation' to further the legal rights of marginalized South Africans (SAHA, 2009 and LHR Case Book, 2009; 2). The LHR staff intentionally chooses contested cases that will establish new legal precedents and advance the rights of larger, at-risk groups like children, refugees, migrant labourers, and many others. Through thirty-four years of public-interest litigation, LHR has proven itself as an effective, policy-setting organisation that both shapes and reflects the human rights culture in South Africa. This paper focuses on Lawyers for Human Rights, its role in the liberation struggle, its contribution to the South African democracy, and its promotion of human rights through a variety of public-interest cases.

### Early Years: 1979-1991

LHR's beginning traces back to the 1970s, as progressive South African lawyers grew increasingly discontent with apartheid injustices. At the time, liberal-minded lawyers were a small minority in a population of white intellectuals who predominantly supported apartheid. However, despite their small numbers, these progressive lawyers were committed to defending justice across racial barriers. Created in 1978, the Centre of Applied Legal Studies at University of Witwatersrand was one of the first organisations to encourage a collaborative association for human-rights litigation. A year later, the centre hosted the First International Conference on Human Rights in South Africa, a ground-breaking meeting that attracted over 300 participants. At this conference, progressive leaders realized the nation's need for an 'organisation of legal professionals committed to human rights' (Nel, 2009). United by the motto 'Justice for All,' this passionate group of legal advocates formed Lawyers for Human Rights between 1979-1980. Initially, the organisation was purely a volunteer association, consisting of lawyers who performed *pro bono* work in their spare time (Nel, 2009). By 1985, LHR had grown to include nearly 800 members from across the country (Belender, et al, 1985; 1). These members then elected a National Council and a chairman to provide leadership and organisational direction. LHR reached a significant turning point in 1987, when this governing council selected a National Director and team of paid lawyers; this marked LHR's transformation from a volunteer organisation to an influential NGO.

Recognized as a gifted human-rights lawyer, Brian Currrin became the first National Director of Lawyers for Human Rights in 1978. Born in 1950, Currin grew up in Benoni, a predominately white township in the East Rand. In retrospect, Currin explained that he was largely unaware of racial tension during his childhood but soon recognized the strong division between the Afrikaner nationalists and other South Africans ('Brian Currin Interview'). After entering Stellenbosch University to study law, he began the campus' first branch of the Progressive Party, a political party of white liberals who clashed with the National Party's conservative views. Though labeled as a 'Communist' during his college years, Currin first encountered significant opposition from white nationalists during his years at a Pretoria legal firm from 1977-1987, as he advocated on behalf of African clients. While his status as a white South African brought him some protection compared to the risks taken by many black lawyers, angry apartheid supporters continued to send him death threats and harassed his wife and children. Nevertheless, Currin's legal practice expanded as he and his team of advocates traveled throughout Pretoria and the northern part of the country to tackle new cases. Describing himself as the 'most active of the political lawyers' during the mid-1980s, Currin challenged both apartheid laws and politics through his bold legal work (Mokae, 2004; 206). In 1987, Currin left Pretoria for a four-month tour of North America, where he raised funds to turn LHR, then a volunteer lawyers association, into a recognized NGO. This dream later became a reality in 1987, when Currin founded the LHR's National Directorate and employed paid staff members dedicated to LHR's work. Starting with Currin and a single secretary, the young organisation gradually grew to include 150 full-time staff members and began to exert significant pressure on the apartheid regime despite the hostile political climate of the late 1980s (Currin). In 1989, Currin even led a group of human rights lawyers to meet with the exiled African National Congress (ANC) before apartheid's collapse. Currin led the National Directorate until his resignation in 1994, when lawyer Jody Kollapan became the new national director. Meanwhile, Currin continued to play an active role in South Africa's reconciliation process, particularly through his involvement with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and his work as a professional mediator through the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa. After a short teaching stint at Georgetown University in 1990, he later moved back to South Africa, where he continues to serve as an international mediator.

Currin was not alone in his commitment to LHR. Other notable leaders were Peter Motlhe, the organisation's co-director, and various members of LHR's National Council including <u>Arthur Chaskalson</u>, John Dugard, <u>George Bizos</u>, and Jules Browde. Chosen by the general LHR association, the National Council was an elected body of human-rights lawyers who then selected Brian Currin and other National Directors. Like Currin, many of the National

Council's progressive white lawyers would later play leading political roles in the new South African government, but served as a guiding force behind the fledgling organisation during the apartheid era.

One of LHR's greatest challenges during apartheid was its fight to abolish the death penalty. While criminal hangings had long been a part of South Africa's judiciary process, the number of executions spiked under apartheid rule. In 1987, the government hanged 164 prisoners, the highest number in over seventy-five years of South African history. It also gave South Africa one of the highest exaction rates worldwide (Kraft, 1988). The hangings of political prisoners and freedom fighters prompted human-rights lawyers to criticize the government's motives. LHR first began to confront the death penalty in 1988, through the case of MK activist Robert McBride. Known for his infamous bombing of Magoo's Bar in Durban, Robert McBride was a militant freedom fighter whose sabotage killed three civilians and injured dozens more in 1986. Shortly after, the courts sentenced McBride to capital punishment and sent him to death row at Pretoria Central, the nation's only facility for executions (Kraft, 1988). The location of LHR's headquarters in Pretoria enabled the litigation group to play a vital role in monitoring Pretoria Central's death row. Paula Leyden, a white LHR lawyer and McBride's fiancée, first brought his plight to public light. Under Leyden's urgings, LHR not only advocated on McBride's behalf, but expanded their vision to abolish the death penalty itself. By 1989, LHR had implemented an effective 'monitoring programme' to counteract the government's abusive employment of the death penalty (Currin, 1989; 232). LHR representatives visited Pretoria Central twice a week to evaluate prison conditions, meet with inmates, and discover the latest execution notices. After uncovering prisoners' upcoming execution dates, LHR was able to notify families and contact the prisoners' lawyers in order to

explore all possible alternatives. If a death-row prisoner could not afford the legal fees, LHR then covered the cost. Lastly, in the cases that did end with execution, LHR revealed these stories to South Africans and the international community. In less than a year, LHR published over 60 press statements and monitored the cases of nearly 100 hanged prisoners (Currin, 1989; 237). Gradually, the organisation's advocacy began to erode South Africa's system of capital punishment. According to one historian: 'Before LHR started taking interest in the plight of inmates at Pretoria Central prison's death row early in 1988, it was an open season for the hangman' (Mokae, 2004; 205). In 1987, only one out of 10 death sentences were reversed (Kraft); a year later, LHR had successfully blocked 30% of executions (Currin, 1989; 237.) 'That's what LHR can take credit for,' explains Paula Leyden. 'It was making sure that everybody exhausted his rights; it was giving hope to people inside' (Mokae, 2004; 205). By 1992, the South African government had freed McBride and suspended the death penalty, exemplifying LHR's successful battle against capital punishment.

#### Shaping the Reconciliation Era: 1991-2000

After the collapse of the apartheid government in 1991, LHR continued to play an active role in the new government's legal framework. By reshaping its organisational goals and priorities during the 1990s, LHR demonstrated its vitality as a NGO and showed the continued need for public-interest litigation in the reconciliation era. In preparation for the first national elections in 1994, LHR promoted voter education by preparing black Africans to cast their first ballots and by supervising the election process (SAHA, 2009). The year 1994 marked a significant turning point, not only for the nation, but for LHR as an organisation. That year, the NGO drew up its first organisational constitution which solidified LHR's role as 'an international force in the development and delivery of human rights' (SAHA 1). Freed from apartheid opposition, LHR

gradually gained recognition as a formidable advocate of justice. By 1994, LHR employed over 130 staff members, making it the largest South African human-rights organisation at the time (Agbakoba and Carver).

LHR further advanced the reconciliation process in South Africa by influencing the policies and methodology of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Created through the 1995 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, the TRC was a court-like assembly which promoted honesty and reconciliation among perpetrators and victims of humanrights violations. Divided into three distinct components, the TRC oversaw the Human Rights Violations Committee, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, and the Amnesty Committee. When the government created the Promotion of Unity and Reconciliation Bill as the founding document for the TRC, Brian Currin and other LHR members recognized several weaknesses in the bill that jeopardized the TRC's success. Using Chile's Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a model, LHR critiqued the original bill and offered alternative methods that would better promote national unity. The 1995 bill granted government amnesty to perpetrators who could prove that their crimes were politically motivated and who publically divulged the whole truth. However, LHR opposed 'blanket impunity' as an 'affront to justice' and argued that the TRC should only grant amnesty if the perpetrators had first undergone prosecution, conviction, and sentencing (LHR, 1995; 1 and 9). This would compel perpetrators to interact with the weight of their crimes, rather than simply dismissing them. LHR also emphasized the need for *public* hearings. Though the bill's founders had considered the possibility of closed-door hearings for the good of 'public order,' LHR insisted that open TRC hearings would promote truth and public awareness (6). In general, LHR's recommendations centered on the victims and argued that their rights were too easily overlooked during the

amnesty process. For example, it urged the TRC to ensure victim's compensation by making reparations obligatory (8). LHR also insisted that victims had a right to take legal action against their perpetrators; even if a death-squad member received amnesty, the victim's family should still have the right to file claims against the perpetrator's commanding officers. Lastly, LHR argued that the original bill should make stronger provisions for the protection of witnesses and ensure that all amnesty applicants had the right to legal representation (LHR, 1995; 9 and Currin, 1994; 4). While the government did not accept all of these recommendations, LHR's vision nevertheless shaped the TRC's policies, as evidenced by the three-year process of amending the bill and adjusting the commission's methodology.

In addition to shaping the TRC's polices, LHR also played an active role through legal advocacy. Indeed, throughout the 1990s, LHR staff represented both victims and perpetrators in the amnesty process. One such example was the 1996 amnesty application of Paul van Vuuren, a white police officer and hit-squad member. As former director of LHR, Brian Currin advocated on behalf of Jackson Maake and two other ANC activists who were electrocuted and murdered by van Vuuren's death squad (SAPA, 1996). Meanwhile, LHR was also involved in the highly-debated case of <u>Dirk Coetzee</u>, a former death-squad leader and whistle-blower who leaked secret information about the state-sponsored murders during apartheid. After the ANC helped Coetzee flee to England, LHR lawyer Ahmed Motala worked with a team of legal advocates to prepare Coetzee to give further evidence about the death-squad's crimes (Harris, 2008; 66). LHR's different involvement with both victims and perpetrators in these cases represents the complex role that this human-rights organisation played in the nation's re-birth, as it sought to create a culture of human rights by promoting truth and reconciliation.

# **Renewed Purpose, Renewed Goals: 2000-Present**

The 21<sup>st</sup> Century marked a new phase in LHR's development. Having survived the oppression of apartheid and accompanied the nation on its transition to democracy, the organisation was now ready to face new human-rights challenges. In 2001 and 2002, LHR impacted South Africa's law firms through its campaign to promote *pro bono* legal work. At the time, there were no stipulations that required South African lawyers to periodically conduct free legal work for the disadvantaged (Africa News, 2001). LHR served as a trailblazer by recognizing the population's limited access to legal help and emphasizing the need for *pro bono* cases. In response to South Africans' continued need for public-interest litigation, the NGO grew and expanded. By 2009, LHR had opened seven new offices or project centres to promote citizens' access to legal aid. Several of the new centres were dedicated to specific human-rights arenas like child rights, HIV/AIDS awareness, and refugee and migrant rights. These offices represented a key milestone in LHR's organisational history, as LHR's leadership identified marginalized people groups and adapted organisational goals to address their legal rights.

In recent years, LHR has been particularly active in defending the rights of refugees and migrants in South Africa. This increased focus on foreigners' rights began in 1996, when LHR created its Refugee and Migrant Rights Project. Staffed by a legal team that specialized in migrants' rights, this LHR branch opened several offices in major South African cities, as well as a satellite office in Musina, near the Zimbabwean border. This satellite office's proximity to Zimbabwe made it a hub for refugees, migrants, and detainees. Over the past decade, LHR diligently defended the rights of detainees by monitoring the conditions of detention centres. The organisation also created applications on behalf of unlawfully detained migrants and refugees, allowing thousands of detainees to gain release from the detention centres (LHR

Casebook, 2009; 5). One striking example of LHR's advocacy of migrant rights was its lawsuit against the Musina Detention Centre. Managed by the South African Police Service, this government facility allegedly detained and deported thousands of foreigners each month. LHR threatened to take legal action against the detention centre after hearing reports of beatings, hunger, and limited health facilities within the camp (BBC Monitoring, 2009). In 2009, when the centre's officials refused to address the unsanitary conditions, LHR filed a claim against the centre and petitioned for its closure. LHR won the case later that year, when the court closed the detention centre for abusing the detainees' rights. In addition to this lawsuit, LHR proved its dedication to refugees' rights through its response to the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Through its press releases, the organisation decried the discriminatory violence against foreigners and investigated the conditions of refugee camps. In particular, LHR played a crucial role in fighting the government's attempts to control the displaced refugees through permit laws. When officials at one refugee camp threatened to deport foreigners who refused the registration cards, LHR publicized the camp's unjust policies (Johnston, 2008). Jacob van Garderen, LHR's current director, revealed the lack of legal precedent for these refugee permits and viewed them as a government tool to deport foreigners. In 2013, the organisation investigated continued cases of hate crimes against foreigners, which, according to van Garderen, have 'never really ended' (City Press, 2013). By defending the legal rights of displaced refugees, LHR serves as a powerful force of resistance against xenophobic violence.

Yet another crucial aspect of LHR's current mission is the defense of child rights. In reality, child rights have long been a priority for LHR. Even in 1986, during apartheid rule, the organisation joined the <u>Black Sash</u>'s campaign to free over a thousand jailed South African children (Hornsby, 1986). Today, one of LHR's Durban offices is specifically dedicated to the

Child Rights and HIV/AIDS Project. In addition, LHR frequently collaborates with the Centre for Child Law at the University of Pretoria in order to form a more holistic approach to the needs of South Africa's children. In recent years, LHR's commitment to child rights has taken on new clarity through ground-breaking legal cases. Many of these lawsuits addressed the rights of migrant and refugee children, who represent a particularly vulnerable portion of the population. In the court case Centre for Child Law v. Minister of Home Affairs 2005, LHR challenged the unethical deportation of unaccompanied foreign children. Before this historic case, South African deportation officials often returned the unaccompanied children to their homelands, but neglected to locate their families or guardians. In 2005, LHR fought this practice through a precedent-setting court case which gave the country's foreign children the same legal rights as South African children. This required government officials to connect unaccompanied child refugees with social workers and a safe environment. Later, in 2006, LHR further shaped government policy toward children by representing the Donakim family's legal battle. The dispute centered around four sisters who had fled from the violence of the Democratic Republic Congo and sought asylum in South Africa. Despite their father's sudden death, the Donakim sisters failed to gain asylum and faced deportation. However, LHR challenged the ruling and argued that the DRC's unstable political environment was too dangerous for the unaccompanied children (LHR Casebook, 2009; 11). By winning the Donakim's court case, LHR established an important legal precedent for the government's treatment of children, particularly the foreignborn.

Environmental rights form another of LHR's most recent areas of focus. In 2009, thirty years after the organisation began, LHR created the Environmental Rights Programme to promote the welfare of marginalized communities. Recognizing that South Africans' rural

communities were easily exploited by large industries, LHR's new program focuses 'primarily on access to clean water, the implications of unlawful mining operations and the use of irresponsible pesticides' (LHR Case Book, 2009; 22). Though still a young initiative, the Environmental Rights Programme has developed rapidly in recent years and has emphasized the strong connection between environmental harm and the loss of human rights. LHR's environmental focus has proved especially crucial for communities hurt by mining companies, as exemplified by their advocacy role in the Carolina water crisis. In January 2012, the residents of this rural town grew sick as the community's water supply became undrinkable (King, 2013). Investigators found that nearby coal mines had caused contamination by leaking acid into nearby swampland; according to LHR reports, these mining companies should not have been allowed to operate since they lacked proper licenses for water use. As Carolina residents struggled to find drinkable water, LHR advocated on their behalf, issuing a court case that required the municipal government to provide potable water for the community. Throughout 2013, LHR used Carolina's ecological disaster to promote wider awareness of South Africans' environmental rights. In addition, LHR's current involvement with the Limpopo mining conflict exemplifies its commitment to safeguarding the environmental rights of marginalized communities. In 2011, the Mokopane community of Limpopo began to protest the Platreef Project, a large platinum mine near Mokopane which was scheduled to open in 2018 (Moutone, 2013). Over the past twenty years, platinum mines had already damaged the topsoil and led to widespread land loss throughout the Limpopo region. Fearing exploitation from this international mining company, the Mokopane community sought input from LHR. Since 2012, LHR has challenged the company's attempts to ban residents from the mine site and publicized the harmful effects of mining on rural Limpopo communities. While the outcome of this dispute is still unclear, LHR's

active role in the litigation process represents its strong framework for environmental protection in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

### Conclusion

As evidenced by thirty-four years of public-interest litigation, Lawyers for Human Rights has successfully adapted itself to battle various human rights violations during apartheid rule, the reconciliation era, and more recent years of change. Continuing this legacy of activism, LHR faces both a bright and challenging future. Currently, the organisation's three main obstacles are funding, the need for qualified staff, and its relationship with South African government (LHR Case Book, 2009; 2). Because of its free legal services, LHR relies upon donor generosity. While a variety of international donors support LHR's mission, the continued need for funds limits both LHR and other legal organisations that would like to encourage more public-interest litigation. In addition, the non-profit struggles to retain qualified lawyers due to the higher income they could make in private-sector work. Lastly, LHR has a complex relationship with the national government based on divergent viewpoints about public-interest litigation. While LHR has purposely remained unattached to any political party throughout the past three decades, some see an increased need for closer collaboration with the government (Nel, 2009). While LHR's litigation role remains formative, its impressive organisational history indicates a promising future, as LHR continues to nurture a human rights culture in the Rainbow Nation.

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