

TABLE OF CONTENTS

POEM ‘CLEAN SLATE’ BY ANTJIE KROG	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
1. Recent Developments	2
2. South Africa	3
3. Criticism of the TRC from Within South Africa	6
4. Criticism of the Amnesty Committee	12
5. What’s in the Book?	22
6. Definitions, Language and Terminology	25
CHAPTER 1	
ESTABLISHING THE AMNESTY PROCESS	31
1. Introduction	31
2. Finding a Balance Between the Objectives of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation	32
3. Release of Political Prisoners	36
4. Indemnities, Immunities, Releases and Pardons	37
5. Agreement on Amnesty	49
6. Appointment of Commissioners	55
7. Objectives	58
8. Establishing the Amnesty Process	61
9. Establishing the Amnesty Committee	68
10. The Amnesty Process as a Separate Process	73
11. Perpetrator Testimonies Outside of the Amnesty Process	76
12. Court Reviews of Amnesty Decisions	86
13. Recusals	89
14. Dissenting Opinions	91
15. Naming of Perpetrators	92
16. Interim Report of Amnesty Committee – 1998	98
17. Recommendations and Findings in the 1998 TRC Report	99
18. Reparations for Victims	100

CHAPTER 2
PROCESS ISSUES AFFECTING THE WORK OF THE
AMNESTY COMMITTEE 105

1.	Introduction	105
2.	Understanding the Amnesty Numbers	107
2.1.	Definitional issues	108
2.2.	Perpetrator numbers: too few or too many?	113
2.3.	Factors influencing the numbers	120
	Statistics	126
2.4.	Limited support of the criminal justice system	127
2.5.	Administrative and 'in-chamber' decisions (those without a hearing)	134
2.6.	Female applicants	145
3.	Complicity Between Applicants	148
4.	Timing of Hearings and the Release of Decisions	152
5.	Amnesty Investigations	155
6.	The Speed and Narrow Focus of Hearings	165
7.	Postponements	169
8.	Quality Legal Representation for Some	172
9.	Precedent	181
10.	Findings of Fact and Obtaining Truth	192
11.	The Effect of the Earlier Indemnities and Pardons on the Amnesty Process	194
12.	The Role of Victims	199
13.	The Effect of Victims Supporting or Opposing Amnesty	204
14.	Reconciliation	211
15.	Concluding Remarks	227

CHAPTER 3
APPLYING THE SUBSTANTIVE LEGAL CRITERIA TO
AMNESTY APPLICATIONS 233

1.	Introduction	233
2.	The Law Governing Amnesty	234
3.	Denying Guilt	237
4.	The Methodology Employed in Applying the Criteria	246
5.	Full Disclosure	249
5.1.	Full disclosure and greater truth	259
5.2.	The limits of foot soldier truth disclosures and the need for collective amnesties	275
6.	Political Objective	278
6.1.	Membership of an organisation	280

6.2.	At whom the attack is directed	288
6.3.	Orders	299
6.4.	Political objective and malice	302
6.5.	Political objective and proportionality	308
6.6.	The amnesty application by the killers of Chris Hani ...	319
6.7.	Witchcraft	329
7.	Offences Committed Outside South Africa	335
8.	Gender Crimes	345
9.	Conclusion	354
CHAPTER 4		
AFTER THE AMNESTY PROCESS: PROSECUTIONS		
OR ANOTHER AMNESTY?		
		363
1.	Introduction	363
2.	Why Prosecute?	365
3.	Truth for Justice	370
4.	Post-Apartheid Trials	373
5.	Political Will and Political Circumstances	379
6.	Will the State Enact Another Amnesty Law and Will It Be Constitutional?	381
7.	Conclusion	389
BIBLIOGRAPHY		391
INDEX		405
PHOTOGRAPHS		439