RealTime Transcriptions

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

MARIKANA

BEFORE TRIBUNAL

THE HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE FARLAM (RETIRED) - CHAIRPERSON MR TOKOTA SC MS HEMRAJ SC

HELD ON

DAY 89 9 MAY 2013 PAGES 9405 TO 9499

HELD AT

CIVIC CENTRE, RUSTENBURG, NORTH WEST PROVINCE



© REALTIME TRANSCRIPTIONS

64 10th Avenue, Highlands North, Johannesburg P O Box 721, Highlands North, 2037 Tel: 011-440-3647 Fax: 011-440-9119 Cell: 083 273-5335 E-mail: realtime@pixie.co.za

Web Address: http://mysite.mweb.co.za/residents/pak06278



11

12

13

14

19

20

21

Page 9407

5

1

Page 9405

[PROCEEDINGS ON 9 MAY 2013]

MR MADLANGA SC:

2 [09:40] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.

3 Before I remind the Major-General he's still under oath, I

4 understand there's something you wish to say, Mr Madlanga.

Thank you, Mr Chairman, commissioners. Mr Chairman will recall that when an 6

7 announcement was made here in open Commission about the

8 suicide of Mr Lungani Mabotyana, the Chairman referred to

9 the need to establish from the evidence leaders whether

10 counselling services are available for people who need such

11 services. Mr Chairman, I just wish to announce for the

12 benefit of the families and victims that such services are

13 available and they have been available for quite a while.

14 I'll just give an example which I believe the commissioners

15 themselves are aware of and that is the example of Mr

Magidiwana. There was an occasion when we were just about 16

to adjourn, on a Friday I think it was, when he got 17

18 distressed. Mr Mpofu approached me after we had adjourned

19 and he said Mr Magidiwana would require the services of a

20 counsellor and I arranged there and then with the

21 secretariat of the Commission and I advised Mr Mpofu

22 accordingly and throughout the weekend I kept enquiring

23 whether everything was in place, I was in contact both with

24 the secretary of the Commission, Mr Setati, and also with

25 Mr Mpofu. So in short, the services are available and they

Page 9406

have been for quite a while. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

2 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga. I also

3 understand that we have representatives of the African

4 Commission of Human Rights here today. I've already had

5 the opportunity of meeting them and I want to welcome them

there and say we hope that they find their visit with us a 6

7 source of enlightenment and information. We are very

8 grateful for their presence because it emphasises once

9 again that what we are doing here in this Commission is of

importance not only to South Africa but to the whole 10

African continent and indeed to, generally speaking, 11

12 internationally as well. And so the interest that they are

13 showing and their presence here today is a clear

14 manifestation of that fact. Generaal-Majoor, u is nog

15 steeds onder eed. Mr Mpofu, I take it you have further

16 questions for the witness.

17 MR MPOFU: I do.

18 GENERAAL-MAJOOR CHARL ANNANDALE:

19 (s.o.e.)

Thank you, Chairperson. I do 20 MR MPOFU:

21 have questions but if I may just first address the issue

22 that Mr Madlanga spoke about. I do confirm everything that

Mr Madlanga said, particularly in respect of the Magidiwana

24 incident after he showed some emotional distress on the

25 witness chair. I do, however, Chair, want to distinguish

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

that kind of assistance for which we are very grateful, to

the general requests that were made of counselling, for two

reasons. One, the assistance that would have been given to

4 Magidiwana is obviously available to any other witness but

we were more talking about the victims as such, whether or

6 not they are witnesses, and we - so that's the first thing,

7 that there should be some kind of generalised service

8 offered by the government, I think, for those counselling

9 services to be made available.

try and do this pre-emptively, as we understand it was done with the police. So you don't have to wait for a Magidiwana to collapse or for someone to commit suicide because by then it will be too late and that's exactly really what we had said last year, that the services must

The second reason is, of course, that one should

16 be made available but insofar as this ad hoc assistance is

17 concerned I must say that Mr Madlanga took our request 18

seriously and it was acted upon very promptly.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, do you wish to comment further in the light of the further remarks made by Mr Mpofu?

22 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman, perhaps 23 what's best is for Mr Mpofu, Mr Ntsebeza and perhaps any 24 other interested party and the evidence leaders to engage

with the Commission secretariat and see what arrangements

Page 9408 can be put in place on the far reaches of the service.

2 Thank you.

3 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, thank you very much.

I think that's an excellent suggestion. Mr Mpofu?

5 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. Good

6 morning, General.

> MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: Good morning,

8 sir.

4

7

9 MR MPOFU: General, you remember that 10 when we broke off yesterday we were busy with the issue of

numbers. I just want to round off that issue so that we 11

12 move on to something else. And you'll remember as well

13 that I had made an example. My assertion was that if the

14 top leadership of the police chain of command had diagnosed

15 the problem in respect of the numbers differently, as it

16 seems, that it - that alone might have contributed to an

17 almost predictably disastrous result. Remember the example

18 I made about the dental operation. You remember that?

19 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek het dit

20 onthou, Voorsitter, ek onthou dit.

21 MR MPOFU: Okay, now what I'm going to do

is, in the interests of time - because I'm still trying,

23 committed to trying to finish with you, insofar as it is

24 possible I'm going to try and finish the cross-examination.

I just you need to work on, with me on trying to move this

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

Page 9409 Page 9411 issue. You can accept that the parts that I'm going to MR MPOFU: And then General Mpembe in his 1 2 quote for you are in the documentation. In other words, statement, I think it's paragraph 27, says that, "We never 3 I'm not going to go and read the statement and so on. If 3 anticipated we would have to disarm over 1 000 people." Do 4 I'm misreading something I'm sure Mr Semenya will you accept that as well? 5 5 definitely step in or if it's subsequently found that I GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek aanvaar u read it wrongly, I'll be the first one to have it struck 6 haal dit so aan. 6 7 off from the record. Brigadier Calitz, as we've already 7 MR MPOFU: And I'm giving you all those established, says at paragraph 4 of his statement which is 8 8 numbers just to make one simple point which I alluded to DD, that there were 3 000 men all armed with pangas and he 9 9 yesterday, which is that it would seem from all this that 10 describes the weapons. I think we've already covered that 10 there was confusion or significant differences about the 11 one. Lieutenant-Colonel, I think, Vermaak in his affidavit 11 basic assumptions which prevailed in order to launch the GGG17 remarked about 4 500 - no, no, GGG17 paragraph 4, he 12 12 operation and - sorry for the long question - but that that 13 says there were 4 500 armed people or 4 500 people, the is the kind of confusion that was almost calculated to have 14 majority of whom were armed. Can you accept that? Would 14 disastrous results. Would you like to comment on that? 15 you accept that, General? 15 MR SEMENYA SC: We'll have to wait until **GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:** 16 Dit is - ek Mr Mpofu tells us what those assumptions are and how they aanvaar dit so, Voorsitter. 17 17 were calculated -18 MR MPOFU: Brigadier - General, I've an 18 MR MPOFU: Okav. 19 - to result to what type 19 obsession with brigadier - Colonel Scot, what is Scott's MR SEMENYA SC: 20 rank? 20 of disastrous consequences. 21 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Luitenant-21 MR MPOFU: Okay, thank you. I think the 22 Kolonel. 22 disastrous consequences are known to all, I'm not going to MR MPOFU: 23 23 repeat that but the assumptions that I'm busy dealing with Lieutenant-Colonel Scott says 24 24 now are specifically related to this question of the size on paragraph 6 of his statement that there was a 25 belligerent armed group numbering 3 000 and you say in your of the armed group. Page 9410 Page 9412 statement that on the 14th - I want to distinguish this 1 1 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 2 specifically so that I don't mislead you - there were 2 ek sal graag wil kommentaar lewer. 3 between 3 000 to 4 000 armed men on the koppie and the 3 MR MPOFU: Thank you. point I want to make is that there's no suggestion coming 4 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 4 5 from you elsewhere that this number suddenly shrank or that daar was dieselfde probleem interpretasie deur die 6 the proportion of the armed people shrank by the 16th. We 6 bevelselement wat ontplooi was tydens Marikana. Die 7 ontleding was dieselfde en die benadering was ooreengestem. 7 can also accept that that comes from your statement, it's 8 MR MAHLANGU: 8 paragraph 9 of your statement, would you accept that? Ek is jammer, die 9 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: ontleding? Ek aanvaar 10 dit so, Voorsitter. 10 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Was MR MPOFU: 11 dieselfde. 11 And then in the opening 12 12 statement of SAPS which is FFF9, it is said at paragraph 43 MR MAHLANGU: The -13 13 that there were 3 500 belligerent protesters who were armed MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: Analysis. 14 and resisting any effort to disarm them. Would you accept 14 MR MAHLANGU: Approach was the same. 15 15 MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: that? And the 16 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek aanvaar 16 analysis. 17 dit so, Voorsitter. 17 MR MAHLANGU: And the analysis also the 18 18 MR MPOFU: And then you and I, with the same. assistance of the Chairperson, reading from your evidence-19 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. in-chief and I think also from your statement, I think you dit was verwys is in elkeen van die persone wat Adv Mpofu 21 accepted that on that evidence there would have been a 21 na verwys het, hulle sal kom getuig oor hulle waarnemings minimum of about 900 people, plus-minus, obviously not all 22 tydens wat gebeur het tydens hierdie JOCOM vergaderings en of them but that was our working number. Accept that? 23 ook die besprekings tydens die JOC. Voorsitter, ons almal GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dit is 24 was dit eens dat ons moet fokus op die kleiner groep van 3 korrek. tot 400 en ons het 'n pertinente bekommernis gehad oor

Page 9413

- 1 hulle gedrag, maar ook hoe hulle pertinent gewapen was.
- 2 Voorsitter, dit het nie die groter groep uitgesluit nie in
- 3 terme daarvan dat hulle, 'n groot persentasie van hulle ook
- 4 gewapen was, maar meestal tradisionele wapens, pertinent
- 5 verwysend na knopkieries, stokke en dan ook spiese.
- 6 Voorsitter, daar was 'n duidelike onderskeid in die
- 7 gedragspatrone tussen die groter groep en die kleiner
- 8 groep. Hulle was meer los gegroepeer en versprei soos wat
- 9 hulle op die koppie was, hulleself geplaas het.
- 10 Voorsitter, en die groter groep het meer gereageer op die
- 11 handelinge van die kleiner groep, so dit was die groep wat
- 12 rondbeweeg het wat in 'n kohesie was met mekaar.
- 13 [10:00] Voorsitter, wat ons dan verwag het is dat hierdie
- 14 groter groep sou baie gemakliker uiteen gaan, alhoewel ons
- 15 gerat was om enige groepering uiteen te dryf. Voorsitter,
- 16 die plan het voorsiening gemaak om te deel met handelinge
- 17 en sou dit beteken dat selfs uit die groter groep as daar
- 18 dan groeperings van individue van die stakers ook swaar
- 19 gewapen, sou daar ook met hulle gedeel geword het in terme
- 20 van die beplanning vir uiteen dryf en dan ontwapen en
- 21 arrestasie. As u my sal vergun wil ek net kortliks verwys
- 22 na iets in Kolonel Vermaak se verklaring.
- 23 MR MAHLANGU: If the Commission would
- 24 allow me I'd like to make some reference to Colonel Scott's
- 25 statement.

Page 9415

cell capacity where the arrested persons were going to be

detained.

3 MR MAHLANGU: That's correct, Chair.

4 MR MPOFU: Okay. Well, thank you for.

That response took a long time but I understand I had put a

6 lot of propositions to you, so let's just deal with it, let

7 me just deal with the statement just for reference. I

8 referred to paragraph 4 of Vermaak and that's because I was

9 reading from his supplementary statement. You are correct,

10 it's paragraph 6 on GGG17 but while we are there, do you

11 agree that below the part that you read, Lieutenant-Colonel

12 Vermaak refers to "ongeveer 3 000 aanvallers," in other

13 words approximately 3 000 attackers that the police had to

14 deal with?

15

17

19

20

21

22

23

24

GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, ek merk dit so op. Ek het probeer in konteks verduidelik die besprekings wat ons gehad het in die JOC en tydens JOCOM rondom ons benadering.

MR MPOFU: General, just so that there's no confusion between us, I – the issue that, the simple issue I'm putting to you is the following. It's more, it's a planning issue maybe. Well, firstly let me put certain propositions or assumptions of my own to you. You must accept that there is evidence from one of my witnesses that

people were free and did move from the so-called larger

Page 9414

CHAIRPERSON: He said Colonel Vermaak's

2 statement.

1

4

5

6

3 MR MAHLANGU: I'm sorry, Vermaak,

Vermaak's statement.

GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,

dieselfde paragraaf wat Adv Mpofu na verwys het is dan

7 paragraaf 6. Ongelukkig is die bladsy nie genommer nie,

8 maar dit is op die laaste bladsy van sy verklaring waar die

9 beëdiging begin en hy tereg verwys na die 4 500 persone

10 maar hy het ook gesê dat die meerderheid van die persone

11 gewapen was met een of ander gevaarlike wapen of

12 tradisionele wapen. Voorsitter, dan net twee lyntjies

13 verder het hy ook dan pertinent verwys na die militante

14 groep. Nou Voorsitter, my laaste opmerking is verwysend na

15 wat Generaal Mpembe gesê het, soos aangehaal deur Adv

16 Mpofu. Dit is tereg so dat, soos hy sê, ons het nie verwag

om meer as 1 000 mense te ontwapen nie. Dit is 'n
 bevestiging van die kleiner groepie wat ons fokus op was en

dan ook bevestig deur die sel kapasiteit wat daarvoor

20

voorsiening gemaak is en die aantal opruktrokke wat ons

21 gereël het vir vervoer van potensieel gearresteerdes.

22 MR MAHLANGU: And this was also confirmed

23 by the number of transport, the trucks that we had arranged

24 for this exercise.

25

CHAIRPERSON: And the cell space or the

Page 9416 group which is really many other groups, but that's another

2 debate, to the smaller group, in your parlance. Two, you

3 must work on the assumption that you and I agreed yesterday

4 that the size of the targeted group is important, it's not

 $\,\,$ 5 $\,\,$ irrelevant. And the third proposition I want to put to you

6 is just something I'm making up but I'm sure you'll

7 understand. Let's assume that you were – the so-called

8 smaller groups that you were going to have after the

9 teargas and all that, would be groups of 50, a manageable

10 group. Sorry, let me just round it up, I know it's a long

11 question. The only issue really I'm putting to you is that

12 it is one thing, if there were 300 people then you would be

13 dealing with six such groups of 50. If you are going for

14 3 000 people you are dealing with 60, six zero, of such

15 smaller groups. In other words, you are planning for the

one scenario and for the, and for the other is completely

17 different and obviously you'll make the necessary

18 variations if it's 1 000 and so on. That's the only simple

19 point I'm making and you can agree with it or not and then

20 we'll just move on, that that is a significant factor on

20 We'll just move on, that that is a significant factor of

 $21\,$ $\,$ the part of those who are planning the operation.

22 CHAIRPERSON: Before that question is 23 interpreted, Mr Semenya has his light on. Do you want to

24 say something, Mr Semenya?

MR SEMENYA SC: Chairperson, directly to

25

MR MAHLANGU:

Cordoning.

```
Page 9417
                                                                                                                           Page 9419
     the question you raised many days ago, the manageable group
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    1
                                                                                                     Stage 6 is the cordoning,
     was a group of 10 or less, it's not numbers like Mr Mpofu
                                                                        cordoning off really and searching of the hostels.
 2
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
 3
     is asking the witness to assume.
                                                                    3
                                                                                                                        Voorsitter.
 4
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                 That's true. That is true,
                                                                    4
                                                                        sou dit -
                                                                    5
 5
    Mr Mpofu, but of course in a way it strengthens your point
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Oh, sorry.
    because if there were 3 000 people and there were groups of
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                    6
                                                                                                                        Ekskuus, as
 6
 7
                                                                    7
     10 you'd then have 300 groups but Mr Semenya is correct,
                                                                        ek net - amper klaar. Sou dit in praktyk beteken het dat
                                                                    8
8
    what the witness talked about was a manageable group of
                                                                        daar ander groeperings was en ons het nie die kapasiteit
                                                                    9
 9
     about 10. In fact, he thought they would probably only
                                                                        gehad het om hulle dan te omsingel in kleiner groepies nie,
10
    have about 170 at that stage so there'd be 17 groups, but
                                                                   10
                                                                        sou openbare orde polisiëring net eenvoudig voortgegaan het
     he conceded there might have been 300 in which case there'd
11
                                                                   11
                                                                        om hulle te bly opbreek en uiteen te dryf.
12
     be -
                                                                   12
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Okay, well, before we move on
13
           MR MPOFU:
                              More.
                                                                   13
                                                                        to something else I would like you to accept that I - the
14
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 - 30 groups, yes. Your
                                                                   14
                                                                        issue I'm raising with you has got nothing to do with the
15
     point of course is that if the 3 000 were involved in that
                                                                        issue of arrest. I accept what you say, that you did not
     exercise, you would have 300 groups but it is important,
                                                                        intend to arrest 3 000 people and in fact you didn't. The
16
17
     though, to get it right.
                                                                   17
                                                                        issue I'm talking to you about regards the resources that
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              I appreciate - I'm indebted to
                                                                        you would have had to deploy, not in the business of arrest
19
     my learned colleague and sorry, if you can still remember
                                                                   19
                                                                        but in the business of encircling into the so-called
20
     that long question, can you try and respond?
                                                                   20
                                                                        smaller groups of 10 or whatever, and disarming. It's
21
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                 It has to be interpreted
                                                                   21
                                                                        that, that I am talking about. So if you accept that,
22
    first.
                                                                   22
                                                                        we'll move on but I just want you to know that there is
23
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                   Voorsitter,
                                                                   23
                                                                        that distinction.
24
     en te aanvaar dat ons ons beplanning gedoen het gegewe die
                                                                   24
                                                                        [10:20] GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                          Voorsitter,
25
     omstandighede, die terugvoer wat ons gekry het en die
                                                                        ek kan net daarop kommentaar lewer dat ons gevoel het dat
                                                        Page 9418
                                                                                                                           Page 9420
     waarneming van die situasie. Ons fokus was gewees op
                                                                        ons genoegsame hulpbronne ontplooi het om pertinent dan
 1
     pertinent die kleiner groep. Ons het nooit verwag om sulke
                                                                        daardie aksies uit te voer, gegewe die fokus.
 2
                                                                    2
 3
     groot getalle te arresteer nie en ons sou nie daarmee
                                                                    3
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Maybe I should be more
 4
     gedeel het sou dit so uitgedraai het nie. Dit was vir ons
                                                                    4
                                                                        specific. The point that I'm going to argue is that had
 5
     duidelik gewees dat die leierskapelement was vervat in
                                                                    5
                                                                        you, had everybody been of the same mind that the targeted
 6
     hierdie kleiner groep en sou ons dan slaag om 'n groot
                                                                    6
                                                                        group was 300, it might not have been necessary for you -
 7
                                                                    7
     persentasie in die groep te arresteer, selfs soveel as 170
                                                                        you specifically - for example to feel the need to deploy
 8
     maar dit kan selfs baie minder wees, dan sou ons die kern
                                                                    8
                                                                        the paramilitary forces. I know our differences on that,
 9
                                                                    9
     en kohesie van hierdie groep opgebreek het.
                                                                        but to bring as many machine guns, to bring as many dogs
10
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   Then we would have broken
                                                                   10
                                                                        and as many specialised units as if it was the smaller
     the coherent, the back of the -
                                                                        group. That's the kind of argument that I'm going to
11
                                                                   11
12
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I think he used the word
                                                                   12
                                                                        advance. In other words, you would have been probably
13
     "kern" which probably means core in this context.
                                                                   13
                                                                        over-deployed, if there's such a term, for the operation,
14
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   Would have broken the core
                                                                   14
                                                                        if it's the one type or the other.
15
     of this group.
                                                                   15
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                        Voorsitter,
16
            GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                     Die
                                                                   16
                                                                        ek gaan nie kommentaar lewer op die paramilitêre nie, ek
17
     ondervraging en informasie wat ons dan sou bekom het van
                                                                   17
                                                                        dink ons het al dit holrug gery. Die ontplooiing wat daar
18
     die gearresteerdes sou ons dan toegelaat het om oor te gaan
                                                                   18
                                                                        was, was ontplooiing goedgekeur deur die bevelselement van
19
     na die volgende fases, fase 5 en potensieel fase 6 van die
                                                                   19
                                                                        die optrede. Die pertinente - ekskuus, mnr Booi - die
     beplanning, wat dan pertinent die intelligensie-gedrewe
                                                                   20
                                                                        pertinente eenheid wat ek as individu voorgestel het was
21
     operasie sou wees en dan ook kordonering en deursoeking.
                                                                        die ontplooiing van die spesiale taakmag en daar was
22
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   Which would have been the
                                                                        toegestem deur, tot sodanige ontplooiing. Elke ander
     intelligence action, co-ordination and search.
                                                                   23
23
                                                                        eenheid was of direk ontplooi deur die provinsie self of op
24
         CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I think he said cordoning.
                                                                   24
                                                                        versoek van die provinsie. Voorsitter, en die lede was nie
```

ontplooi met masjiengewere nie. Daar is 'n pertinente

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

Page 9423

Page 9421 verskil tussen R5-aanvalsgewere en masjiengewere, soos Adv 2 Mpofu na verwys. Voorsitter, ek het ook verwys dat dit 3 standaard uitreiking is vir alle operasionele eenhede en is 4 tot die beskikking van alle eenhede. Voorsitter, en dan 5 die verhouding tussen die ontplooiing van die lede en dan die bedreiging wat ons gehad het -6 7 MR MAHLANGU: Mr Chairperson, the relationship between the deployment of the members and the 8 9 situation with which we were faced -10 CHAIRPERSON: No, I think he said 11 bedreiging, which means threat. 12 MR MAHLANGU: The threat, the threat that 13 we -14 CHAIRPERSON: I think he means the threat 15 that we faced, the bedreiging. MR MAHLANGU: Yes. 16 17 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: 18 verhouding selfs net op die 400, sou dit waarskynlik 'n 19 geskikte verhouding gewees het, maar die openbare orde lede 20 sou dan waarskynlik minder gewees het omdat hulle taking 21 was om dan te fokus ook potensieel op die uiteendrywing van 22 ook die groter groep. 23 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, I know you – carry 24 on Mr Booi, I want to ask a question but when you've 25 finished interpreting. Just remind me, I think you've told

GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: 1 Voorsitter, 2 dan is ons net bly om daardie groeperings op te breek sodat 3 hulle nie in groot groepe nie, sodat hulle in verskillende 4 rigtings uiteen gaan, maar dit is nie die ideale situasie 5 nie want hulle sal net weer elders gaan hergroepeer en dit 6 was juis ons bekommernis, die hergroepering later aan. Dit 7 gee dan - as daar dan hergroeperings gewees het dan is dit 8 dieselfde, dan sou openbare orde hulle weer moes opbreek 9 totdat ons begin met die intelligensie-gedrewe en dan 10 pertinente arrestasies ook in sodanige hergroeperings. 11 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. I'm sorry to 12 have interrupted you, Mr Mpofu, but I wanted clarity on 13 that point in my own mind before you carried on. 14 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. No, 15 that was helpful, Chairperson. Brigadier, or rather 16 General, I'm going to move on, simply to say that once 17 again I'm not concerned with the arrests and that I accept 18 your correction. I stand corrected on the differences 19 between automatic rifles and machine guns. I don't know, I 20 don't know the difference but I meant automatic rifles, R1s 21 and R5s. Alright, now yesterday there was what I would 22 call a startling proposition which was made and admittedly 23 it was not made by the SAPS counsel, in which case I would 24 have even been more startled, that breaches of the regulatory framework which includes the Constitution, the

Page 9422 us this already but just to - what was the maximum capacity 1 2 you had for arrested people, regard being had to the 3 transport facilities you had and the number of vehicles and 4 so on and the holding capacity of the cells? 5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. die waarnemende cluster bevelvoerder Brigadier Seboloke het 6 7 aangedui dat daar 170 beddens beskikbaar is en dan was daar 8 ses trokke vir vervoer, wat in lyn is met sodanige getalle. 9 CHAIRPERSON: So basically - I suppose I must give Mr Booi, the interpreters, a chance to interpret 10 this first. So basically you planned then to arrest a 11 12 maximum of about 170 people, would that be right? 13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. 14 dit is korrek, ons het verwag dat dit nie meer as dit sou 15 wees nie. 16 CHAIRPERSON: So if the small group, as 17 you call it, the militant group, also called the warrior 18 group sometimes, consisted of 400 people, you anticipated

that about 230 of those, more than half would not be

GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:

CHAIRPERSON:

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

ja, ons het verwag dat selfs 'n groot persentasie van

hierdie groep sou self uiteen gaan en wapens neerlê.

25 they had been dispersed, taking their weapons with them?

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

What would have happened if

arrested, would presumably be dispersed, is that right?

19

21

Page 9424 legislative measures and the standing orders, that it is considered though that such breaches could occur and that they would be irrelevant to the outcome. Can I accept that you don't go along with that? And the reason why I'm saying that is that there was a, I think Brigadier Moolman who was from the legal services and I'm assuming that his or her role was specifically -CHAIRPERSON: I think Brigadier Moolman is a lady. MR MPOFU: Yes, her role was specifically to ensure that the prescripts, as the National Commissioner calls it, would be followed because failing which, disaster might follow or would almost certainly follow. Do you agree with that summation? CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger, I see you wish to say something. MR BURGER SC: I object to that question. It's guite irrelevant whether the witness agrees or disagrees with the proposition of, sounds like law, I'm not confident on that but it's irrelevant what this witness says on that. CHAIRPERSON: There may be something in what Mr Burger says. Maybe the way to approach it is to ask what role Brigadier Advocate Moolman - was she a

Brigadier or, I don't know what her rank was.

```
Page 9425
                                                                                                                            Page 9427
           MR MPOFU:
                               Brigadier I think, yes.
                                                                     1
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes.
1
                                                                     2
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Because it might, depending
2
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  What role Adv Moolman was
                                                                         upon what happens, lead to other enquiries. Can you answer
3
    playing at the JOCOM, that might help us.
                                                                         that question, Major-General? What was Adv Moolman
4
           MR MPOFU:
                              That's fine.
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I don't know if that can be
                                                                         supposed to be doing? What was she there for at 1:30 on
                                                                     6
                                                                         the 16th of August at the JOCOM?
    objected to.
6
7
                                                                     7
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
           MR MPOFU:
                              I'm happy -
                                                                                                                      Voorsitter.
                                                                     8
                                                                         sy was reeds van die 14de af, was sy 'n verteenwoordiger van
8
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Let's not take it too far
9
    but let's at least get the answer to that point.
                                                                         die JOC, verteenwoordiging van die regsafdeling van die
10
           MR MPOFU:
                              I'm happy with that, Chair. I
                                                                         polisie en dan uiteraard om regsadvies te gee, sou dit
                                                                         nodig wees.
11
    won't repeat the preface but am I correct that the presence
                                                                         [10:39] CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    12
                                                                                                       Mr Burger was right, it was
12
    of Adv Moolman in the meetings, particularly the JOCOM
                                                                    13
13
    meetings, was specifically to ensure that in carrying out
                                                                         a dwaalspoor after all but never mind, carry on.
                                                                    14
14
    the operation, the constitutional, legislative and
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Thank you, Chairperson. No,
                                                                    15
    regulatory prescripts would be followed? Sorry, let me
                                                                         thank you very much, General. That assurance will make me
15
    just - to once again to try and save time, make an example.
                                                                         sleep better at night to know that the police did think
16
                                                                    17
                                                                         that it was relevant that they should follow the prescripts
17
    For example the Police Act prescribes that when cordoning
18
    off activities are going to take place, the Provincial
                                                                         but you've also assisted me on something else because one
                                                                    19
19
    Commissioner has to issue a particular certificate and in
                                                                         of the - which I'm now addressing the Chairperson - one of
20
    one of the minutes I think Adv Moolman reported that she
                                                                    20
                                                                         the witnesses about the 13th kept on referring to a white
21
    was attending to that matter. I'm just - it's part of that
                                                                    21
                                                                         woman with whom General Mpembe was conferring and I always
                                                                    22
22
    question.
                                                                         assumed it was Brigadier Pretorius but now it's clear that
23
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                    23
                                                                         it must have been Adv Moolman. Thank you, right. And
24
    ja, ek kan net teruggaan. Adv Moolman was reeds betrokke
                                                                         while we are there, do you know, do you know from your
    met my aankoms op die 13de. Sorry Chairperson, she's not a
                                                                         attendance of the meetings whether Brigadier Pretorius now
                                                        Page 9426
                                                                                                                            Page 9428
                                                                         supported the plan or not?
1
    Brigadier.
                                                                     2
                                                                                GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
2
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 She's an advocate, which is
                                                                                                                         Voorsitter.
3
    either a higher or a lower rank.
                                                                     3
                                                                         ek het geen rede om te glo dat sy dit nie ondersteun het
4
           MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE:
                                                 She's a
                                                                     4
                                                                         nie. Dit was nie pertinent soos in elkeen teken af nie,
5
    colonel.
                                                                     5
                                                                         maar tydens JOCOM vergaderings het almal 'n inset gehad en
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Oh, she's a colonel?
                                                                         uiteraard as daar sou besware gewees het sou dit geopper
6
                                                                     6
7
           MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE:
                                                                     7
                                                 That's correct,
                                                                         gewees het.
                                                                     8
8
    yes. En soos ek dit verstaan was sy, het sy Generaal
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Okay. Okay, thank you. No,
9
                                                                     9
    Mpembe vergesel tydens pertinente samesprekings,
                                                                         I'm happy with that. Now can we move on to something else
10
    onderhandelings wat hy gehad het met Lonmin of die unies.
                                                                         completely different and just in terms of what the National
                                                                    10
11
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Lonmin and the unions.
                                                                    11
                                                                         Commissioner would say, walking together, so that we walk
12
           MR MAHLANGU:
                                  Lonmin and unions.
                                                                    12
                                                                         together, I'm just going to give you a context of where I'm
13
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                   Voorsitter,
                                                                    13
                                                                         going just so that we can walk together. In addition to
    en dan die verwysing van Adv Mpofu is artikel 13(7) van die
                                                                    14
                                                                         the opening statement that I asked you to read when we
14
    Polisiewet en sy het dan dit gefasiliteer, die uitreiking
                                                                    15
15
                                                                         started, one of the broad trust issues that we're going to
    van sodanige kennisgewing of magtiging deur die Provinsiale
16
                                                                         argue at the end of the case is that there were at least
17
    Kommissaris.
                                                                    17
                                                                         three significant turning points or milestones leading up
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay, yes. No, thank you very
                                                                    18
                                                                         to the disaster of the 16th and they are signified, they are
19
    much for -
                                                                    19
                                                                         signified by events which occurred on the odd numbered
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                I haven't heard the answer.
                                                                         days, those odd numbered days being the 11th, the 13th and
21
    Maybe I wasn't listening properly. I still haven't heard
                                                                         the 15th and that the disaster which occurred on the 16th
    what Colonel Moolman, now that we know her rank, Colonel
                                                                         was a mere culmination or almost inevitable culmination of
```

24

Adv Moolman, was doing at the JOCOM at 1:30 on the 16th of

24 August. What was her function? I think that might help

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

those milestones. Now, I'm telling you this because I'm

going to talk to you about one of those. The other two do not concern you but for the sake of completion, what

```
Page 9429
                                                                                                                             Page 9431
    happened on the 11th was a shootout between the NUM and some
                                                                         killing of the policemen in particular.
                                                                     1
 2
    of the protesters and it's a matter that we have dealt -
                                                                     2
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       The witness wasn't present.
 3
           CHAIRPERSON:
                               No - no, Mr Mpofu, I don't
                                                                     3
                                                                         The witness heard about it later -
    think you mean that. The evidence doesn't indicate a
 4
                                                                     4
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
 5
    shootout
                                                                     5
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       So I hope when you deal
6
           MR MPOFU:
                            Yes
                                                                     6
                                                                         with it we'll hear, or deal so very lightly -
 7
           CHAIRPERSON:
                               That implies shots were
                                                                     7
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Oh yes, ja, no, not who shot
8
    fired from both sides.
                                                                     8
                                                                         who and all that, ja.
 9
                                                                     9
           MR MPOFIL:
                            From both - yes.
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       Well, he doesn't know any
10
           CHAIRPERSON:
                               That's not the evidence.
                                                                    10
                                                                         of that.
                                                                                                   Yes, I accept that.
11
    The evidence is that there were shots fired from the NUM
                                                                    11
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
    side, there's no evidence of shots being fired from the
                                                                    12
12
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       Alright, and the third
    side of the strikers.
13
                                                                    13
                                                                         milestone?
14
           MR MPOFU:
                            Yes.
                                                                    14
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   The third milestone, as I said
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                               Unless of course I missed
                                                                    15
                                                                         it's the odd numbered days - 11, 13, 15. The third
    it or unless you now make an admission that we didn't have
                                                                         milestone is what happened on the 15th of August which we
16
    before, but I doubt that. Let's get it straight -
17
                                                                    17
                                                                         will submit was considerable political pressure put to bear
18
           MR MPOFU:
                            Thank you -
                                                                    18
                                                                         which resulted in the so-called D-day pronouncement but
19
           CHAIRPERSON:
                               - there was an engagement
                                                                    19
                                                                         once again that third milestone is not something you
20
    between the NUM people, some NUM people who were standing
                                                                    20
                                                                         yourself need to be concerned with. We'll deal with that
    near their office -
21
                                                                    21
                                                                         with other witnesses. I just wanted to put it in context.
22
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    22
                                                                         Now, let's come to the 13th. Fortunately we've already
                            Offices, yes.
                               - and about 3 000 strikers
23
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    23
                                                                         dealt with the first part of - do you remember the debate
    who were marching to the NUM office for reasons which will
24
                                                                    24
                                                                         you and I had about the fact that the killing of the police
    be, is one of the matter we'll have to decide at the end of
25
                                                                         is what triggered your presence and other people and what I
                                                         Page 9430
                                                                                                                             Page 9432
 1
     it all.
                                                                         call the frenzy and so on and you said what you have to say
                                                                     2
                                                                         about that and I'm just situating it so that I can lead to
 2
            MR MPOFU:
                               Thank you.
 3
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   But there were only shots
                                                                     3
                                                                         the next bit, remember that.
 4
     fired from the NUM side.
                                                                     4
                                                                                GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                          Ek gaan dit
 5
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes.
                                                                     5
                                                                         nie vergeet nie, Voorsitter.
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                     6
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                   There were weapons
                                                                                                   Thank you. Now, I'm taking
 6
     apparently in the possession of some of the strikers but
                                                                     7
                                                                         that matter further and I'm saying the flip side of that
 7
                                                                     8
 8
     they weren't firearms. If they were, they certainly
                                                                         coin is that the actions of the 16th on the part of the
 9
                                                                     9
     weren't used.
                                                                         police were, among others, motivated by a sense of revenge
10
                                                                    10
                                                                         for their fellow policemen.
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes.
                                                                    11
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
11
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   Is that right?
                                                                                                       Mr Mpofu, you haven't asked
12
            MR MPOFU:
                               That's right, Chairperson.
                                                                    12
                                                                         a question yet so there's -
13
                                                                    13
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   So let's get it clear.
                                                                                                   I haven't, Chair.
14
            MR MPOFU:
                               Thank you, Chair, and as the
                                                                    14
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       - no objection yet but may
15
     Chairperson would say that since that's a point in my
                                                                    15
                                                                         I ask you this, I just want to understand the proposition
     favour I will not contest it. Yes, there -
                                                                         you're going to put. Are you suggesting that the whole
16
17
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   [Inaudible] point you will
                                                                    17
                                                                         operation was designed to exact revenge for what happened
18
     contest it, even if it's in your favour.
                                                                    18
                                                                         on the 13th?
                                                                    19
19
            MR MPOFU:
                               Thank you, of course. But in
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   No.
     any event, the point I was making is that I'm just defining
                                                                    20
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       Or are you simply referring
21
     the three milestones. That's one of the milestones and
                                                                    21
                                                                         to the attitude of certain members of the service who
22 it's exactly as the Chairperson has amplified it and it has
                                                                         participated and acted as they did - of course according to
                                                                    22
    nothing to do with you, it's been dealt with. The
                                                                    23
                                                                         your submissions - out of a desire to exact revenge for
24 milestone of the 13th, which is what I'm going to talk to
                                                                    24
                                                                         what happened before? In other words, it's not a general
   you about, is what we touched on yesterday, which was the
                                                                         revenge operation.
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

9th May 2013 Marikana Commission of Inquiry Page 9433 Page 9435 MR MPOFU: where you're going to but this witness is not here as an 1 No. CHAIRPERSON: 2 2 It's only particular expert, as I understand it, on proper police behaviour and 3 individuals who did things they wouldn't otherwise have particular not to answer to self-evident propositions like 4 done because of considerations of revenge. Is that your is it appropriate for a policeman to shoot someone in 5 5 case? circumstances where he's not acting in self-defence. The 6 6 MR MPOFU: Yes, it's the second one, answer to that obviously is no, but do we have to have the 7 Chairperson. 7 question put and the answer given -8 CHAIRPERSON: 8 MR MPOFU: Okay. No, Chairperson -9 9 CHAIRPERSON: MR MPOFU: Most definitely, thank you, That's my problem, you Chairperson. If I put it too widely, more widely or wider 10 understand. 10 than that, then it was not my intention. 11 MR MPOFU: 11 Yes. 12 12 CHAIRPERSON: Okay, no, you've made that CHAIRPERSON: I'm trying to limit things. 13 clear - are you going to tell us who these individuals are? I don't want to stop you from asking legitimate questions 14 MR MPOFU: I will proceed to do so. 14 but I don't want you to ask questions to which the answers 15 Well, firstly I don't know their names but I'm going to are self-evident and in any event might not be admissible tell you that the support for what I've just said will be in terms of the ordinary principles. 16 16 17 17 based on some of the actions that were taken and MR MPOFU: Yes. No, Chairperson, I think 18 particularly the nature in which they were taken. Are you 18 maybe the misunderstanding is that you assume that I'm 19 aware that some of the policemen, or at least one - I don't 19 asking this for the sake, for its own sake, as it were. 20 know if it's one or two, I think it's one, let's say one to 20 And that's a very -21 be safe - that there was somebody after the shooting who 21 CHAIRPERSON: You're asking for - I'm could be heard saying, "We'll shoot you." Would you accept 22 sorry, I'm not suggesting you're asking questions for their 22 23 that that is something that we observed from the videos and 23 own sake. I understand you're asking questions because you 24 24 if that is correct, would you agree with me that that is think they will assist the Commission and you can found the 25 not the way a policeman should behave if, even if they were arguments on the answers and I understand that. Page 9434 Page 9436 MR MPOFU: acting in self-defence which, as you know, we don't accept? 1 1 CHAIRPERSON: But I've got a job, as I 2 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Mr Mpofu, what is 3 this a reference to? Is it a scene on a video understand, to exclude answers (a) that are self-evident 4 MR MPOFU: It is and it's already and (b) that irre - that are inadmissible. 5 5 accepted. It was -MR MPOFU: No, thank you, Chairperson. COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: When was that? No, no, I think we're talking at cross-purposes. I didn't 6 6 7 You'll refresh our memories? 7 mean in that sense. All I'm saying is that the reason why 8 I did that long, let's walk together speech, was exactly 8 MR MPOFU: Well, it actually happened on because I'm asking this specifically in relation to the 9 many of them. I think it's a threesome - I'll get the reference, Commissioner, before or during tea. 10 proposition that people were acting, motivated by vengeance 10 11 and all I'm doing now is to point out to the specific 11 CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible] - you said you 12 want to tell the General where you were walking to and you 12 indiciae that we will propose support that statement. So had hoped he would accompany you on the journey. it's not as if I'm examining whether policeman A or 13 14 MR MPOFU: He has. 14 policeman B -15 15 CHAIRPERSON: CHAIRPERSON: Well, I want to know whether we should allow him to go any further on this

You see, I can understand that but this is a witness who wasn't on the scene. This is a witness who was in the JOC. I would have thought that these questions, insofar as they may provide relevant answers, could more properly be asked to people who were on the scene rather than someone who was in the JOC and is dependent upon either reports he received or videos that he saw and we saw also. MR MPOFU: That's fine, I'll move on to a related, but not the same subject. The - can you yourself

tell us why, why you did not mention the death threat made

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

journey. If you're asking his opinion as to whether the

behaviour of particular policemen was appropriate, I don't

I should, would allow that question because it's for us to

threatening to shoot people in circumstances where he

22 doesn't have the right to do so, then that would be totally

inappropriate, an illegal action. We don't need the

24 General to tell us that and I think it would be a waste of 25 time, frankly, to elicit his views on it. I think I know

decide whether it's appropriate. The only – if he's

17

18

19

20

21

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

Page 9439

22

23

24

25

1

2

Page 9437 to General Mpembe by other policemen in your statement? 2 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. 3 dit was nie aspekte wat ek self waargeneem het nie. Dit 4 was oorgedra deur een persoon aan my sonder identifikasie 5 van spesifieke individue en ook dat dit reeds oorgedra was aan die spesifieke gesag in die provinsie, die Provinsiale 6 7 Kommissaris. 8 MR MAHLANGU: And that this had been 9 carried over to the specific authority, the -10 CHAIRPERSON: Specific authority in the province, namely the Provincial Commissioner. 11 MR MAHLANGU: 12 Namely the Provincial 13 Commissioner. 14 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 15 en net so het ek nie gaan die ander detail soos oorgedra aan my - want dit is net eenvoudig oorgedra deur Kolonel 16 17 Vermaak, hoe dit gebeur het dat stun grenades gegooi, wie 18 het gas gegooi, wat was die teenreaksie van die polisie. 19 Ek het ook nie daarop in my verklaring uitgebrei nie. 20 MR MPOFU: Okay. Now, just one question 21 in relation to the revenge issue that we just spoke about

evidence before - a police radio had been seized by the 4 strikers on the 13th and if the radio had been used it was feared, I don't know with what justification in fact, but 6 it was feared that that might, that message might have been 7 intercepted by the strikers using the radio they'd taken. 8 Have I got it right? 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. dis reg, ook na aanleiding van 'n voorvalleboekinskrywing 10 11 wat ek dink gemaak is op die 13de -12 MR MAHLANGU: Yes, Mr Chairperson, also 13 as a result of an entry that was made in a pocket book. GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: 14 Nie 'n pocket 15 book, occurrence book. 16 MR MAHLANGU: In the occurrence book, Mr 17 Chairperson. 18 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Waar daar, ek 19 dink dit was 'n sersant, gesê het dat hy het 'n persoon wat 20 hy vermoed 'n siviele persoon is, het hy gehoor op die 21 radio praat en dit was duidelik dit is nie 'n 22 polisiebeampte nie in terme van die taalgebruik. 23 CHAIRPERSON: And he assumed it was one 24 of the strikers who had got hold of a police radio, I think that's what you said.

Colonel Scott was sent to the forward holding areas to give

the instructions was because - I think we've heard this

Page 9438 commanders and at the levels of the operational staff, for

1

2

5

6

7

lack of a better word. GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter.

and I'll confine that to something that you, that concerns

ordered that the briefings that we spoke about the other

you. I'll leave out the other examples. You basically

day should occur at both levels, at the levels of

3 4 daar is ook in Generaal Mpembe se verklaring daarna verwys 5 dat dit 'n bespreking was. Dit was die verantwoordelikheid van die oorhoofse bevelvoerder om toe te sien dat die 6 7 vlakke van toeligting plaasvind.

8 MR MAHLANGU: It's also mentioned, Mr 9 Chairperson, also in General Mpembe's statement that these 10 are steps -

11 CHAIRPERSON: No, he said there was a 12 discussion -

A discussion between -13 MR MAHLANGU: 14 CHAIRPERSON: Well, so that the levels of 15 authority would know what they had to do, I think is what 16 he said.

17 MR MAHLANGU: The special JOCOM -CHAIRPERSON: Repeat it again if I got it 18

19 wrong. 20 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: 21 vir die taking van Kolonel Scott om deur te gaan persoonlik

was bespreek en dit was so voorgestel en so goedgekeur. [10:59] CHAIRPERSON: I think the point is - I

24 think we're going to take the adjournment in a moment but I

25 think the point was, just to get it clear, the reason that

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

Page 9440

GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ja, ek weet die voorvalleboek, ek kan – as u wil kan ek dit net opsoek.

3 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, it looks as if 4 you've got one more question.

MR MPOFU: I've just negotiated silently with you, Chairperson, for one more question so that we round off this issue. The question is, and I can accept

8 that the message as it goes down might grow legs, so to 9

speak, that at least in one of those briefings, the third

10 tier briefings, one of the things that was said to the

11 policemen before they went to the ground was that these

12 people are dangerous and certain things were specifically

13 mentioned, including the fact that they had killed,

14 attacked and killed policemen. Now what I want to know is 15

whether that is what he had instructed you, as you filtered 16 the message down, he had instructed it to be communicated

17 down the road or would that have been at the initiative of 18 that specific commander?

19 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 20 ek is nie bewus van die geval wat u na verwys nie. Ek 21 aanvaar dit is iewers sodanig vermeld.

22 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not aware of it either but if it's been dealt with in evidence and I missed it, 23 24 can you give me the reference or is it something that's going to come?

RealTime Transcriptions Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

```
Page 9441
                                                                                                                         Page 9443
           MR MPOFU:
                              It's going to come, Chair.
                                                                       Thank you. Thank you, Chairperson. General, just so that
1
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   2
                                                                       we - and for the benefit of my colleagues - the identity of
2
                                 I see, alright.
                                                                       the specific person I was talking about is not a secret,
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              And General, sorry, I don't
                                                                   3
4
    want to waste more time, if you are not aware I suppose
                                                                   4
                                                                       it's Captain Kidd, K-I-D-D, but you've already answered my
5
    that's an answer because what I was asking you was whether
                                                                   5
                                                                       question. I just wanted to round off that and the contents
                                                                       of his particular briefing are contained in the IPID
    that was a message that was filtering down but by saying
                                                                   6
6
7
                                                                   7
    you're not aware of it, are you suggesting that you - you
                                                                       statement of his troops, as it were.
                                                                   8
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
8
    yourself did not send such a message, apart from the fact
                                                                                                     He doesn't agree that these
                                                                   9
9
    that you don't know who I'm talking about?
                                                                       were paramilitary units, so he won't agree they were
10
           MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE:
                                                                  10
                                                                       troops.
                                                The message as
                                                                  11
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
11
    in be careful, these people are dangerous or -
                                                                                                 Yes. I mean it in the nicest
                                                                  12
12
           MR MPOFU:
                              They've killed policemen and
                                                                       possible way. Now, just one little aspect before we move
13
    so on, that didn't come from you? In other words, it is
                                                                  13
                                                                       to the next topic. Is it correct that one of the criteria
14
    not a message that came from the top, it's a message that,
                                                                       for membership of the NIU in particular is that one should
    if I'm correct in what I'm saying, it's a message that was
                                                                       not have a criminal, a pending criminal case? You know
15
    at the initiative of that particular commander and not from
                                                                       that there are differences, in some instances you must not
16
                                                                  16
17
    you. That's all I'm referring to.
                                                                  17
                                                                       have a criminal record and in other cases you mustn't have
18
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                   In terme van
                                                                  18
                                                                       a criminal case, in others you mustn't have even a
19
    die betrokke bewoording -
                                                                  19
                                                                       departmental inquiry. Is it correct that in the case of
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Was it part of your
                                                                  20
                                                                       the NIU you're not allowed to enter that unit if you have
21
    instructions, it was to go down that the persons concerned
                                                                       even a pending disciplinary inquiry or a criminal case
                                                                  21
    were to be reminded that the strikers, or some of them, had
22
                                                                  22
                                                                       pending?
23
    killed policemen on the 13th? I think that's basically the
                                                                  23
                                                                              MR SEMENYA SC:
                                                                                                       Chair, is it eligibility
24
    point that Mr Mpofu is putting.
                                                                  24
                                                                       or membership?
25
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                  25
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Eligibility. Well, both,
                                                   Voorsitter,
                                                       Page 9442
                                                                                                                         Page 9444
1
    nee, nie my instruksies soos u nou na verwys het nie, maar
                                                                   1
                                                                       both.
2
    dit was altyd deel van die strategie van die polisie en ek
                                                                   2
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I take it that the point is
3
    dink die woord wat daar na verwys was, the members must
                                                                   3
                                                                       that it's a disqualification -
4
    also be vigil or they must either be vigil or circumspect
                                                                   4
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes.
5
    in terms of approaching suspects. So dit was, dit is
                                                                   5
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     - even to go forward for
    vermeld in die beplanning iewers.
                                                                       training with a view to be appointed to the NIU -
6
                                                                   6
7
           MR MAHLANGU:
                                 That was mentioned in the
                                                                   7
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Absolutely, yes.
                                                                   8
8
    plan, some of the words that were used in the plan.
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     - if you've got a pending,
9
                                                                   9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                [Indistinct] vigilance in
                                                                       either a criminal case or a disciplinary case too, I think.
10
    approaching the suspects -
                                                                  10
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 That's correct.
11
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                             That's correct.
                                                                  11
                                                                                                     That's what you're putting.
12
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                - was part of the general
                                                                  12
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes.
13
    strategy.
                                                                  13
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Let's see if your
                             Thank you, Chairperson.
14
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                  14
                                                                       information is correct.
15
                                Can we -
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  15
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Thank you, Chair.
           MR MPOFU:
                             Can we take the break,
16
                                                                  16
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Is that so, Major-General?
17
    Chairperson?
                                                                  17
                                                                              GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                        Voorsitter,
18
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                Yes, thank you for giving
                                                                  18
                                                                       ek probeer nou kyk, ek is nie seker of dit insluit
19
    us your - we'll now take the tea adjournment.
                                                                  19
                                                                       "pending" en of dit net is, 'n reeds kriminele saak nie.
20
           [COMMISSION ADJOURNS
                                        COMMISSION RESUMES]
                                                                  20
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Okay, now you've got me
21
    [11:26] CHAIRPERSON:
                                  The Commission will resume.
                                                                  21
                                                                       because I don't have it in front of me. I notice the head
    Generaal-Majoor, u is nog steeds onder eed. Mr Mpofu?
                                                                  22
22
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR CHARL ANNANDALE:
                                                                  23
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
23
                                                                                                     The document I think is
24 (s.o.e.)
                                                                  24
                                                                       exhibit Q. Unfortunately our copy is out of reach but
           CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU (CONTD):
                                                                       they'll go and fetch it.
   RCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 9445
                                                                                                                           Page 9447
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                        sure of the relevance of the question but anyway, but I'll
1
                                                    Voorsitter,
    ek het dit beskikbaar, ek kan dit voorhou. Voorsitter, dit
                                                                    2
                                                                        let you ask it in the absence of any objection from
2
                                                                    3
3
    is op 'n blad wat sê "Draft directive, recruitment and
                                                                        anybody.
4
    selection."
                                                                    4
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Yes. No, no, Chairperson,
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        I'll explain the relevance just now. I think that
                                  Yes, it is actually. Draft
    directive, recruitment and selection, prerequisite for
                                                                    6
                                                                        distinction that the Chairperson has made is very
6
7
                                                                    7
    applicant. Have you got it in front of you, Mr Mpofu?
                                                                        important. The point I'm making is not so much that that
8
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    8
                                                                        person should not have been there on the 16th. The point
                              No, I've got - no, Chair.
9
                                                                    9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  One of the things is not
                                                                        I'm making is that that person should be there now because
    being found guilty during a departmental/criminal hearing.
                                                                    10
                                                                        on the 16th they did something which warranted a
10
                                                                    11
                                                                        departmental inquiry. That's -
11
    Another one no criminal record, another one no pending
                                                                    12
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
12
    cases, departmental and/or criminal. So the point you put
                                                                                                      Forgive me if I ask you
13
    is correct, borne out by the documents which we've referred
                                                                    13
                                                                        this, what is the relevance of whether the person should be
14
    to.
                                                                    14
                                                                        there now?
15
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                    15
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Well, it's the same relevant
16
    behalwe as ek net kan meld, dit het "draft," dis 'n konsep
                                                                        that Mr – one of the evidence leaders put the NIU, I think
17
    direktief en ek is nie seker wat die bestaande beginsels is
                                                                    17
                                                                        it was Mr Madlanga, put the NIU - that's the case that I'm
18
    en of dit presies dieselfde is en of dit anders is nie.
                                                                    18
                                                                        talking about - for a considerable amount of time to the
19
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay, I accept that. Assuming
                                                                    19
                                                                        previous witness.
20
    that it applies now as we speak, would it make you
                                                                    20
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Yes, no, but what's the
21
    uncomfortable to know that there is somebody now in the
                                                                   21
                                                                        relevance of it?
                                                                    22
22
    NIU, or at least one of two people who has been fingered,
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   No -
23
    although there's no conclusion, of having executed somebody
                                                                   23
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      If the relevance is that if
24
    allegedly or having said that these people, they have to
                                                                    24
                                                                        there's a lax attitude now to the enforcement of this rule,
25
    die or words to that effect? Isn't that -
                                                                        if it is a rule, that might be indicative of a similar lax
                                                                                                                           Page 9448
                                                        Page 9446
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Sorry, is the suggestion
                                                                        attitude in the past but that's a bit speculative, isn't
1
    that this happened before the 16th of August or is it -
                                                                    2
                                                                        it? And what does pending mean? The mere fact that
2
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              On the 16th, on the 16th.
                                                                    3
                                                                        someone has been fingered, as you put it, doesn't mean a
4
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  No - no -
                                                                    4
                                                                        charge is pending, does it, unless those responsible for
                                                                    5
5
           MR MPOFU:
                              But the threats is happening
                                                                        initiating departmental or criminal steps have, as it were,
                                                                    6
                                                                        accepted the charge and done something about it. So
    now
6
7
                                  Yes, no. No, we're busy
                                                                    7
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        there's a bit of a vagueness there as well, so -
                                                                    8
8
    with the question whether there is a pending case, either
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Ja –
                                                                    9
9
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
    criminal or departmental, against someone who is in the NIU
                                                                                                      I don't want to waste too
10
    and you say there is at least one person and you've
                                                                    10
                                                                        much time on what may be a bit of a red herring.
11
    described the circumstances.
                                                                    11
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Ja, well, if it was - that's
12
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    12
                                                                        the only point I'm making, Chairperson. If it is a red
13
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Now I want to know from
                                                                    13
                                                                        herring it won't start being a red herring today, it would
14
    you, is that something that arose after or possibly even in
                                                                    14
                                                                        have been a red herring when it was canvassed by Mr
15
    consequence of what happened on the 16th? In other words,
                                                                    15
                                                                        Madlanga with the National Commissioner, which was the
16
    the person concerned wasn't disqualified -
                                                                    16
                                                                        point that, what's his name, Myburgh or whatever, you know
17
           MR MPOFU:
                              Oh, yes.
                                                                    17
                                                                        the person I'm talking about. This is exactly the same
                                                                    18
18
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - if the directive is
                                                                        point so if it was a red herring, it was a red herring last
                                                                    19
    still, was already in force, that person wasn't
                                                                        month. It won't start -
                                                                    20
    disqualified from being there on the 16th. The pending
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      I don't remember the point
21
    charge, if it is indeed pending because it's an interesting
                                                                    21
                                                                        being put quite in the question whether the person should
    question as to what that is but if it was pending, if it's
                                                                        be in NIU but I seem to remember the point was made from
    pending did that only arise after the 16th -
                                                                    23
                                                                        another angle.
24
          MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, no –
                                                                    24
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  That steps had been taken.
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - in which case I'm not
                                                                   25
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Ja.
```

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 9449
                                                                                                                          Page 9451
                              Yes, which is exactly where
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                        the same kind of thing happens while he is a member of the
1
                                                                        NIU, surely he should at least be suspended or not allowed
2
    I'm going.
                                                                        to function as a member of the NIU.
3
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  But if Mr Madlanga got away
4
    with some irrelevancy, that's no reason why mistakes should
                                                                    4
                                                                               MR TIP SC:
                                                                                                 But that becomes -
5
    be repeated, is it?
                                                                    5
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     It's a matter of common
           MR MPOFU:
                              Ja, well, it would suggest -
6
                                                                    6
                                                                        sense I would have thought.
7
    I'm arguing the exact opposite, that if he was allowed to
                                                                    7
                                                                               MR TIP SC:
                                                                                                 That becomes a matter for the
    go with it, it must have been relevant.
                                                                    8
                                                                        proper application of labour law principles. One can't
8
9
                                                                    9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  So -
                                                                        apply this particular provision to it.
10
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes. It's not a big point -
                                                                   10
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     We're not, fortunately,
11
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Anyway, let's not waste
                                                                   11
                                                                        concerned with labour law principles.
                                                                   12
12
    time on it.
                                                                               MR TIP SC:
                                                                                                 No, but -
13
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes.
                                                                   13
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Anyway, okay -
14
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  What's the point you want
                                                                   14
                                                                               MR TIP SC:
                                                                                                 - Mr Mpofu is putting it on a
    to make, quickly? Let's get that over with.
                                                                   15
                                                                        basis, I'm really just adding a correction.
15
16
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, thank you Chairperson.
                                                                   16
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Yes -
17
    The point I want to make, General, is this, that the - and
                                                                   17
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Chairperson, I'm not -
18
    we'll take it step by step - it's either as the Chairperson
                                                                   18
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I've already agreed it's an
19
    correctly points out, there is a departmental investigation
                                                                   19
                                                                        irrelevant point but he just wanted to add a further aspect
20
    in which case that person should not be in the unit, or
                                                                   20
                                                                        to it. Don't do it again, Mr Tip. Let's carry on, Mr
21
    there is not departmental investigation when there should
                                                                   21
                                                                        Mpofu. Move on to your next relevant point, please.
22
    be one, in which case that person should still not be in
                                                                   22
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Thank you, Chairperson. I'm
23
    the unit because it's a disqualifying factor.
                                                                   23
                                                                       just going to ask you something which, I hope you will take
24
           MR BURGER SC:
                                                                   24
                                                                        it in the correct spirit. You and some of the players in
                                   No, I object to this.
25
    This is really debating an irrelevant question from the
                                                                        this episode joined the police - you, for example, joined
                                                       Page 9450
                                                                                                                          Page 9452
    wrong side. It doesn't advance one thing we're doing
                                                                        the police in 1982 during the apartheid era, correct?
1
                                                                    2
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
2
     today, this question. I object to it, Chair.
3
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   I'm inclined to think
                                                                    3
                                                                        aangesluit by die polisie, Voorsitter, in 1982, dis korrek.
4
    there's something in that. If there had been something
                                                                    4
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 And that applies to various
5
    before the 16th then it could be raised pertinently but it
                                                                        others of your colleagues like Vermaak, Calitz, Mbombo and
    seems a little bit, tangential collateral that doesn't
                                                                       - to mention a few, correct?
                                                                    6
6
7
    justify the time that's spent on it.
                                                                    7
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                       Voorsitter
                                                                   8
8
            MR MPOFU:
                               Well -
                                                                        daar is letterlik -
9
                                                                    9
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   I'm already - sorry, I have
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     It's a question to ask the
    to give you a chance to reply but that's my prima facie
                                                                   10
                                                                       National Commissioner, of course, if that's, if that has
10
                                                                       any relevance.
11
    view.
                                                                   11
12
            MR MPOFU:
                               It's alright, Chairperson,
                                                                   12
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Most definitely. No, it
13
    I'll leave it, subject to say that if the matter has
                                                                   13
                                                                       certainly doesn't. In fact, let me rather not comment on
14
     suddenly lost its relevance then I'll leave it at that,
                                                                   14
                                                                       that, Chair. Now there is a view shared by some of the
15
     Chair.
                                                                   15
                                                                       people I represent that maybe some of the people who made
16
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   Alright.
                                                                   16
                                                                       decisions in respect to the massacre as they perceive it,
17
            MR MPOFU:
                               Okay.
                                                                   17
                                                                       had not unlearnt the way of doing things which prevailed
18
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   I suggest you move on to
                                                                   18
                                                                       when these massacres were the order of the day. Can you
19
    your next relevant point, Mr Mpofu.
                                                                   19
                                                                       just tell us -
                                                                   20
20
                              Well, the point seems to have
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     No, no, Mr Mpofu, I don't
            MR TIP SC:
21
    evaporated but the basis of it needs to be cleared. The
                                                                   21
                                                                       think it's correct to say that these massacres were the
   portion that has been read out deals with applicants who
                                                                       order of the day. That's a very broad statement which
    wish to become members of the NIU.
                                                                   23
                                                                       you'd have difficulty, I think -
     CHAIRPERSON:
                                  But if a person isn't
                                                                   24
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Okay, I'll -
   qualified to be a member of the NIU because of something,
                                                                   25
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I understand, I think, what
```

```
Page 9453
                                                                                                                           Page 9455
    you're trying to say but I think you're exaggerating by
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    1
                                                                                                     I'm not sure - I'm sorry to
    putting it that way.
                                                                        interrupt you - I'm not sure if the apartheid mentality,
2
           MR MPOFU:
3
                               Okay, ja, alright. Well, I'll
                                                                        apartheid means something else.
4
    give you one example. Are you aware in 1982 - or no, not
                                                                    4
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Pre-'94, let's -
    in any particular year - you are aware of what was called
                                                                    5
5
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Pre-'94 but there was so.
6
    the Trojan Horse massacre where the police went into a
                                                                    6
                                                                        as you said, a military approach before '94. That was done
7
                                                                    7
    truck pretending, hiding, and then when people started
                                                                        away with. The Planning Commission complained it's come
    stoning it they suddenly came out and shot and killed
                                                                    8
                                                                        back and should be done away with again. Now, you want to
8
9
                                                                    9
    people? It happened in the Western Cape. You may or may
                                                                        ask the question of this witness about the mindset of those
10
    not be aware but that is the type of conduct I'm talking
                                                                   10
                                                                        like himself who joined the force before '94 basically, is
11
    about.
                                                                   11
                                                                        that right?
12
                                                                   12
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                             You're not
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Correct, that's it.
                                                                   13
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
13
    suggesting, Mr Mpofu, that there's any similarity with that
                                                                                                     Now perhaps you can find a
                                                                   14
14
    incident and the Marikana incident, are you?
                                                                        way of putting that question crisply -
15
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   15
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                              No, I'm not.
                                                                   16
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     And in a way which elicits
16
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Mr Mpofu, I think I know
                                                                   17
                                                                        a helpful answer.
17
    what you're trying to say but I've got the feeling that
18
    you're putting it far too widely.
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Thank you, Chairperson. Okay,
19
           MR MPOFU:
                              I haven't said it, Chair.
                                                                   19
                                                                        I won't make the example again. You are aware that pre-
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  No, you talk about going on
                                                                   20
                                                                        1994, apart from the occasional massacre and officials made
21
    a walk. I think I can see the direction, the route you're
                                                                        one, one example, that there are people who held the view
                                                                   21
                                                                   22
22
    following. You're talking, you're really talking about a
                                                                        that the mentality of the police was that of - I can't put
23
    mindset that wasn't unlearnt and what is common cause, I
                                                                   23
                                                                        it better than skiet and what the - I think it's called
24
    think, certainly of those who have read the National
                                                                   24
                                                                        skiet-en-donner, as opposed to what is prescribed in the
25
    Planning Commission's report, was that the police force was
                                                                        prescripts that we have been talking about. You are aware
                                                        Page 9454
                                                                                                                           Page 9456
    militarised - in fact was a force before '94. There was a
                                                                        of that, the division of opinion among the citizens of how
1
                                                                        the police used to behave.
2
    mindset that went with that. It was, a decision was taken
3
    specifically to depart from that mindset, that's why the
                                                                    3
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Put the question.
4
    police force became a police service. Military ranks were
                                                                    4
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Okay, are you aware of that?
5
    done away with and the force then was demilitarised. One
                                                                    5
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                        Voorsitter.
6
    of the points raised with this witness as well, raised with
                                                                    6
                                                                        daar is net een manier wat ek hierdie vraag kan antwoord.
7
                                                                    7
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
    this witness and with the National Commissioner, was that
                                                                                                  Sorry, before you do, I don't
8
    the Commission has recommended, the Planning Commission,
                                                                    8
                                                                        want to cut you -
9
                                                                    9
    that the police be demilitarised again on more or less with
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     No, he's entitled to
    immediate effect, and the suggestion is in the report that
                                                                   10
                                                                        answer. Let him answer the question.
10
                                                                   11
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
11
    from 2000 the police once again became militarised or to
                                                                                                  I'm not, I'm helping him.
12
    some extent - it's not put quite as strongly as that but
                                                                   12
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     No, I think he'd like to
13
    that's what they say and that that was formalised by the
                                                                   13
                                                                        give the answer of his own - let him carry on.
14
    reintroduction of military ranks in 2010. Now, what I
                                                                   14
                                                                        [11:46] GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                          Voorsitter,
15
                                                                   15
    suspect you are suggesting is that that old mindset has
                                                                        ek en al my kollegas wie voor '94 aangesluit het dien nou
16
    come back, either because it came back from 2000 onwards or
                                                                        al meer as 19 jaar in hierdie demokrasie. Ekself dien al
17
    it was always there because people hadn't unlearnt the
                                                                   17
                                                                        langer in hierdie demokrasie as wat ek gedien het in die
    lessons of the past. I take it that's the point you're
                                                                   18
18
                                                                        vorige bestel.
                                                                   19
19
    making, am I right?
                                                                               MR MAHLANGU:
                                                                                                      I personally served in this
20
           MR MPOFU:
                             Yes, Chairperson, it is, save
                                                                   20
                                                                        democracy -
21
    to say that what you've said applies to the post-apartheid
                                                                   21
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Longer than in the
22 era which also applies to my question. Maybe, and as you
                                                                        previous, under the previous dispensation.
                                                                   22
    are correctly saying, I was putting it too wide. I was
                                                                   23
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                        Voorsitter,
24 doing a direct contrast between the apartheid mentality
                                                                   24
                                                                        in die vorige bestel het ek gefunksioneer binne my eie
25 itself, of which the witness, the witness -
                                                                        waardesisteem, waardes aan my geleer deur my ouers en
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

Page 9457 Page 9459 pertinent gebaseer op die beginsel van respek. Die waardes klaar, Voorsitter. Om dit direk terug te bring na Marikana, daar is geen so 'n benadering deur enige persoon 2 het my geleer om binne enige sisteem te funksioneer. 3 Voorsitter, en dit was een van die redes hoekom ek by die 3 wat ek interaksie gehad het, was dit te bespeur nie, 4 Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie destyds aangesluit het. 4 geensins nie. MR MAHLANGU: 5 5 Chairperson, that was the MR MAHLANGU: It wasn't seen from any part, person with whom I had anything to do that this was reason, firstly, why I joined the police in -6 6 7 7 CHAIRPERSON: One of the reasons why I CHAIRPERSON: No such approach was 8 detected on the part of anybody with whom I came into 8 joined the police then. 9 9 contact at Marikana, I think that's -MR MAHLANGU: Then, yes. 10 10 MR MAHLANGU: GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Om agter die Yes, that is correct, 11 Chair. 11 skerms my rol te speel in terme van regverdigheid. 12 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: 12 CHAIRPERSON: My role in terms of justice So 13 behind the scenes, justice and fairness behind the scenes, 13 Voorsitter, nee, daar was nie 'n benadering van skop, skiet 14 I think it is. 14 en - ek weet nie of ek die woord kan gebruik nie. 15 MR MAHLANGU: 15 MR MPOFU: Thank you, General. If you've Thank you, Chair. finished, thanks. The reason I'm asking you this, General, 16 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Sommige and it's relevant to what we are about here, is that the 17 persone het hulle regverdigheid uitgespeel op die openbare 17 18 verhooa. feeling as it manifests in the people I represent - and 19 MR MAHLANGU: Some people have played on 19 this is my own suspicion - among other things, comes from 20 the open stage, their values. 20 the statement that was made by Mr Mathunjwa on his second 21 CHAIRPERSON: Their role of fairness, I 21 visit to the koppie where he said those people must leave 22 suppose, and justice. 22 that place, they're going to be killed because the life of 23 MR MAHLANGU: Their role of? 23 a black person is cheap. And what I'm saying to you is 24 CHAIRPERSON: 24 Fairness and justice. that kind of mentality, whether Mr Mathunjwa was right or 25 MR MAHLANGU: Fairness on an open stage. wrong - he was right because the people were killed but Page 9458 Page 9460 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: that kind of statement that he made would have been in 1 En ek myne in 'n klein aspek om regverdige dienslewering of deur my conformity with the thinking, not just of the police but 2 3 dienslewering regverdigheid te bevorder. 3 with the pre-'94 thinking. Would you at least, we agree on 4 MR MAHLANGU: Mine was to exercise this 4 that? 5 5 in the proper administration of -CHAIRPERSON: I don't know that we can CHAIRPERSON: expect this witness to give an answer on behalf of the 6 I think it was to advance 6 7 7 the cause of justice and fairness in the performance of my whole country, it's duties. 8 8 MR MPOFU: Then he can give it on behalf 9 9 In the performance of my MR MAHLANGU: of himself. 10 CHAIRPERSON: 10 duties, yes, to -Sorry? MR MPOFU: Then he can give it on behalf 11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 11 12 ek het verder die beginsel van verdraagsaamheid, was verder 12 of himself, Chairperson. bevestig deur 'n aantal pertinente mense. 13 13 CHAIRPERSON: Well, I understood him 14 CHAIRPERSON: 14 already to have said something along those lines, that that He says the principle of 15 15 wasn't his approach at all but anyway, let him, let's just tolerance was further confirmed by a number of particular 16 people. 16 give him the chance to answer that question -17 MR MAHLANGU: Thank you, Chair. 17 MR BURGER SC: Then I object to the 18 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 18 question on the basis of relevancy. This witness has now en niemand minder as oud-President Mandela, Aartsbiskop taken time to take us carefully through his state of mind, Tutu en die Dalai Lama. to explain to us in his own mother tongue why the phrase 20 MR BOOI: 21 Dali? 21 used by my learned friend, who doesn't speak that language, Dalai Lama. 22 CHAIRPERSON: was ill-chosen and inappropriate. To ask this witness now MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson, I 23 23 to again pontificate on what is a suspicion by my learned didn't know that I was elevated. 24 friend, is wasting time. I object to it. 25 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek is amper 25 CHAIRPERSON: I think it's now on his own

Page 9463

25

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16 17

18

19

20

21

23

```
Page 9461
    attitude and I think I know what he's going to say and I
    think I should give him the opportunity, the witness the
2
3
    opportunity to state unequivocally for Mr Mpofu's benefit,
4
    and his clients', where he stands.
5
           MR MPOFU:
                              Thank you, Chairperson.
           GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
6
                                                    Voorsitter,
7
    ek weet nie waarop het Mr Mathunjwa daardie waarneming
8
    gemaak nie. Dit was vir seker nie my mentaliteit nie en ek
9
    het ook nie sodanige mentaliteit bespeur by enige van my
10
    kollegas nie.
           MR MPOFU:
11
                              Yes. Now, thank you, General,
12
    and I accept that as far as you are concerned but would you
13
    be in a position to enlighten the Commission as to whether
14
    that mentality of old, whether there are remnants of it
    which may have contributed to the massacre?
15
16
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 I understood he's answered
17
    that already. He said that he did not detect any traces of
18
    that mentality on the part of -
19
           MR MPOFU:
                              On the day. I'm talking
20
    generally.
21
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 No - no. I'm not -
22
           MR MPOFU:
                              Sorry.
23
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 - on the part of any of his
24
    colleagues at Marikana. So let's assume for the sake of
```

argument where you're getting at, that he knows some of his

there's no further point in -2 MR MPOFU: That's fine, Chairperson. I 3 know it's an uncomfortable subject but its relevance will become clearer maybe with other witnesses. Are you aware of an attitude that before 1994 the police would use 6 maximum force even in situations where it was uncalled for? 7 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, ek het dan pertinent net dink aan Sharpeville. Ek het nie 9 ander voorbeelde wat ek nou my vinger op kan lê nie wat -10 MR MPOFU: Okay, no, that I'll accept but 11 there are several other examples in Langa and Soweto and Alexander and the Trojan Horse that I -12 13 CHAIRPERSON: The witness says he can 14 only remember one. You may have a better memory than he 15 16 MR MPOFU: I do and that's why I'm 17 reminding him, Chairperson. I'm reminding him that there were many others. 19 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. 20 ek betwyfel nie dat daar ander as nie, ek het pertinent die 21 een wat ek kon oproep. 22 MR MPOFU: Yes, what's the answer? 23 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. 24 ek het geantwoord dat pertinent het ek opgeroep in my geheue Sharpeville.

colleagues who weren't at Marikana who may have, at some stage, have had that attitude, it wouldn't be relevant to what we're busy with because we're busy with what happened at Marikana. So I don't propose we should have a wideranging discussion as to the mentality of some or other members of the South African Police force who are not in any way connected with the events with which we are concerned. So I'm not prepared to allow that question. MR MPOFU: Are you able or not able to say whether or not the attitude articulated by Mr Mathunjwa that black life is cheap, contributed in any way to the massacre on the 16th of August? MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, the witness has in many ways disavowed that completely and said, I don't know where Mr Mathunjwa's perceptions stem from and he can't talk about it. CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu? The point made is that the witness has, in effect, answered it already. MR MPOFU: You may wish to take it up CHAIRPERSON: possibly with other people and then the -MR MPOFU: I will, Chairperson. 22 CHAIRPERSON: - applicability of the 24 question to that particular witness can be discussed, but I

think in the light of what this witness has said already,

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

Page 9464 MR MPOFU: 1 Well, as an example of what I was saying of where maximum force was used. Okay, now do you know that in the new dispensation the use of maximum force was outlawed and that it is no longer allowed? 5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. 6 ek is nie bewus dat maksimum geweld iewers vervat was in 7 wetgewing, dat dit herroep is nie. Die beginsel in the 8 polisie is 'n beginsel van minimum geweld. 9 MR MPOFU: Yes, no, that's fair enough. Two sides of the same coin. Maybe I should put the 10 question, therefore, as follows. Do you know that it is 11 12 now legislated that only minimum force may be used by the 13 police, which is the same thing as saying maximum force may 14 not be used? 15 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 16 ek het verwys dat die enigste beginsel is dié van minimum 17 geweld en die polisie benadering is ook dan in wetgewing 18 vervat. 19 MR MPOFU: I'm sorry, General, maybe my question is not clear so I'm taking responsibility for that. I accept, as we all know, that there's references 22 for example in 262 of the use of minimum force and so on -23 CHAIRPERSON: I think the witness is -24 sorry to interrupt you - I think the witness is probably

alluding to section 13, amongst others, to section 13(3)(b)

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

Page 9462

```
Page 9465
                                                                                                                          Page 9467
    of the Police Service Act -
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Only minimum force can be used
                                                                    1
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    2
2
                              That's exactly what I'm
3
    talking about.
                                                                    3
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     That's right. So I didn't
                                                                       like the way you phrased your question, so if you can
4
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Where it says, "Where a
5
    person" - sorry. Please turn those cell phones off. I've
                                                                        perhaps rephrase it to convey the point you want to convey
                                                                        I'll allow you to put the question.
6
    spoken about that before. If a cell phone goes off again
                                                                    6
7
                                                                    7
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
    I'll ask the person who has it to leave the room. Section
                                                                                                 Ja. Chairperson no, maybe
    13(3)(b) of the Act -
8
                                                                        before you allow me, let me just contest the proposition
9
                                                                    9
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                        and I think the Chairperson has almost answered his own
                              (b).
10
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  13(3)(b) -
                                                                   10
                                                                       concern. In those situations, Chairperson, if the threat
11
                                                                   11
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes.
                                                                        was so heightened that a lot of force had to be used, that
12
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - of the Police Service Act
                                                                   12
                                                                        would still be minimum force in those circumstances. So it
13
    states, "Where a member who performs an official duty is
                                                                   13
                                                                        doesn't detract from the fact that minimum force is
14
    authorised by law to use force, he or she may use only the
                                                                        prescribed and if the force was used there, it would not be
    minimum force which is reasonable in the circumstances."
                                                                        maximum force, it would be minimum force which is high, as
15
    That's the section that the witness -
16
                                                                   16
                                                                        it were. It's semantics but it's a very important
17
                                                                   17
           MR MPOFU:
                              That's the section that I'm on
                                                                        distinction.
18
    about, Chairperson. You've heard what the Chairperson read
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     It can't go any higher then
19
    out, section 13(3)(b) of the Police Act. Now, what I want
                                                                   19
                                                                        it also happens to be maximum -
20
    or what I'm saying to you and it's a subtle distinction
                                                                   20
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Well, that would be a
21
    between what you have just said, is that that section
                                                                   21
                                                                       coincidence but it would be minimum force.
    effectively prescribes that only minimum force can be used
                                                                   22
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     No, it would be minimum
22
23
    and by implication it outlaws the use of maximum force by
                                                                   23
                                                                        force, yes, of course.
                                                                   24
24
    the South African Police post-apartheid.
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Okay, General, do we now -
    [12:06] CHAIRPERSON:
25
                                    I'm not sure that the
                                                                       well, I'm sure we do agree that only minimum force is
                                                        Page 9466
                                                                                                                          Page 9468
    statement, the question is correct in suggesting that
                                                                        allowed in the new South Africa?
    minimum force necessarily excludes maximum force. You -
                                                                    2
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                       Voorsitter.
2
3
    can I just finish?
                                                                        ek het dit nie betwis nie.
4
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay.
                                                                    4
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Alright.
                                                                    5
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 There can be a situation.
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu, can I put this to
    for example, in a cash in transit heist situation where you
                                                                       you? I think you are now engaging on a debate which will
6
7
                                                                    7
    have the robbers armed with automatic rifles, assault
                                                                        be relevant in this Commission because we've already
                                                                    8
8
    rifles, where it's necessary for the STF or whoever deals
                                                                        received submissions dealing with this point about, the
9
                                                                    9
    with the situation to fire, to shoot back and shoot to kill
                                                                        suggestion is that the police are now adopting a policy of
10
    to prevent the deaths of part of, the victims of the cash
                                                                   10
                                                                        minimum - maximum force and departing from the prescripts
11
    in heist robbery.
                                                                   11
                                                                        of section 13(3)(b) and it's dealt with in extenso in
12
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   12
                                                                        exhibit FFF14.
                              Sure.
13
                                                                   13
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 That would be a case where
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes.
14
    there's, where minimum force happens to coincide with
                                                                   14
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I don't know that it's
15
                                                                   15
                                                                        appropriate for this debate to be had with this witness at
    maximum force.
16
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                        this stage, but certainly it's a relevant matter that we're
                              Ja.
17
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Not because it's maximum
                                                                   17
                                                                        concerned about and obviously we'll have to deal with.
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
18
    force but because the minimum, even the minimum takes you
                                                                   18
                                                                                                 Okay.
19
    right up to the ceiling.
                                                                   19
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     But I don't see how it
20
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   20
                                                                        helps to debate it with -
                              Thank you -
21
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 That's why it's not correct
                                                                   21
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Well -
22 to say that minimum force necessarily excludes maximum
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     So if I allow you to debate
                                                                   22
    force because one can consider, conceive of rare situations
                                                                   23
                                                                       it with him, you'll debate it with every policeman who
24 where the minimum force is the same as maximum force, but
                                                                   24
                                                                       comes -
25 the general proposition is that minimum force -
                                                                   25
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 No.
  ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 9469
                                                                                                                           Page 9471
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 And we'll be here for
                                                                        should have asked Annandale and then Annandale by then will
1
    longer than the Saville Commission was in Northern Ireland
                                                                    2
                                                                        be gone.
2
                                                                    3
3
    and I don't want to allow that.
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Mr Semenya, you want to say
4
           MR MPOFU:
                              No, Chairperson, with the
                                                                        something? It looks as if he simply wants to ask, did you
5
    greatest respect. Actually I was going to leave the
                                                                    5
                                                                        tell the National Commissioner that maximum force was used?
6
    subject, now I'm going to pursue it. The reason why I'm
                                                                    6
                                                                        If that's his question and did she get that phrase, which
7
                                                                    7
    asking this witness about that is because he, General
                                                                        she did use, did she get it from you? If he asks that
                                                                    8
                                                                        question I don't see how - how I can disallow him.
8
    Annandale, according to the National Commissioner is one of
                                                                    9
9
    the people who briefed her about the happenings in Marikana
                                                                              MR SEMENYA SC:
                                                                                                      Well, Chair, the
10
    and he, among others or in his presence, told the National
                                                                   10
                                                                        objection is a different one.
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
    Commissioner that maximum force was used. So this has got
                                                                   11
                                                                                                    In what respect?
11
                                                                   12
                                                                              MR SEMENYA SC:
                                                                                                      The transcript tells us
12
    nothing to do with the entire police force. I'm talking
13
    about someone -
                                                                   13
                                                                        that the National Commissioner in her own words says, "I
                                                                   14
14
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Where - I know what the
                                                                        used that word as a connotation of a contrast between
15
    National Commissioner said, it's been put before us.
                                                                   15
                                                                        minimum force and maximum force." She did not use it as a
                                                                        word of art as we now know it. She gave direct evidence
16
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, but -
                                                                   17
                                                                        about what she meant by that expression.
17
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 I'm not aware of any
18
    evidence - if it is, you must draw it to my attention - I'm
                                                                   18
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    If he's only going to ask
19
    not aware of any evidence where she said that those actual
                                                                   19
                                                                        the one question, did she get that phrase from the witness,
20
    words, the verba ipsissima as we say, were used by this
                                                                   20
                                                                        I'll allow him to ask the question but I won't allow him to
21
    witness in briefing her.
                                                                   21
                                                                        go any further. Yes, Mr Mpofu?
22
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   22
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                              No, no, nobody is suggesting
                                                                                                No, Chairperson, with the
23
    that. All I'm saying is that she has given evidence that
                                                                   23
                                                                        greatest respect, can I respond to what Mr Semenya has just
                                                                   24
24
    the contents of her statement to brief the President and
                                                                        said?
                                                                   25
25
    the statement she made on the 17th was as a result of the
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Yes, you can respond.
                                                                                                                           Page 9472
                                                        Page 9470
    information she got from the commanders who briefed her, of
1
                                                                    1
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Thank you. What Mr Semenya
2
    which this witness was one and that - of course the witness
                                                                        has just said makes it even worse, Chairperson. If indeed
3
    might say it was not me, it was Calitz or whatever, I
                                                                        the National Commissioner used that phrase in contrast to
4
    don't, that's not where I am. All I'm saying is that as a
                                                                    4
                                                                        minimum force, then it means she did so consciously.
                                                                    5
5
    result of a briefing that he, among other people, gave
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu, I'm not sure
    which the National Commissioner says informed her
                                                                    6
                                                                        that, with respect to Mr Semenya, his quotation is exactly
6
7
                                                                    7
    statement, it was said that maximum force had been used on
                                                                        correct but in any event what the National Commissioner
    the 16th of August, which is against the law.
                                                                    8
8
                                                                        said and what she meant is a matter to take up with her.
9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Well -
                                                                    9
                                                                        It's no good taking it up with this witness but what I've
           MR SEMENYA SC:
10
                                   Chair -
                                                                   10
                                                                        said is I'll allow you to ask her whether she got the
11
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        phrase from you, i.e. from General Annandale. You can ask
                                 It's a further question
                                                                   11
12
    that arises and that is a point made by the author of the
                                                                   12
                                                                        that question. Let's hear what his answer is.
                                                                   13
13
    book which is FFF14 that the phrase "maximum force" may
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  No, I'll leave it,
14
    also be ambiguous and that "by maximum force" may simply
                                                                   14
                                                                        Chairperson. I'll move to something else.
15
    have been meant lethal force, but when the National
                                                                   15
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu, you say when she
16
    Commissioner comes back and you proceed with your cross-
                                                                   16
                                                                        gives her evidence -
17
    examination of her, you can ask her about it but -
                                                                   17
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  No, it's okay.
18
                                                                   18
           MR MPOFU:
                              Chairperson, I'm sorry, I know
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     - the Major-General will
19
    Mr Semenya wants to say something – just so that he
                                                                   19
                                                                        have gone and you can't ask him, so if you won't ask him, I
    responds to everything, that's exactly the problem I'm pre-
                                                                   20
                                                                        will. Did you give that expression to, did you use that
21
    empting, Chairperson, because if I do that with the
                                                                        expression "maximum force" in the briefing you gave or that
22 National Commissioner, she's going to ask the commanders.
                                                                        you were involved in giving to the National Commissioner?
   The commander is here now and he'll be gone, so I have to
                                                                   23
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                                                                        Nee,
24 ask him and then I will ask her. You can be sure that I
                                                                   24
                                                                        Voorsitter.
25 will ask her as well but I don't want her to say, you
                                                                   25
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Right.
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

Page 9475

Page 9473 MR MPOFU: Do you accept that the 34 command of the police on the question of self-defence would 1 people who were killed in, rather on the 16th of August, 2 be third-hand in the sense that they would have been told 3 were killed by the police, correct? 4 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter. 4 5 ek het geen rede om te glo dat dit 'n ander rede is nie. Ek dink daar is 30 persone, dink ek, op die dag en ek weet 6 that as a fact? 6 7 7 daar is vier wat na die tyd in die hospitaal is, maar ek het geen rede om dit nie te glo nie. 8 8 9 9 MR MPOFU: And of course you are aware bevelvoerders. that the version of the police is that those people were 10 MR MPOFU: 10 killed in self-defence. The question is -11 11 12 12 CHAIRPERSON: Self or private defence. 13 MR MPOFU: Self or private defence, yes, 13 14 to be technical. The question I want to ask you is whether you'd agree with the proposition that for someone to be we together on that? 15 able to justify or testify about whether a particular 16 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: 16 17 to the slide in exhibit L, Mr Mpofu? 17 situation amounted to self-defence or not, that person 18 would either have had to be present or involved in the 18 MR MPOFU: 19 fight, as it were - in or during the fight. 20 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya, you've got your 20 21 21 CHAIRPERSON: microphone turned on? 22 MR SEMENYA SC: 22 Chair, that's completely 23 23 minimum force and so force incorrect. I've read the judgments of judges on self-24 MR MPOFU: 24 defence, whether it was or was not present, who were not 25 themselves involved.

by the shooters to their commanders who then told you about them, and so they are third-hand and not first-hand as the Commissioner has correctly indicated. Would you accept GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, dis reg. Ek het getuig dat dit, soos oorgedra deur die Sorry, I can't find the particular slide now but I'm sure you'll remember. In the presentation of the plan and in the prescripts as such it is said that the killing of another person would only be justified if it is done on command or in self-defence. Are Are you referring It's SS2, I think. I'm not sure which slide. I was hoping the witness would just, as a matter of experience, answer that but I'll find it. SS2 is the standing order and the standing order in 3(d) - well, in 3 he talks about Chairperson, I might - it probably is SS3, I don't want to lead you through the Page 9476 1 garden path. It's -

Page 9474 CHAIRPERSON: Judges don't testify, the 1 judges make findings based on the testimony before them 2 3 given by people who were present, saw what happened. So I 4 don't know, with respect, if your objection helps us but Mr Mpofu -5 MR MPOFU: 6 Yes, Chairperson, I don't 7 think -8 CHAIRPERSON: I don't know where you're 9 going to, so I'm reluctant to stop you at this stage -10 MR MPOFU: Well, Chairperson, I'm glad you are reluctant because self-defence is an important 11 12 aspect of this case. Once I mention it, I think the - ja. 13 CHAIRPERSON: Of course, of course it is 14 but you were asking about who can testify about it and so -15 MR MPOFU: 16 CHAIRPERSON: And this witness - anyway, 17 but carry on. 18 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: 19 Mr Mpofu, are you referring to someone who testifies first-hand or someone to 21 whom a report has been made? 22 MR MPOFU: No, I'll ask the question

2 CHAIRPERSON: You don't want to lead me 3 up the garden path? 4 MR MPOFU: Up the garden path. 5 CHAIRPERSON: No, I'm sure you don't. 6 SS3, is it? 7 MR MPOFU: Okay. 8 CHAIRPERSON: SS3 has got three separate plans but what we have in the top right hand corner is the overall page number of the police hard drive, so that might 10 11 be a helpful way to find it. 12 MR MADLANGA SC: Is Mr Mpofu perhaps 13 looking for point 7 of SS3? 14 MR MPOFU: Point 7 on the front? 15 MR MADLANGA SC: 1878. 16 MR MPOFU: Mine is not -17 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 18 as ek kan help, dit is in - it's contained in the 19 contingency planning I think, both the one on the 10th -20 MR MPOFU: Yes 21 MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: As well as the one on the 13th. Mr Madlanga referred to the one, on the 23 other one it's also on page 1668, also paragraph 7.

this, Chairperson, it appears about five times but let's

Ja. Sorry, I'm sorry to do

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

again. Thank you, I think that's a useful qualification,

24 Commissioner. Would you - okay, let me start by saying

25 this, your assertion, your assertions or those of the high

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

24

MR MPOFU:

Page 9479

Page 9480

Page 9477 use the one that Mr Madlanga – it appears about five times MR MPOFU: No, Mr Burger must hold his 1 horses. The question, there are so many postulate - when 2 on SS3. It's on the page, the pages are not very clear, 3 it's 1867, 8, ja. In other words, it's the document at the 3 we say this thing is this or that, you could mean, it can -4 front and it's point 7. At the top it says 4 it's and/or, or that both situations can be postulated. 5 "Implementation." It's the second document, it's called 5 6 6 "South African Police Service, Rustenburg POP Amended Contingency Plan, Strike by employees of Lonmin" and so on. 7 7 Are we together, General? 8 9 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek is. I am. 10 MR MPOFU: Okay. 10 11 CHAIRPERSON: The place that we found is 11 CHAIRPERSON: 1726, which is the contingency plan, I think, of the 16th, 12 12 13 isn't it? 13 chase. 14 MR MPOFU: Yes. 14 MR MPOFU: 15 CHAIRPERSON: 15 CHAIRPERSON: But the operative one that 16 was applicable on the 16th and there paragraph 7 says, "Use 17 of force: only on command or self-defence," is that what 17 18 you're referring to? 18 19 MR MPOFU: That's it, correct. Thank 19 20 20 you, Chair. 21 CHAIRPERSON: 21 Alright, we've now found 22 it, now what are we going to do with it now that we've 22 23 found it? 23 24 MR MPOFU: 24 Well, we'll just repeat the 25 question which I'm sure has been forgotten now, which is, Page 9478 the use of – that section postulates a situation where, 1 1 "only on command" -

I'm asking a specific question. If he listens he'll understand, that does it postulate mutually exclusive situations. It's not necessarily so from a reading from the sentence semantically. It's something very serious that I'm asking, so I would appreciate if my crossexamination is not unnecessarily interrupted. Mr Mpofu, let's - to use a phrase that Mr Madlanga likes us to use - let's cut to the Yes, thank you, Chairperson. Major-General, in that plan for the 16th it is said that force can be used only on command or in self-defence, which means self-defence or private defence. I take it that it's one or the other, although you could have a situation presumably where you are ordered to defend yourself, so you do use force on command, you're also defending yourself but if it's not a self or private defence situation per se then you can only use force if you have a command. Is that what it means? GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, in die konteks van openbare orde beplanning verwys die

2 like the current one where people were killed, doesn't it, 3 among other things? It might postulate other things as 4 well. 5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Verskoon tog. Voorsitter, ek is nie duidelik, die vraag nie? 6 7 MR MPOFU: Okay. No, I'm saying that the portion that we have read would have been applicable in the 8 9 Marikana situation. 10 [12:25] CHAIRPERSON: The plan referred to is the plan that was drawn up for the Marikana operation. It went 11 12 through various editions culminating in the one of the 16th, 13 so it was clearly applicable to Marikana and as you said, 14 envisages the use of force which could either lead to death 15 on the part of the victim or injury of some sort. Okay, now where do we go from there? What's the next question, 16 17 in other words? 18 MR MPOFU: Right. The next question is, 19 would you agree with me that that section postulates mutually exclusive routes through which the use of force 21 postulated therein can be employed? In other words, it can 22 either be on command from somebody or in self-defence. MR BURGER SC: Then I don't understand 23 24 the question because that's what the clause says, so it's a 25 meaningless question.

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTI

2 MR MAHLANGU: In the context of public order, Mr Chairperson, it refers to command or on command or in self-defence. 5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Nee, nee -6 MR MAHLANGU: I'm sorry. 7 CHAIRPERSON: I don't think - I think he 8 used the word, the English words "only on command." 9 MR MAHLANGU: Only on command in terms of 10 public order policing. 11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 12 en dan die frase is verwysend na die gebruik van offensiewe 13 aksies, so elkeen van die offensiewe aksies, hetsy dit die 14 gebruik is van waterkannonne of skokgranate of CS-gas. As 15 ek reg is, het dit sy oorsprong in die Wet op die Reëling

van Byeenkomste, ek dink artikel 9 waarskynlik wat dan

verwys na die gebruik van geweld. CHAIRPERSON: It also obviously refers to standing order 262, paragraph 11.5 and 7, 11.5 being, "Force may only be used on the command or instruction of the C-JOC or operational commander, if appointed. Members may never act individually without receiving a command from their commander." And 7 says, "Common law principles of self-defence or private defence are not affected by this order." So it looks to me, if I may say so, as if this

16

17

18

23

24

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 9481
                                                                                                                        Page 9483
     paragraph of the plan is in effect referring to standing
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  1
                                                                                                   He says, he says look,
2
    order 262, paragraphs 11.5 and 7, would that be correct?
                                                                      we're not relying on commands by our people, so the
3
            GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                     Voorsitter
                                                                  3
                                                                      Commission doesn't have to worry about that because we're
4
    ja, wat sy oorsprong uit die staande orde uit die Wet, in
                                                                      not suggesting it. Any investigation as to whether
5
    die Wet sê dit daarso pertinent dit moet iemand wees met
                                                                      commands were given and so on, he is saying if I understand
                                                                  6
                                                                      him correctly, isn't directly relevant.
6
    die rang van adjudant-offisier of hoër, so dis nie net
7
                                                                  7
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
    beperk tot oorhoofse of operasionele nie, dit is - en ek
                                                                                               Alright, then I'll lay the
8
    belowe ek maak nou klaar, Voorsitter, so die "command"
                                                                  8
                                                                      basis.
9
                                                                  9
     gedeelte was verwysend na die openbare orde gedeelte.
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   And you will remember that
10
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   The command here refers to
                                                                  10
                                                                      the videos didn't, there was no audible command given
11
    the -
                                                                  11
                                                                      before the shots were fired.
12
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  12
                                  The public order part.
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                               Well -
13
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   The public order -
                                                                  13
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   I think that's the basis -
14
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Part.
                                                                  14
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                               Well, there are commands, you
15
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   Part.
                                                                  15
                                                                      will agree, people that formed the basic line and also - I
            GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
                                                                      will come, don't worry Chairperson -
16
                                                     En dan die
                                                                  16
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
17
     "self-defence" is verwysend na, in staande orde 262, die
                                                                  17
                                                                                                   Commissioner Hemraj -
18
    gemeenregtelike beginsels van -
                                                                  18
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                               After two we're going to deal
19
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   The self-defence refers to
                                                                  19
                                                                      with, one way or the other.
20
    the standing order where it refers to public or private
                                                                  20
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Unless of course it's part
21
                                                                  21
                                                                      of your case, the point she makes is this - which I'm happy
    defence.
22
                                                                      to take on board - unless it's part of your case that
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  22
                                  The common law principles
23
                                                                  23
                                                                      people were killed as a result of commands, in which case
    of self or private defence.
24
                                                                  24
                                                                      clearly it becomes relevant.
            MR MAHLANGU:
                                   Private and self-defence,
                                                                  25
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
25
                                                                                               Thank you, Chairperson. Maybe
    yes.
                                                                                                                        Page 9484
                                                       Page 9482
                                                                      let's, as the Chairperson would like to say, cut to the
1
           MR MPOFU:
                              General, I'm sorry, this is a
2
    very important aspect. I'm going to repeat my question or
                                                                  2
                                                                       chase.
3
    even simplify it. Maybe I made it difficult by using terms
                                                                  3
                                                                              MR BURGER SC:
                                                                                                     Sorry Chair, I'm lost
4
    like "mutually exclusive." What I'm putting to you or what
                                                                  4
                                                                       here. Can I just follow the debate? Is it part of my
5
    I'm asking you is the following. From all the things that
                                                                       learned friend's case that people were killed on command?
                                                                       We're now here for very many months. I would be greatly
6
    have been discussed now, including what the Chair has said
                                                                  6
7
    to you, would I be entitled to assume that a situation
                                                                  7
                                                                       surprised if that's part of his case and we didn't know it
                                                                  8
8
    where the police have killed people such as in this
                                                                       but if it is, were they to know that.
9
                                                                  9
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Well, I think if we listen
    situation of Marikana, was either as a result of a command
                                                                  10
                                                                      we'll know it sooner than if we just dabble into my cross-
10
    being given or in self-defence. In other words, if it was
                                                                  11
11
    on command then it cannot be self-defence. That's what I
                                                                       examination.
12
    meant by mutually exclusive but I'm trying to simplify it.
                                                                  12
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Mr Mpofu, let's do this in
13
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Mr Mpofu, I'm sorry - Mr
                                                                  13
                                                                       an orderly fashion -
14
                                                                  14
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 I said we'll cut to the chase,
    Semenya?
15
                                                                  15
           MR SEMENYA SC:
                                    As far as the version of
                                                                      Chairperson.
    the South African Police Service is concerned, nobody was
16
                                                                  16
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Mr Mpofu, Mr Mpofu, let's
17
    killed on command.
                                                                  17
                                                                       take it slowly together. The question that is raised, is
18
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                  18
                                                                       that part of your case? And I look now at your statement
19
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  What he's really saying to
                                                                  19
                                                                       that you handed in, GGG18, do we find it there? You say
    you, Mr Mpofu, is that the question isn't relevant to this
                                                                       that there are a number of points in paragraph 9 and you
21
    inquiry because it's not contended, it's not in issue that
                                                                  21
                                                                       say that it's clear or on a proper analysis it should be
22 anybody was killed as a result of a command by a superior
                                                                       clear that your case is that people died, were killed as a
    officer or a superior -
                                                                  23
23
                                                                       result of commands. If that's your case, then fine.
        MR MPOFU:
                              Well, I'm making it an issue
                                                                  24
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Well, Chairperson, with the
25 then, Chairperson, if it's not.
                                                                       greatest respect -
```

```
Page 9485
                                                                                                                            Page 9487
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  The suggestion is it's a
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   If I'm allowed to speak.
1
                                                                     1
    new thing that we just heard now, but what do you say about
                                                                     2
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
2
                                                                                                      Alright. And is this
3
    that?
                                                                     3
                                                                        covered at all by the affidavits that have been filed in
4
           MR MPOFU:
                              Chairperson, two things. One,
                                                                        respect of the evidence that's going to be led?
                                                                     5
5
    if you look at 9.4 of my opening statement we say one of
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Yes, Chairperson.
                                                                     6
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
6
    the 10 things that we're going to show in this case is that
                                                                                                      Can you refer us to it?
7
                                                                     7
                                                                                                  Yes, Chairperson.
    the claims of self-defence are baseless. That's what I'm
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
    busy with now. If that is not enough, then go to paragraph
                                                                     8
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
8
                                                                                                      Well, do so please.
                                                                    9
9
    8 where we say, "Due, inter alia, to ongoing consultations,
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  General Annandale, can you go
                                                                    10
10
    lack of resources and other impediments, these broad themes
                                                                        to GGG17?
                                                                    11
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
11
    are not at this stage exhaustive and will, in all
                                                                                                      GGG17 being the statement
12
    probability, be augmented in due course. So if 9.4 needs
                                                                    12
                                                                        of Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak.
13
    to be amplified, I would think that what I'm busy with is
                                                                    13
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Okay, I'm going to deal with
14
    sufficiently covered in 9.4 but if Mr Burger wants to -
                                                                    14
                                                                         this in two sections. We'll start with the 13th, the 13th.
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                         Sorry, paragraph 7 Chairperson, sorry. Maybe you'll help
                                  No, no, Mr Mpofu, I think
                                                                        us with the translation, I'll read it in Afrikaans. This
16
    we're talking at cross-purposes. The question at the
17
    moment, as I understand it is, is it your case that people
                                                                    17
                                                                         is the statement of -
18
    were killed in circumstances where there was a command -
                                                                    18
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak.
19
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    19
                              Yes.
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak.
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - to be killed. You see
                                                                    20
                                                                        ja. It says – sorry Chairperson, just give me one second.
21
    whether - self-defence could be baseless simply because the
                                                                        He's dealing with the 16th, I made a mistake. That refers
    person who shot wasn't acting in self-defence or wasn't
                                                                        to the 13th, ja, it's dealing with the 16th. "Die groep het
22
                                                                    22
23
    reasonable in the circumstances to shoot.
                                                                    23
                                                                        terugbeweeg en weer hergroepeer aan die anderkant van die
24
           MR MPOFU:
                              It could be.
                                                                    24
                                                                        kraal en die polisiemanne weer om ongeveer" -
25
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    25
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                  That would be a basis why
                                                                                                      Mr Mpofu, forgive my being
                                                        Page 9486
                                                                                                                            Page 9488
    self-defence is baseless, but it's a different situation
                                                                        difficult. May I suggest you just tell me which paragraphs
1
    where someone shoots because they - he was ordered to
                                                                        you want and I'll translate them into English, or try to?
2
3
    shoot, there was a command. And what is being put is, is
                                                                     3
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  I'll be indebted to the
4
    it your case that there was such a command?
                                                                        Chairperson. It's paragraph 7, it starts with "Die groep."
5
                                                                     5
           MR MPOFU:
                               Yes.
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Alright, do you want me to
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                     6
                                                                        start reading and you tell me when to stop? The group
6
                                  Do I understand you to say
7
                                                                     7
                                                                        moved back, moved back and then regrouped on the other side
    yes?
                                                                    8
8
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, Chairperson, on - I'm
                                                                        of the kraal, photograph 1516, and the police - and
                                                                    9
9
    saying more than yes. I'm saying yes and it is subsumed in
                                                                        attacked the policemen again at about 15:55. It was clear
    what is stated in 9.4. Yes, I agree, it doesn't
                                                                    10
                                                                        out of the air, it was clearly observed out of the air that
10
11
    necessarily fall - none of these points have been
                                                                    11
                                                                        the group would not surrender. Brigadier Calitz again gave
12
    elaborated upon. All I'm saying is that that part of my
                                                                    12
                                                                        the members the order to mount an operation. It almost
13
    case is not, or rather is consonant with what is stated in
                                                                    13
                                                                        appeared as if the members did not hear. Because of the
14
    9.4.
                                                                    14
                                                                        incident on the Monday, the 13th of August, where the two
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        police members were chopped - well, I say that, that's
                                  Now the next question would
                                                                        correct - were chopped to death under the helicopter, I
    be, are you able to tell us who gave the commands which we
17
    should investigate which form the causae causante, as it
                                                                    17
                                                                        realised that the members would have to act to defend
                                                                    18
18
    were, of the killings.
                                                                        themselves. I again repeat Brigadier Calitz's order from
19
                                                                    19
           MR MPOFU:
                               Yes, that's what I was busy
                                                                        the helicopter, on which I saw that the members were
    with before I was rudely interrupted.
                                                                    20
                                                                        acting.
21
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  No, no, you haven't told us
                                                                    21
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
22
    who gave the command.
                                                                    22
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Groups, brackets
           MR MPOFU:
                              Well, I was - that's my next
                                                                    23
                                                                        (attackers), photograph 1517, ran away in the direction of
23
24
   question, Chairperson.
                                                                    24
                                                                        these, the shacks or squatters' houses neighbouring on the
25
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Alright -
                                                                        scene at 15:56. Must I go on? Must I go on, Mr Mpofu?
```

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 440 3647 Fax: 011 440 9119

Page 9489 Page 9491 MR MPOFU: Sorry, Chairperson. No, I was shootings took place on command or orders. The question just fascinated by that, Chairperson. No, that's enough, 2 was where do you get that from? Is that in one of your 2 3 Chair. 3 statements? You say it is in statements. Obviously you're 4 CHAIRPERSON: It was a rough translation, 4 entitled to rely on statements filed by other parties, 5 I'm sure Mr Madlanga and the professional interpreters can you're entitled to do that. So you say you'll find it in do better but anyway, I did my best. GGG17. So you were asked where, you said para 7. I read 6 7 MR MPOFU: 7 I agree with the the first half of the thing in English to save time. I interpretation. I wouldn't have done better. 8 didn't see and you yourself conceded that my translation 8 9 9 MR MAHLANGU: Thanks for assisting, was correct - I didn't see anyone giving any orders to Chairperson. 10 anybody to shoot. 10 MR MPOFU: 11 MR MPOFU: 11 Now -Chairperson -12 12 MR BURGER SC: No, but I still don't know CHAIRPERSON: No the answer to the question -13 MR MPOFU: Let's stop this. If we're 13 14 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Booi has now got to 14 going to tell the witness the answers then let's stop this. 15 translate it into isiXhosa. I've not asked a single question. All I have done is to MR MPOFU: 16 Yes. 16 read the paragraph. Let me ask the witness questions and 17 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger? 17 extract what I can in cross-examination before anybody 18 MR BURGER SC: No, I still don't know the 18 suggests the answers of what they saw or did not see. This 19 question to my answer, whether -19 is a very crucial aspect of the case, Chairperson -CHAIRPERSON: 20 You don't know the question 20 CHAIRPERSON: Alright. 21 21 to your answer? One doesn't normally get questions to MR MPOFU: I take the strongest possible one's answers. 22 22 exception to being interrupted in this way on such a 23 23 crucial issue of when the people were killed in self-MR BURGER SC: Even I'm getting muddled 24 defence, so-called. 24 with this. Chair, no, the serious question is whether it's 25 CHAIRPERSON: 25 part of my learned friend's case that there was an Mr Mpofu, Mr Mpofu, please. Page 9490 Page 9492 1 instruction to shoot. He gives two reasons for that. The Important questions must obviously be dealt with thoroughly. No-one, I will not allow anyone to stop you 2 first reason is patently wrong, it's not covered by 9.4. 3 It's on a simple reason not covered. The second question 3 from doing that. The difficulty that we had was put to 4 you, about whether this was an issue and what your case 4 then arises is, where in the statements filed by him is it 5 covered? Well, we know it's not covered by that. His was, but if it's somehow covered by the passages I read resort is to paragraph 7 of this statement. There is no 6 6 then please ask the question you want to ask. 7 7 MR MPOFU: instruction to shoot in paragraph 7, so what is the basis General, before we come to the 8 8 for this? Is this putting up issues by kite flying or what questions that arise from the passage that was generously 9 9 is happening here? translated by the Chairperson, I just want to ask you one 10 10 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, first of all I more thing. Is it correct that in police parlance or police language an order or an instruction to engage would 11 don't know what business Mr Burger has in this matter -11 12 CHAIRPERSON: No, Mr Mpofu -12 also involve shooting at people? That's the kind of 13 MR MPOFU: He is making -13 language - since I'm not a policeman I just wanted you to 14 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu -14 assist us. 15 15 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: MR MPOFU: Can I respond to the Nee, objection, if it's an objection -16 Voorsitter. 16 17 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger is a party, his 17 MR MPOFU: Okay. So if, or rather if 18 client is a party to these proceedings. They are concerned 18 somebody comes here and says that in police language in a 19 they should not be unduly extended by irrelevant points. 19 situation - I mean let's not make it too theoretical - in a Every drop of water that's needlessly wasted is something 20 situation that we had on the 16th just before the shootout -20 21 that could be used profitably if it remained in the bucket. 21 no, sorry, there I go again, before the shooting occurred 22 MR MPOFU: Well -22 that they heard somebody saying, "engage, engage" in the [12:45] CHAIRPERSON: So that's his objection, as 23 context of this, you wouldn't agree with that person that 24 I – that gives him locus standi to take the point. Now the 24 that might amount to an order to shoot? 25 point he raises is this, you say your case is that the 25 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Mr Mpofu, is this a

```
Page 9493
                                                                                                                           Page 9495
    hypothetical question or is there going to be such
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      So what's your answer to
                                                                    1
    evidence?
                                                                    2
                                                                        that?
2
                                                                    3
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              There will be.
                                                                                                  My answer is that the
4
           MR BURGER SC:
                                   Then I object to it, we
                                                                    4
                                                                        statement I'm referring to was filed by none other than Mr
5
    don't have a statement to that effect. I seriously object
                                                                    5
                                                                        Burger. It is the statement, which I'm sure is an exhibit
                                                                        yet, of - what's his name - Dirk Cornelius Botes, which is
    to this line of questioning, this is kite flying. My
                                                                    6
6
7
                                                                    7
    learned friend doesn't have a version on this and he's
                                                                        filed by Lonmin or by Mr Burger where he says that he
    testing a non-existent version by calling it hypothetical.
                                                                    8
                                                                        heard, I think it was Brigadier Calitz saying three times,
8
                                                                    9
q
    He is not, in month 8, entitled to do that, sir. I object
                                                                        "engage, engage, engage." And I'll check with Ms Pillay,
10
    to this line.
                                                                        if that statement is not an exhibit then I'll ask for your
                                                                   10
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   11
                                                                        indulgence, Chairperson, and forgiveness because -
11
                              Well, Mr Burger I think has a
12
    problem with listening. I have said no. The question was
                                                                   12
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Okay, okay, I don't
13
                                                                   13
                                                                        remember that statement and I know what I said about
14
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Please don't make personal
                                                                        statements must be filed the day before they are relied on
    comments. I won't allow him to make personal comments
                                                                        but in this particular instance I won't enforce that
15
                                                                        against you.
    about you and I won't allow you to make personal comments
16
                                                                   16
                                                                   17
17
    about him.
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Ωh
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              Well then -
                                                                   18
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      The witness has said -
19
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Concentrate on the merits.
                                                                   19
                                                                        sorry - the witness has said that the order "engage"
20
           MR MPOFU:
                              Well, then Chairperson, thank
                                                                   20
                                                                        doesn't mean what you say it means but anyway, let's just
21
    you. Then I'll rely on you to correct him. He says I said
                                                                   21
                                                                        get clarity on it. What does the order "engage" mean in a
    it's a hypothetical question. Commissioner Hemraj just
22
                                                                   22
                                                                        context such as that to which Mr Mpofu has referred?
23
    asked me, Mr Mpofu is this a hypothetical question or is
                                                                   23
                                                                               GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE:
24
    there another basis and I said the exact opposite of what
                                                                   24
                                                                        as Brigadier Calitz dit gebruik het sal hy sekerlik moet
25
    Mr Burger is saying. So I don't understand what he's doing
                                                                   25
                                                                        verwys in watter konteks. Ek het verwys in my getuienis,
                                                        Page 9494
                                                                                                                           Page 9496
    now. He's just interrupting my cross-examination yet
                                                                        as ek reg kan onthou, dat ek op 'n latere stadium dink ek
1
2
                                                                        het ek gehoor van die shopper van Protea Coin wat Generaal
    again.
3
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Let's take it slowly. You
                                                                        Mpembe in was, dat dit gesê was, "Do not, do not engage
4
    said it wasn't a hypothetical question -
                                                                        unless the target engaged you." Dit is wat ek kan onthou.
5
            MR MPOFU:
                              And -
                                                                    5
                                                                        Ek weet nie van die "engage, engage, engage" nie.
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    6
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                  No - no. That then raised
                                                                                                    The problem is that
6
    a point that it's not covered by any statements that you've
                                                                    7
7
                                                                        apparently that's in a statement that neither you nor I
8
    filed. Your answer, as I understood so far, is to say that
                                                                    8
                                                                        have seen but I'm afraid that what I'm going to suggest is
9
                                                                    9
    it is covered by statements filed by other parties and
                                                                        going to mean that Mr Mpofu's promise to try to finish by
                                                                   10
                                                                        the end of today isn't going to be kept but it won't be his
10
    that's why you referred to this statement. If I'm not
11
    understanding you correctly, please tell me.
                                                                        fault, it'll be because of my intervention. What I suggest
                                                                   11
12
            MR MPOFU:
                              No, you are understanding me
                                                                   12
                                                                        we do is, this statement of Mr Botes to which he's referred
13
    correctly, Chairperson.
                                                                   13
                                                                        where that passage appears should be produced. You should
14
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   14
                                                                        have - I presume you'll get it Monday morning. You would
                                  Alright, well, I'm pleased
15
    about that. Now, then the - Mr Burger's point is that this
                                                                   15
                                                                        have had to come back Monday anyway because other people
     statement does bear out what you say because it's not a
                                                                   16
                                                                        have got to ask you questions. You can look at it, study
16
17
     statement which reveals that anyone says that an order was
                                                                   17
                                                                        the relevant passage - perhaps Mr Mpofu will be kind enough
                                                                   18
18
     given to shoot.
                                                                        to mark it or indicate clearly to you -
                                                                   19
19
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 57.
                              To engage.
20
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   20
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                  To engage.
                                                                                                    - what the passage is. If
21
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes. Thank you, Chairperson.
                                                                   21
                                                                        there are any other passages in any other statements that
22
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  That's the objection, you
                                                                   22
                                                                        he relies on in support of what he says, obviously I'd
                                                                   23
                                                                        expect those to be given as well and we can then proceed
23
    see.
         MR MPOFU:
                              Yes. No, it's fine.
                                                                   24
                                                                        with this point.
    Chairperson –
                                                                   25
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes, Chair.
```

	•		
	Page 9497		Page 9499
1	CHAIRPERSON: Is that a satisfactory	1	dit dan nou gebruik van skokgranate of haelgeweer, rubber
2	approach?	2	was, dit was my waarneming.
3	MR MPOFU: 100% Chairperson, subject – I	3	CHAIRPERSON: On that note we will
4	just want to say two things. One is my apology to	4	adjourn until 10 o'clock on Monday morning.
5	Brigadier Calitz, just so that it's not suggested that I'm	5	MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
6	directly saying, it may or may not have been him. What the	6	[COMMISSION ADJOURNED]
7	statement says is, "From my observation this group was	7	
8	heading from the koppie in the direction of the kraal where	8	
9	a group of police officers, including members of the task	9	
10	team, had moved to. I just heard the words on the SAPS	10	
11	radio communications system, 'engage, engage, engage'." So	11	
12	insofar as I suggested that it was Calitz, it may or may	12	
13	not be him. I just didn't want his name to be used in	13	
14	vain.	14	
15	CHAIRPERSON: We'll get the statements,	15	•
16	they'll be distributed to those who haven't got them,	16	•
17	including the commissioners, and you will then continue	17	•
18	with that point.	18	
19	MR MPOFU: Yes.	19	•
			•
20	CHAIRPERSON: Next week, Monday morning	20	•
21	10 o'clock.	21	•
22	MR MPOFU: I will, Chairperson. If the	22	•
23	Chairperson can just allow me one question so that on	23	•
24	Monday we start at a logical point. One, I promise.	24	•
25	COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Can I just seek	25	•
1	Page 9498 clarity on one thing, Mr Mpofu? I don't know if I recorded		
1	· .		
2	this question of yours correctly which says, if a policeman comes and says that he heard the words "engage, engage,		
3			
4	engage." Was that incorrect?		
5	MR MPOFU: No, I said if a person.		
6	COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: If any person.		
7	MR MPOFU: Any person yes, thank you.		
8	CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible] at 1 o'clock		
9	because people have told me that they have to leave at one		
10	in order to catch aeroplanes and so on, so provided your		
11	augetion and answer decen't take us hovened 1 o'clock I'll		
~ ~	question and answer doesn't take us beyond 1 o'clock I'll		
12	allow it, but not otherwise.		
13	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I		
13 14	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as		
13	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about		
13 14	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that		
13 14 15	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't		
13 14 15 16	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think		
13 14 15 16 17	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think that means, that meant, the word "engage?"		
13 14 15 16 17 18	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think		
13 14 15 16 17 18 19	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think that means, that meant, the word "engage?"		
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think that means, that meant, the word "engage?" GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter		
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think that means, that meant, the word "engage?" GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter ja, dis suiwer my eie opinie en my eie interpretasie die		
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think that means, that meant, the word "engage?" GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter ja, dis suiwer my eie opinie en my eie interpretasie die tyd, ek was bewus dat Brigadier Calitz besig was met		
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	allow it, but not otherwise. MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I promise. Well, I am only promising – in the quotation, as it were, that you remember, you said you didn't know about this and for obvious reasons you didn't but in the one that you say you knew about which said, "If the target – don't engage unless the target engages you," what do you think that means, that meant, the word "engage?" GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter ja, dis suiwer my eie opinie en my eie interpretasie die tyd, ek was bewus dat Brigadier Calitz besig was met uiteendryfaksie, synde dat hy in die voorste linie van		

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

A
aan 9411:6 9423:6
9437:4,6,16 9456:25
9463:8 9487:23
aangedui 9422:7
aangehaal 9414:15
S
aangesluit 9452:3
9456:15 9457:4
aankoms 9425:25
aanleiding 9439:10
aantal 9414:20 9458:13
aanvaar 9409:17
9410:9,16 9411:5
9417:24 9440:21
aanvallers 9415:12
Aartsbiskop 9458:19
able 9462:9,9 9473:16
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
9486:16
absence 9447:2
Absolutely 9444:7
accept 9409:1,14,15
9410:7,8,14,23
9411:4 9415:24
9419:13,15,21
9423:17 9424:3
9431:11 9433:22
9434:1 9440:7
9445:19 9461:12
9463:10 9464:21
9473:1 9475:5
accepted 9410:21
9434:5 9448:6
accompany 9434:13
act 9425:17 9465:1,8
9465:12,19 9480:22
9488:17
acted 9407:18 9432:22
acting 9434:1 9435:5
9436:10 9485:22
9488:20
action 9418:23 9434:23
actions 9432:8 9433:17
activities 9425:18
actual 9469:19
ad 9407:16
**** / ** * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
add 9451:19
adding 9451:15
addition 9428:13
address 9406:21
addressing 9427:19
adjourn 9405:17
9499:4
adjourned 9405:18
9499:6
adjournment 9438:24
9442:19
ADJOURNS 9442:20
adjudant-offisier
9481:6
/1.8
administration 9458:5
/1.8
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15 admission 9429:16
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15 admission 9429:16 admittedly 9423:22
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15 admission 9429:16 admittedly 9423:22
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15 admission 9429:16 admittedly 9423:22 adopting 9468:9
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15 admission 9429:16 admittedly 9423:22
administration 9458:5 admissible 9435:15 admission 9429:16 admittedly 9423:22 adopting 9468:9

9421:1 9425:2,12,20
9425:24 9426:14,23
9427:4,23 advance 9420:12
9450:1 9458:6
advised 9405:21
advocate 9424:24 9426:2
aeroplanes 9498:10
af 9427:8 9428:4
affidavit 9409:11 affidavits 9487:3
afraid 9496:8
Africa 9406:10 9468:1
African 9406:3,11 9462:6 9465:24
9477:6 9482:16
Afrikaans 9487:16
ago 9417:1 agree 9415:11 9416:19
9424:14 9433:24
9443:8,9 9460:3
9467:25 9473:15
9478:19 9483:15 9486:10 9489:7
9492:23
agreed 9416:3 9451:18
agrees 9424:18 agter 9457:10
air 9488:10,10
aksies 9420:2 9480:13
9480:13
al 9420:17 9456:15,16 9456:16
Alexander 9463:12
alhoewel 9413:14
alia 9485:9 alle 9421:3,4
allegedly 9445:24
allow 9413:24 9434:16
9434:19 9462:8 9467:6,8 9468:22
9469:3 9471:20,20
9472:10 9492:2
9493:15,16 9497:23
9498:12 allowed 9443:20
9449:7 9451:2 9464:4
9468:1 9487:1
alluded 9411:8 alluding 9464:25
almal 9412:23 9428:5
alright 9423:21
9431:12 9441:2
9450:12,16 9453:3 9468:4 9477:21
9483:7 9486:25
9487:2 9488:5
9491:20 9494:14 altyd 9442:2
ambiguous 9470:14
Amended 9477:6
amount 9447:18 9492:24
9492:24 amounted 9473:17
amper 9419:7 9458:25

amplified 9430:22 9485:13
analysis 9412:13,16,17 9484:21
ander 9414:11 9419:8 9420:22 9437:15
9463:9,20 9473:5 anderkant 9487:23
anders 9445:18 and/or 9445:12 9479:4
and/or 9443.12 9479.4 angle 9448:23 announce 9405:11
announcement 9405:7
answer 9425:9 9426:20 9427:3 9435:3,6,7
9441:5 9455:17
9456:10,10,13 9460:6
9460:16 9463:22 9472:12 9475:20
9489:13,19,21 9494:8
9495:1,3 9498:11 answered 9443:4
9461:16 9462:18 9467:9
answers 9435:14,25 9436:3,19 9489:22
9491:14,18
anticipated 9411:3 9422:18
antwoord 9456:6
anybody 9447:3 9459:8 9482:22 9491:10,17
anyway 9447:1
9449:11 9451:13 9460:15 9474:16
9489:6 9495:20
9496:15 apart 9441:8 9455:20
apartheid 9452:1
9454:24 9455:2,3 apology 9497:4
apparently 9430:7 9496:7
appeared 9488:13
appears 9476:25 9477:1 9496:13
applicability 9462:23
applicable 9477:16 9478:8,13
applicant 9445:7
applicants 9450:22 application 9451:8
applies 9445:20 9452:4 9454:21,22
apply 9451:9
appointed 9444:6 9480:21
appreciate 9417:18 9479:9
approach 9412:14 9424:23 9455:6
9459:7 9460:15
9497:2 approached 9405:18
approaching 9442:5,10 appropriate 9434:18
2000C00C121E 9434' 1X

9468:15 approximately 9415:13 areas 9439:1 argue 9420:4 9428:16 **arguing** 9449:7 **argument** 9420:11 9461:25 arguments 9435:25 arises 9470:12 9490:4 armed 9409:9,13,14,25 9410:3,6,13 9411:25 9466:7 arose 9446:14 **arranged** 9405:20 9414:23 arrangements 9407:25 arrest 9419:15,16,18 9422:11 arrestasie 9413:21 arrestasies 9423:10 arrested 9415:1 9422:2 9422:20 **arresteer** 9418:3,7 arrests 9423:17 art 9471:16 articulated 9462:10 artikel 9426:14 9480:16 asked 9428:14 9432:11 9436:19 9471:1 9491:6,15 9493:23 asking 9417:3 9434:17 9435:13,19,21,22,23 9436:9 9441:5 9459:16 9469:7 9474:14 9479:5,9 9482:5 asks 9471:7 aspect 9443:12 9451:19 9474:12 9482:2 9491:19 aspek 9458:2 **aspekte** 9437:3 assault 9466:7 **assertion** 9408:13 9474:25 assertions 9474:25 assist 9435:24 9492:14 assistance 9407:1,3,16 9410:19 assisted 9427:18 assisting 9489:9 assume 9416:7 9417:3 9435:18 9461:24 9482:7 **assumed** 9427:22 9439:23 assuming 9424:6 9445:19 assumption 9416:3 assumptions 9411:11 9411:16,23 9415:23 assurance 9427:15 attacked 9440:14 9488:9

9434:20 9435:4

attackers 9415:13 9488:23 attendance 9427:25 **attending** 9425:21 **attention** 9469:18 attitude 9432:21 9447:24 9448:1 9461:1 9462:2,10 9463:5 audible 9483:10 augmented 9485:12 August 9426:24 9427:6 9431:16 9446:2 9462:12 9470:8 9473:2 9488:14 author 9470:12 authorised 9465:14 **authority** 9437:9,10 9438:15 **automatic** 9423:19,20 9466:7 **available** 9405:10,13 9405:13,25 9407:4,9 9407:16 aware 9405:15 9433:19 9440:22 9441:4,7 9453:4,5,10 9455:19 9455:25 9456:4 9463:4 9469:17,19 9473:9 В

b 9436:4,14 9465:9 back 9418:11 9454:16 9454:16 9455:8 9466:9 9470:16 9488:7,7 9496:15 baie 9413:14 9418:8 **based** 9433:17 9474:2 baseless 9485:7,21 9486:1 basic 9411:11 9483:15 basically 9422:9,11 9437:23 9441:23 9455:10 basis 9450:21 9451:15 9460:18 9483:8.13 9485:25 9490:7 9493:24 bear 9431:17 9494:16 **beddens** 9422:7 **bedreiging** 9421:6,11 9421:15 beginsel 9457:1 9458:12 9464:7,8,16 beginsels 9445:17 9481:18 behalf 9460:6,8,11 behalwe 9445:16 **behave** 9433:25 9456:2 **behaviour** 9434:18 9435:2 **bekom** 9418:17 bekommernis 9412:25 9423:6 believe 9405:14

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

appropriate 9434:18

belligerent 9409:25 9410:13
belowe 9481:8
benadering 9412:7
9415:18 9459:2,13
9464:17 benefit 9405:12 9443:2
9461:3
beperk 9481:7
beplanning 9413:20
9417:24 9418:20
9442:6 9479:25 besig 9498:22
beskikbaar 9422:7
9445:2
beskikking 9421:4
bespeur 9459:3 9461:9 bespreek 9438:22
bespreking 9438:5
besprekings 9412:23
9415:17
best 9407:23 9489:6
bestaande 9445:17 bestel 9456:18,24
besware 9428:6
beteken 9413:17
9419:7
betrokke 9425:24 9441:19
better 9427:16 9438:2
9455:23 9463:14
9489:6,8
betwis 9468:3
betwyfel 9463:20 bevelselement 9412:6
9420:18
bevelvoerder 9422:6
9438:6 bevelvoerders 9475:9
bevestig 9414:19
9458:13
bevestiging 9414:18
bevorder 9458:3
bewoording 9441:19 bewus 9440:20 9464:6
9498:22
beyond 9498:11
beëdiging 9414:9
big 9449:10
binne 9456:24 9457:2 bit 9432:3 9448:1,7,10
9450:6
black 9459:23 9462:11
blad 9445:3
bladsy 9414:7,8 bly 9419:11 9423:2
board 9483:22
Booi 9420:19 9421:24
9422:10 9458:21
9489:14 book 9439:13,15,15,16
9470:13
borne 9445:13
Botes 9495:6 9496:12
brackets 9488:22
breaches 9423:24

Mar	rikar
0424.2	
9424:2	car
break 9442:16 breek 9423:2	cas
brief 9469:24	9
briefed 9469:9 9470:1	9
briefing 9443:6	9
9469:21 9470:5	9
9472:21	ģ
briefings 9437:24	g
9440:9,10	ģ
brigadier 9409:7,18,19	ģ
9422:6 9423:15	ç
9424:5,8,24,25	cas
9425:1 9426:1	cas
9427:22,25 9488:11	cat
9488:18 9495:8,24	caı
9497:5 9498:22	caı
bring 9420:9,9 9459:1	caı
broad 9428:15 9452:22	cei
9485:10	cel
broke 9408:10	9
broken 9418:10,14	cel
bucket 9490:21	cer
Burger 9424:15,17,23	9
9427:12 9449:24 9460:17 9478:23	cer
9479:1 9484:3	Ç
9485:14 9489:12,17	cer
9489:18,23 9490:11	cha
9490:17 9493:4,11,25	cha
9495:5,7	ç
Burger's 9494:15	ç
business 9419:18,19	9
9490:11	9
busy 9408:10 9411:23	9
9446:7 9462:3,3	9
9485:8,13 9486:19	9
Byeenkomste 9480:16	9
	9
calculated 9411:13,17	9
Calitz 9409:7 9452:5	9
9470:3 9488:11	Ch
9495:8,24 9497:5,12	9
9498:22	ģ
Calitz's 9488:18	cha
call 9422:17 9423:22	ç
9432:1	cha
called 9422:17 9453:5	9
9455:23 9477:5	CH
calling 9493:8	9
calls 9424:12	cha
canvassed 9448:14	, 9
can't 9451:8 9455:22	che
9462:15 9467:18	che
9472:19 9475:10	cho
capacity 9415:1 9422:1 9422:4	cir
9422:4 Cape 9453:9	cir
Captain 9443:4	9
careful 9441:11	Ç
carefully 0460:10	oiti

carrying 9425:13	clear 9406:13 9427:22
case 9417:11 9423:23	9430:13 9433:13
9428:16 9433:5	9438:25 9464:20
9443:15,18,19,21	9477:2 9484:21,22
9444:9,9 9446:8,25	9488:9
9447:17 9449:20,22	cleared 9450:21
9466:13 9474:12	clearer 9463:4
9483:21,22,23 9484:5	clearly 9478:13
9484:7,18,22,23	9483:24 9488:10
9485:6,17 9486:4,13	9496:18
9489:25 9490:25	client 9490:18
9491:19 9492:4	clients 9461:4
cases 9443:17 9445:12	cluster 9422:6
cash 9466:6,10	coherent 9418:11
catch 9498:10	coin 9432:8 9464:10
causae 9486:17	9496:2
causante 9486:17	coincide 9466:14
cause 9453:23 9458:7	coincidence 9467:21
ceiling 9466:19 cell 9414:25 9415:1	collapse 9407:13 collateral 9450:6
9465:5,6	colleague 9417:19
9403:3,6 cells 9422:4	colleagues 9443:2
certain 9415:22	9452:5 9461:24
9432:21 9440:12	9462:1
certainly 9424:13	colonel 9409:19
9430:8 9452:13	9413:24 9414:1
9453:24 9468:16	9426:5,6,22,22
certificate 9425:19	9439:1
chain 9408:14	come 9431:22 9440:25
chair 9406:25,25	9441:1,13 9454:16
9415:3 9425:10	9455:7 9483:16
9430:14 9432:13	9492:7 9496:15
9441:1 9443:23	comes 9410:7 9459:19
9444:15 9445:8	9468:24 9470:16
9450:2,15 9452:14	9492:18 9498:3
9453:19 9457:15	coming 9410:4
9458:17 9459:11	command 9408:14
9462:13 9470:10	9475:1,14 9477:17
9471:9 9473:22	9478:22 9479:17,21
9477:20 9482:6	9479:23 9480:1,3,3,8
9484:3 9489:3,24	9480:9,20,22 9481:8 9481:10 9482:9,11,17
9496:25 Chairman 9405:5,6,8	9481:10 9482:9,11,17
9405:11 9406:1	9484:5 9485:18
9407:22	9486:3,4,22 9491:1
chance 9422:10	commander 9440:18
9450:10 9460:16	9441:16 9470:23
charge 9446:21 9448:4	9480:21,23
9448:6	commanders 9438:1
CHARL 9406:18	9470:1,22 9475:3
9442:23	commands 9483:2,5,14
chase 9479:13 9484:2	9483:23 9484:23
9484:14	9486:16
cheap 9459:23 9462:11	comment 9407:20
check 9495:9	9411:14 9452:13
chopped 9488:15,16	comments 9493:15,15
circumspect 9442:4	9493:16
circumstances 9434:21	Commission 9405:2,7
9435:5 9446:11	9405:21,24 9406:4,9
9465:15 9467:12	9407:25 9413:23
9485:18,23 citizens 9456:1	9435:24 9442:20,20 9442:21 9454:8,8
claims 9485:7	9455:7 9461:13
clarity 9423:12	9468:7 9469:2 9483:3
9495:21 9498:1	9499:6
clause 9478:24	Commissioner 9424:11
2.34000 > 170.21	201111111111 7727.11

9406:13 9427:22 0:13 9433:13 8:25 9464:20 7:2 9484:21,22 3:9 d 9450:21 r 9463:4 9478:13 3:24 9488:10 5:18 9490:18 9461:4 r 9422:6 ent 9418:11 432:8 9464:10 5:2 de 9466:14 dence 9467:21 se 9407:13 eral 9450:6 gue 9417:19 gues 9443:2 2:5 9461:24 2:1 **l** 9409:19 3:24 9414:1 5:5,6,22,22 9:1 9431:22 9440:25 :1,13 9454:16 5:7 9483:16 2:7 9496:15 9410:7 9459:19 8:24 9470:16 2:18 9498:3 g 9410:4 and 9408:14 5:1.14 9477:17 8:22 9479:17,21 9:23 9480:1,3,3,8 0:9,20,22 9481:8 :10 9482:9,11,17 2:22 9483:10 1:5 9485:18 5:3,4,22 9491:1 ander 9440:18 1:16 9470:23 0:21,23 anders 9438:1 0:1,22 9475:3 ands 9483:2,5,14 3:23 9484:23 5:16 ent 9407:20 :14 9452:13 ents 9493:15,15 3:16 nission 9405:2,7 5:21,24 9406:4,9 7:25 9413:23 5:24 9442:20,20 2:21 9454:8,8 5:7 9461:13 8:7 9469:2 9483:3

9425:19 9428:11 9434:2.6.10 9437:11 9437:13 9448:15 9452:10 9453:12 9454:7 9469:8,11,15 9470:6,16,22 9471:5 9471:13 9472:3,7,22 9474:19,24 9475:5,16 9483:17 9492:25 9493:22 9497:25 9498:6 commissioners 9405:6 9405:14 9497:17 Commission's 9453:25 commit 9407:13 **committed** 9408:23 common 9451:5 9453:23 9480:23 9481:22 communicated 9440:16 communications 9497:11 complained 9455:7 completely 9416:16 9428:10 9462:14 9473:22 completion 9428:25 **conceded** 9417:11 9491:8 **conceive** 9466:23 Concentrate 9493:19 concern 9428:25 9467:10 **concerned** 9407:17 9423:17 9431:20 9441:21 9446:16 9451:11 9461:12 9462:8 9468:17 9482:16 9490:18 concerns 9437:22 conclusion 9445:23 **conduct** 9453:10 conferring 9427:21 confident 9424:20 confine 9437:22 confirm 9406:22 confirmed 9414:22 9458:15 conformity 9460:2 confusion 9411:10,13 9415:20 connected 9462:7 connotation 9471:14 consciously 9472:4 consequence 9446:15 consequences 9411:20 9411:22 **consider** 9466:23 considerable 9431:17 9447:18 considerations 9433:4 considered 9424:2 consisted 9422:18 consonant 9486:13 Constitution 9423:25 constitutional 9425:14

carefully 9460:19

carried 9423:13 9437:9

carry 9421:23 9427:13

9451:20 9456:13

9474:17

consultations 9485:9
contact 9405:23 9459:9
contained 9443:6
9476:18
CONTD 9442:25
contended 9482:21
contents 9443:5
9469:24
contest 9430:16,18
9467:8
context 9418:13
9428:12 9431:21
9480:2 9492:23
9495:22
continent 9406:11
contingency 9476:19
9477:7,12
continue 9497:17
contrast 9454:24
9471:14 9472:3
contributed 9408:16
9461:15 9462:11
convey 9467:5,5
copy 9444:24
cordoning 9418:24,25
9419:1,2 9425:17
core 9418:13,14
Cornelius 9495:6
corner 9476:9
correct 9415:3,9
9417:7 9425:11
9426:7 9433:24
9441:15 9442:11
9443:13,19 9444:10
9444:14 9445:13
9451:24 9452:1,6,21
9455:12 9459:10
9466:1,21 9472:7
9473:3 9477:19
9481:2 9488:16
9491:9 9492:10
9493:21
corrected 9423:18
correction 9423:18
9451:15
correctly 9449:19
9454:23 9475:5
9483:6 9494:11,13 9498:2
, ., o. <u>-</u>
counsel 9423:23
counselling 9405:10
9407:2,8
counsellor 9405:20
country 9460:7
course 9407:10 9417:5
9417:15 9429:15 9430:19 9432:22
9430:19 9432:22 9452:10 9467:23
9452:10 9467:23 9470:2 9473:9
9470:2 9473:9
9474:13,13 9483:20 9485:12
covered 9409:10
9485:14 9487:3
9485:14 9487:3
9490:2,3,5,5 9492:5 9494:7,9
co-ordination 9418:23
CO-01 umation 7410.23

Mar	ikana Commission of
criminal 9443:15,15,17	9498:22,23,24
9443:18,21 9444:9	day 9437:25 9452:18
9445:11,12 9446:9	9452:22 9461:19
9448:5	9495:14
crisply 9455:14	days 9417:1 9428:20,2
criteria 9443:13	9431:15
cross 9470:16 9479:9	DD 9409:9
9484:10	deal 9415:6,7,14
cross-examination	9431:5,6,20 9468:1
9408:24 9442:25	9483:18 9487:13
9491:17 9494:1	dealing 9411:23
cross-purposes 9436:6	9416:13,14 9468:8
9485:16	9487:21,22
crucial 9491:19,23	deals 9450:22 9466:8
CS-gas 9480:14	dealt 9429:2 9430:23
culminating 9478:12 culmination 9428:22 9428:22	9431:23 9440:23 9468:11 9492:1 death 9436:25 9478:1
current 9478:2	9488:16
cut 9456:8 9479:12	deaths 9466:10
9484:1,14	debate 9416:2 9431:2
C-JOC 9480:21 D	9468:6,15,20,22,23 9484:4 debating 9449:25
daar 9412:5 9413:6,17	decide 9429:25 9434:
9413:19 9419:8	decision 9454:2
9420:17,21,25 9422:7	decisions 9452:16
9422:7 9423:7 9428:6	deel 9413:16 9442:2
9438:4 9439:18	defence 9473:12,13,24
9442:3 9452:8 9456:6	9479:18,22 9480:24
9459:2,13 9463:20	9481:21,23 9491:24
9473:6,7	defend 9479:20
daardie 9420:2 9423:2 9461:7 daarmee 9418:3	9488:17 defending 9479:21 defining 9430:20
daarna 9438:4	definitely 9409:5
daarop 9419:25	9433:9 9452:12
9437:19	demilitarised 9454:5,
daarvan 9413:3 daarvoor 9414:19	democracy 9456:20 demokrasie 9456:16, dental 9408:18
dabble 9484:10	depart 9454:3
dag 9473:6	departing 9468:10
Dalai 9458:20,22	departmental 9443:19
Dali 9458:21	9445:12 9446:9
dan 9413:5,13,18,20	9447:11 9448:5
9414:6,12,13,19	9449:19,21
9418:6,8,17,18,20,21	departmental/crimin
9419:9 9420:1 9421:4	9445:10
9421:5,20,21 9422:7	dependent 9436:21
9423:2,7,7,7,8,9	depending 9427:2

9426:14,15 9427:10 9463:8 9464:17

9480:12,16 9481:16

dangerous 9440:12

9417:24 9418:5

dat 9412:24 9413:3,13

9413:17 9414:10,16

9419:7,25,25 9421:2 9422:7,14,22 9428:3

9437:5,17 9438:5,6

9439:19 9463:20,24

9464:6,7,16 9473:5 9475:8 9496:1,3

9499:1

9441:11

days 9417:1 9428:20,2
9431:15
DD 9409:9
deal 9415:6,7,14
9431:5,6,20 9468:17
9483:18 9487:13
dealing 9411:23
9416:13,14 9468:8
9487:21,22
deals 9450:22 9466:8
dealt 9429:2 9430:23
9431:23 9440:23
9468:11 9492:1
death 9436:25 9478:14
9488:16
deaths 9466:10
debate 9416:2 9431:23
9468:6,15,20,22,23
9484:4
debating 9449:25
decide 9429:25 9434:2
decision 9454:2
decisions 9452:16
deel 9413:16 9442:2
defence 9473:12,13,24
9479:18,22 9480:24
9481:21,23 9491:24
defend 9479:20
9488:17
defending 9479:21
defining 9430:20
definitely 9409:5
9433:9 9452:12
demilitarised 9454:5,9
democracy 9456:20
demokrasie 9456:16,1
dental 9408:18
depart 9454:3
departing 9468:10
ucparung 3400.10
deportmental 0442:10
departmental 9443:19
9445:12 9446:9
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17 detected 9459:8
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17 detected 9459:8 detract 9467:13
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17 detected 9459:8 detract 9467:13 deur 9412:5 9414:15,1
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17 detected 9459:8 detract 9467:13 deur 9412:5 9414:15,1 9420:18,22,23
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17 detected 9459:8 detract 9467:13 deur 9412:5 9414:15,1
9445:12 9446:9 9447:11 9448:5 9449:19,21 departmental/crimina 9445:10 dependent 9436:21 depending 9427:2 deploy 9419:18 9420:7 deployment 9421:8 described 9446:11 describes 9409:10 designed 9432:17 desire 9432:23 destyds 9457:4 detail 9437:15 detained 9415:2 detect 9461:17 detected 9459:8 detract 9467:13 deur 9412:5 9414:15,1 9420:18,22,23

9438:21 9456:25 9458:2.13 9459:2 9475:8 deursoeking 9418:21 diagnosed 9408:14 didn't 9419:16 9429:16 9436:6 9441:13 9458:24 9467:3 9483:10 9484:7 9491:8,9 9497:13 9498:15,16 died 9484:22 dien 9456:15,16 dienslewering 9458:2,3 dieselfde 9412:5,7,11 9414:6 9423:8 9445:18 difference 9423:20 differences 9411:10 9420:8 9423:18 9443:16 **different** 9416:17 9428:10 9471:10 9486:1 differently 9408:15 difficult 9482:3 9488:1 difficulty 9452:23 9492:3 dink 9420:17 9439:11 9439:19 9442:3 9463:8 9473:6,6 9480:16 9496:1 direct 9454:24 9471:16 direction 9453:21 9488:23 9497:8 directive 9445:3,6 9446:18 directly 9416:25 9483:6 9497:6 direk 9420:23 9459:1 direktief 9445:17 Dirk 9495:6 dis 9439:10 9445:16 9452:3 9475:8 9481:6 9498:21 disagrees 9424:19 **disallow** 9471:8 disarm 9410:14 9411:3 disarming 9419:20 **disaster** 9424:12 9428:18,21 disastrous 9408:17 9411:14.20.22 **disavowed** 9462:14 disciplinary 9443:21 9444:9 **discussed** 9462:24 9482:6 **discussion** 9438:12,13 9462:5 dispensation 9456:22 9464:3 dispersed 9422:20,25

disqualification 9444:3

disqualified 9446:16,20

disqualifying 9449:23

distinction 9419:23 9447:6 9465:20 9467:17 distinguish 9406:25 9410:1 distress 9406:24 distressed 9405:18 distributed 9497:16 **division** 9456:1 dié 9464:16 **document** 9444:23 9477:3,5 documentation 9409:2 documents 9445:13 doesn't 9429:4 9431:9 9434:22 9443:8 9448:3 9450:1,6 9452:13 9460:21 9467:13 9478:2 9483:3 9486:10 9489:21 9493:7 9495:20 9498:11 dogs 9420:9 doing 9406:9 9426:23 9427:5 9436:11 9450:1 9452:17 9454:24 9492:3 9493:25 don't 9407:12 9410:2 9423:19,20 9424:4,25 9425:5 9429:3 9433:15,19 9434:1,18 9434:23 9435:13,14 9439:5 9441:3,9 9444:21 9448:9,20 9451:20 9452:20 9456:7 9460:5 9462:4 9462:14 9468:14,19 9469:3 9470:4,25 9471:8 9474:1,4,6,8 9475:25 9476:2,5 9478:23 9480:7 9483:16 9489:12,18 9489:20 9490:11 9493:5,14,25 9495:12 9498:1,17 doubt 9429:17 draft 9445:3,5,16 draw 9469:18 drawn 9478:11 drive 9476:10 **drop** 9490:20 dryf 9413:15,20 9419:11 9498:25 due 9485:9.12 duidelik 9418:5 9439:21 9478:6 duidelike 9413:6 duties 9458:8,10 duty 9465:13 dwaalspoor 9427:13 **D-day** 9431:18

 \mathbf{E} **editions** 9478:12 eed 9406:15 9442:22

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

een 9414:11 9437:4
9456:6 9457:3
9463:21 9498:25
eenhede 9421:3,4
eenheid 9420:20,23
eens 9412:24 eenvoudig 9419:10
9437:16
effect 9445:25 9454:10
9462:18 9481:1
9493:5
effectively 9465:22
effort 9410:14 eie 9456:24 9498:21,21
either 9426:3 9436:21
9440:22 9442:4
9444:9 9446:8
9449:18 9454:16
9473:18 9478:14,22
9482:9
Ekself 9456:16 ekskuus 9419:6
9420:19
elaborated 9486:12
elders 9423:5
elevated 9458:24
elicit 9434:25
elicits 9455:16
eligibility 9443:23,25
Elke 9420:22
elkeen 9412:20 9428:4 9480:13
emotional 9406:24
emphasises 9406:8
employed 9478:21
employees 9477:7
empting 9470:21
en 9412:7,22,25 9413:5
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24 engage 9407:24
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24 engage 9407:24 9492:11,22,22 9494:19,20 9495:9,9
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24 engage 9407:24 9492:11,22,22 9494:19,20 9495:9,9 9495:9,19,21 9496:3
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24 engage 9407:24 9492:11,22,22 9494:19,20 9495:9,9 9495:9,19,21 9496:3 9496:5,5,5 9497:11
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24 engage 9407:24 9492:11,22,22 9494:19,20 9495:9,9 9495:9,19,21 9496:3 9496:5,5,5 9497:11 9497:11,11 9498:3,3
9413:7,8,10,17,20,20 9414:9,18,20 9415:17 9417:24,25 9418:3,6 9418:9,17,19,21,21 9419:8,11 9420:21,24 9421:1,3,4,5 9422:7 9422:23 9423:5,9 9426:8,14,15 9427:10 9428:5 9437:5,15 9438:20,22,22 9439:21 9442:2 9444:19 9445:17,18 9445:18 9456:15,25 9457:3 9458:1,19,20 9459:14 9461:8 9464:17 9473:6 9480:12 9481:7,16 9487:23,24 9498:21 encircling 9419:19 enforce 9495:15 enforcement 9447:24 engage 9407:24 9492:11,22,22 9494:19,20 9495:9,9 9495:9,19,21 9496:3 9496:5,5,5 9497:11

engaged 9496:4
engagement 9429:19
engages 9498:18
engaging 9468:6
English 9480:8 9488:2
9491:7
enige 9413:15 9457:2 9459:2 9461:9
enigste 9464:16
enlighten 9461:13
enlightenment 9406:7
enquiries 9427:3
enquiring 9405:22
ensure 9424:11 9425:13
9423:13 enter 9443:20
entire 9469:12
entitled 9456:9 9482:7
9491:4,5 9493:9
entry 9439:13
envisages 9478:14
episode 9451:25
era 9452:1 9454:22 establish 9405:9
established 9409:8
evaporated 9450:21
event 9430:20 9435:15
9472:7
events 9428:19 9462:7
everybody 9420:5
evidence 9405:9 9407:24 9410:19,21
9407.24 9410.19,21
9429:12 9439:3
9440:23 9447:16
9469:18,19,23
9471:16 9472:16
9487:4 9493:2
exact 9432:17,23 9449:7 9493:24
exactly 9407:14
9430:22 9436:8
9448:17 9449:1
9465:2 9470:20
9472:6
exaggerating 9453:1
examination 9470:17 9479:10 9484:11
examining 9436:13
example 9405:14,15
9408:13,17 9420:7
9425:16,17 9451:25
9453:4 9455:19,21
9464:1,22 9466:6
examples 9437:23 9463:11
excellent 9408:4
exception 9491:22
exclude 9436:3
excludes 9466:2,22
exclusive 9478:20 9479:6 9482:4,12
9479:6 9482:4,12
executed 9445:23 exercise 9414:24
9417:16 9458:4
exhaustive 9485:11
0 11107105

ikana Commission of I
exhibit 9444:24
9468:12 9475:17
9495:5,10
expect 9460:6 9496:23
experience 9475:20
expert 9435:2
explain 9447:5 9460:20
expression 9471:17
9472:20,21
extended 9490:19
extenso 9468:11
extent 9454:12
extract 9491:17
<u>F</u>
faced 9421:9,15
facie 9450:10
facilities 9422:3
fact 9406:14 9417:9
9419:16 9431:24
9439:5 9440:13
9441:8 9448:2
9452:13 9454:1
9467:13 9475:6
factor 9416:20 9449:23
failing 9424:12
fair 9464:9
fairness 9457:13,21,24
9457:25 9458:7
fall 9486:11
families 9405:12
far 9408:1 9425:8
9453:18 9461:12
9482:15 9494:8
fascinated 9489:2
fase 9418:19,19
fases 9418:19
fashion 9484:13
fault 9496:11
favour 9430:16,18
feared 9439:5,6
feel 9420:7
feeling 9453:17
9459:18
fellow 9432:10
fetch 9444:25
FFF14 9468:12
9470:13
FFF9 9410:12

9457:6 **first-hand** 9474:20 9475:4 **five** 9476:25 9477:1 flip 9432:7 flying 9490:8 9493:6 fokus 9412:24 9414:18 9418:1 9420:2 9421:21 follow 9424:13,13 9427:17 9484:4 **followed** 9424:12 9425:15 **following** 9415:21 9453:22 9482:5 **follows** 9464:11 force 9446:19 9453:25 9454:1,4,5 9455:10 9462:6 9463:6 9464:2 9464:4,12,13,22 9465:14,15,22,23 9466:2,2,14,15,18,22 9466:23,24,24,25 9467:1,11,12,13,14 9467:15,15,21,23,25 9468:10 9469:11,12 9470:7,13,14,15 9471:5,15,15 9472:4 9472:21 9475:23,23 9477:17 9478:14,20 9479:16,20,23 9480:20 **forces** 9420:8 **forgive** 9447:12 9487:25 forgiveness 9495:11 **forgotten** 9477:25 form 9486:17 formalised 9454:13 formed 9483:15 fortunately 9431:22 9451:10 forward 9439:1 9444:5 found 9409:5 9435:24 9445:10 9477:11,21 9477:23 framework 9423:25 frankly 9434:25 frase 9480:12 free 9415:25 frenzy 9432:1 Friday 9405:17 friend 9460:21,24 9493:7 friend's 9484:5

finished 9421:25 9489:25 9459:16 front 9444:21 9445:7 fire 9466:9 9476:14 9477:4 **firearms** 9430:8 **function** 9426:24 fired 9429:8,11,12 9451:3 9430:4 9483:11 funksioneer 9457:2 **first** 9406:21 9407:6 further 9406:15 9407:20,20 9432:7 9409:6 9417:22 9422:11 9431:23 9434:16 9451:19 9490:2,10 9491:7 9458:15 9463:1 firstly 9415:22 9433:15 9470:11 9471:21 G gaan 9413:14 9418:18 9420:16 9422:23 9423:4,5 9432:4 9437:15 9438:21 garden 9476:1,3,4 gas 9437:18 geantwoord 9463:24 gearresteerdes 9414:21 9418:18 gebaseer 9457:1 gebeur 9412:22 9437:17 gebruik 9459:14 9480:12,14,17 9495:24 9499:1 gedeel 9413:19 9418:4 **gedeelte** 9481:9,9 **gedien** 9456:17 gedoen 9417:24 **gedrag** 9413:1 gedragspatrone 9413:7 gee 9423:7 9427:10 geen 9428:3 9459:2 9473:5.8 geensins 9459:4 gefasiliteer 9426:15 gefunksioneer 9456:24 gegewe 9417:24 9420:2 gegooi 9437:17,18 gegroepeer 9413:8 gehad 9412:25 9415:17 9419:9 9421:6 9426:10 9428:5 9459:3 geheue 9463:25 **gehoor** 9439:20 9496:2 gekry 9417:25 **geleer** 9456:25 9457:2 gemaak 9413:16 9414:20 9439:11 9461:8 gemakliker 9413:14 gemeenregtelike 9481:18 **Generaal** 9414:15 9426:8 9438:4 9496:2 **general** 9407:2 9408:6 9408:9 9409:15,18 9411:1 9415:19 9423:16 9427:15,21 9432:24 9434:12,24 9437:1 9438:9 9441:3 9442:12 9443:1

fight 9473:19,19

9495:4,7,14

filtered 9440:15

filtering 9441:6

findings 9474:2

9494:24

9448:3

filed 9487:3 9490:4

9491:4 9494:8,9

find 9406:6 9455:13

9484:19 9491:5

fine 9425:4 9436:23

9463:2 9484:23

fingered 9445:22

finish 9408:23,24

9466:3 9496:9

9475:10,20 9476:11

handelinge 9413:11.16

handed 9484:19

9488:3

indicate 9429:4

9449:17 9459:15,16
9461:11 9464:19
9466:25 9467:24
9469:7 9472:11
9477:8 9482:1 9487:9
9492:7
generalised 9407:7
generally 9406:11
9461:20
generously 9492:8
genoegsame 9420:1
genommer 9414:7
geopper 9428:6
geplaas 9413:9
gerat 9413:15
gereageer 9413:10
gereël 9414:21
gery 9420:17
gesag 9437:6
geskikte 9421:19
gesê 9414:10,15
9439:19 9496:3
getalle 9418:3 9422:8
getting 9461:25
9489:23
getuienis 9495:25
getuig 9412:21 9475:8
gevaarlike 9414:11 geval 9440:20
gevoel 9419:25
gewapen 9413:1,4,19
9414:11
gewees 9418:1,5
9421:19,20 9423:7
9428:6,7
geweld 9464:6,8,17
9480:17
geword 9413:19
GGG17 9409:12,12
9415:10 9487:10,11
9491:6
GGG18 9484:19
give 9405:14 9422:10
9428:12 9439:1
9440:24 9450:10
9453:4 9456:13
9460:6,8,11,16
9461:2 9472:20
9487:20
given 9407:3 9435:7
9469:23 9474:3
9482:10 9483:5,10
9494:18 9496:23
gives 9472:16 9490:1
9490:24
giving 9411:7 9442:18
9472:22 9491:9
glad 9474:10
glo 9428:3 9473:5,8 go 9409:3 9424:4
go 9409:3 9424:4 9434:16 9441:21
9434:16 9441:21
9444:5,25 9449:8 9467:18 9471:21
9467:18 9471:21 9478:16 9485:8
9478:16 9485:8
9492:21
9492.21 A R C H I V E F C

IVIA
goedgekeur 9420:18 9438:22
goes 9440:8 9465:6
going 9408:21,24
9409:1,3 9411:22
9415:1 9416:8,13
9420:4,11 9423:16
9425:18 9428:12,13
9425:18 9428:12,13 9428:15,24 9430:24
9432:16 9433:13,15
9435:1 9438:24
9440:25 9441:1
9449:2 9451:23
9453:20 9459:22
9461:1 9469:5,6
9470:22 9471:18
9474:9 9477:22
9482:2 9483:18
9485:6 9487:4,13
9491:14 9493:1 9496:8,9,10
good 9408:5,7 9472:9
government 9407:8
graag 9412:2
grateful 9406:8 9407:1
greatest 9469:5
9471:23 9484:25
greatly 9484:6
grenades 9437:17
groep 9412:24 9413:2,7
9413:8,10,11,11,14
9413:17 9414:14
9418:2,6,7,9 9421:22
9422:23 9487:22
9488:4
groepe 9423:3
groepering 9413:15
groeperings 9413:18
9419:8 9423:2
groepie 9414:18 groepies 9419:9
groot 9413:3 9418:3,6
9422:22 9423:3
groter 9413:2,7,10,14
9413:17 9421:22
ground 9440:11
group 9409:25 9411:25
9416:1,2,4,10 9417:1
9417:2,8 9418:15
9420:6,11 9422:16,17
9422:18 9488:6,11
9497:7,9
groups 9416:1,8,9,13
9416:15 9417:6,7,10
9417:14,16 9419:20
9488:22
grow 9440:8
guilty 9445:10
guns 9420:9 9423:19
Hzord
haal 9411:6
hadn't 9454:17
haelgeweer 9499:1
0

```
happened 9422:24
  9429:1 9431:16
  9432:17,24 9434:8
  9446:2,15 9453:9
  9462:3 9474:3
happening 9446:5
  9490:9
happenings 9469:9
happens 9427:3 9451:1
  9466:14 9467:19
happy 9425:7,10
  9428:9 9483:21
hard 9476:10
haven't 9426:20,21
  9432:11,13 9453:19
  9497:16
head 9444:21
heading 9497:8
hear 9431:6 9472:12
  9488:13
heard 9426:20,21
  9431:3 9433:22
  9439:2 9465:18
  9485:2 9492:22
  9495:8 9497:10
  9498:3
hearing 9445:10
heightened 9467:11
heist 9466:6,11
held 9455:21
helicopter 9488:16,19
help 9425:3 9426:24
  9476:18 9487:15
helpful 9423:15
  9455:17 9476:11
helping 9456:11
helps 9468:20 9474:4
Hemraj 9434:2,6
  9453:12 9474:19
  9475:16 9483:17
  9492:25 9493:22
  9497:25 9498:6
hergroepeer 9423:5
  9487:23
hergroepering 9423:6
hergroeperings 9423:7
  9423:10
herring 9448:10,13,13
  9448:14,18,18
herroep 9464:7
hetsy 9480:13 9498:25
he'd 9456:12
he'll 9470:23 9479:5
he's 9405:3 9434:20
  9435:5 9456:9 9461:1
  9461:16 9471:18
  9482:19 9487:21
  9493:7,25 9494:1
  9496:12
hiding 9453:7
hierdie 9412:22
  9413:13 9418:6,9
  9422:23 9456:6,16,17
high 9467:15 9474:25
```

higher 9426:3 9467:18 hoc 9407:16 hoe 9413:1 9437:17 hoekom 9457:3 hold 9439:24 9479:1 holding 9422:4 9439:1 holrug 9420:17 hope 9406:6 9431:5 9451:23 hoped 9434:13 hoping 9475:19 Horse 9453:6 9463:12 horses 9479:2 hospitaal 9473:7 **hostels** 9419:2 houses 9488:24 hoër 9481:6 hulle 9412:21,21 9413:1,1,3,3,8,9,19 9419:9,11 9421:20 9423:3,3,5,8 9457:17 hulleself 9413:9 hulpbronne 9420:1 **Human** 9406:4 **hy** 9414:9,10,13,16 9426:10 9439:19,20 9439:20 9495:24 9498:23 hypothetical 9493:1,8 9493:22,23 9494:4

ideale 9423:4 identifikasie 9437:4 **identity** 9443:2 iemand 9481:5 iets 9413:22 iewers 9440:21 9442:6 9464:6 illegal 9434:23 ill-chosen 9460:22 **immediate** 9454:10 impediments 9485:10 **Implementation** 9477:5 implication 9465:23 **implies** 9429:7 **importance** 9406:10 **important** 9416:4 9417:16 9447:7 9467:16 9474:11 9482:2 9492:1 inadmissible 9436:4 inappropriate 9434:23 9460:22 **Inaudible** 9430:17 9434:11 9498:8 **incident** 9406:24 9453:14,14 9488:14 **inclined** 9450:3 **includes** 9423:25 **including** 9440:13 9482:6 9497:9,17 **incorrect** 9473:23 9498:4

indebted 9417:18

9496:18 indicated 9475:5 indicative 9447:25 **indiciae** 9436:12 Indistinct 9442:9 individu 9420:20 individually 9480:22 **individuals** 9433:3,13 **individue** 9413:18 9437:5 indulgence 9495:11 inevitable 9428:22 informasie 9418:17 information 9406:7 9444:14 9470:1 **informed** 9470:6 initiating 9448:5 **initiative** 9440:17 9441:16 injury 9478:15 inquiry 9443:19,21 9447:11 9482:21 inset 9428:5 **insluit** 9444:18 **insofar** 9407:16 9408:23 9436:18 9497:12 **instance** 9495:15 instances 9443:16 **instructed** 9440:15,16 instruction 9480:20 9490:1,7 9492:11 instructions 9439:2 9441:21 instruksies 9442:1 intelligence 9418:23 intelligensie-gedrewe 9418:20 9423:9 intend 9419:16 **intention** 9433:11 inter 9485:9 interaksie 9459:3 intercepted 9439:7 **interest** 9406:12 interested 9407:24 interesting 9446:21 **interests** 9408:22 internationally 9406:12 **interpret** 9422:10 interpretasie 9412:5 9498:21 interpretation 9489:8 interpreted 9416:23 9417:21 interpreters 9422:10 9489:5 interpreting 9421:25 interrupt 9455:2 9464:24 interrupted 9423:12 9479:10 9486:20

half 9422:19 9491:7

hand 9476:9

interrupting 9494:1

9491:22

intervention 9496:11 investigate 9486:17 investigation 9449:19 9449:21 9483:4 involve 9492:12 involved 9417:15 9472:22 9473:18,25 in-chief 9410:20 **IPID** 9443:6 **ipsissima** 9469:20 **Ireland** 9469:2 irre 9436:4 irrelevancy 9449:4 irrelevant 9416:5 9424:3,18,20 9449:25 9451:19 9490:19 isiXhosa 9489:15 isn't 9445:25 9448:1 9450:24 9482:20 9483:6 9496:10 issue 9406:21 9408:10 9408:11 9409:1 9415:20,21,22 9416:11 9419:14,15 9419:17 9425:19 9437:21 9440:7 9482:21,24 9491:23 9492:4 issues 9428:15 9490:8 it'll 9496:11 it's 9415:21 **I'd** 9413:24 9496:22 **i.e** 9472:11 J

ja 9422:22 9425:24 9431:7,8 9440:1 9448:8,11,25 9449:6 9453:3 9455:15 9462:19 9466:16 9467:7 9474:12,15 9476:24 9477:3 9481:4 9482:18 9487:20,22 9488:21 9498:21 jaar 9456:16 iammer 9412:8 **iob** 9436:2 **JOC** 9412:23 9415:17 9427:9 9436:17,20 **JOCOM** 9412:22 9415:18 9425:3,12 9426:23 9427:6 9428:5 9438:17 joined 9451:25,25 9455:10 9457:6,8 journey 9434:13,17 judges 9473:23 9474:1 9474:2 judgments 9473:23 juis 9423:6 justice 9457:12,13,22 9457:24 9458:7 justification 9439:5

justified 9475:14

justify 9450:7 9473:16

K kan 9418:8 9419:25 9425:24 9440:2,2 9445:2,16 9456:6 9459:14 9463:9 9476:18 9496:1,4 kapasiteit 9414:19 9419:8 kennisgewing 9426:16 **kept** 9405:22 9427:20 9496:10 kern 9418:8,13 **Kidd** 9443:4 kill 9466:9 **killed** 9440:13,14 9441:12,23 9453:8 9459:22,25 9473:2,3 9473:11 9478:2 9482:8,17,22 9483:23 9484:5,22 9485:18,20 9491:23 killing 9431:1,24 9475:13 **killings** 9486:18 kind 9407:1,7 9411:13 9420:11 9451:1 9459:24 9460:1 9492:12 9496:17 **kite** 9490:8 9493:6 klaar 9419:7 9459:1 9481:8 klein 9458:2 kleiner 9412:24 9413:7 9413:11 9414:18 9418:2,6 9419:9 knew 9498:17 knopkieries 9413:5 know 9416:10 9419:22 9420:8 9421:23 9423:19,20 9424:25 9425:5 9426:22 9431:9 9433:15,20 9439:5 9440:14 9441:9 9443:15

9427:16,24,24 9431:4 9434:1,15,25 9438:15 9445:21 9446:13 9448:16 9453:16 9458:24 9460:5 9461:1 9462:14 9463:3 9464:3.11.21 9468:14 9469:14 9470:18 9471:16 9474:4,8 9484:7,8,10 9489:12,18,20 9490:5 9490:11 9495:13 9498:1,15 known 9411:22 knows 9461:25 kohesie 9413:12 9418:9 **kollegas** 9456:15

9461:10

9438:21

Kolonel 9409:22

9413:22 9437:16

kom 9412:21 kommentaar 9412:2 9419:25 9420:16 Kommissaris 9426:17 9437:7 kon 9463:21 konsep 9445:16 konteks 9415:16 9479:25 9495:25 koppie 9410:3 9413:9 9459:21 9497:8 kordonering 9418:21 korrek 9410:25 9422:14 9452:3 kortliks 9413:21 kraal 9487:24 9488:8 9497:8 **kriminele** 9444:19 kyk 9444:18

\mathbf{L}

K-I-D-D 9443:4

L 9475:17 laaste 9414:8,14 labour 9451:8,11 lack 9438:2 9485:10 lady 9424:9 **Lama** 9458:20,22 **Langa** 9463:11 langer 9456:17 **language** 9460:21 9492:11,13,18 larger 9415:25 late 9407:14 latere 9496:1 launch 9411:11 law 9424:19 9451:8,11 9465:14 9470:8 9480:23 9481:22 lax 9447:24,25 lav 9483:7 lead 9427:3 9432:2 9475:25 9476:2 9478:14 leaders 9405:9 9407:24 9447:16 leadership 9408:14 **leading** 9428:17 learned 9417:19 9460:21,23 9484:5 9489:25 9493:7 leave 9437:23 9450:13 9450:14 9459:21 9465:7 9469:5 9472:13 9498:9 led 9487:4 lede 9420:24 9421:5,19 9498:24 legal 9424:6 legislated 9464:12 legislative 9424:1 9425:14 legitimate 9435:13 legs 9440:8 leierskapelement

lessons 9454:18 lethal 9470:15 letterlik 9452:8 let's 9415:6 9416:7 9425:8,9 9429:17 9430:13 9431:22 9433:20 9436:8 9444:13 9449:11,15 9451:20 9455:4 9460:15 9461:24 9472:12 9476:25 9479:11,12 9484:1,12 9484:16 9491:13,14 9492:19 9494:3 9495:20 levels 9437:25,25 9438:1,14 lewer 9412:2 9419:25 9420:16 Lieutenant-Colonel 9409:11,23 9415:11 9487:12,18,19 **life** 9459:22 9462:11 light 9407:20 9416:23 9462:25 lightly 9431:6 likes 9479:12 limit 9435:12 line 9483:15 9493:6,10 lines 9460:14 linie 9498:23 listen 9484:9 **listening** 9426:21 9493:12 **listens** 9479:5 little 9443:12 9450:6 locus 9490:24 logical 9497:24 long 9411:12 9415:5 9416:10 9417:20 9436:8 longer 9456:21 9464:4 9469:2 **Lonmin** 9426:10,11,12 9477:7 9495:7 look 9483:1 9484:18 9485:5 9496:16 looking 9476:13 looks 9440:3 9471:4 9480:25 los 9413:8 **lost** 9450:14 9484:3 **lot** 9415:6 9467:11 lower 9426:3 Luitenant 9409:21 **Lungani** 9405:8 lvn 9422:8 **lyntjies** 9414:12 **lê** 9463:9

\mathbf{M}

maak 9481:8 maar 9413:1,4 9414:8 9414:10 9418:8 9421:19 9423:4 9428:5 9442:1 9473:7

Mabotvana 9405:8 machine 9420:9 9423:19 **Madlanga** 9405:4,5 9406:2,22,23 9407:17 9407:19,22 9447:17 9448:15 9449:3 9476:12,15,22 9477:1 9479:12 9489:5 Magidiwana 9405:16 9405:19 9406:23 9407:4,13 **magtiging** 9426:16 **MAHLANGU** 9412:8 9412:12,14,17 9413:23 9414:3,22 9415:3 9418:10,14,22 9418:25 9421:7,12,16 9426:12 9437:8,12 9438:8,13,17 9439:12 9439:16 9442:7 9456:19 9457:5,9,15 9457:19,23,25 9458:4 9458:9,17 9459:5,10 9480:2,6,9 9481:10 9481:13,15,19,24 9489:9 majority 9409:14 Major-General 9405:3 9408:7 9412:13,15 9426:4,7 9427:4 9441:10 9444:16 9472:18 9476:21 9479:15 making 9416:6,19 9430:20 9447:7,9 9448:12 9454:19 9482:24 9490:13 **maksimum** 9464:6 manageable 9416:9 9417:1,8 Mandela 9458:19 manier 9456:6 manifestation 9406:14 manifests 9459:18 marching 9429:24 Marikana 9412:6 9453:14 9459:2,9

mark 9496:18 masjiengewere 9420:25 9421:1

9482:9

massacre 9452:16 9453:6 9455:20 9461:15 9462:12

massacres 9452:18,21 **Mathunjwa** 9459:20,24

9461:24 9462:1,4

9469:9 9478:9,11,13

9461:7 9462:10 Mathunjwa's 9462:15 matter 9425:21 9429:2 9429:25 9432:7

9450:13 9451:5,7 9468:16 9472:8 9475:20 9490:11

9418:5

muddled 9489:23

mustn't 9443:17.18

mutually 9478:20

maximum 9422:1,12
9463:6 9464:2,3,13
9465:23 9466:2,15,17
9466:22,24 9467:15
9467:19 9468:10
9469:11 9470:7,13,14
9471:5,15 9472:21
Mbombo 9452:5
mean 9429:4 9436:7
9443:11 9448:2,3
9479:3 9492:19
9495:20,21 9496:9
meaningless 9478:25
means 9418:13 9421:11
9421:14 9455:3
9472:4 9479:17,23
9495:20 9498:19
meant 9423:20 9470:15
9471:17 9472:8
9482:12 9498:19
measures 9424:1
meer 9413:8,10
9414:17 9422:14
9456:16
meerderheid 9414:10
meestal 9413:4
meeting 9406:5
meetings 9425:12,13
9427:25
mekaar 9413:12
meld 9445:16
member 9450:25
9451:1,3 9465:13
members 9421:8
9432:21 9442:3
9450:23 9462:6
9480:21 9488:12,13
9488:15,17,19 9497:9
membership 9443:14
9443:24
memories 9434:7
memory 9463:14
men 9409:9 9410:3
mense 9414:17 9458:13
mentaliteit 9461:8,9
,
mentality 9454:24
9455:2,22 9459:24
9461:14,18 9462:5
mention 9436:25
9452:6 9474:12
mentioned 9438:8
1 0440.12 0440.7
9440:13 9442:7
mere 9428:22 9448:2
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25 9422:8 9423:9
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25 9422:8 9423:9 9425:25 9426:10
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25 9422:8 9423:9
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25 9422:8 9423:9 9425:25 9426:10 9481:5 9498:22 microphone 9473:21
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25 9422:8 9423:9 9425:25 9426:10 9481:5 9498:22 microphone 9473:21 milestone 9430:24
mere 9428:22 9448:2 merits 9493:19 merk 9415:16 message 9439:6 9440:8 9440:16 9441:6,8,10 9441:14,14,15 met 9413:12,16,19 9414:11 9420:25 9422:8 9423:9 9425:25 9426:10 9481:5 9498:22 microphone 9473:21

milestones 9428:17,23
9430:21,21 militant 9422:17
militante 9414:13
militarised 9454:1,11
military 9454:4,14 9455:6
mind 9420:5 9423:13
9427:13 9460:19
minder 9418:8 9421:20 9458:19
mindset 9453:23
9454:2,3,15 9455:9 Mine 9458:4 9476:16
minimum 9410:22
9464:8,12,16,22
9465:15,22 9466:2,14 9466:18,18,22,24,25
9467:1,12,13,15,21
9467:22,25 9468:10
9471:15 9472:4 9475:23
minutes 9425:20
mislead 9410:2
misreading 9409:4 missed 9429:15
9440:23
mistake 9487:21
mistakes 9449:4 misunderstanding
9435:18
mnr 9420:19 moes 9423:8
moet 9412:24 9481:5
9495:24
moment 9438:24 9485:17
Monday 9488:14
9496:14,15 9497:20 9497:24 9499:4
month 9448:19 9493:9
months 9484:6
Moolman 9424:5,8,24 9425:2,12,20,24
9425:2,12,20,24
morning 9408:6,7
9496:14 9497:20 9499:4
mother 9460:20
motivated 9432:9
9436:10 mount 9488:12
move 9408:12,25
9415:25 9416:20
9419:12,22 9423:16 9428:9 9436:23
9443:12 9450:18
9451:21 9472:14 moved 9488:7,7
moved 9488:7,7 9497:10
Mpembe 9411:1
9414:15 9426:9 9427:21 9437:1
9438:4 9496:3
Mpembe's 9438:9
Mpofu's 9461:3 9496:9

9479:6 9482:4,12 **Myburgh** 9448:16 mvne 9458:1 **n** 9412:25 9413:3,6,12 9414:17 9418:6 9420:25 9421:18 9422:22 9427:8 9428:5 9438:5 9439:10,14,19,19,20 9439:21 9444:19 9445:3,16 9458:2,13 9459:2,13 9464:8 9473:5 9496:1 name 9448:16 9495:6 9497:13 names 9433:15 **National** 9424:11 9428:10 9448:15 9452:10 9453:24 9454:7 9469:8,10,15 9470:6,15,22 9471:5 9471:13 9472:3,7,22 **nature** 9433:18 near 9429:21 necessarily 9466:2,22 9479:7 9486:11 necessary 9416:17 9420:6 9466:8 nee 9442:1 9459:13 9472:23 9480:5,5 9492:15 need 9405:9,10 9408:25 9420:7 9431:20 9434:23 needlessly 9490:20 needs 9450:21 9485:12 neerlê 9422:23 negotiated 9440:5 neighbouring 9488:24 neither 9496:7 net 9413:21 9414:12 9419:7.10.25 9421:18 9423:2.5 9425:24 9437:15.16 9440:2 9444:19 9445:16 9456:6 9463:8 9481:6 never 9411:2 9427:13 9480:22 new 9464:3 9468:1 9485:2 nicest 9443:11 **nie** 9413:2,2 9414:7,7 9414:16,17 9418:3,3 9418:4 9419:8,9 9420:16,16,24,25 9422:14,15 9423:3,3 9423:4,5 9428:3,4,4,4 9432:5,5 9437:3,3,15 9437:19,19 9439:14 9439:21,22 9440:20

9444:18.19 9445:17 9445:18 9459:3.4.13 9459:14.14 9461:7.8 9461:8,8,9,10 9463:8 9463:9,20,20 9464:6 9464:7 9468:3,3 9473:5,8,8 9478:6,6 9481:6,7 9496:5,5 niemand 9458:19 night 9427:16 NIU 9443:14,20 9444:6 9445:22 9446:9 9447:16,17 9448:22 9450:23,25 9451:2,3 **nodig** 9427:11 **nog** 9406:14 9442:22 non-existent 9493:8 nooit 9418:2 normally 9489:21 **Northern** 9469:2 note 9499:3 **notice** 9444:21 nou 9414:14 9442:1 9444:18 9456:15 9463:9 9481:8 9499:1 No-one 9492:2 Ntsebeza 9407:23 **NUM** 9429:1,11,20,20 9429:24 9430:4 number 9410:5,23 9414:23 9422:3 9458:15 9476:10 9484:20 numbered 9428:19,20 9431:15 numbering 9409:25 numbers 9408:11,15 9411:8 9417:2 0 oath 9405:3 **object** 9424:17 9449:24 9450:2 9460:17,24 9493:4,5,9

objected 9425:6 **objection** 9432:14 9447:2 9471:10 9474:4 9490:16.16.23 9494:22 observation 9497:7 **observed** 9433:23 9488:10 **obsession** 9409:19 **obvious** 9498:16 obviously 9407:4 9410:22 9416:17 9435:6 9468:17 9480:18 9491:3 9492:1 9496:22 occasion 9405:16 occasional 9455:20 occur 9424:2 9437:25 occurred 9428:19,21 9492:21

occurrence 9439:15,16

odd 9428:19,20

9431:15 offensiewe 9480:12.13 offered 9407:8 office 9429:21,24 officer 9482:23 officers 9497:9 Offices 9429:22 official 9465:13 officials 9455:20 Oh 9419:5 9426:6 9431:7 9446:17 9495:17 okay 9408:21 9411:18 9411:21 9415:4 9419:12 9426:18 9428:8,8 9433:8,12 9437:20 9444:20 9445:19 9450:17 9451:13 9452:24 9453:3 9455:18 9456:4 9463:10 9464:2 9466:4 9467:24 9468:18 9472:17 9474:24 9476:7 9477:10 9478:7,15 9487:13 9492:17 9495:12,12 **old** 9454:15 9461:14 **om** 9413:15,16 9414:17 9418:2,6,18 9419:9 9419:11 9420:1 9421:21 9423:2 9427:10 9428:3 9438:6,21 9457:2,10 9458:2 9459:1 9473:5 9473:8 9487:24 omdat 9421:20 omsingel 9419:9 omstandighede 9417:25 once 9406:8 9423:16 9425:16 9431:19 9454:11 9474:12 onder 9406:15 9442:22 onderhandelings 9426:10 onderskeid 9413:6 ondersteun 9428:3 ondervraging 9418:17 one's 9489:22 Ongelukkig 9414:7 **ongeveer** 9415:12 9487:24 ongoing 9485:9 ons 9412:23,24,25 9413:13,14 9414:16 9414:18,20 9415:17 9415:18 9417:24,24 9417:25 9418:1,2,3,4 9418:6,8,17,18 9419:8,25 9420:1,17 9421:6 9422:14,22 9423:2,6,9 onthou 9408:20,20 9496:1,4 **ontleding** 9412:7,9

9440:20 9442:1,1

ontplooi 9412:6 9420:1 9420:23.25 ontplooiing 9420:17.18 9420:21,22 9421:5 ontwapen 9413:20 9414:17 onwards 9454:16 ook 9412:23 9413:1,3,5 9413:18,19 9414:10 9414:13,19 9418:21 9421:2,21,22 9423:10 9437:5,19 9438:4 9439:10 9461:9 9464:17 oor 9412:21,25 9418:18 ooreengestem 9412:7 oorgedra 9437:4,5,15 9437:16 9475:8 oorhoofse 9438:6 9481:7 oorsprong 9480:15 9481:4 **op** 9412:24 9413:9,10 9414:8,18 9415:16 9418:1 9420:16,23 9421:18,21 9423:2 9425:25 9439:11,20 9445:3 9457:1,17 9463:9 9473:6 9480:15 9496:1 opbreek 9419:11 9423:8 open 9405:7 9457:20 9457:25 openbare 9419:10 9421:19 9423:8 9457:17 9479:25 9481:9 9498:24 opening 9410:11 9428:14 9485:5 **operasie** 9418:21 operasionele 9421:3 9481:7 **operation** 9408:18 9411:12 9416:21 9420:13 9425:14 9432:17.25 9478:11 9488:12 operational 9438:1 9480:21 **operative** 9477:15 opgebreek 9418:9 **opgeroep** 9463:24 opinie 9498:21 opinion 9434:17 9456:1 opmerking 9414:14 opportunity 9406:5 9461:2,3 **opposed** 9455:24 opposite 9449:7 9493:24 oproep 9463:21 opruktrokke 9414:20 opsoek 9440:2 optrede 9420:19 orde 9419:10 9421:19 ARCHIVE

9423:8 9479:25 9481:4.9.17 9498:24 order 9411:11 9452:18 9452:22 9475:21,22 9480:3,10,19,25 9481:2,12,13,20 9488:12,18 9492:11 9492:24 9494:17 9495:19,21 9498:10 ordered 9437:24 9479:20 9486:2 orderly 9484:13 orders 9424:1 9491:1,9 **ordinary** 9435:16 oud-President 9458:19 ouers 9456:25 outcome 9424:3 outlawed 9464:4 outlaws 9465:23 overall 9476:10 over-deployed 9420:13 o'clock 9497:21 9498:8 9498:11 9499:4 P

page 9476:10,23 9477:2 pages 9477:2 pangas 9409:9 **para** 9491:6 **paragraaf** 9414:6,7 **paragraph** 9409:8,12 9409:24 9410:8,12 9411:2 9415:8,10 9476:23 9477:16 9480:19 9481:1 9484:20 9485:8 9487:15 9488:4 9490:6,7 9491:16 paragraphs 9481:2 9488:1 paramilitary 9420:8 9443:9 paramilitêre 9420:16 parlance 9416:2 9492:10 part 9415:11 9416:21 9425:21 9431:23 9432:8 9441:20 9442:12 9459:6.8 9461:18,23 9466:10 9478:15 9481:12,14 9481:15 9483:20,22 9484:4,7,18 9486:12 9489:25 participated 9432:22 particular 9425:19 9431:1 9433:2 9434:18 9435:3 9441:16 9443:6,14 9451:9 9453:5 9458:15 9462:24 9473:16 9475:11 9495:15 particularly 9406:23 9425:12 9433:18

parties 9491:4 9494:9

parts 9409:1 party 9407:24 9490:17 9490:18 **passage** 9492:8 9496:13,17,20 passages 9492:5 9496:21 **patently** 9490:2 path 9476:1,3,4 **pending** 9443:15,21,22 9444:8,19 9445:11 9446:8,20,21,22,23 9448:2,4 **people** 9405:10 9409:13,13 9410:6,22 9411:3 9415:25 9416:12,14 9417:6 9419:16 9422:2,12,18 9429:20,20 9431:25 9434:21 9436:10,19 9440:12 9441:11 9445:22,24 9452:15 9452:15 9453:7,9 9454:17 9455:21 9457:19 9458:16 9459:18,21,25 9462:21 9469:9 9470:5 9473:2,10 9474:3 9478:2 9482:8 9483:2,15,23 9484:5 9484:22 9485:17 9491:23 9492:12 9496:15 9498:9 **perceive** 9452:16 perceptions 9462:15 performance 9458:7,9 **performs** 9465:13 persentasie 9413:3 9418:7 9422:22 person 9443:3 9446:10 9446:16,19 9447:8,9 9447:13 9448:17,21 9449:20,22 9450:24 9459:6,23 9465:5,7 9473:17 9475:13 9485:22 9492:23 9498:5,6,7 personal 9493:14,15,16 personally 9456:19 persone 9412:20 9414:9,10 9457:17 9473:6 **persons** 9415:1 9441:21 **persoon** 9437:4 9439:19,20 9459:2 persoonlik 9438:21 **pertinent** 9413:1,4 9414:13 9418:2,20 9420:1 9428:4 9457:1 9463:8,20,24 9481:5 pertinente 9412:25 9420:19,20,25 9423:10 9426:9 9458:13

phone 9465:6 **phones** 9465:5 **photograph** 9488:8.23 phrase 9460:20 9470:13 9471:6,19 9472:3,11 9479:12 **phrased** 9467:4 Pillav 9495:9 plaasvind 9438:7 place 9405:23 9408:1 9425:18 9459:22 9477:11 9491:1 plan 9413:16 9428:1 9442:8,8 9475:12 9477:7,12 9478:10,11 9479:15 9481:1 **planned** 9422:11 **planning** 9415:22 9416:15,21 9453:25 9454:8 9455:7 9476:19 plans 9476:9 **played** 9457:19 players 9451:24 **playing** 9425:3 please 9451:21 9465:5 9487:8 9491:25 9492:6 9493:14 9494:11 pleased 9494:14 **plus-minus** 9410:22 pocket 9439:13,14 point 9410:4 9411:8 9416:19 9417:5,15 9420:4 9423:13 9425:9 9430:15,17,20 9436:11 9438:23,25 9441:24 9444:2 9445:12 9447:7,8 9448:12,16,18,20,22 9449:10,14,17 9450:19,20 9451:19 9451:21 9454:18 9462:17 9463:1 9467:5 9468:8 9470:12 9476:13,14 9477:4 9483:21 9490:24,25 9494:7,15 9496:24 9497:18,24 points 9428:17 9449:19 9454:6 9484:20 9486:11 9490:19 police 9407:12 9408:14 9415:13 9425:17 9427:16 9431:24 9432:9 9435:2 9439:3 9439:24 9451:25 9452:1 9453:6,25 9454:4,4,9,11 9455:22 9456:2 9457:6,8 9460:2 9462:6 9463:5 9464:13 9465:1,12,19 9465:24 9468:9 9469:12 9473:3,10

9475:1 9476:10

9477:6 9482:8.16 9488:8.15 9492:10.11 9492:18 9497:9 policeman 9433:25 9435:4 9436:13,14 9468:23 9492:13 9498:2 policemen 9431:1 9432:10 9433:19 9434:18 9437:1 9440:11,14 9441:12 9441:23 9488:9 **policing** 9480:10 policy 9468:9 **polisie** 9427:10 9437:18 9442:2 9452:3 9457:4 9464:8,17 polisiebeampte 9439:22 polisiemanne 9487:24 **Polisiewet** 9426:15 polisiëring 9419:10 **political** 9431:17 pontificate 9460:23 POP 9477:6 **portion** 9450:22 9478:8 **position** 9461:13 possession 9430:7 **possible** 9408:24 9443:12 9491:21 **possibly** 9446:14 9462:21 postulate 9478:3 9479:2,6 postulated 9478:21 9479:4 postulates 9478:1,19 post-apartheid 9454:21 9465:24 potensieel 9414:21 9418:19 9421:21 praat 9439:21 praktyk 9419:7 pre 9455:4,5,19 9460:3 9470:20 predictably 9408:17 **preface** 9425:11 **prepared** 9462:8 prerequisite 9445:6 prescribed 9455:24 9467:14 prescribes 9425:17 9465:22 prescripts 9424:11 9425:15 9427:17 9455:25 9468:10 9475:12 **presence** 9406:8,13 9425:11 9431:25 9469:10 present 9431:2 9473:18 9473:24 9474:3 presentation 9475:12 President 9469:24 **presies** 9445:18 **pressure** 9431:17

pertinently 9450:5

really 9407:15 9416:1

9416:11 9419:2

9449:25 9451:15

9453:22 9482:19

9436:7 9438:25

9449:4 9457:6

9459:16 9469:6

reason 9407:10 9424:4

presumably 9422:20 9479:19
presume 9496:14
pretending 9453:7 Pretorius 9427:22,25
prevailed 9411:11
9452:17 prevent 9466:10
previous 9447:19
9456:22,22
pre-emptively 9407:11 prima 9450:10
principle 9458:14
principles 9435:16 9451:8,11 9480:23
9481:22
private 9473:12,13 9479:18,22 9480:24
9481:20,23,24
probability 9485:12
probably 9417:9 9418:13 9420:12
9464:24 9475:25
probeer 9415:16 9444:18
probleem 9412:5
problem 9408:15 9435:9 9470:20
9493:12 9496:6
proceed 9433:14
9470:16 9496:23 proceedings 9405:1
9490:18
produced 9496:13 professional 9489:5
profitably 9490:21
promise 9496:9 9497:24 9498:14
promising 9498:14
promptly 9407:18
pronouncement 9431:18
proper 9435:2 9451:8
9458:5 9484:21 properly 9426:21
9436:19
proportion 9410:6 propose 9436:12
9462:4
proposition 9416:5
9423:22 9424:19 9432:15 9436:10
9466:25 9467:8
9473:15 propositions 9415:6,23
9435:3
Protea 9496:2 protesters 9410:13
9429:2
provide 9436:18 provided 9498:10
province 9437:11
Provincial 9425:18 9437:11,12
Provinsiale 9426:16
9437:6

provinsie 9420:23,24 9437:6 provision 9451:9 public 9480:2,10 9481:12,13,20 pursue 9469:6 put 9408:1 9415:5,22 9416:5 9431:17,21 9432:16 9433:10 9435:7 9445:12 9447:16,17 9448:3,21 9454:12 9455:22 9456:3 9464:10 9467:6 9468:5 9469:15 9486:3 9492:3 **putting** 9415:21 9416:11 9441:24 9444:11 9451:14 9453:2,18 9454:23 9455:14 9482:4 9490:8 0 qualification 9474:23 qualified 9450:25 questioning 9493:6 questions 9406:16,21 9435:13,14,22,23 9436:18 9489:21

qualification 9474:23 qualified 9450:25 questioning 9493:6 questions 9406:16,21 9435:13,14,22,23 9436:18 9489:21 9491:16 9492:1,8 9496:16 quickly 9449:15 quite 9405:13 9406:1 9424:18 9448:21 9454:12 quotation 9472:6 9498:14 quote 9409:2

R

radio 9439:3,4,7,21,24 9497:11 raised 9417:1 9450:5 9454:6,6 9484:17 9494:6 raises 9490:25 raising 9419:14 ran 9488:23 rang 9481:6 ranging 9462:5 rank 9409:20 9424:25 9426:3,22 ranks 9454:4,14 rare 9466:23 reach 9444:24 reaches 9408:1 read 9409:3,6 9415:11 9428:14 9450:22 9453:24 9465:18 9473:23 9478:8 9487:16 9491:6,16 9492:5 **reading** 9410:19 9415:9 9479:7 9488:6

realised 9488:17

9490:2,3 reasonable 9465:15 9485:23 reasons 9407:3 9429:24 9457:7 9490:1 9498:16 recall 9405:6 received 9436:21 9468:8 receiving 9480:22 recommended 9454:8 record 9409:7 9443:17 9445:11 recorded 9498:1 recruitment 9445:3,6 **red** 9448:10,12,13,14 9448:18,18 **rede** 9428:3 9473:5,5,8 **redes** 9438:20 9457:3 reeds 9425:24 9427:8 9437:5 9444:19 refer 9487:6 reference 9413:24 9415:7 9434:3,10 9440:24 references 9464:21 referred 9405:8 9415:8 9445:13 9476:22 9478:10 9494:10 9495:22 9496:12 **referring** 9427:20 9432:20 9441:17 9474:20 9475:16 9477:18 9481:1 9495:4 refers 9415:12 9480:3 9480:18 9481:10,19 9481:20 9487:21 refresh 9434:7 reg 9439:10 9475:8 9480:15 9496:1 regard 9422:2 regards 9419:17 regrouped 9488:7 regsadvies 9427:10 regsafdeling 9427:9 regulatory 9423:25 9425:15 regverdige 9458:2 regverdigheid 9457:11 9457:17 9458:3 reintroduction 9454:14 related 9411:24 9436:24 relation 9436:9 9437:21 relationship 9421:8 relevance 9447:1,5,13

9447:21.23 9450:14 9452:11 9463:3 relevancy 9460:18 **relevant** 9427:17 9436:18 9447:15 9449:8 9450:19 9451:21 9459:17 9462:2 9468:7,16 9482:20 9483:6,24 9496:17 relied 9495:14 relies 9496:22 **reluctant** 9474:9,11 rely 9491:4 9493:21 **relying** 9483:2 **remained** 9490:21 **remarked** 9409:12 remarks 9407:20 remember 9408:9,12 9408:17,18 9417:19 9431:23 9432:3 9448:20,22 9463:14 9475:11 9483:9 9495:13 9498:15 remind 9405:3 9421:25 **reminded** 9441:22 reminding 9463:17,17 **remnants** 9461:14 repeat 9411:23 9425:11 9438:18 9477:24 9482:2 9488:18 repeated 9449:5 rephrase 9467:5 **reply** 9450:10 report 9453:25 9454:10 9474:21 reported 9425:20 reports 9436:21 represent 9452:15 9459:18 representatives 9406:3 request 9407:17 requests 9407:2 **require** 9405:19 resisting 9410:14 resort 9490:6 resources 9419:17 9485:10 respect 9406:23 9408:15 9452:16 9469:5 9471:11,23 9472:6 9474:4 9484:25 9487:4 respek 9457:1 respond 9417:20 9471:23,25 9490:15 **responds** 9470:20 response 9415:5 responsibility 9464:20 responsible 9448:4 result 9408:17 9411:19 9439:13 9469:25 9470:5 9482:9,22

9483:23 9484:23

resulted 9431:18

results 9411:14

resume 9442:21 **resumes** 9405:2 9442:20 reveals 9494:17 revenge 9432:9,17,23 9432:25 9433:4 9437:21 **Reëling** 9480:15 rifles 9423:19,20 9466:7,8 right 9417:17 9422:12 9422:20 9427:12,23 9430:11,12 9434:22 9439:8 9454:19 9455:11 9459:24,25 9466:19 9467:3 9472:25 9476:9 9478:18 **Rights** 9406:4 **rigtings** 9423:4 road 9440:17 **robbers** 9466:7 robbery 9466:11 rol 9457:11 role 9424:7,10,24 9425:2 9457:12,21,23 rondbeweeg 9413:12 **rondom** 9415:18 **room** 9465:7 rough 9489:4 round 9408:11 9416:10 9440:7 9443:5 route 9453:21 routes 9478:20 rubber 9499:1 rudely 9486:20 rule 9447:24,25 Rustenburg 9477:6 R1s 9423:20 R5s 9423:21 R5-aanvalsgewere 9421:1

S

saak 9444:19 safe 9433:21 sake 9428:25 9435:19 9435:19.23 9461:24 sal 9412:2.21 9413:21 9423:5 9495:24 samesprekings 9426:9 **SAPS** 9410:12 9423:23 satisfactory 9497:1 save 9425:16 9454:20 9491:7 **Saville** 9469:2 saw 9436:22,22 9474:3 9488:19 9491:18 saying 9424:5 9432:7 9433:22 9436:7 9441:6,15 9454:23 9459:23 9464:2,13 9465:20 9469:23 9470:4 9474:24 9478:7 9482:19

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

				Page i
9483:5 9486:9,9,12	9479:22 9481:23	9430:3 9483:11	sorry 9411:12 9414:3	9485:11
9492:22 9493:25	9491:23	show 9485:6	9416:10 9417:19	stakers 9413:18
9495:8 9497:6	selfs 9413:17 9418:7,8	showed 9406:24	9419:5 9421:23	stand 9423:18
says 9409:8,13,23	9421:18 9422:22	showing 9406:13	9423:11 9425:15,25	standaard 9421:3
9411:2 9424:21,23	self-defence 9434:1	shrank 9410:5,6	9435:22 9441:3	standi 9490:24
9458:14 9463:13	9435:5 9473:11,17	side 9429:12,13 9430:4	9446:1 9450:9 9455:1	standing 9424:1
9465:4 9470:6	9474:11 9475:1,14	9432:7 9450:1 9488:7	9456:7 9460:10	9429:20 9475:21,22
9471:13 9477:4,16	9477:17 9478:22	sides 9429:8 9464:10	9461:22 9464:19,24	9480:19 9481:1,20
9478:24 9480:23	9479:17,17 9480:4,24	sien 9438:6	9465:5 9470:18	stands 9461:4
9483:1,1 9487:20	9481:17,19,24	significant 9411:10	9475:10 9476:24,24	stappe 9498:25
9492:18 9493:21	9482:10,11 9485:7,21	9416:20 9428:17	9480:6 9482:1,13	start 9448:13,19
9494:17 9495:7	9485:22 9486:1	signified 9428:18,19	9484:3 9487:15,15,20	9474:24 9487:14
9496:22 9497:7	self-evident 9435:3,15	silently 9440:5	9489:1 9492:21	9488:6 9497:24
9498:2,3	9436:3	similar 9447:25	9495:19	started 9428:15 9453:7
SC 9405:5 9407:22	semantically 9479:8	similarity 9453:13	sort 9478:15	startled 9423:24
9411:15,19 9416:25	semantics 9467:16	simple 9411:8 9415:20	sou 9413:14,17,19	startling 9423:22
9424:17 9443:23	Semenya 9409:4	9416:18 9490:3	9418:3,4,6,8,17,18,21	starts 9488:4
9449:24 9450:20	9411:15,19 9416:23	simplify 9482:3,12	9419:4,7,10 9421:17	state 9460:19 9461:3
9451:4,7,12,14	9416:24,25 9417:7	simply 9423:16	9421:18,20 9422:14	stated 9486:10,13
9460:17 9462:13	9443:23 9462:13	9432:20 9470:14	9422:23 9423:8	statement 9409:3,8,24
9470:10 9471:9,12	9470:10,19 9471:3,9	9471:4 9485:21	9427:10 9428:6,6	9410:1,7,8,12,20
9473:22 9476:12,15	9471:12,23 9472:1,6	single 9491:15	sounds 9424:19	9411:2 9413:25
9478:23 9482:15	9473:20,22 9482:14	sir 9408:8 9493:9	source 9406:7	9414:2,4 9415:7,9
9484:3 9489:12,18,23	9482:15	sisteem 9457:2	South 9406:10 9462:6	9428:14 9436:12
9493:4	send 9441:8	situasie 9418:1 9423:4	9465:24 9468:1	9437:1 9438:9 9443:7
scenario 9416:16	sense 9432:9 9436:7	situating 9432:2	9477:6 9482:16	9452:22 9459:20
scene 9434:3 9436:16	9451:6 9475:2	situation 9421:9 9466:5	soveel 9418:7	9460:1 9466:1
9436:20 9488:25	sent 9439:1	9466:6,9 9473:17	Soweto 9463:11	9469:24,25 9470:7
scenes 9457:13,13	sentence 9479:8	9478:1,9 9479:19,22	so-called 9415:25	9484:18 9485:5
Scot 9409:19	separate 9476:8	9482:7,9 9486:1	9416:7 9419:19	9487:11,17 9490:6
Scott 9409:23 9438:21	serious 9479:8 9489:24	9492:19,20	9431:18 9491:24	9493:5 9494:10,16,17
9439:1	seriously 9407:18	situations 9463:6	space 9414:25	9495:4,5,10,13
Scott's 9409:19	9493:5	9466:23 9467:10	speak 9440:9 9445:20	9496:7,12 9497:7
9413:24	sersant 9439:19	9479:4,7	9460:21 9487:1	statements 9490:4
se 9413:22 9438:4	served 9456:19	siviele 9439:20	speaking 9406:11	9491:3,3,4 9494:7,9
9479:22	service 9407:7 9408:1	six 9416:13,14	special 9438:17	9495:14 9496:21
search 9418:23	9432:21 9454:4	size 9411:24 9416:4	specialised 9420:10	9497:15
searching 9419:2	9465:1,12 9477:6	skerms 9457:11	specific 9420:4 9436:11	states 9465:13
Seboloke 9422:6	9482:16	skiet 9455:23 9459:13	9437:9,10 9440:18	steeds 9406:15 9442:22
second 9407:10 9433:6	services 9405:10,11,12	skiet-en-donner	9443:3 9479:5	stem 9462:15
9459:20 9477:5	9405:19,25 9407:9,15	9455:24	specifically 9410:2	step 9409:5 9449:18,18
9487:20 9490:3	9424:6	skokgranate 9480:14	9411:24 9420:7	steps 9438:10 9448:5
secret 9443:3	ses 9422:8	9499:1	9424:7,10 9425:13	9448:24
secretariat 9405:21	Setati 9405:24	skop 9459:13	9436:9 9440:12	STF 9466:8
9407:25	shacks 9488:24	slaag 9418:6	9454:3	stokke 9413:5
secretary 9405:24	shared 9452:14	sleep 9427:16	speculative 9448:1	stoning 9453:8
section 9464:25,25	Sharpeville 9463:8,25	slide 9475:11,17,19	speech 9436:8	stop 9435:13 9474:9
9465:7,16,17,19,21	she's 9425:25 9426:2,4	slowly 9484:17 9494:3	speel 9457:11	9488:6 9491:13,14
9468:11 9478:1,19	9426:6 9470:22	small 9422:16	spent 9450:7	9492:2
sections 9487:14	shoot 9433:22 9434:21	smaller 9416:2,8,15	spesiale 9420:21	straight 9429:17
see 9407:25 9424:15	9435:4 9466:9,9	9419:20 9420:10	spesifieke 9437:5,6	strategie 9442:2
9436:15 9441:2	9485:23 9486:3	sodanig 9440:21	spiese 9413:5	strategy 9442:13
9444:13 9453:21	9490:1,7 9491:10	sodanige 9420:22	spirit 9451:24	strengthens 9417:5
9468:19 9471:8	9492:24 9494:18	9422:8 9423:10	spoke 9406:22 9437:21	Strike 9477:7
9485:20 9491:8,9,18	shooters 9475:3	9426:16 9461:9	9437:24	strikers 9429:13,23
9494:23	shooting 9433:21	sodat 9423:2,3	spoken 9465:6	9430:7 9439:4,7,24
seek 9497:25	9492:12,21	somebody 9433:21	squatters 9488:24	9441:22
seen 9459:5 9496:8	shootings 9491:1	9445:21,23 9478:22	SS2 9475:18,21	strongest 9491:21
seized 9439:3	shootout 9429:1,5	9492:18,22	SS3 9475:25 9476:6,8	strongly 9454:12
seker 9444:18 9445:17	9492:20	Sommige 9457:16	9476:13 9477:2	struck 9409:6
9461:8	shoots 9486:2	sonder 9437:4	staande 9481:4,17	study 9496:16
sekerlik 9495:24	shopper 9496:2	sooner 9484:10	stadium 9496:1	stun 9437:17
sel 9414:19	short 9405:25	soos 9413:8 9414:15,16	staff 9438:1	subject 9436:24
selection 9445:4,6	shot 9431:7 9453:8	9421:1 9426:8 9428:4	stage 9417:10 9419:1	9450:13 9463:3
golf 0420.22 0422 22				
self 9420:23 9422:23	9485:22	9437:15 9442:1	9457:20,25 9462:2	9469:6 9497:3
self 9420:23 9422:23 9437:3 9473:12,13,23	shots 9429:7,11,12	9437:15 9442:1	9468:16 9474:9	submissions 9432:23

Page 11

				Page 1
9468:8	9451:23 9454:18	9408:2,3,5 9411:21	9410:20,20 9411:2,21	9421:4 9481:7
submit 9431:17	9460:19 9462:20	9412:3 9415:4	9418:12,24 9421:10	totally 9434:22
subsequently 9409:5	9472:8 9479:18	9423:11,14 9426:18	9421:14,25 9424:5,8	totdat 9423:9
subsumed 9486:9	9483:22 9484:17	9427:14,15,23 9428:8	9425:1,20 9426:24	touched 9430:25
subtle 9465:20	9490:24 9491:21	9429:18 9430:2,14,19	9427:16 9429:4	traces 9461:17
suddenly 9410:5	9494:3 9498:11	9432:6 9433:9 9436:5	9433:20 9434:9,24,25	tradisionele 9413:4
9450:14 9453:8	taken 9433:17,18	9442:14,18 9443:1,1	9435:17,24 9436:6	9414:12
sufficiently 9485:14	9439:7 9448:24	9444:15 9449:16	9438:15,23,24,25	training 9444:6
suggest 9449:6 9450:18	9454:2 9460:19	9451:22 9455:18	9439:2,24 9441:23	transcript 9471:12
9488:1 9496:8,11 suggested 9497:5,12	takes 9466:18 talk 9428:24 9430:24	9457:15 9458:17,23 9459:15 9461:5,11	9444:9,23 9447:5,16 9450:3 9452:21,23,25	transit 9466:6 translate 9488:2
suggesting 9432:16	9453:20 9462:16	9459.15 9401.5,11	9453:1,16,21,24	9489:15
9435:22 9441:7	talked 9417:8	9474:18,23 9477:19	9455:23 9456:12	translated 9492:9
9453:13 9454:15	talking 9407:5 9419:17	9479:14 9483:25	9457:14 9458:6	translation 9487:16
9466:1 9469:22	9419:21 9436:6	9493:20 9494:21	9459:9 9460:25	9489:4 9491:8
9483:4	9441:9 9443:3	9498:7,13 9499:5	9461:1,2 9462:25	transport 9414:23
suggestion 9408:4	9447:18 9448:17	thanks 9459:16 9489:9	9464:23,24 9467:9	9422:3
9410:4 9446:1	9453:10,22,22	that's 9407:6,14 9408:4	9468:6 9474:7,12,23	triggered 9431:25
9454:10 9468:9	9455:25 9461:19	9415:8 9416:1,18	9475:18 9476:19	Trojan 9453:6 9463:12
9485:1	9465:3 9469:12	9417:4 9420:11	9477:12 9480:7,7	trokke 9422:8
suggests 9491:18	9485:16	9425:4 9429:10	9483:13 9484:9	troops 9443:7,10
suicide 9405:8 9407:13	talks 9475:22	9430:15,21 9435:9,20	9485:13,15 9493:11	truck 9453:7
Suid-Afrikaanse 9457:4	tangential 9450:6 target 9496:4 9498:17	9436:23 9439:25 9440:24 9441:5,17,23	9495:8 9498:18 thinking 9460:2,3	trucks 9414:23 true 9417:4,4
suiwer 9498:21	9498:18	9444:11 9447:11,17	third 9416:5 9431:12	trust 9417.4,4 trust 9428:15
sulke 9418:2	targeted 9416:4 9420:5	9448:1,11 9449:4	9431:14,15,19 9440:9	try 9407:11 9408:24
summation 9424:14	task 9497:9	9450:7,10 9452:10,22	third-hand 9475:2,4	9417:20 9425:16
superior 9482:22,23	te 9413:15,16 9414:17	9454:3,13,18 9455:12	thoroughly 9492:2	9488:2 9496:9
supplementary 9415:9	9417:24 9418:3,7,18	9459:9 9463:2,16	thought 9417:9	trying 9408:22,23,25
support 9433:16	9419:9,11,11 9420:2	9464:9 9465:2,16,17	9436:17 9451:6	9435:12 9453:1,17
9436:12 9496:22	9421:21 9423:2	9466:21 9467:3	threat 9421:11,12,12	9482:12
supported 9428:1	9427:10 9428:3	9470:4,20 9471:6	9421:14 9436:25	turn 9465:5
suppose 9422:9 9441:4	9438:6,21 9457:2,11	9473:22 9474:23	9467:10	turned 9473:21
9457:22	9458:3 9459:1,3	9477:19 9478:24	threatening 9434:21	turning 9428:17
supposed 9427:5	9473:5,8	9482:11 9483:13	threats 9446:5	tussen 9413:7 9421:1,5
sure 9409:4 9416:6	tea 9434:10 9442:19 team 9497:10	9484:7,23 9485:7	three 9428:17 9430:21 9476:8 9495:8	Tutu 9458:20 twee 9414:12
9447:1 9455:1,2 9465:25 9466:12	teargas 9416:9	9486:19,23 9487:4 9488:15 9489:2	threesome 9434:9	two 9407:2 9416:2
9467:25 9470:24	technical 9473:14	9490:20,23 9492:12	tier 9440:10	9428:24 9433:20
9472:5 9475:11,19	teenreaksie 9437:18	9494:10,22 9496:7	time 9408:22 9415:5	9445:22 9464:10
9476:5 9477:25	teken 9428:4	themes 9485:10	9425:16 9434:25	9483:18 9485:4
9489:5 9495:5	tell 9433:13,16 9434:12	theoretical 9492:19	9441:4 9447:18	9487:14 9488:14
surely 9451:2	9434:24 9436:25	there'd 9417:10,11	9448:10 9449:12	9490:1 9497:4
surprised 9484:7	9452:19 9471:5	there's 9405:4 9410:4	9450:7 9460:19,24	tyd 9473:7 9498:22
surrender 9488:11	9486:16 9488:1,6	9415:19 9420:13	9491:7	tydens 9412:6,22,22,23
suspect 9454:15	9491:14 9494:11	9429:12 9432:12	times 9476:25 9477:1	9415:17 9426:9
suspects 9442:5,10	telling 9428:23	9445:23 9447:24	9495:8	9428:5
suspended 9451:2	tells 9411:16 9471:12	9448:7 9450:4	Tip 9450:20 9451:4,7	type 9411:19 9420:14
suspicion 9459:19	tereg 9414:9,16	9453:13 9463:1	9451:12,14,20	9453:10
9460:23 swaar 9413:18	term 9420:13 terme 9413:3,19	9464:21 9466:14 they'd 9439:7	today 9406:4,13 9448:13 9450:2	U
swaar 9413:18 sy 9414:8 9426:8,8,15	9439:22 9441:18	they'll 9444:25 9497:16	9448:13 9450:2	u 9406:14 9411:5
9427:8,8 9428:3	9457:11	they're 9459:22	toe 9438:6	9413:21 9440:2,20
9480:15 9481:4	terms 9428:10 9435:16	They've 9441:12	toegelaat 9418:18	9442:1,22
synde 9498:23	9442:5 9457:12	thing 9407:6 9416:12	toegestem 9420:22	uit 9413:17 9420:2
system 9497:11	9480:9 9482:3	9450:1 9451:1	toeligting 9438:7	9481:4,4
sê 9414:16 9445:3	terug 9459:1	9464:13 9479:3	tog 9478:5	uiteen 9413:14,15,20
9481:5	terugbeweeg 9487:23	9485:2 9491:7	told 9421:25 9469:10	9419:11 9422:23
s.o.e 9406:19 9442:24	teruggaan 9425:24	9492:10 9498:1	9475:2,3 9486:21	9423:4 9498:25
	terugvoer 9417:25	things 9433:3 9435:12	9498:9	uiteendryfaksie
T Vito	testifies 9474:20	9440:10,12 9445:9	tolerance 9458:15	9498:23
taakmag 9420:21	testify 9473:16 9474:1	9452:17 9459:19	tongue 9460:20	uiteendrywing 9421:21
taalgebruik 9439:22	9474:14	9478:3,3 9482:5	top 9408:14 9441:14	uiteraard 9427:10
take 9406:15 9425:8,18 9438:24 9442:16,19	testimony 9474:2	9485:4,6 9497:4 think 9405:17 9407:8	9476:9 9477:4	9428:6
9438:24 9442:16,19	testing 9493:8 thank 9405:5 9406:1,20	think 9405:17 9407:8 9408:4 9409:10,11	topic 9443:13 tot 9412:25 9420:22	uitgebrei 9437:19 uitgedraai 9418:4
9444:2 9449:16	ulalik 9403.3 9400.1,20) +00.+)+07.10,11	101 /T14.43 /H4U.44	unigeuraar 7410.4
				•

vigilance 9442:9

vir 9413:20 9414:21

9438:21 9461:8

visit 9406:6 9459:21

volgende 9418:19

voorbeelde 9463:9

voorgestel 9420:20

voorsiening 9413:16

Voorsitter 9408:20

9412:1,4,19,23

9409:17 9410:10,17

9413:2,6,10,13,15

9417:23 9419:3,24

9420:15,24 9421:2,4

9422:5,13,21 9423:1

9427:7 9428:2 9432:5

9445:1,2,15 9452:3,7

9456:5,14,23 9457:3

9458:11,18 9459:1,13

9461:6 9463:7,19,23

9464:5,15 9468:2

9472:24 9473:4

9475:7 9476:17

9478:6 9479:24

9480:11 9481:3.8

9492:16 9495:23

voortgegaan 9419:10

voorvalleboek 9440:2

voorvalleboekinskry...

9498:20

voorste 9498:23

vorige 9456:18,24

vraag 9456:6 9478:6

9425:23 9426:13

9437:2,14 9438:3

9439:9 9440:19

9441:25 9444:17

9414:5,12,14 9415:15

9418:4 9421:3 9422:8

vinger 9463:9

vlakke 9438:7

voer 9420:2

voor 9456:15

9438:22

9414:20

voorhou 9445:2

uitgesluit 9413:2 uitgespeel 9457:17 uitreiking 9421:3 9426:15 uncalled 9463:6 uncomfortable 9445:21 9463.3 understand 9405:4 9406:3 9407:11 9415:5 9416:7 9432:15 9435:2,10,23 9435:25 9436:3,15 9452:25 9478:23 9479:6 9483:5 9485:17 9486:6 9493:25 understanding 9494:11 9494:12 understood 9460:13 9461:16 9494:8 **unduly** 9490:19 unequivocally 9461:3 **Unfortunately 9444:24** unies 9426:10 unions 9426:11,12 unit 9443:20 9449:20 9449:23 units 9420:10 9443:9 unlearnt 9452:17 9453:23 9454:17 unnecessarily 9479:10 **use** 9463:5 9464:3,22 9465:14,14,23 9471:7 9471:15 9472:20 9477:1,16 9478:1,14 9478:20 9479:11,12 9479:20.23 useful 9474:23

V vagueness 9448:7 vain 9497:14 values 9457:20 van 9412:20,24 9413:3 9413:11,18,18,20 9414:8,10,18,21 9418:1.9.17.19 9420:18.21.24 9421:4 9421:5.21 9422:22 9426:14,14,16 9427:8 9427:8,9,9 9437:5,18 9438:6,7,21 9439:10 9439:22 9440:20 9441:18 9442:2,2 9457:1,3,11 9458:12 9459:13 9461:9 9464:8,16 9479:25 9480:12,13,14,16,17 9481:6,18 9487:23 9496:2,2,5 9498:23 9498:25,25 9499:1 variations 9416:18 various 9452:4 9478:12 vehicles 9422:3 vengeance 9436:10 verantwoordelikheid

9438:5 verba 9469:20 verder 9414:13 9458:12,12 verdraagsaamheid 9458:12 verduidelik 9415:16 vergaderings 9412:22 9428:5 **vergeet** 9432:5 vergesel 9426:9 vergun 9413:21 verhoog 9457:18 verhouding 9421:5,18 9421:19 verklaring 9413:22 9414:8 9437:19 9438:4 Vermaak 9409:11 9413:22 9414:3 9415:8,12 9437:17 9452:5 9487:12,18,19 Vermaak's 9414:1,4 vermeld 9440:21 9442:6 vermoed 9439:20 version 9473:10 9482:15 9493:7,8 verskil 9421:1 verskillende 9423:3 Verskoon 9478:5 versoek 9420:24 versprei 9413:8 verstaan 9426:8 verteenwoordiger 9427:8 verteenwoordiging 9427:9 vervat 9418:5 9464:6 9464:18 vervoer 9414:21 9422:8 verwag 9413:13 9414:16 9418:2 9422:14,22 verwys 9412:20,21 9413:21 9414:6.9.13 9421:2,2 9438:4 9440:20 9442:1,3

9464:16 9479:25

9414:14 9480:12

verwysend 9413:5

verwysing 9426:14

victims 9405:12 9407:5

videos 9433:23 9436:21

view 9444:6 9450:11

9452:14 9455:21

9481:9.17

victim 9478:15

9466:10

video 9434:3

9483:10

vier 9473:7

views 9434:25

vigil 9442:4,4

9480:17 9495:25,25

W

waar 9414:8 9439:18 waardes 9456:25 9457:1 waardesisteem 9456:25 waargeneem 9437:3 waarnemende 9422:6 waarneming 9418:1 9461:7 9498:24 9499:2 waarnemings 9412:21 **waarop** 9461:7 waarskynlik 9421:18 9421:20 9480:16 9498:25 wait 9407:12 9411:15 walk 9428:11,13 9436:8 9453:21

walking 9428:11 9434:12 want 9406:5.25 9408:11 9410:1,4 9416:5,23 9419:22 9421:24 9423:5 9432:15 9434:12,15 9435:13,14 9437:16 9440:14 9441:4 9446:13 9448:9 9449:14,17 9455:8 9456:8 9465:19 9467:5 9469:3 9470:25 9471:3 9473:14 9475:25 9476:2 9488:2,5 9492:6,9 9497:4,13 wanted 9423:12 9431:21 9443:5 9451:19 9492:13 wants 9470:19 9471:4 9485:14 wapen 9414:11,12 wapens 9413:4 9422:23 warranted 9447:10 warrior 9422:17 wasn't 9426:21 9431:2 9436:16 9446:16,19 9453:23 9459:5 9460:15 9485:22,22 9494.4 waste 9434:24 9441:4 9448:9 9449:11 wasted 9490:20 wasting 9460:24 wat 9412:6,20,22 9413:8,11,12,13 9414:6,15,18,19,20 9415:17 9417:25 9418:17,20 9420:17 9420:20 9421:6 9422:8 9426:10 9437:3,18 9439:11,19 9440:20 9442:3 9445:3,17 9456:6,17 9459:3 9463:9,9,21 9473:7 9480:16 9481:4 9496:2,4 water 9490:20 waterkannonne 9480:14 watter 9495:25 way 9417:5 9424:23 9433:25 9443:12 9452:17 9453:2 9455:14,16 9462:7,11 9467:4 9476:11 9483:19 9491:22

wavs 9462:14

week 9497:20

9487:24

wees 9418:8,21

weapons 9409:10

weekend 9405:22

weer 9423:5,8 9487:23

9422:25 9430:6

9422:15 9427:11 9481:5 weet 9440:1 9459:14 9461:7 9473:6 9496:5 welcome 9406:5 went 9440:11 9453:6 9454:2 9478:11 weren't 9430:8,9 9462:1 **Western** 9453:9 Wet 9480:15 9481:4,5 **wetgewing** 9464:7,17 **we'll** 9411:15 9416:20 9419:22 9429:25 9431:6,20 9433:22 9442:19 9449:18 9468:17 9469:1 9477:24 9484:10,14 9487:14 9497:15 we're 9428:15 9436:6 9438:24 9446:7 9450:1 9451:10 9462:3,3 9468:16 9483:2,3,18 9484:6 9485:6,16 9491:13 we've 9409:7,10 9431:22 9439:2 9445:13 9468:7 9477:21,22 what's 9407:23 9447:20 9448:16 9449:14 9463:22 9478:16 9495:1,6 white 9427:20 wide 9454:23 9462:4 widely 9433:10,10 9453:18 wider 9433:10 wie 9437:17 9456:15 wil 9412:2 9413:21 9440:2 wish 9405:4,11 9407:19 9424:15 9450:23 9462:20 witness 9406:16,25 9407:4 9417:3,8 9424:18.20 9431:2.3 9435:1 9436:16,17 9447:19 9454:6,7,25 9454:25 9455:9 9460:6,18,22 9461:2 9462:13,18,24,25 9463:13 9464:23,24 9465:16 9468:15 9469:7,21 9470:2,2 9471:19 9472:9 9474:16 9475:19 9491:14,16 9495:18 9495:19 witnesses 9407:6 9415:24 9427:20 9431:21 9463:4 woman 9427:21 won't 9425:11 9443:9

9448:13,19 9471:20

9472:19 9493:15,16

Page 13

-	-	-	Page i
9495:15		230 9422:19	
woord 9442:3 9459:14	11	262 9464:22 9480:19	
	1 9411:3 9414:17		
word 9418:12 9438:2	9416:18 9498:8,11	9481:2,17	
9471:14,16 9480:8	1:30 9426:23 9427:5	27 9411:2	
9498:19	10 9417:2,7,9 9419:20		
words 9409:2 9415:13		3	
9416:15 9420:12	9485:6 9497:21	3 9409:9,25 9410:3,13	
	9499:4		
9432:24 9441:13	10th 9476:19	9412:24 9415:12,13	
9442:8 9445:25	10:00 9413:13	9416:14 9417:6,15	
9446:15 9469:20	10:20 9419:24	9419:16 9429:23	
9471:13 9477:3	10:39 9427:12	9475:22	
9478:17,21 9480:8		3(d) 9475:22	
9482:10 9497:10	10:59 9438:23	30 9417:14 9473:6	
	100% 9497:3		
9498:3	11 9431:15	300 9416:12 9417:7,11	
work 9408:25 9416:3	11th 9428:20 9429:1	9417:16 9420:6	
working 9410:23	11.5 9480:19,19 9481:2	34 9473:1	
worry 9483:3,16	11:26 9442:21		
worse 9472:2		4	
wouldn't 9433:3	11:46 9456:14	4 9409:8,12,12,13,13	
	12:06 9465:25		
9462:2 9489:8	12:25 9478:10	9410:3 9414:9 9415:8	
9492:23	12:45 9490:23	400 9412:25 9421:18	
wrong 9438:19 9450:1	13 9431:15 9464:25	9422:18	
9459:25 9490:2	13de 9425:25 9439:11	43 9410:12	
wrongly 9409:6			
	13th 9427:20 9428:20	5	
Y	9430:24 9431:22		
	9432:18 9439:4	5 9418:19	
year 9407:15 9453:5	9441:23 9476:22	50 9416:9,13	
yesterday 9408:10	9487:14,14,22	500 9409:12,13,13	
9411:9 9416:3		9410:13 9414:9	
9423:21 9430:25	9488:14	57 9496:19	
	13(3)(b) 9464:25	37 9490.19	
you'd 9417:7 9452:23	9465:8,10,19 9468:11		
9473:15	13(7) 9426:14	6	
you'll 9408:12 9416:6	14de 9427:8	6 9409:24 9414:7	
9434:7 9468:23	14th 9410:1	9415:10 9418:19	
9475:11 9487:15		9419:1	
9491:5 9496:14	15 9431:15	,	
	15th 9428:21 9431:16	60 9416:14	
you're 9432:16	15:55 9488:9		
9434:17 9435:1,21,22	15:56 9488:25	7	
9435:23 9441:7	1516 9488:8	7 9476:13,14,23 9477:4	
9443:20 9444:11	1517 9488:23	9477:16 9480:19,23	
9453:1,1,12,17,18,21		9481:2 9487:15	
	16th 9410:6 9426:23		
9453:22,22 9454:18	9427:6 9428:18,21	9488:4 9490:6,7	
9461:25 9474:8	9432:8 9446:2,3,3,15	9491:6	
9477:18 9479:21	9446:20,23 9447:8,10		
9491:3,5	9450:5 9462:12	8	
you've 9421:24,25		8 9477:3 9485:9 9493:9	
9427:18 9433:12	9470:8 9473:2	0 /T/1.5 /H05.7 /H75.9	
	9477:12,16 9478:12	0	
9440:4 9443:4 9444:8	9479:16 9487:21,22	9	
9444:20 9446:10	9492:20	9 9405:1 9410:8	
9454:21 9459:15	1668 9476:23	9480:16 9484:20	
9465:18 9473:20	17 9417:10	9.4 9485:5,12,14	
9494:7		9486:10,14 9490:2	
''''	17th 9469:25	900 9410:22	
	170 9417:10 9418:7		
	9422:7,12	94 9454:1 9455:4,5,6	
zero 9416:14	1726 9477:12	9455:10 9456:15	
	1867 9477:3	9460:3	
Ò	1878 9476:15		
òf 9420:23,23			
01 / 120.23,23	19 9456:16		
0.1	1982 9452:1,3 9453:4		
0	1994 9455:20 9463:5		
000 9409:9,25 9410:3,3	101/16		
9411:3 9414:17	2		
9415:12,13 9416:14	/ War		
9416:18 9417:6,15	2000 9454:11,16		
A Committee of the Comm	2010 9454:14		
9419:16 9429:23	2013 9405:1		
09:40 9405:2			
ARCHIVE FO	R JUSTICE		