

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 90 13 MAY 2013 PAGES 9500 TO 9642

HELD AT

CIVIC CENTRE, RUSTENBURG, NORTH WEST PROVINCE



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Page 9500

1 [PROCEEDINGS ON 13 MAY 2013]
 2 [10:16] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. Ms
 3 Barnes, I see you're back here this morning, appearing for
 4 AMCU. I understand you have something to tell us.
 5 MS BARNES: Yes, thank you, Chair. I
 6 have a statement by Mr Joseph Mathunjwa, the president of
 7 AMCU, which I wish to read out. Mr Mathunjwa had hoped to
 8 be able to be here today in order to read the statement
 9 himself. He's unable to be here because he is presently
 10 meeting with Mr Khulekile's widow and so in the
 11 circumstances I'm going to read the statement out on his
 12 behalf.
 13 "It is with great sadness that I inform the
 14 Commission of the death of Steve Khulekile, the regional
 15 organiser for AMCU at Lonmin. He was due to give evidence
 16 in the Commissioner. Mr Khulekile was shot dead on
 17 Saturday, the 11th of May 2013, as he sat watching football
 18 on television in a tavern at Khomanani Shaft Number 2. Our
 19 prayers and thoughts are with Steve's wife and family. I
 20 do not know who is responsible, but I want to take this sad
 21 opportunity through the Marikana Commission of Inquiry to
 22 plead with all mineworkers to stop these killings. They
 23 are destructive of all that we in the mining industry
 24 believe in. They leave behind grieving widows, children,
 25 mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters, who are condemned

Page 9501

1 to poverty. I beg of you all, there have been too many who
 2 have died. I beg of you all to do your utmost to stop
 3 these killings." Thank you, Chairperson.
 4 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Ms Barnes. We
 5 on the Commission wish to extend our condolences and
 6 sympathy to the family and friends and loved ones of the
 7 late Mr Khulekile and please, I ask you please to see to it
 8 that they are conveyed, our sympathy and condolences are
 9 duly conveyed. We entirely endorse what Mr Mathunjwa has
 10 said and we want to add one other factor, and that is that
 11 we've had other instances, one in particular where a
 12 witness was killed and one potential witness was killed.
 13 Both cases appear to have been assassinations. It's
 14 important that this Commission gets to the truth of what
 15 happened at Marikana, that it's able to carry out its
 16 functions with a minimum of interference and disruption,
 17 and deaths of this kind can only impact adversely on the
 18 work of the Commission, and it's a matter of great concern
 19 to us that this has happened and we hope profoundly that
 20 there will be no repetitions of this kind of event. Thank
 21 you. Generaal-Majoor, u is nog steeds onder eed.
 22 CHARL ANNANDALE: s.o.e.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, I understand
 24 you've distributed now copies of the statement of Mr Botes
 25 to which you referred on Thursday –

Page 9502

1 MR MPOFU: That's correct, Chair.
 2 CHAIRPERSON: And you're now able to
 3 proceed with your cross-examination.
 4 MR MPOFU: Yes, and we gave a copy of it
 5 to the witness as well. It's only one page that we dealt
 6 with, and I've pointed it out to him, Chairperson.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: It will have to be given an
 8 exhibit number –
 9 MR MPOFU: Yes, GGG –
 10 CHAIRPERSON: And Ms Pillay will tell us
 11 what it must be, how we must describe it.
 12 MS PILLAY: Chair, it will be GGG19.
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. I've
 14 marked it accordingly.
 15 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU (CONTD.):
 16 Thank you, Chairperson. Good morning, General.
 17 MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: Good morning,
 18 Sir.
 19 MR MPOFU: Right, before we proceed on
 20 the subject that we were busy with, I will start, as I
 21 always do, with asking you whether you have managed to get
 22 your hands onto that job description and delegation
 23 document in respect of your powers.
 24 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 25 inderdaad. Daar's 'n dokument getiteld "Purpose and

Page 9503

1 functions, Head Specialised Operations." Aangeheg aan die
 2 dokument is daar 'n organisatoriese struktuur. Voorsitter,
 3 en dan die relevante bladsye in 'n dokument gemerk
 4 "Annexure A" –
 5 CHAIRPERSON: We don't have to trouble Ms
 6 Pillay this time; this is exhibit GGG20.
 7 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 8 die twee bladsye is aanhangsels tot my uitset-ooreenkoms,
 9 of my "performance agreement" vir die jaar 2012/2013.
 10 MR MPOFU: Okay, thank you.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: How must we describe
 12 exhibit GGG20 in the exhibit list? "Annandale job
 13 description" doesn't sound quite accurate.
 14 MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: Chairperson, if
 15 I may, I would propose "Purpose and functions, Head
 16 Specialised Operations."
 17 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Do you have the
 18 Afrikaans for us? Seeing the witness gave it in English,
 19 mustn't you interpret it in Afrikaans?
 20 MR MPOFU: Okay, thanks, General. Now I
 21 see the shoe is on the other foot. This is why the
 22 Chairperson always says we must get these documents on
 23 time. So I'll be able to deal with it after tea, but for
 24 now can I just ask you a few things that, from a quick
 25 glance that emanates. What is clear from this is that you

Page 9504

1 don't report directly to the National Commissioner, you
 2 report to the Divisional Commissioner ORS who is, I think
 3 you said was General Mawela. Is that correct?
 4 CHAIRPERSON: Lieutenant-General.
 5 MR MPOFU: Lieutenant-General Mawela.
 6 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dis korrek,
 7 Voorsitter.
 8 MR MPOFU: And you are not the section
 9 head of the NIU or STF. Those are other people. Or rather
 10 let me put it this way. Who are those people? Who is the
 11 section head of STF and NIU?
 12 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 13 die Seksiehoof Spesiale Taakmag is Brigadier Fritz, en vir
 14 NIU is Brigadier Tsiloane, beide seksies wat rapporteer aan
 15 my.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: While we're about it, we
 17 may as well find out about the Section Head Tactical
 18 Operations, that's the third brown box –
 19 MR MPOFU: Yes, that is right.
 20 CHAIRPERSON: - brown box under your
 21 name.
 22 MR MPOFU: Yes, please, General.
 23 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 24 die betrokke pos is vakant. Dit word op 'n rotasie basis
 25 word dit gevul deur Brigadier Fritz, Brigadier Tsiloane, en

Page 9505

1 'n Brigadier Gibson.
 2 MR MPOFU: And just for the sake of
 3 completion, we established last week that the people who
 4 are entitled to deploy the NIU are the Divisional
 5 Commissioner, your immediate boss, and the National
 6 Commissioner. Is that correct?
 7 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 8 uiteraard die Nasionale Kommissaris het altyd die gesag, en
 9 dan ook myself in terme van my verantwoordelikhede as die
 10 komponentshoof.
 11 MR MPOFU: Yes, no, I'm just saying in
 12 terms of exhibit Q the two people who are empowered to do
 13 that are the National Commissioner and the Divisional
 14 Commissioner. If you have those powers then hopefully this
 15 document will then explain, once we've read it, how those
 16 powers are devolved to you, but as far as exhibit Q is
 17 concerned it's those two, or that's the primary powers,
 18 let's call it that.
 19 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 20 soos ek hier kan onthou in so ver dit NIU aangaan is dit
 21 vermelding gemaak van die "Divisional Commissioner
 22 Operational Response Services." Daar is nie pertinente
 23 vermelding van die Nasionale Kommissaris nie.
 24 MR MPOFU: Okay, that's fine. We'll find
 25 it when we – just a minute. Unfortunately that exhibit is

Page 9506

1 bulky and unnumbered. Unfortunately, Chairperson, I had
 2 actually thought I would do some voluntary service and
 3 paginate it, but that document and SS3 in particular I'll
 4 deal with in –
 5 CHAIRPERSON: Well, let's do that
 6 quickly.
 7 MR MPOFU: Yes, mine is –
 8 CHAIRPERSON: The first page we don't
 9 have to number, but the second page "Head, Specialised
 10 Operations, Purpose" we'll call page 2. The chart SS3 –
 11 MR MPOFU: Sorry Chair, can we start from
 12 the first page, just for that –
 13 CHAIRPERSON: The first page is 1.
 14 MR MPOFU: Let's make it 1, yes.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, that's a good
 16 number, it's for the first page. The second page, "Head,
 17 Specialised Operations, Purpose," etcetera, that's page 2.
 18 The box are page 3. The component, the annexure A is page
 19 4. Weight 20% is page 5.
 20 MR MPOFU: Ja, and the next one.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: Key performance area 2,
 22 it's also called weight 20%.
 23 MR MPOFU: Yes, and so on.
 24 CHAIRPERSON: So we've numbered the
 25 pages, now you can refer to them conveniently.

Page 9507

1 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
 2 General, on this pagination then I'm referring you to page
 3 70. So the easiest, the shorthand is the section just
 4 before the STF, which we dealt with, and the page that I'm
 5 referring you to is headed "Deployment" under NIU.
 6 MR MAHLANGU: You referred to 70?
 7 MR MPOFU: Ja, under NIU, is a slide
 8 under NIU headed "Deployment" and you can number –
 9 MS PILLAY: Chair, just for the purposes
 10 of the record, exhibit Q is a PowerPoint presentation and
 11 each slide has a number, and the slide that Mr MPOFU is
 12 referring to is slide 71 of exhibit Q.
 13 MR MPOFU: Yes, it was also 71.
 14 Chairperson, the way we can cure that is to make the cover
 15 page, page 1. Then it will coincide with Ms Pillay's –
 16 CHAIRPERSON: We'll do that.
 17 MR MPOFU: Yes, thank you. So the
 18 covering page is page 1, everybody. So it's 71 rather.
 19 Are you there? Okay.
 20 MAJOR-GENERAL ANNANDALE: Yes.
 21 MR MPOFU: The second bullet, it says,
 22 "The Divisional Commissioner of Operational Response
 23 Services," who is General Mawela, "will prioritise and
 24 approve the deployment of the unit to other provinces. The
 25 National Commissioner can, however, deploy the NIU to any

Page 9508

1 province should she or he so desire." That's what I'm
2 referring you to. It's just to remind you. Can you see it
3 now?
4 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek sien dit,
5 dis reg, Voorsitter.
6 MR MPOFU: Ja, so all I'm saying is that
7 the primary repositories of that power of deployment are
8 General Mawela and General Phiyega. If you have those
9 powers they will come from GGG20. Correct?
10 [10:36] GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dit is
11 korrek, Voorsitter.
12 MR MPOFU: And do you know who has the
13 power to deploy or mobilise the STF?
14 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
15 Spesiale Taakmag kan selfs op die versoek van 'n
16 stasiebevelvoerder ontplooi word, en dan pertinent deur die
17 eenheidsbevelvoerder van enige van die taakmag eenhede ook,
18 dan by implikasie die Seksiehoof, Spesiale Taakmag, myself,
19 die
20 Afdelingskommissaris, en so ook die Nasionale Kommissaris.
21 MR MPOFU: Yes, but I'm talking about
22 situations such as this. Would you describe the Marikana
23 operation as a national operation?
24 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
25 nee, Marikana bly 'n provinsiale optrede en operasie.

Page 9509

1 MR MPOFU: Yes, but you would agree that
2 it had a national flavour insofar as the deployment of
3 persons coming from outside the North West province is
4 concerned?
5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
6 ondersteuning deur nasionale eenhede en ook ander
7 provinsies.
8 MR MPOFU: Yes, correct. Thank you. And
9 that although it's correct that a unit commander – I think
10 that's how it's described – may request, as you correctly
11 pointed out, the deployment of the NIU, when as in the
12 situation of Marikana it's an operation that has a national
13 flavour and people from other provinces have to be
14 deployed, obviously that would be outside of the
15 jurisdiction of even a Provincial Commissioner?
16 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
17 die prosedure is dat die Provinsiale Kommissaris, of dan
18 enige van haar adjunkte sal nasionale eenhede, hetsy deur
19 die Afdelingskommissaris van Operasionele Reaksie Dienste
20 of dan die Komponentshoof, in die geval myself, versoek.
21 In terme van die versoek vir Openbare Orde Polisiëring hulp
22 sal daar gewoonlik 'n oproep gemaak word vanaf die een
23 provinsie na die ander provinsie net om te verneem of daar
24 beskikbare personeel is, en daarna sal die NATJOC versoek
25 word, formeel versoek word om sodanige ontplooiing vanaf 'n

Page 9510

1 ander provinsie te fasiliteer.
2 MR MPOFU: Okay. Well, for instance it
3 should become clear in the next question, I don't accept
4 everything you've said now, but for the purposes of this
5 question let's assume what you've said is correct. Even if
6 that was so, am I correct that the deployment of the NIU
7 would then be done at a national level - let's just limit
8 it to that – at a national level? In other words the local
9 person who's requesting cannot then go and deploy people
10 from another province. It will be done at a national
11 level. By whom, we'll get to it just now. Agreed?
12 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dit is
13 korrek, Voorsitter.
14 MR MPOFU: And so that I don't attract
15 the ire of the Chairperson, I will read one sentence from a
16 document which if necessary will be given to you later for
17 later comment. Chairperson, it's in the SAPS documents,
18 page 550. I have a feeling that this pagination, or rather
19 the indexing, I think Mr Pretorius told me that the
20 indexing has been changed, so we'll give it a proper
21 identification.
22 CHAIRPERSON: How is the document
23 described?
24 MR MPOFU: It's called "The National
25 Instruction 9 of 2011, Mobilisation of the Special Task

Page 9511

1 Force."
2 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. I take it
3 you're familiar with that document, Major-General?
4 MR MPOFU: Yes.
5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek is bewus
6 van die dokument, dis korrek, Voorsitter.
7 MR MPOFU: Thank you. Thank you very
8 much. We'll still give you a copy, but the section I'm
9 reading, if you have the SAPS documents, maybe Mr Pretorius
10 can give us the new pagination, but in any event, it's not
11 a long section. It's section 4 of that document. Are you
12 trying to get hold of it?
13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Mmm.
14 MR MPOFU: 4(1) just says, or rather the
15 heading of that section says, "Circumstances in which the
16 Special Task Force may be mobilised," and then section 1 I
17 won't read it – it simply says what we already know, that
18 the STF is for hostage situations, and so on, and so on.
19 Section 2, which is the one I want to read, or subsection
20 2, 4(2), let's call it that, says, "Notwithstanding
21 paragraph 1, the National Commissioner may at any time and
22 for any reason mobilise the STF and the section head of the
23 STF must coordinate the operation." You accept that as at
24 least what is in the documentation? Once again it may well
25 be that GGG20 will show that you are also in the mix, but

Page 9512

1 as far as this is concerned, the National Commissioner is
 2 the only one who can mobilise and the –
 3 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not sure that that
 4 document says she's the only one. It empowers her to do
 5 that.
 6 MR MPOFU: Well, exactly –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: I didn't hear the word
 8 "only" there.
 9 MR MPOFU: Fine. Well, okay. Like I say
 10 the heading says "Circumstances in which the Special Task
 11 Force may be mobilised," and maybe the Chairperson is
 12 right. Let me just say, the people who are specified as
 13 having that power in this document specifically are the
 14 National Commissioner to mobilise and the section head, who
 15 must coordinate, and we've already established that you are
 16 neither the section head nor the National Commissioner.
 17 I'm just saying at face value that's what the situation is.
 18 What GGG20 will tell us is another matter.
 19 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 20 nee, by implikasie is as 'n eenheidsbevelvoerder of 'n
 21 stasiebevelvoerder, hulle kan mobiliseer. Dan is dit ook
 22 die seksiehoof, en dan is dit ook die komponentshoof en dan
 23 is dit ook die Afdelingskommissaris "Operational Response
 24 Services."
 25 MR MPOFU: Yes, no, no, that may well be,

Page 9513

1 and most of that will be a matter for argument. All I'm –
 2 or something that comes up out of GGG20. All I'm saying to
 3 you is simply that as far as the, once again the primary
 4 repositories of the power, the specified ones, it's only
 5 the National Commissioner for mobilisation and section head
 6 for coordination. What implications one might draw from
 7 that and so on is a matter that we will argue, but those
 8 are the people specified. Correct?
 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 10 dis nie waar nie.
 11 MR MPOFU: Before you answer, General,
 12 remember we've made the distinction between the ability of
 13 a local or unit commander to request within their
 14 jurisdiction. We are talking here about a Marikana type
 15 operation which has a national flavour, so whatever your
 16 answer, you must bear that in mind.
 17 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 18 subparagraaf 2 kan nie gelees word sonder subparagraaf 1
 19 van paragraaf 1 nie, en pertinent 4(1)(c) wat sê, "Any
 20 criminal related high-risk operation in which the
 21 specialised skills and equipment of Special Task Force are
 22 required."
 23 MR MPOFU: Yes. No, there we are ad
 24 idem, we agree that's as to the type of activities for
 25 which the STF was established. We are now busy with who,

Page 9514

1 once one of those types can mobilise –
 2 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 3 ek wil net vir mnr Booie kans gee om te vertaal, dan sal ek
 4 my punt maak.
 5 MR MPOFU: Sorry.
 6 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 7 ek –
 8 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry. Mr Mpofo, I take it
 9 we'll be given copies of the document to which you're
 10 referring after the tea adjournment? Yes, thank you.
 11 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, I must
 12 apologise.
 13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 14 so paragraaf 4(2) is dan die Nasionale Kommissaris kan vir
 15 enige ander rede nie vermeld onder (a) tot (d) kan sy dit
 16 doen, maar (a) tot (d) is dan eenheidsbevelvoerder,
 17 stasiebevelvoerder, of dan enigiemand in die rangorde.
 18 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Is there a copy of
 19 this document available so that we can follow this debate?
 20 Because it's very difficult to just listen to them and be
 21 able to understand what –
 22 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, really I am
 23 sorry, Chairperson. Can I just go to something else and
 24 we'll deal with this. It's just one or two more questions
 25 anyway –

Page 9515

1 CHAIRPERSON: It's 6 minutes to 11. If
 2 there's another point you can deal with before we take the
 3 tea adjournment, then by the time when we come back to this
 4 after tea, we'll hopefully have the document in front of us
 5 –
 6 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: - and we can all follow and
 8 not just the privy few who have got the document at the
 9 moment.
 10 MR MPOFU: Yes, the – no, I do have
 11 something else which is kind of preliminary, but it doesn't
 12 belong to this section.
 13 CHAIRPERSON: If you want me to take the
 14 tea adjournment now then we can get the document and you
 15 can carry on – the problem has been solved in another way.
 16 MR MPOFU: Yes, thank you, Chairperson.
 17 Section 4, Chairperson and Commissioners, section 4, it's
 18 the short section, 4(1) is just for reference; it's not
 19 important. 4(2) is what we are busy with. Or well, it has
 20 become important now because the witness has referred to
 21 it.
 22 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, we studied the
 23 document. You may now proceed.
 24 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
 25 General, just so that we wrap up this point before tea, I

Page 9516

1 was busy saying that you and I are of the same mind as to
 2 what 4(1), it's what we have already read here about
 3 hostage situations and what have you. The issue I'm saying
 4 to you is that subsection (2) says, "Notwithstanding
 5 paragraph (1) the National Commissioner may at any time,"
 6 in other words it doesn't mean that she may deploy it for
 7 mountain roadblocks, if you know what I mean. It still has
 8 to be hostage situation and high-risk operations and all
 9 that.

10 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair –

11 CHAIRPERSON: I must confess, I don't
 12 read it that way. You see the "Notwithstanding" one seems
 13 to indicate that never mind what (1) says, that any time or
 14 for any reason, the National Commissioner may at any time
 15 or for any reason. So mountain roadblocks presumably are
 16 covered by any reason. So I don't think prima facie what
 17 you're putting is correct. I don't want to be unduly
 18 disruptive with your cross-examination, but that's being
 19 the –

20 [10:56] MR MPOFU: No, no, Chairperson, you're
 21 quite right, and I'll concede that point. Assume that it
 22 could be for any reason, mountain roadblock or painting a
 23 school, but the point is that it's the National
 24 Commissioner who may mobilise the STF and the section head
 25 of the STF must coordinate the operation once she has

Page 9517

1 mobilised it for any reason, and the crucial point I'm
 2 making is that that section would apply in a national –
 3 well, you said it's not a national, an operation which has
 4 a national flavour, such as Marikana, which you and I have
 5 agreed. Correct?

6 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 7 nee, die Nasionale Kommissaris se toestemming is nie nodig
 8 vir die vier aspekte vermeld in 4(1)(a) tot (d) nie.

9 MR MPOFU: Okay, General, I don't want to
 10 debate what, as I say what may be a matter for legal
 11 argument with you, but surely you're not suggesting that
 12 the National Commissioner is excluded from mobilising the
 13 STF for a terrorism incident, surely. Surely any reason
 14 includes also those things that are in 4(1).

15 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 16 nee, die Nasionale Kommissaris word nie geken as hulle
 17 gemobiliseer word vir die betrokke redes vermeld in 4(1)(a)
 18 tot (d) nie. Slegs as dit iets buiten dit sou wees, dan
 19 het die Nasionale Kommissaris die reg om hulle ook te
 20 gebruik vir iets wat nie dan vermeld is nie.

21 MR MPOFU: Okay, I'll leave that for
 22 argument.

23 CHAIRPERSON: Let Mr Booï interpret that
 24 first, then I want to put –

25 MR MPOFU: I'm so sorry, Chairperson.

Page 9518

1 CHAIRPERSON: I take it the point though
 2 is that the National Commissioner is not excluded even in
 3 situations covered by subparagraph (1), so if there's a
 4 situation falling under 4(1)(c) and the National
 5 Commissioner feels that action should be taken by the STF
 6 she can give the necessary instructions. Your point I
 7 think is that she doesn't have to because the people below
 8 her can do it on their own authority, but certainly she
 9 would have overriding authority; she's not excluded at all.
 10 Would that be correct?

11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 12 soos u dit gestel het, som dit dit presies op.

13 MR MPOFU: Thank you. I'm indebted for
 14 the precision of the Chairperson. We'll leave the issue
 15 for argument and interpretation, but the real issue that I
 16 want you to help me with is this other situation which
 17 doesn't involve the National Commissioner, which you have
 18 described, which involves your authority to deploy, can be
 19 gleaned from GGG20. Is that your answer? Or if not, where
 20 are we going to find it?

21 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 22 ek dink GGG2, bladsy 2 pertinent sal omvattend daarna – of
 23 nie omvattend nie, sal daarna verwys in terme van "ensuring
 24 of all specialised policing operations," of "directing the
 25 activities of the specialised operation capacities."

Page 9519

1 MR MPOFU: Alright, we'll let's put it
 2 like this. I'm handicapped because I haven't read GGG20.
 3 If when I read it over tea it's once again a matter of
 4 interpretation, then we'll leave it at that, but I know
 5 what your answer is here. Thanks, Chairperson, that will
 6 be a convenient stage to –

7 CHAIRPERSON: Are you moving on to
 8 another topic?

9 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, thank you.

10 CHAIRPERSON: Very well, we'll take the
 11 tea adjournment at this stage.

12 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]

13 [11:23] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
 14 We've been handed a copy of the National Instruction 9 of
 15 2011, which I suspect will be exhibit GGG21.

16 MS PILLAY: That's correct, Chair.

17 VOORSITTER: Generaal-Majoor, u is nog
 18 steeds onder eed.

19 CHARL ANNANDALE: s.o.e.

20 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpfu.

21 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU (CONTD.):
 22 General, all I'm going to say just for the record is that
 23 my reading of GGG20 neither makes it clear why you took the
 24 actions you took in respect of the deployment, and when I
 25 say that I mean broadly the deployment of the units and

Page 9520

1 your, what I've called previously your self-deployment, but
2 we'll leave that for argument at a later stage.

3 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, may I ask you a
4 question, which of course I take it you're not obliged to
5 answer; you can plead the fifth amendment, if you wish. I
6 understood the Major-General to say that irrespective of
7 his actual authorities, which he may or may not have
8 according to your argument, the National Commissioner came
9 there on the 13th and either expressly or by clear
10 implication approved of and therefore ratified what he did,
11 if what he did was unauthorised up to that stage. I take
12 it when you argue the point you will deal with that point
13 as well?

14 MR MPOFU: I will, and I'll deal with
15 that when I cross-examine the National Commissioner and the
16 Provincial Commissioner in particular, and Mawela if he's
17 called.

18 CHAIRPERSON: Those two points, those two
19 or possibly three –

20 MR MPOFU: Yes, and –

21 CHAIRPERSON: - part of cross-examination
22 we can look forward to.

23 MR MPOFU: That's correct.

24 CHAIRPERSON: Carry on with your cross-
25 examination now.

Page 9521

1 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. Okay,
2 you don't have to comment. I'm just saying we disagree.
3 Now –

4 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
5 ekskuus, as ek net kan ook sê dat in Generaal Naidoo se
6 verklaring – en u sal onthou dat hy saam met die
7 Provinsiale Kommissaris in die voertuig was toe hulle my
8 geskakel het op die betrokke Maandag –

9 MR MPOFU: Sorry, it's the Provincial
10 Commissioner, not the National Commissioner. I think the
11 witness said Provincial.

12 MR MAHLANGU: I'm sorry, Sir, the
13 Provincial Commissioner.

14 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: En op bladsy
15 2 van sy verklaring en pertinent paragraaf 2, die laaste
16 sin, ek haal aan, "The National Commissioner and Divisional
17 Commissioner Operational Response Services, Lieutenant-
18 General Mawela, was informed of the situation," en ek het
19 vroeër getuig dat Generaal Mawela bewus was van my
20 ontplooiing.

21 MR MPOFU: Right, now let's move back to
22 the issue that we were busy with on Thursday, which is the
23 meaning of the word "engage." Your last answer, if I'm
24 correct, and if I'm not you'll correct me, suggested that
25 "engage" in as far as you were concerned meant the spraying

Page 9522

1 of water or teargas. Is that correct?

2 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
3 ek dink ek het verwys na gebruik van skokgranate,
4 potensieel CS en rubber, of skokgranaat en haelgeweer
5 rubber in terme van uiteendryf aksies.

6 MR MPOFU: Okay, well I'll make a deal
7 with you then. If I accept that it could mean those things
8 that you mentioned, are you prepared to accept that it can
9 also mean the firing of live ammunition?

10 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
11 ek het getuig dat die gebruik van die woord "engage" in
12 polisietaal beteken verseker nie om te skiet nie, en dat
13 Brigadier Calitz die enigste persoon sal wees wat die
14 konteks kan verduidelik. Dit kan 'n legio van potensieële
15 woorde beteken.

16 MR MPOFU: General, you do understand
17 that you are under oath?

18 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
19 ek is terdeë bewus daarvan.

20 MR MPOFU: I put it to you that the word
21 "engage" does not exclude the shooting of live ammunition,
22 even if it includes the things that you've mentioned. In
23 other words it's not confined to the spraying of water and
24 the other things that you mentioned.

25 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,

Page 9523

1 maar ek self het dit nie beperk tot die sproei van water
2 nie. Ek het gesê dit kan 'n legio van potensieële goed
3 beteken.

4 MR MPOFU: And those variety of meanings
5 among other things would depend on the context in which the
6 word is used, correct?

7 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Konteks is
8 verseker belangrik.

9 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: General, in the
10 event that a command is given to shoot live ammunition,
11 what is some of the possible phrases or words that would be
12 used to issue that command?

13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Kommissaris,
14 die woord "shoot" sal waarskynlik gebruik word en dit sal
15 dan ook aanduidend wees van in watter rigting, op wie of wat
16 ook al dan die omstandighede is. Kommissaris, maar in die
17 konteks van skarebestuur sal skiet dan verwys na haelgewere
18 en buite skarebestuur konteks sal dit wees met skerp-punt
19 ammunisie.

20 MR MPOFU: Okay, so let's leave then the
21 theoretical meaning and bring it to the context of what we
22 know happened on the 16th at the particular stage. Firstly
23 before we do that, you remember that on Friday you said the
24 only thing that you overheard was, "Don't engage the target
25 unless the target engages you," or words to that effect.

Page 9524

1 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Op Donderdag,
2 dis korrek, Voorsitter.
3 MR MPOFU: Ja, okay, let's decode then
4 that sentence. Firstly the target in the sentence that you
5 remember must surely be referring to the protesters, or the
6 citizens who were protesting there?
7 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, would this
8 conversation not be better spent with Brigadier Calitz when
9 he testifies?
10 MR MPOFU: No. Chair, this witness,
11 incidentally these words that he used about "Don't engage
12 the target until the target engages you," were solicited by
13 Mr Semanya in his examination-in-chief and therefore I'm
14 entitled to cross-examine on that.
15 CHAIRPERSON: That's correct, Mr Semanya,
16 I think I'll allow Mr Mpofo to continue. Sorry, did I give
17 the ruling before you had a chance to address –
18 MR BURGER SC: No, no, may I ask for some
19 guidance from the Chair, because I have some difficulty
20 following this debate and I would like to know whether I'm
21 wasting time. I've objected a lot last Thursday and
22 Friday, and I don't want to object –
23 CHAIRPERSON: I don't know where you were
24 objecting on Friday, but you weren't objecting here.
25 MR BURGER SC: Wednesday and Thursday

Page 9525

1 then. We've been here so long I lose sight of the days.
2 So may I get guidance from you – and I ask it quite
3 seriously, and I ask it as to the manner in which my
4 learned friend is probing, and I don't hold any brief for
5 the police, but he may probe on to my client and I'm
6 sensitive to that, and that's why I need the guidance.
7 Chair, in saying what I'm going to say, I'm aware
8 of the distinction between courts sitting as courts and
9 commissions sitting as commissions of inquiry. I'm mindful
10 of the fact that a court of law is bound by rules of
11 evidence and pleadings and that your Commission is not.
12 You may inform yourself of facts by hearsay evidence, by
13 reading newspapers, by whatever means is meaningful in
14 order to come to a decision on the facts. However, the
15 overriding principle must be that the process must be a
16 fair one to all the parties involved. This is particularly
17 so where this Commission proceeds not on an inquisitorial
18 basis but on what I would have thought is classically an
19 adversarial basis. In that case I submit the parties are
20 entitled to expect compliance with the conventional
21 prescripts of the process and regulate their case
22 accordingly.
23 There's a further factor which I want to say by
24 way of introduction. That principle is particularly
25 important where the Commission is likely to make adverse

Page 9526

1 findings to parties. That might have potentially far-
2 reaching consequences for the parties involved. We
3 accordingly submit that in the process there should be
4 adherence to the demands of procedural fairness, and may I
5 give you three examples of what I submit is an unfair way
6 of going about. The first example is a statement made by
7 my learned friend Mr Mpofo to the General, and I quote his
8 ipsissima verba. He said, "The reason why there was this
9 frenzy and you drove all the way from Pretoria, uninvited,
10 was sparked by the killing of the two policemen." That led
11 that very same afternoon to a news report in News24 with
12 the heading "Revenge behind Marikana killings – Mpofo."
13 Now I have yet to hear the factual basis for that
14 statement. Fairness would dictate that if a statement like
15 that is made by an examiner, that he would pose facts and
16 on the basis of those facts, not with the witness but at
17 the end of the day argue that to the Commission so that his
18 protagonist can address that argument, either disputing the
19 facts or adding more facts to show the submission is not
20 sound. But in my view - and if it happens to my client I'd
21 like to have your guidance as to whether I should object –
22 it is unfair to put a proposition to a witness (we know
23 he's going he's going to deny it), he then denies it and
24 not put the factual basis for that very statement you've
25 put.

Page 9527

1 Let me put my second example. There was an
2 allegation made by my learned friend that Mr Mathunjwa had
3 suggested that the police who shot and killed the
4 protesters on the 16th of August did so because they still
5 harboured what he called "the apartheid mentality." During
6 the course of his cross-examination of General Annandale Mr
7 Mpofo suggested to General Annandale that the police, or at
8 least some of them who shot and killed the protesters on
9 the 16th, did so because they harboured that mentality. I
10 don't remember that he laid any independent evidential
11 foundation for that claim, but he suggested that it was
12 based on an exchange between my learned friend Mr Bruinders
13 and Mr Mathunjwa, and he laid it on the tongue of Mr
14 Mathunjwa that he would have said that.
15 [11:43] Well, the record on that is at page 2378 and it
16 went like this; my learned friend Mr Bruinders asked Mr
17 Mathunjwa, "Why were you so convinced that people were
18 going to get killed?" and Mr Mathunjwa said, "I mean, (1),
19 the Provincial Commissioner who said to us this thing must
20 end today. Subsequently to that the very same Provincial
21 Commissioner is not available to meet with us to report the
22 feedback from the mountain. (2), or (3), the management
23 reneged on its commitment and subsequent to that the very
24 same management is no longer willing to meet with us, and
25 again I reminded myself of the words that were said on the

1 meeting of the 15th, where Mr Mokwena's saying they'll get
2 the police to go and do their job there on the mountain.
3 So based on those facts it was clear to me, yes, the
4 decision has been taken that these workers are going to be
5 killed."

6 Now there was no suggestion of an apartheid
7 mentality or a 1948 state of mind, and I still have to hear
8 the factual basis for what was, I say inelegantly put to
9 this witness and dealt with elegantly by him as to why
10 there was no merit to that.

11 Let me give you my further example. An example
12 of where theses are floated, they get into the newspapers
13 and then we never get the factual basis for them, as they
14 in fact say on this last one, News24 had a headline that
15 afternoon, "Revenge behind Marikana killings – Mpofo."
16 That's a third example. The allegation that the police
17 shot and killed protesters on the 16th of August based on
18 orders, orders to kill. The heading that afternoon in
19 Times Live was, "Mpofo argued that this showed that the
20 officers who shot at the striking Lonmin workers were
21 acting on orders and not in self-defence." What was the
22 factual basis for that?

23 By then I objected, and I hope I didn't waste
24 time, but I objected strongly to that without a factual
25 basis, and my learned friend then took us into his

1 confidence and he gave us three reasons for that statement.
2 The one reason you had to translate to my learned friend
3 because he didn't understand the Afrikaans. It came from
4 GGG17, the statement of Vermaak, what's his rank? Colonel,
5 Lieutenant-Colonel, whatever, the policeman Vermaak, and in
6 paragraph 7 there was the statement which you translated,
7 and it said, "Ek het weer Brigadier Calitz se opdrag
8 herhaal uit die helikopter, waarop ek gesien het dat die
9 lede optree," and I think it became common cause that the
10 first reason advanced by my learned friend was just not
11 correct for making that statement.

12 But he gave a second reason. He said the second
13 reason for suggesting that we should find in his October
14 2012 opening in a paragraph which read, "The claims of
15 self-defence are baseless." Now with respect again that's
16 not correct. That does not bear out the statement he made.

17 He gave a third reason then. He called for a
18 document which he didn't have at that stage. It was the
19 statement by Botes, one of the Lonmin people, and he's
20 today now handed up the statement of Mr Botes. Well, we
21 know what Mr Botes says. We filed Mr Botes' statement last
22 year. Mr Botes –

23 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, I don't want to
24 interrupt –

25 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, Mr Mpofo, I must

1 give Mr Burger an opportunity to finish.

2 MR MPOFU: Yes, you must, Chairperson,
3 but my –

4 CHAIRPERSON: Then I'll give you a
5 chance to reply. Don't worry.

6 MR MPOFU: But can you also give me a
7 chance to say something which is important, which must be
8 said now, Chairperson?

9 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, no, I think I must
10 let him finish and then I'll let you deal fully with what
11 he said.

12 MR MPOFU: I want to prevent suggesting
13 answers to the witness, so it will be too late at any other
14 time, but that's fine.

15 MR BURGER SC: My learned friend should
16 know me. I will not suggest the answer –

17 CHAIRPERSON: If that's a problem, Mr
18 Mpofo, we can always ask the Major-General to leave the
19 auditorium while this matter is being discussed, if it's
20 suggested that –

21 MR MPOFU: Yes, I'd like that to happen
22 now, Chairperson.

23 CHAIRPERSON: Alright. Major-General,
24 Generaal-Majoor, sal u omgee om die ouditorium te verlaat
25 vir 'n wyle?

1 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.

2 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger, would you please
3 proceed?

4 MR BURGER SC: Chair, the passage I
5 suspect my learned friend relies upon is in GGG19 in
6 paragraph 57. That is a paragraph which does not begin to
7 suggest that people were shot having been ordered to do so.
8 It does not even suggest that the speaker is Brigadier
9 Calitz because you'll see at paragraph 56 Calitz is named
10 particularly. In paragraph 58 he's named, but in the
11 important paragraph 57 he's not named. So the three
12 reasons suggested - my view, with respect – does not bear
13 out that there was an order to shoot, and what my learned
14 friend is now doing through this witness, who's got nothing
15 to do with this debate, is to ask him a question he should
16 have asked before he made that statement. He should have
17 taken instructions on what the word "engage" means in
18 police parlance, and he would have been told what this
19 General tells us it means. It does not mean you shoot
20 people with sharp-point ammunition. He should also perhaps
21 have looked in the Oxford Dictionary as what the word
22 "engage" means and he wouldn't have found an answer there
23 either.

24 So we know now that he has again made a
25 statement, a very contentious statement on a factual basis

Page 9532

1 which we still wait to hear, and now I need your guidance
 2 because if this is going to happen with Lonmin, I must know
 3 whether I must keep quiet, but just before asking on your
 4 guidance, may I quote from a recent decision in the Supreme
 5 Court of Appeal which I submit is relevant in this process.
 6 It's a case called AllPay Consolidated Investment Holdings
 7 versus The Chief Executive Officer, was reported in 2013 on
 8 the 27th of March this year, and his lordship Mr Justice
 9 Nugent said the following. He said, "Whatever place mere
 10 suspicion of malfeasance or moral turpitude might have in
 11 other discourse, it have no place in courts, neither in the
 12 evidence, nor in the atmosphere in which cases are
 13 conducted. It is unfair, if not improper, to impute
 14 malfeasance or moral turpitude by innuendo and suggestion.
 15 A litigant who alleges such conduct must do so openly and
 16 forthrightly so as to allow the person accused a fair
 17 opportunity to respond. It is also prejudicial to the
 18 judicial process if cases are adjudicated with innuendo and
 19 suggestion hovering in the air, without the allegations
 20 being clearly articulated. Confidence in the process is
 21 built on transparency and that calls for the grounds upon
 22 which cases are argued and decided to be openly
 23 ventilated," and it's on that basis that I ask for
 24 guidance. Is it fair to the parties around the table, I
 25 ask rhetorically, to put contentious statements to

Page 9534

1 MR SEMENYA SC: Well Chair, the only
 2 example we can add emanating from the cross-examination
 3 this morning is also spending time suggesting that the
 4 witness does not have the authority to deploy units that
 5 fall under him. Now one would have imagined that if that
 6 proposition is correct, we would have been pointed to
 7 something. Instead what we are told is that I differ with
 8 you there, I will argue differently. It's just one such
 9 example where propositions are put to witnesses without any
 10 factual foundation for them.

11 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Tip, do you wish to say
 12 anything?

13 MR TIP SC: Chair, yes thank you.
 14 Broadly we align ourselves with the sentiments addressed to
 15 the Commission by Mr Burger, particularly in relation to
 16 the need for proper factual bases to be established before
 17 contentious propositions are advanced, and not perhaps the
 18 other way around. I would, if I may, just add one further
 19 thought. In his carefully crafted submissions Mr Burger
 20 has drawn attention to the difference between a commission
 21 and a court of law, and quite correctly, and he has said
 22 well in this instance the Commission is proceeding on an
 23 essentially adversarial basis and hence, says Mr Burger, he
 24 needs the guidance from the Commission in order for him to
 25 understand when it would be appropriate for him to object,

Page 9533

1 witnesses without first disclosing the factual basis for it
 2 and secondly to hold that back for argument, or at the very
 3 lowest to the party who is suspected of having uttered the
 4 words. In the case of "engage" for example, if it was
 5 Brigadier Calitz, ask him what he meant by it before you
 6 put a proposition to him which may turn out to be not
 7 correct. I'm indebted to you for listening to me, Chair.

8 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo. I'll also ask
 9 other counsel because they're all, I'm asked effectively to
 10 give a ruling which isn't really relevant for these
 11 particular questions in cross-examination, but also it
 12 looks ahead to other questions that may be asked in future,
 13 so I'll ask the evidence leaders first once Mr Mpofo has
 14 replied. Commissioner Hemraj points out to me it will
 15 actually be more appropriate to give other counsel who are
 16 minded to address me along the same lines as Mr Burger a
 17 chance to speak first, so that Mr Mpofo gets a chance to
 18 reply to everybody at the same time. I'll ask the evidence
 19 leaders if they wish to say anything, and then I'll ask Mr
 20 Semenya and it may be that some of the other counsel also
 21 would wish to say something. Mr Madlanga, anything you
 22 wish to say in relation to this point?

23 MR MADLANGA SC: Nothing at all, Mr
 24 Chairman, thank you.

25 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya.

Page 9535

1 and there's a great deal of merit of course in that
 2 submission as well. But what we would with respect just
 3 add - and these are not obviously thoughts that we've had
 4 the opportunity dwell over, they're spontaneous responses -
 5 that the essential nature of a commission is that it is
 6 there for the Commission to achieve through all the parties
 7 present, whether they are representatives of persons who
 8 have been identified in the Terms of Reference or whether
 9 they perform the function of the evidence leaders, we are
 10 all here to assist the Commission to establish truth and
 11 truth in a fashion that is not in any sense defiant or
 12 limited through the pleading process, which obviously is
 13 not part of the process, and what that impels me to
 14 conclude and to submit with respect, is that a balance
 15 needs to be struck where the - as has indeed happened in
 16 many instances, Chair - where the Commission itself will
 17 intervene in respect of any objectionable propositions that
 18 are put and we would certainly welcome the Commission
 19 playing a more active role in that regard. In other words,
 20 that if for whatever reason none of the parties raise a
 21 pertinent objection to a particular question, then that
 22 does not cloak that question with some sort of immunity,
 23 and if the Commission, Chair and the Commissioners feel
 24 that this is not a question which is calculated to advance
 25 the findings that the Commission must make in due course,

Page 9536

1 well then that will obviously raise it to an objection. So
 2 I think those are the only remarks that we would wish to
 3 add at this stage, Chair, and I appreciate the opportunity.
 4 CHAIRPERSON: Do any of the other
 5 parties' representatives wish to make any submissions on
 6 this point before I call upon Mr Mpofo? I don't see any
 7 red lights coming on, so Mr Mpofo, would you care to reply
 8 now to Mr Burger, Mr Semanya, and Mr Tip?
 9 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, let me –
 10 I'll start at the bottom because I think the last two
 11 inputs are much easier to deal with. As far as Mr Tip's
 12 input is concerned, I would like to say that I think in
 13 defence of the Chairperson and the Commissioners, if
 14 there's one area, if anyone wants to go through the record
 15 and find how many times the Chairperson has said to all of
 16 us, without any discrimination, how does that advance the
 17 question of the Terms of Reference, I'm quite sure that
 18 you'll find more than a dozen references of when the
 19 Chairperson has said that to me, to various other people.
 20 So I think to end, and not even using those words when the
 21 Chairperson has mero motu overruled many a question, so I
 22 think that that concern is taken care of by just the
 23 practice of what has happened. Whether it's sufficient or
 24 not is another matter, but factually the record will show
 25 that it has been happening, at least sometimes too

Page 9537

1 frequently, particularly I think in the eyes of those who
 2 are on the receiving end, but the point is that it has been
 3 done. So I think Mr Tip's concern has been taken care of.
 4 As far as Mr Semanya is concerned, I'm perplexed
 5 by what he's saying. He says that suggestions are made to
 6 the witness that he did not have the powers, without
 7 something – underlined, something - being put to the
 8 witness. Well, there are two somethings that were put to
 9 the witness. The first something was the bullet 2 of that
 10 slide 71 which says what it says. I don't want to repeat
 11 it. The next something is the new document, which
 12 incidentally I don't think has been given an exhibit
 13 number, which will be GGG21 I think.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: The National Instruction 9
 15 of 2011 which we were handed as we were walking back to the
 16 auditorium I did mark GGG21.
 17 MR MPOFU: 21, ja. Thank you,
 18 Chairperson. So if that, that might not be something
 19 enough for Mr Semanya, but he can't say that the questions
 20 that were put to the witness had no basis on something
 21 because those are two pertinent things which say, and I
 22 said to the witness that I'm prepared to accept that his
 23 powers might be implied. That's a matter for argument.
 24 I'm not going to debate that with the witness, but simply
 25 the fact that there are specified persons in both those

Page 9538

1 documents. So I think Mr Semanya's input, or objection, if
 2 it is one, is of no basis on what happened here just half
 3 an hour ago.
 4 As far as Mr Burger is concerned, Chairperson,
 5 let me start at the beginning of what we are busy doing
 6 now. I am flabbergasted, to say the least, to say that the
 7 matter of self-defence, I would have thought even a child
 8 in the street who has no training in law, if you say to
 9 them there is something called the Farlam Commission, what
 10 do you think it's about, I'd bet you, Chairperson, any – 80
 11 or 90% of all South Africans would say it is going to find
 12 out whether the police killed those people in self-defence
 13 as they claim, or whether there was another valid reason.
 14 You don't have to be a lawyer to see the relevance of that
 15 question. It is but the question that we are here to
 16 probe.
 17 Now in the light of the centrality of that
 18 question you have a witness here who has considered that
 19 there are two mutually exclusive means by which the
 20 shooting might have happened. One is self-defence, and
 21 we've all broadened that to include private defence.
 22 [12:03] The other one, he says, is on command and the
 23 reason the basis was laid about the mutual exclusivity of
 24 those things, was exactly to show that the one would negate
 25 the other. Now –

Page 9539

1 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not sure that's
 2 correct.
 3 MR MPOFU: Well that's what the witness
 4 said –
 5 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, I thought we
 6 covered that last week. An officer might give a command to
 7 a member of the service to fire in order to defend a
 8 colleague. In other words, where you have a private
 9 defence situation, you could have a command to a member of
 10 the service to fire in order to defend a colleague.
 11 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: That must be so.
 13 MR MPOFU: Okay.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: What follows from that,
 15 that the two concepts are not mutually exclusive, but I
 16 understand your argument to be that you say your case is
 17 that the police didn't act in self defence. They acted on
 18 command in a situation where that was something different
 19 from self or private defence?
 20 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: That's your contention?
 22 MR MPOFU: That's my contention.
 23 MR MPOFU: And you rely, as I understand
 24 it now, on effectively paragraph 57 of exhibit GGG19.
 25 MR MPOFU: Yes.

Page 9540

1 CHAIRPERSON: As an item of evidential
2 material before the Commission in a sense as part of the
3 police hard drive that's been made available to everybody.
4 And that's the point you're going to enlarge on now?
5 MR MPOFU: Yes.
6 CHAIRPERSON: I understand that. I have
7 no problem with that.
8 MR MPOFU: Fair enough.
9 CHAIRPERSON: But Mr Burger is
10 effectively arguing for a wider proposition and that is, he
11 says that when allegation of a serious misconduct, what Mr
12 Justice Nugent called malfeasance, are put to witnesses, it
13 should not be done on a basis that it's just an allegation
14 grabbed from the air or unsubstantiated by anything. He
15 says and he asks me to rule as a matter of practice and
16 fairness, that when allegations of that kind are made, the
17 cross-examiner should refer to the evidential material on
18 which the allegation or malfeasance is being made, to
19 enable to parties who is being attacked as it were, whose
20 conduct is being criticised, to respond in respect of the
21 evidential material that's being relied on. That, if I'm
22 paraphrasing his argument incorrectly, I invite him to
23 correct me.
24 MR MPOFU: Yes.
25 CHAIRPERSON: But that's what I

Page 9541

1 understand him to be saying. Now what do you say about
2 that now? Because you will also recall, I think, that
3 during the course of these hearings, when that kind of an
4 objection had been raised, Mr Semanya, for example, has
5 raised it on a number of occasions and said, that can't be
6 put. What's the factual basis? I've always upheld him and
7 always invited the cross-examiner to provide the material
8 and then the attempt has been made, sometimes successful,
9 perhaps sometimes not that successful to provide the basis
10 of the allegation. So what I'm merely asking you is, in
11 relation to Mr Burger's central request for a ruling, do
12 you quarrel with him or do you accept that the practice
13 that has been followed, not invariably, because I've not
14 wished to be super-active in objecting, because I don't
15 want the impression to be created that I'm biased, in
16 favour of the one party or the other. And as you pointed
17 out, my interventions have been, possibly caused
18 displeasure to various parties, because they haven't come
19 because of me biased and favouring one party. But do you –
20 when the points have been pertinently raised, I certainly
21 upheld the objection.
22 MR MPOFU: Yes.
23 CHAIRPERSON: Do you quarrel with the
24 general proposition by Mr Burger, that as a matter of
25 fairness, and there's a lot of authority, there's a

Page 9542

1 decision of the SCA on appeal from the Cape Provincial
2 Division, dealing with the Truth and Reconciliation
3 Commission, where it was held by the SCA that principles of
4 fairness apply to Commissions and Commissions must not
5 operate in an unfair fashion. I'd be surprised to hear
6 anybody arguing the contrary. So if it's accepted that
7 this Commission must at all times be fair, what Mr Burger
8 argues, based on that fundamental premise, is a risk
9 practices that he sketches to be followed.
10 MR MPOFU: Ja.
11 CHAIRPERSON: Do you quarrel with that?
12 MR MPOFU: No, of course, Chairperson,
13 not. I mean nobody – who is going to quarrel with the
14 proposition that there must be a factual basis for things
15 put in cross-examination.
16 CHAIRPERSON: Okay.
17 MR MPOFU: So that is all basic, as not
18 to be even worth mentioning. What I quarrel with, is the
19 fact that that objection has no place in these proceedings
20 and I'm going to show you that –
21 CHAIRPERSON: Hang on. The objection,
22 you say, is - the proposition you accept?
23 MR MPOFU: The proposition –
24 CHAIRPERSON: The basic - so insofar as
25 Mr Burger asked me to give a ruling, that that should be –

Page 9543

1 that practice should be followed, you won't disagree if
2 that ruling is made and you've said very fairly that that
3 must be so.
4 MR MPOFU: No.
5 CHAIRPERSON: Alright. So your concern
6 with the suggestion, and all we're busy with is one
7 particular aspect of your cross-examination.
8 MR MPOFU: Yes.
9 CHAIRPERSON: That the factual basis for
10 the allegation you put, that's been fairly being put to
11 you, you would say that it's – you tried to ascertain what
12 this passage 57 means?
13 MR MPOFU: Yes.
14 CHAIRPERSON: Criticism has been made
15 that you should have done some investigation as to what
16 "engage, engage" means, but –
17 MR MPOFU: No.
18 CHAIRPERSON: - somebody said is water
19 under the bridge. I think you can proceed with the cross-
20 examination of the General on the basis of what 'engage
21 engage' is. I'm not going to allow you to go on too long,
22 because some evidence have been given on the point already.
23 MR MPOFU: I don't intend –
24 CHAIRPERSON: The ruling that Mr Burger
25 seeks, as a general ruling, that I thought I had applied,

Page 9544

1 perhaps not consistently, because I didn't always take
 2 points on where counsel didn't seem concerned with the
 3 point to be raised, but the practice I have followed and
 4 which he invites me to follow now invariably, that where
 5 serious allegations are made, the factual basis on which it
 6 – the allegation rests, should be put to the witness. That
 7 ruling I give. But so that point can now be taken out of
 8 the way.
 9 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: Just proceed shortly with
 11 this 'engage engage' point and then move on to the next
 12 point.
 13 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: Because I think it's been
 15 thoroughly canvassed.
 16 MR MPOFU: Thank you very much,
 17 Chairperson, yes. Just to be sure, I say that if there is
 18 no reason to give a ruling on the site proposition that the
 19 factual basis must be laid.
 20 CHAIRPERSON: I hereby give the ruling.
 21 MR MPOFU: Ja. Okay, fine. Now
 22 accepting that, accepting that, let's then look at Mr
 23 Burger's examples and to show that that objection has no
 24 place –
 25 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, do we have to –

Page 9545

1 MR MPOFU: No, Chairperson –
 2 CHAIRPERSON: The ruling he's asked for,
 3 he's got.
 4 MR MPOFU: No, Chairperson –
 5 CHAIRPERSON: Some of the points –
 6 MR MPOFU: Is critical to the others -
 7 this is going to happen time and again, as it happened last
 8 week. Please, let's put it to bed. I'm prepared to waste
 9 the next five, 10 minutes so that we don't have to –
 10 CHAIRPERSON: I don't like that word
 11 'waste', but you're prepared to spend the next five minutes
 12 on the point?
 13 MR MPOFU: Invest, because the truth is
 14 there is a lot of this kind of thing. Let's take one
 15 example, Chairperson – exactly, let me just tie up the
 16 point. The point about whether it was a command or self-
 17 defence, must be read in the context of the opening
 18 statement of the – of the police, which says at page 18
 19 thereof, first starts on 17, "Officers from the TRT which
 20 had been deployed as A support service" and so on and so
 21 on, "at virtually less than a heartbeat of charging
 22 protestor opened fire on the advancing protestors with live
 23 ammunition without instruction from anyone." Now that's the
 24 case, that's their case, Chairperson. I am busy with
 25 trying to accept evidence, not refuse that very notion that

Page 9546

1 they put, that it was without any command. Link to that,
 2 the fact that the – it is projected in the – in their own
 3 slides that it's one or the other, and accepted,
 4 Chairperson, that's a matter for argument, as to whether
 5 explicit and so on. We'll deal with, I'm sure, in good
 6 time when we argue the case. But at the very least, I have
 7 put that proposition to the witness. It's linked to what
 8 the police's version is and as if that is not enough,
 9 Chairperson, the statements, and this is why I wanted the
 10 witness to be – to leave. If you go to Mr Botes'
 11 statement, at paragraph 59, he links this instruction
 12 directly to the firing of live ammunition. He says, it's
 13 the same page 17 –
 14 CHAIRPERSON: I see, "other than for
 15 hearing the word engage, which is repeated several – a few
 16 times immediately - I did not hear any specific instruction
 17 on the use of live ammunition." Which seems to indicate
 18 that he interpreted it in that way.
 19 MR MPOFU: Absolutely. And that's all
 20 I'm going to put to the witness.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: Alright.
 22 MR MPOFU: A person like Botes seems to
 23 link this directly to the use of live ammunition and he
 24 says it happened immediately before that. That is not a
 25 small thing, Chairperson. If you are one of the victims

Page 9547

1 and you have been told that this was done without
 2 instruction, and there's evidence, concrete, coming from
 3 somebody who was there who for all intents and purposes was
 4 an eye witness, who says the word 'engage' was used
 5 immediately before the shooting, then honestly,
 6 Chairperson, how can –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: It's a matter of argument.
 8 The question of course is, whether his interpretation of
 9 the word "engage" is correct, but he's not a policeman.
 10 MR MPOFU: No.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: As far as I understand he's
 12 a –
 13 MR MPOFU: No, it doesn't matter. At
 14 least all it shows is that –
 15 CHAIRPERSON: No, I understand that.
 16 MR MPOFU: Yes. I won't belabour the
 17 point. I think the Chairperson gets the point. So that's
 18 really where I'm going. Secondly, Chairperson, and I do
 19 hope the witness is not around –
 20 CHAIRPERSON: I must tell you, I don't
 21 think your fears that the witness will tailor his evidence
 22 because of what he hears in the discussion are well
 23 founded, but in view of the fact that you expressed
 24 concern, I asked him to go and I'm sure he's quite happy to
 25 go to show his bona fides in the matter. But any way,

Page 9548

1 let's not go there now.

2 MR MPOFU: I don't –

3 CHAIRPERSON: I understand you've got –

4 you may wish to make other submissions and which I shall

5 listen to and if they're well founded, I'll uphold them,

6 but anyway, the point is that the – Mr Botes will also have

7 to tell us when he comes, what exactly 'immediately' meant

8 in this context.

9 MR MPOFU: Yes, of course.

10 CHAIRPERSON: But these are matters that

11 can be more fully addressed when Mr Botes is here. But

12 anyway –

13 MR MPOFU: But Chairperson, it's not

14 fair, I'm going to submit, the mere fact that these things

15 that I'm reading now, are exactly what my cross-examination

16 is going to be about. If the witness was listening, then I

17 might as well go to something else. But be that as it may

18 –

19 CHAIRPERSON: That implies that the

20 witness would dishonestly tailor his evidence in the light

21 of what you say he may have heard and I'm not sure that

22 there is a foundation for that.

23 MR MPOFU: Well, Chairperson –

24 CHAIRPERSON: But we don't have to go

25 there now. Let's not spend time on that.

Page 9549

1 MR MPOFU: Ja.

2 CHAIRPERSON: I think I've heard what

3 you've had to say. Is there anything else you want to say?

4 MR MPOFU: Yes, there is, Chairperson.

5 Now that we have established that, I just want to make one

6 example of the issues that Mr Burger raises. It's true

7 that the fairness is an important factor. It's true that

8 this is not an adversarial process.

9 CHAIRPERSON: But it in fact is

10 proceeding in that fashion. If it were inquisitorial in

11 the true continental sense, I would have to say to you,

12 well, at least tell me what your questions are you want to

13 ask.

14 MR MPOFU: Yes.

15 CHAIRPERSON: I would have to ask them.

16 Now we're not going that way.

17 MR MPOFU: We know that –

18 CHAIRPERSON: We are –

19 MR MPOFU: Quasi adversarial.

20 CHAIRPERSON: That's right.

21 MR MPOFU: Yes. Now it being quasi

22 adversarial, that is why Mr Burger fiercely and

23 adversarially cross-examined the national commissioner on

24 her statements and so on. That kind of cross-examination

25 would not have been allowed in a purely inquisitorial

Page 9550

1 process. The – I don't know why this particular witness

2 needs to be protected more than the national commissioner.

3 The point of the matter is that if it's quasi adversarial

4 for the national commissioner, it's quasi adversarial for

5 Annandale. There are no holy cows. Now so that's the

6 preface, but where I'm going, Chairperson, is this. Mr

7 Burger makes example about Mr Mathunjwa's statement.

8 CHAIRPERSON: I think points were put,

9 based, allegedly based upon what Mr Mathunjwa had said.

10 But a study of the record indicated it had not actually

11 reflect what Mr Mathunjwa had said.

12 MR MPOFU: Chairperson –

13 CHAIRPERSON: But that appears to be born

14 out by the passages you read to us.

15 MR MPOFU: No, that's a disingenuous way

16 of doing it, Chairperson, because firstly, it untruthfully

17 ascribes to me –

18 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, but disingenuous

19 implies lack of integrity.

20 MR MPOFU: Well –

21 CHAIRPERSON: It's not an expression that

22 I'd allow Mr Burger to use of you and I don't propose to

23 allow you to use it of him.

24 MR MPOFU: Okay, well –

25 CHAIRPERSON: The way we have been

Page 9551

1 working so far in this Commission, is cooperation and

2 harmony and all the parties concerned all striving to

3 assist from various angles –

4 MR MPOFU: Ja.

5 CHAIRPERSON: - and viewpoints for this

6 Commission to get to the truth. Once we start having

7 insults being thrown around and allegations of that kind,

8 that atmosphere will no longer exist.

9 MR MPOFU: Ja.

10 CHAIRPERSON: Please don't do that again.

11 MR MPOFU: Ja. I leave the adverb then,

12 but you can tell me then, Chairperson, what do you call a

13 person who says Mr Mpofu relied for his statement on what

14 Mr Bruinders said. I can assure you, Chairperson, you can

15 go to the record, I never mentioned the words Bruinders

16 when I was putting that question. That I'm 100% sure. So

17 Mr –

18 CHAIRPERSON: I think you misheard Mr

19 Burger. I understood Mr Burger to say that you were

20 relying on an exchange between Bruinders and Mathunjwa when

21 Mathunjwa was giving evidence.

22 MR MPOFU: It was not. That's the point

23 I'm making. We can call it ingenious or whatever, but I

24 was not, and I'll show you why. What I was relying on,

25 Chairperson, it had nothing to do with Mr Bruinders. It

1 had all to do with, once again, a factual basis that had
2 been placed in this Commission, namely exhibit 009, which
3 states, Mr Mathunjwa placed the following, when he's asking
4 the people, he was trying persuade them. "The fight has
5 been taken, Comrades, that is why we are here amongst you
6 without the police escorting us. We came on our own,
7 because we are coming to the nation of God to try and avoid
8 this blood that they want to see flowing. Comrades, the
9 life of a black person in Africa is so cheap. The life of
10 a black person in Africa is so cheap, they will kill and
11 finish us and get other to put them and pay them salaries,
12 that do not do anything in the Black person's life. That
13 would mean we were defeated, but capitalists will be the
14 ones who win."

15 That is the factual basis. It's not anything to
16 do with Bruinders or whatever has been wrongly ascribed to
17 me. The – in other words, what I – all I'm putting to the
18 witness is that from this and Mr Mathunjwa says – at least
19 there is evidence from Magidiwana that he repeated this in
20 the other address. That this at least was given as a
21 reason or one of the reasons why these people are going to
22 be killed. Now all we know is that the prophesy of
23 Mathunjwa that they would be killed, was well – fulfilled,
24 they were killed. And all I'm probing is as whether the
25 reason that he gave, at least or one of them, had any

1 basis. Assuming – well, accepting that Mr Bruinders is
2 wrong –

3 CHAIRPERSON: - allow you to proceed with
4 that cross-examination.

5 MR MPOFU: Thank you.

6 CHAIRPERSON: So what is your complaint?

7 MR MPOFU: Indeed, thank you. No, I just
8 want to debunk this myth, Chairperson. The next thing is,
9 yes, that addresses the apartheid issue. Bruinders is
10 dealt with. There was nothing – there was another example
11 of a headline – ja, I think I've dealt with it, it is the
12 revenge. Once again, this issue of revenge, Chairperson,
13 firstly is contained in our opening –

14 CHAIRPERSON: The fact that it is in your
15 opening statement, of course, doesn't constitute evidence.

16 MR MPOFU: No.

17 CHAIRPERSON: I was surprised Mr Burger
18 didn't take that point, but there were –

19 MR MPOFU: But that's –

20 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, evidential basis was
21 suggesting that some at least of the police, rushed forward
22 to koppie 2 and might have been prompted by considerations
23 other than those of self or private defence.

24 MR MPOFU: Yes. And statements were read
25 out which suggested that the witnesses – the statement of

1 Naidoo, I think the statement of Scott and the statement of
2 Allandale were read out, which suggested that they – let's
3 put it this way, prioritised the death of the police as the
4 reason of going there, over and above. I won't they
5 negated –

6 CHAIRPERSON: That afforded the basis for
7 suggesting any question of revenge?

8 MR MPOFU: Well –

9 CHAIRPERSON: But it might be that, I
10 think that Captain Ryland's, for example, might have
11 afforded some evidential basis for suggesting that some of
12 the shooting was at least done for reasons other than self
13 of private defence.

14 MR MPOFU: Yes.

15 CHAIRPERSON: Ja. And but in any event –

16 MR MPOFU: Ja, that's all, Chairperson,
17 all I'm saying is that if you have a situation where - you
18 have a suggestion before this Commission where some police,
19 some policemen shot after a command to cease fire. Others
20 were kicking the corpses that are lying down. Others were
21 laughing around the dead bodies and all sort of things,
22 which have already been produced here. And you – other
23 were at least on our version, planting weapons on the dead
24 bodies. If all those things are not sufficient at the very
25 least – it may be disproved at the end, as a basis for

1 suggesting a level of malice and vengefulness, than nothing
2 ever will. That's all I want to say. And at 9.8 of our
3 opening statement, we say the following. "The demeanour,
4 underline, the demeanour and behaviour of the police showed
5 that they were inter alia motivated by revenge and malice."

6 That's what we said in our opening statement.
7 How else, and the Chairperson is right, but it's exactly
8 because of that circular argument, the fact that it's in
9 the opening statement, doesn't mean it has been proved, but
10 that's exactly why we are doing this.

11 [12:23] So that when, at the end of the case I say, now
12 Chairperson, I said I was going to establish the same
13 things, you said to me, well, Mr Mpofo, what do you say
14 about 9.8? Should I scratch it out, or did you establish
15 it? I should be able to then say, through the evidence of
16 A, B, C witnesses this was either established, or at least
17 an attempt was made, whether it was established
18 successfully or not is a matter that the Chairperson and
19 the Commissioners will determine. But I cannot be stopped
20 –

21 CHAIRPERSON: I just want to -

22 MR MPOFU: Yes, I accept that,
23 Chairperson. The – but I cannot for the life of me, be
24 stopped from canvassing the exact issue which I've put –
25 put to this – to these parties in October last year, as an

Page 9556

1 issue that I'm going to canvass. But as it were, once
 2 again, the Chairperson did allow me. So I don't think that
 3 – and I don't intend to revisit this, but I'm just saying,
 4 insofar as all the examples that are used, whether it
 5 relates to the engaged, whether it relates to the apartheid
 6 issue, whether it refers to the revenge issue, all those, a
 7 factual basis has – have been laid or at least have
 8 attempted to be made, as I say, I can't say it was
 9 successful. But what I cannot be accused of, Chairperson,
 10 is so-called bringing those from the so-called air. These
 11 are not from the air. Mathunjwa said the life of a black
 12 person is cheap. That's not the air. That is the
 13 evidence. The issue about the engage is not from the air.
 14 It's from the statement of Lonmin. The issue about – I
 15 forgot the third one, Chairperson, but all those issues
 16 have been established.

17 Let me just finalise by saying this, Chairperson,
 18 the – this wouldn't have offered some, it's just so that we
 19 bring it back to the current, what supposedly sparked the
 20 so-called objection. This witness have just said to me
 21 there is a wide array of what the word 'engage' means. And
 22 I say to him, in that wide array it depends on the context
 23 and he agrees. And I was busy now going to go to the
 24 context and inter alia to show him two things. One, that
 25 the Botes other paragraph which I have already gone

Page 9557

1 through. Two, the fact that in Vermaak's statement the
 2 water and tear gas incident had already occurred and
 3 therefore this would mean that it's dealt with the third
 4 issue around the kraal, which is live ammunition. Once
 5 again, that may or may not be established at the end, but I
 6 can't be stopped, Chairperson, with the greatest of
 7 respect, from probing the central issues in this case,
 8 which is whether those people were shot in self defence or
 9 in – on command –

10 CHAIRPERSON: - orders, pursuant to
 11 orders?

12 MR MPOFU: Or pursuant to orders or even
 13 with the Chairperson's combo, whether it was this one or
 14 the other one for the combo. That I must be entitled to
 15 probe, Chairperson. If it was the combo, then of course
 16 that negates the opening statement. If it was on command,
 17 then it is either not self-defence or it was the combo. I
 18 mean those are matters that will be dealt with in argument,
 19 but at this stage all I'm saying, Chairperson, is that if I
 20 can be stopped from probing what this case is all about,
 21 what this Commission is all about, then we might as well
 22 fold and go home.

23 CHAIRPERSON: I didn't understand Mr
 24 Burger to say I must stop you from probing what the
 25 Commission is all about. I understand he was more

Page 9558

1 concerned with the procedural matter. But I'll give him an
 2 opportunity to reply.
 3 MR MPOFU: Chairperson –
 4 CHAIRPERSON: But let me say what I –
 5 MR MPOFU: I may have missed something.
 6 CHAIRPERSON: I said I didn't understand
 7 Mr Burger to suggest you should be stopped from probing the
 8 matters that are before the Commission. His concern, as I
 9 understood was more on the procedure, the way the procedure
 10 followed, so I understood him. But I'll give him a chance
 11 to reply in a moment. But I understood his complaint to be
 12 more that where a serious allegation is made in cross-
 13 examination, it's not enough just to rely on material which
 14 may or may not be in the background somewhere. The witness
 15 being cross-examined and the party's witness who is being
 16 cross-examined, should have the opportunity of knowing at
 17 that very time what evidential material is to be used in
 18 support of the allegation, so it can be dealt with. I
 19 think that's his complaint –

20 MR MPOFU: No, Chairperson –

21 CHAIRPERSON: When you're finished, I
 22 call upon him to reply. Is there any more you wish to say?

23 MR MPOFU: Yes, just one thing,

24 Chairperson, which is that the – my understanding of the
 25 art of cross-examination is that the style of the cross-

Page 9559

1 examiner and how the cross-examiner gets to the point, that
 2 point, is not a matter of that you can make a ruling on.
 3 It is – once we've agreed that the factual basis is there,
 4 that Mr Burger is wrong in all the instances that I've
 5 shown, to say that there was no factual basis. I'm not
 6 answerable for headlines or whatever, but if everything
 7 that I've said I'm going to put, I put to the witness as
 8 I've demonstrated, is based on evidence. So let's just get
 9 that out of the way. Anything else Mr Burger can get away
 10 with, but not to suggest that I just wake up one day and
 11 say, you know, the life of a black person is cheap, from
 12 the air? No. Chairperson, when there is concrete,
 13 concrete suggestions and I made it clear to the witness
 14 that I'm not just talking. That's why I said to him, I
 15 hope you'll take this in good spirit, because – and
 16 immediately went to approach Mr Mathunjwa, so that we're
 17 not talking about some rumours that may be harboured by my
 18 clients. And I did say to him, there are people among my
 19 clients who harbour this and why did they harbour this,
 20 Chairperson? It is because Mr Mathunjwa said it to them.
 21 So you can't blame them. If you are one of those 3 000
 22 people and Mathunjwa says, you're going to be killed
 23 because the life of a black person is cheap and they are
 24 killed, surely it must be expected that those people must
 25 think, gee, Mathunjwa was right. And that's all I was

1 probing. And of course the General has explained it and
2 put it into context and I moved on. So please, let's –
3 firstly let's not ascribe to me things I did not say. Two,
4 let's not say that there's no factual basis, when it is
5 there starting at us in the documentation. Thank you,
6 Chairperson.

7 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger, your reply?
8 Before you reply, I want to say this. That you asked me
9 for a ruling effectively for the future. I'm just
10 disinclined to say anything about the points that have been
11 made in relation to the past, because they have – it's
12 water under the bridge. You've asked me for a ruling for
13 the future, which I've given you, the ruling you sought.
14 Mr Mpofo had been here effectively defending himself in
15 respect of points that you made in the course of your
16 address. I'll give you a chance to reply, but I don't see
17 any advantage at this stage when dealing with things that
18 happened in past. But please proceed as you considerate it
19 appropriate.

20 MR BURGER SC: In another forum I might
21 have well forgone the right to reply. I'm really not used
22 to debate on the level that has been raised. But – and I
23 promise my learned friend, the out of cross-examination I
24 won't debate with him. But may I make three points,
25 because he still does not understand my argument. He says

1 the first application, he belies the principle. It does
2 not follow that it is the police's case that they did not
3 shoot on a command, that he can put a proposition that they
4 did shoot on a demand. That's the only point I make.

5 CHAIRPERSON: I put the combination, what
6 he calls, he's got another express that I don't like, but I
7 put the combination to you. You could have a situation –

8 MR BURGER SC: Yes.

9 CHAIRPERSON: - where members of the
10 service is commanded –

11 MR BURGER SC: Yes.

12 CHAIRPERSON: - I don't know if that
13 happened here, but is commanded to shoot someone –

14 MR BURGER SC: Yes.

15 CHAIRPERSON: - in order to defend a
16 colleague. The – I'm not sure that the command could
17 necessarily be relied on as a defence standing by itself.

18 MR BURGER SC: Yes.

19 CHAIRPERSON: But in fact the command
20 was to shoot in private defence and there was a shot in
21 private defence, then the plea of private defence would be
22 upheld. So the combination certainly may well apply here.

23 MR BURGER SC: I understand that.

24 CHAIRPERSON: Ja.

25 MR BURGER SC: My learned friend is

1 that the police's case is that the shooting happened
2 without command. That's in fact their case. It does not
3 mean that he can then put that they shot as a result of a
4 command. What he is entitled to do, is to probe the
5 veracity of that point, to probe the police to see whether
6 they in fact did give a command or whether they did not
7 give a demand. But he cannot start off a debate by putting
8 the proposition without the factual substructure for that
9 submission. That's my only question and I thought you
10 ruled on that?

11 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, I ruled on it and he
12 in fact conceded that the requirement of the factual
13 substructure should be there.

14 MR BURGER SC: Yes.

15 CHAIRPERSON: And he conceded that even
16 though this is a Commission and not a Court, the principles
17 of basic fairness apply, be held in many of the cases, and
18 the styles of cross-examination may differ. If a style of
19 cross-examination of a particular aspect happens to be
20 unfair, it can't be allowed and he doesn't fight with that.
21 He was really defending himself against some of the
22 criticisms that you addressed against him. But anyway,
23 please proceed.

24 MR BURGER SC: But that's just where the
25 debate goes array then. He accepts that principle and on

1 entitled to probe a combo. He is not entitled to put a
2 proposition that a combo was in place until such time as he
3 has established the facts for that. He can probe, as he's
4 shown us, all over the place. He can probe whatever is to
5 be probed, but he cannot put a proposition without the
6 factual basis. That's the only point that – and I thought
7 I had a ruling on that.

8 CHAIRPERSON: I understand him to concede
9 that. Whether that was done entirely correct in the past,
10 is a matter which has no fruits to be derived from – or
11 advantage to be derived from going into that now. It's
12 past. One of the points, as I understand it, is that there
13 is evidential material, for example, the police hard drive.
14 There is evidential material in videos. He can't just put
15 a proposition, a general proposition and when challenged
16 say, well, if you look at page 500 of the hard drive, or if
17 you look at video, this particular video, you'll see
18 something in support of that, the witness to whom the
19 allegation is being put doesn't know what's being relied
20 on. He's entitled to be told what is being relied on, so
21 that he or she can say, it doesn't support the proposition
22 that you're making against me. So I would have thought
23 that you and he and I are at this point ad idem on that?

24 MR BURGER SC: No, I'm very happy that
25 you and I are at ad idem. I'm not sure at all that he's ad

Page 9564

1 idem. That's why – that's what is taking some time. No,
2 it's serious though.

3 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, can I just
4 assist?

5 MR BURGER SC: May I just –

6 CHAIRPERSON: Please, Mr Mpofu –

7 MR MPOFU: I have never put that
8 proposition to this witness here.

9 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, I understand.
10 Let Mr – in order to have an orderly debate, let us allow
11 Mr Burger to address, address us. And then if there is
12 something else you want to say, I'll let you. Mr Burger?

13 MR BURGER SC: So I was accused of being
14 disingenuous. No, no, no, I was accused of that. You
15 disallowed it, but I heard it loudly and clearly. I have
16 never had that before. I hope I'll never hear it again,
17 but let me say that it is in the context of apartheid
18 mentality, I put two and two together and I thought the
19 apartheid mentality was based on the exchange between Mr
20 Mathunjwa and Mr Bruinders. My learned friend now says it
21 was based on the phrase to the effect that the life of a
22 black person in Africa is cheap. Now I would never have
23 guessed in a month of Sundays that that lead to the
24 proposition that was put. And that's the very problem we
25 have. Propositions are put at, I don't know what it's

Page 9565

1 based on. The witness doesn't know what it's based on and
2 with respect, Chair, you must lead us on that. If that
3 happens and I have to object, I have to object, but my
4 learned friends must stand with me. We cannot allow that
5 to happen. It's wasting of time and it's unfair to all
6 parties. It may well be unfair to my client and I'm
7 speaking only for my client.

8 Then very lastly, my learned friend says he's
9 entitled to probe, because he wrote it in his opening.
10 Well, well, well, he's not entitled to put propositions of
11 what you wrote in your opening. You must put a factual
12 basis and then you can explore a proposition, but it's no
13 good today to say, revenge was referred to in my opening
14 statement and ergo I can probe it. Not in the context of
15 the way it was put and I'm sorry I'm taking so long, but I
16 thought I should get that off my chest. Thank you, Sir.

17 CHAIRPERSON: Apart from criticisms about
18 some of the questions that were asked in the past, I don't
19 understand there to be any difference now between Mr Burger
20 and Mr Mpofu, and Mr Mpofu and me for that matter, on the
21 basic principles that are applicable. And I don't propose
22 giving a ruling on whether the instances advanced as to
23 what was said was wrongly done in the past, were in fact
24 wrongly done in the past, because I don't see any purpose
25 at this stage.

Page 9566

1 But having said that, Mr Mpofu, do you wish to
2 say anything more?

3 MR MPOFU: Just one thing, Chairperson, I
4 promise, one. Once again the – Mr Burger must not ascribe
5 to me things that I have not done. I have not as yet said
6 to this witness that because of this and that and what have
7 you, this thing was done on command or on the combo or
8 whatever. So he's accusing me of I have done the exact –
9 what he says should be done is exactly what I'm doing,
10 which is take through the witness and then maybe at the
11 end, once I've shown him the statements I will say, well,
12 I'm going to say that this thing was done on command or in
13 the combo or whatever. So it's no use – you can say
14 whatever you want to say. If the factual basis is
15 incorrect, if he says now he thought that I based it on
16 Bruinders and the discussion, well, that's not what he said
17 in his earlier address. He said, my learned friend based –
18 said and I did not say it. So let's – if the factual basis
19 of this debate is incorrect, as evidenced by the record,
20 then surely what follows thereafter cannot be correct.

21 CHAIRPERSON: I don't propose spending
22 any more time on that aspect of the matter. But one thing
23 I will say and that is, I think there is substance in the
24 point that the factual basis should be put first before the
25 conclusion and the question is put, not the other way

Page 9567

1 around and I think that's the problem to some extent. So
2 can we get the General – the Major-General back for the
3 next 20 minutes?

4 Obviously the witness has gone out of his way to
5 make sure he was not within earshot, but here he comes
6 back. Generaal-majoor, u is nog steeds onder eed. Mr
7 Mpofu.

8 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: s.o.e.

9 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
10 Sorry, General. I just want to assure you that I was not
11 casting any aspersions on your integrity. I just didn't
12 want us – this debate to affect the next few questions. If
13 you go to – let's start with GGG17, which is the Vermaak
14 statement.

15 CHAIRPERSON: Which paragraph you're
16 referring to?

17 MR MPOFU: At the bottom of paragraph 6.
18 You remember that we read –

19 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, sorry, you say the
20 bottom of paragraph 6. Paragraph 6 starts on one page and
21 continues on the next. By the bottom, you mean the bottom
22 of the first page or –

23 MR MPOFU: Actually Chairperson, I don't
24 know whether it's just my copy. It looks like there's no
25 paragraph 6, it flows from paragraph 5.

Page 9568

1 CHAIRPERSON: 6 begins with "Donderdag 16
2 Augustus 2012 was ek aan diens gewees vanaf sewe-uur die
3 oggend. Sewe-uur die oggend was ek bemanning op helikopter
4 R44 RKE." That's para 6. If I may say that I understand
5 that the –
6 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, the shortcut is
7 this. Let's forget about the previous part. If you go to
8 seven, paragraph 7.
9 CHAIRPERSON: Hm.
10 MR MPOFU: Which starts, "Die groep het
11 terug beweeg." Are we on the same page?
12 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, that's the paragraph –
13 MR MPOFU: That you read –
14 CHAIRPERSON: That I translated on
15 Thursday.
16 MR MPOFU: Yes. Now I'm reading to him
17 the last two sentences of the previous paragraph.
18 [12:42] CHAIRPERSON: The last two sentences
19 being, "Die lede het getalm." Or "Die groep was in daardie
20 stadium ongeveer 3 000."
21 MR MPOFU: The groep, that one.
22 MS JELE: If I might be of assistance,
23 Chair. There are two statements by Vermaak. I understand
24 that this one is the one that's marked 13A in the –
25 CHAIRPERSON: Well, this is the one that

Page 9569

1 was referred to on Thursday, which was handed as an exhibit
2 marked GGG17.
3 MR MPOFU: Ja.
4 CHAIRPERSON: But I didn't know about the
5 second one, thank you for telling me.
6 MR MPOFU: Okay. Now Chairperson, I just
7 want the General, just to make it easy, to read out from
8 "Die groep" up to the end and then I'll ask the question,
9 because in so doing the translation will already have been
10 done.
11 CHAIRPERSON: No, I didn't translate the
12 last few sentences of six and I'm not quite sure what the
13 word 'talm' means. Mr Burger will help me.
14 MR BURGER SC: [Inaudible].
15 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, thank you. Maybe we
16 should ask Mr Burger to translate for us.
17 MR MAHLANGU: It reads, Mr Chairperson.
18 CHAIRPERSON: Perhaps I can start from
19 the previous sentence, "Brigadier Calitz en lede.
20 Brigadier Calitz gave an order to the members of Nyala"-
21 MR MPOFU: I'm still sorry, Chairperson,
22 I'm sorry to do this. Can you start on "Die groep", the
23 other "Die groep", the one before?
24 CHAIRPERSON: Hm? I thought I was doing
25 the one before. No? Well, after – I was reading,

Page 9570

1 "Brigadier Calitz het lede van die Nyala opdrag gegee en –
2 MR MPOFU: Oh yes.
3 CHAIRPERSON: Brigadier Calitz gave the
4 members of the Nyala an order, or the order, to close the
5 doors, because the group was aggressive. The group, at
6 15:46, moved to the kraal where the last Nyalas to – it's
7 barbwire trailer, I think, was deployed. The group was at
8 that stage about 3000 people [attackers]. Brigadier Calitz
9 gave the order that the members should mount an operation,
10 that's what I translated last time, I think, to protect
11 themselves against the attacks of the mass. Ja, it must be
12 mass or group. Photo 1515. The group hesitated. Sorry,
13 the members hesitated and until the group or what's called
14 the mass, were practically at them at the Nyala and the
15 barbwire trailer. Out of the helicopter it could be seen
16 that the water cannon were being deployed and that stun
17 grenades and tear gas, the tear gas - granate, sorry,
18 grenades, thank you, grenades were also being used against
19 the attack of the group.
20 MR MPOFU: Thank you. Thank you,
21 Chairperson. And at least I read on the very good and
22 reliable authority of Mr Burger, whom I asked last week,
23 that the expression which has been translated, which means,
24 "om te loods' –
25 CHAIRPERSON: I think that's to mount an

Page 9571

1 operation, isn't it?
2 MR MPOFU: That can also mean to launch
3 an offensive as it were. Alright. But we know what – it's
4 to take action at its most neutral, but it could mean to
5 launch and operation or to mount an offensive. Now all I
6 want to say to you, General, about this, is that some –
7 would you accept that from this, what Vermaak is saying is
8 that at an earlier stage there was a command to launch an
9 offensive, which included the water and the teargas and all
10 that and that this was now behind us. It had already been
11 done by the time we get to paragraph 7. Even if you just
12 look at the time sequence. He says this happened at 15:46
13 for example. And paragraph 7 started 16:55. So
14 sequentially the offensive that involved tear gas and water
15 had already occurred. Do you accept that?
16 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek aanvaar
17 dit so, Voorsitter.
18 MR MPOFU: Right. And then – so when
19 that was done and dusted, he then moves to about 15:55
20 where he says, the group regrouped on the –
21 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, perhaps for good
22 order. I should have a go with Mr Burger's assistance to
23 translate the next few sentences in seven.
24 MR MPOFU: Again, yes, thank you very
25 much.

Page 9572

1 CHAIRPERSON: A platform for your
2 questions.

3 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.

4 CHAIRPERSON: "The group moves back and
5 regrouped again on the other side of the kraal. Photo
6 1516. And again attacked the police at about 15:55. It
7 was clearly seen from the air that the group was not going
8 to retreat or give way. Brigadier Calitz again gave the
9 members the order to mount an operation. It almost seemed
10 as if the members did not hear. Because of the incident on
11 Monday, the 13th of August, where the two police members
12 were chopped to death or hacked to death under the
13 helicopter, I was – I realised that the members would have
14 to act to defend themselves. I again repeated Brigadier
15 Calitz's order out of the helicopter, upon which I saw that
16 the members were acting. Groups [attackers] photograph
17 1517, ran away in the direction of the shacks or the
18 squatter's houses adjacent to the scene at 15:56."

19 MR MPOFU: Thank you. And the question
20 firstly is, we now all accept that in terms of the sequence
21 this happened on the other side of the kraal, General, as
22 the statement clearly says. And the issue is this. When
23 the instruction was given by Brigadier Calitz to mount
24 another offensive, which was repeated by Brigadier Vermaak,
25 because he thought the members might not have heard, do you

Page 9573

1 accept that according to Vermaak that was an instruction
2 which was necessitated by the need for the members to
3 defend themselves? Om hulle self te beskerm.

4 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Soos dit hier
5 vermeld is, ja, om hulleself te beskerm, dis korrek.

6 MR MPOFU: And that involved the use of
7 live ammunition, correct? Or rather let's put it, not
8 involved the use of water. They were not going to protect
9 themselves or defend themselves with water?

10 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
11 soos ek dit lees, sal dit nie as dit individuele lede is
12 waarna verwys word, sal dit nie water wees nie, maar dit
13 kan goed wees skok granate en haelgewere ook, ek weet nie,
14 dit kan potensieel ook -

15 MR MPOFU: And that would include
16 defending themselves with the 9 millimetres and the R5
17 semi-automatic rifles?

18 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
19 nee, ek kan nie sê wat was die bedoeling gewees van
20 Brigadier Calitz nie. So ek kan nie sê dat dit 9
21 millimetres en R5 of skerppunt-ammunisie was nie.

22 MR MPOFU: Yes. I accept that, but you
23 cannot exclude the possibility that they would defend
24 themselves with, not just with the stun grenades or
25 whatever else you mentioned, but also with the rifles and

Page 9574

1 shotguns that they were carrying or rather –

2 CHAIRPERSON: The shotguns, the shotguns
3 were for the tear gas and the rubber.

4 MR MPOFU: Yes.

5 CHAIRPERSON: It's sharp ammunitions what
6 you're talking of.

7 MR MPOFU: Sharp, yes, I think let's say
8 sharp ammunition which you must attempt to include the R5s
9 and the 9 millimetres.

10 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya wants to say
11 something. Mr Semenya?

12 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, perhaps this
13 illustrates the point. If Colonel Vermaak is going to
14 testify and we are now being told that what he's saying
15 here, doesn't exclude certain things, and I'm sure Mr Mpofo
16 hasn't consulted this witness, to make that proposition to
17 the witness again. And this is the nature of the complaint
18 which we were debating earlier.

19 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, isn't there
20 something in what Mr Semenya says? Clearly the Colonel is
21 going to give evidence. Brigadier Calitz is going to give
22 evidence. You're really asking this witness to interpret
23 the statements of these two witnesses. Now it would be our
24 function at the end of the day to decide on the evidence of
25 these two witnesses. What they say, may well be entirely

Page 9575

1 with what you're putting, in agreement with what you're
2 putting, but I don't see, with respect, any point in asking
3 this witness how he interprets it. But –

4 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, with the greatest
5 respect, you must remember what I'm busy with. This
6 witness was led by Mr Semenya to say that his understanding
7 was that the shooting was self-defence and that they were
8 'onvermydelik' or words to that effect. Now how can I – if
9 I don't contest that, then I'm going to be told one day six
10 months down the line, that you did not – when the witness
11 said the thing was 'onvermydelik' -

12 CHAIRPERSON: Isn't there an easier way?

13 MR MPOFU: - you let it go?

14 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, isn't an easier
15 way for instance to say, I'm not going to cross-examine you
16 on this point, because it's only your impression, which
17 with respect, isn't relevant. What is relevant is what the
18 Brigadier Calitz and Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak said and
19 meant. So do not regard me as having accepted what you
20 say. I'm refraining from cross-examining you on it,
21 because I will take the matter up with Brigadier Calitz and
22 Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak. Once you put it like that,
23 then no arguments such as the kind you fear, can be raised.
24 And if they try to raise the argument, it will be
25 dismissed.

Page 9576

1 MR MPOFU: Okay, Chairperson. If – well,
 2 if I can make a deal with you then, Chairperson?
 3 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, I don't make deals
 4 with counsel.
 5 MR MPOFU: If – I will try and truncate
 6 it in those terms, but I would like to put what I referred
 7 to earlier, when the witness was not here, which is
 8 paragraph 59 of Botes, at least.
 9 CHAIRPERSON: Let's do that after lunch.
 10 One of my colleagues has to make an urgent telephone call.
 11 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: We'll resume at half past
 13 one, alright, half past one.
 14 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
 15 [13:39] CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, is there a
 16 problem with your clients. I see that everybody got up at
 17 about – well, a lot of people got up at about 20 to 1 and
 18 went off, and they haven't come back. Are they, is there
 19 something – is there any reason why we shouldn't proceed?
 20 I mean –
 21 MR MPOFU: No, Chairperson, I'm aware of
 22 the issues that are detaining them, so to speak. But –
 23 CHAIRPERSON: You mustn't use that word
 24 "detain." It's got unhappy connotations.
 25 MR MPOFU: I know, Chairperson,

Page 9577

1 especially to them.
 2 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sure. Generaal-Majoor,
 3 u is nog steeds onder eed.
 4 CHARL ANNANDALE: s.o.e.
 5 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, you did tell me
 6 you're not available tomorrow. I hope that means that
 7 you'll finish today. I understand it depends on injury
 8 time, over which you have no control, but I would
 9 appreciate it if you try very hard to finish today because
 10 we'll need a witness tomorrow and –
 11 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, I'm –
 12 CHAIRPERSON: There are other cross-
 13 examiners; I don't know how long they're going to be
 14 though, when you're finished.
 15 MR MPOFU: Well, if I may, I don't know
 16 if I have permission to do this but at least one of the
 17 cross-examiners indicated that they were going to be about
 18 a day, so –
 19 CHAIRPERSON: Really?
 20 MR MPOFU: But Chair –
 21 CHAIRPERSON: Oh dear.
 22 MR MPOFU: I don't want that to attract
 23 the ire to me, and I know that Mr Burger and Mr Tip are
 24 going to be shortish, and then of course there's re-
 25 examination.

Page 9578

1 CHAIRPERSON: Yes.
 2 MR MPOFU: But –
 3 CHAIRPERSON: Re-examination is only
 4 necessary to repeat damage done in cross-examination.
 5 MR MPOFU: Ja well, I think then there's
 6 going to be a lot of re-examination. No Chair, the issue –
 7 yes, I'm going to try and finish, but I must warn that I've
 8 already moved my check-up for the afternoon, but I'm going
 9 to try and finish –
 10 CHAIRPERSON: No well, that's fine. If
 11 you can't finish today then hopefully you'll finish
 12 tomorrow –
 13 MR MPOFU: Early, early tomorrow, yes,
 14 but Chairperson, the other relevant issue, a proper word
 15 we're talking about is that Mr Semenya and Mr Madlanga and
 16 I had of course at your request discussed the matter of
 17 General Phiyega and I had at that stage optimistically
 18 thought I would finish by lunchtime today and we had then
 19 projected that she would have to come back on Wednesday. I
 20 just want to indicate that obviously we'll play it by ear
 21 if by tomorrow – because we don't want her to waste her
 22 time, but that's the arrangement as it stands now. If we
 23 shift it, if it looks like that threat of the cross-
 24 examination is carried out, then we might shift it by a
 25 day, but –

Page 9579

1 CHAIRPERSON: I wouldn't want her to be
 2 inserted in the middle of the next witness.
 3 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 4 CHAIRPERSON: She must come in a gap
 5 between witnesses, if you know what I mean.
 6 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, anyway –
 8 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
 9 CHAIRPERSON: Okay, carry on with your
 10 cross-examination.
 11 MS JELE: Chairperson, just if I might
 12 for the sake of organisation and at the risk of incurring
 13 the ire of the Commissioners, I would be the cross-examiner
 14 that unfortunately believes that I will need at least a day
 15 with the Major-General. I assure the Commissioners that we
 16 are doing everything in our power to limit our cross-
 17 examination as much as necessary –
 18 CHAIRPERSON: Yes.
 19 MS JELE: But as things currently stand
 20 it still looks as though I would need that time.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: No, I understand, and I've
 22 been shown a number of statements that you're going to be
 23 relying on, which I promise to read tonight, but – so
 24 anyway, I understand what you say and I don't know whether
 25 anyone has yet experienced the ire of the Commissioners,

Page 9580

1 but perhaps it will be something that they will always
2 remember when they finally do experience it. Mr Mpofo,
3 would you like to carry on?

4 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU (CONTD.):
5 Thank you, Chairperson. General, you've heard that we're
6 trying to save time, so in the interest of time and also to
7 try and make up the time that was, I'm sure the Commission
8 will allow me to say wasted, or spent –

9 CHAIRPERSON: That was spent with quite a
10 constructive result in the end, I submit.

11 MR MPOFU: Ja, okay, the time that was
12 spent. I'm going to try and, I'm going to actually give
13 you a longish statement because I expect you to deny it,
14 which will round off this topic. But if you want me to
15 break it down you'll tell me.

16 CHAIRPERSON: A short question is the
17 ones which you expect to get affirmative answers to.

18 MR MPOFU: I know, yes. I'm going to
19 base, what I'm going to argue at the end in relation to
20 this issue of whether there was a command or not is going
21 to be based on various things that you and I have
22 canvassed, but mainly on the statement of Brigadier
23 Vermaak, or Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak who according to the
24 issue that we read now, at least makes it clear,
25 fortunately his statement is sequenced in terms of time and

Page 9582

1 in that context cannot, does not refer to water cannons but
2 it refers to live ammunition. That's what I will argue.
3 Once again you don't have to agree. I'm just telling you
4 the basis of what I will argue.

5 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: U is reg, ek
6 stem nie saam nie maar ek hoor u argument.

7 MR MPOFU: And in respect of that second
8 ground the words that you used immediately after this use
9 of the word "engage," you then said "There was a stage
10 where he mentioned that people must get out of the Nyalas
11 and they must perform arrests. I can also remember that he
12 said 'Take the panga, take the panga.' I can remember
13 Colonel Vermaak mentioned that there are bodies lying down
14 and he indicated that the water cannons must split and one
15 must go to the other side," and so on. You've already
16 answered. I just wanted for the sake of completion to
17 inform you on what basis I'm going to argue that this
18 referred to the shooting of live ammunition.

19 Then the third broad ground, all these other
20 grounds obviously I'll canvass with other witnesses, except
21 for the one where I'm quoting you. The third other ground
22 is on the statement of Mr Botes that we have dealt with.
23 If you jump, we dealt with paragraph 57. If you jump
24 paragraph 58 and go to paragraph 59, he says, quote, "Other
25 than for hearing the word 'engage' which was repeated a few

Page 9581

1 what I will argue is that the occasion that he refers to
2 when he gave an order, or repeated Brigadier Calitz's
3 order, was after the issues of water and stun grenades –

4 CHAIRPERSON: Teargas and stun grenades.

5 MR MPOFU: And teargas, yes, and I will
6 then argue that it was when people had gone to the other
7 side of the kraal according to him, which relates to the
8 shooting of the live ammunition. I'm just saying that's
9 what I will argue. Do you understand it? You don't have
10 to agree with me, but if you want to comment.

11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek hoor dit
12 so, Voorsitter.

13 MR MPOFU: The other basis of my argument
14 in that respect will be your evidence as it appears from
15 pages 8334 to 8335 where you describe - actually it also
16 goes up to 8339, so let say 8334 to 8339, specifically
17 where you deal with scene 1. Among other things you say
18 that Brigadier Calitz indicated that the water cannon
19 should move and he also remarked that where is the TRT
20 line, the TRT line must move, and from the chopper that
21 Colonel Vermaak indicated the direction that the people
22 must move. You then say there was a stage where Brigadier
23 Calitz indicated that the people must not engage unless you
24 are being engaged, or words to that effect, and as I hinted
25 in the morning, I'm going to argue that the word "engage"

Page 9583

1 times (underline a few times) immediately (underline
2 immediately) before the shooting start, I did not hear any
3 specific instruction for the use of live ammunition." In
4 other words he says other than that word he did not hear
5 any other specific, or rather any specific instructions
6 which – well, it's a matter of interpretation, but I'm
7 going to argue means that he, well, firstly that it
8 happened immediately before, but he took it to be an
9 instruction for the shooting of live ammunition. Do you
10 understand where I'm coming from at least?

11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
12 ja, ek hoor dit is 'n saak vir interpretasie. As ek net
13 mag meld op dit wat mnr Botes gesê het, ek het nie die
14 woorde "engage, engage, engage" gehoor soos wat hy dit
15 vermeld in paragraaf 57 presies so nie. Die eerste keer
16 wat ek onthou dat ek die woord "engage" gehoor het was
17 sekerlik omtrent so 20 minute nadat die draad uitgerol is.
18 Dit moes dan gewees het na die toneel van toneel 1 en ek
19 weet ook dat dit herhaal is op 'n gedeelte van 'n Protea
20 Coin helikopter wat mens dit kan hoor en dit was verseker
21 na 4 want ek weet hulle helikopter het min of meer eers 4
22 uur het hy opgestyg met Generaal Mpembe. Dankie,
23 Voorsitter, ek wou dit net meld.

24 MR MPOFU: Sorry, I think the
25 interpretation, or rather the witness referred to the Coin

Page 9584

1 helicopter, not the Oryx. Coin Security, which is
 2 otherwise known as the Lonmin chopper in the documentation.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: He referred to the
 4 helicopter that Major-General Mpmembe was in, which was the
 5 Coin one. There seems to be some connection between Coin
 6 Security and Lonmin, so it's also called the Lonmin
 7 helicopter, whereas I think Lieutenant-Colonel Vermaak was
 8 in the Oryx one, I think. Is that not the Oryx? Which one
 9 was he?
 10 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 11 nee, die Oryx was die Suid-Afrikaanse Lugmag helikopter.
 12 Kolonel Vermaak was in die klein Robinson R44 –
 13 CHAIRPERSON: The Squirrel. The
 14 Squirrel.
 15 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Nee, hy was
 16 nie die Squirrel nie, hy was in die Robinson.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: Well, he says, "Ons het met
 18 die helikopter RPB Squirrel onttrek." Unless that was
 19 earlier. I don't know whether he was in that one on the
 20 16th. Oh, no, on the 16th he says "was ek bemanning op
 21 helikopter R44 RKE." That's the Robinson.
 22 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dis die
 23 Robinson, dis reg, Voorsitter.
 24 MR MPOFU: In any event, it's one of the
 25 SAPS helicopters, not the air force one or the Coin one.

Page 9585

1 MR MAHLANGU: That's correct, yes.
 2 MR MPOFU: Okay, that's fine. I
 3 understand that, as I said I'm not going to debate those
 4 issues with you; I will debate it with the other witnesses.
 5 Now moving on, there is just, I'm just going to deal with
 6 small issues that I want to get out of the way before we go
 7 to the next big topic. I'm sure I don't have to give you
 8 the exhibit by now. We've dealt with it before. In
 9 exhibit EE there is the reference that Lieutenant-General
 10 Mbombo reported that she had spoken to the National
 11 Commissioner who indicated that she, this is now the
 12 National Commissioner, or rather General Mbombo told her
 13 that the stage 3 of the plan would be implemented and that
 14 the National Commissioner had indicated that that
 15 information had been relayed to the Minister.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: If you're referring to the
 17 third page of exhibit EE, which is described as police hard
 18 drive 1613, the passage is the second paragraph under the
 19 heading "Closing remarks," "The Provincial Commissioner
 20 indicated that she'd already communicated with the National
 21 Commissioner, informing her of the current situation, that
 22 a deadlock is reached with negotiations and also that phase
 23 3 of the operational plan would be executed. She also
 24 indicated that the National Commissioner indicated that she
 25 will inform the Minister of Police on the current situation

Page 9586

1 and actions that will be taken." I think that's the
 2 passage you have in mind.
 3 MR MPOFU: Yes, as the Chairperson has
 4 read it, she indicated that she will inform the Minister of
 5 Police on the current situation and the actions that will
 6 be taken. The point really I want to make is since you
 7 were chairing the meeting, that these remarks were made in
 8 your presence and you can confirm that part of the minute.
 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 10 dit was in my teenwoordigheid gemaak.
 11 MR MPOFU: And well, I'm sure the purpose
 12 of making the remarks I will ask General Mbombo, but from
 13 your point of view did these remarks assure you that at
 14 least the operation had the blessings of the National
 15 Commissioner and would probably, or rather would also be
 16 communicated to the Minister?
 17 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 18 nie noodwendig "blessings" of goedkeuring nie, net dat die
 19 Nasionale Kommissaris aldus ingelig is.
 20 MR MPOFU: Yes, I thought your evidence
 21 either in chief – no, probably during cross-examination of
 22 Mr Budlender, was that if ever a junior person says
 23 something to the senior and the senior agrees, then that
 24 for all intents and purposes amounts to an order.
 25 [13:59] CHAIRPERSON: What I do remember him

Page 9587

1 saying was that if those people on the JOCOM hadn't agreed
 2 with the Provincial Commissioner who had instructed that
 3 stage 3 should be implemented, they would have said so. I
 4 understood him to say that.
 5 MR MPOFU: Ja.
 6 CHAIRPERSON: But I don't remember – if
 7 I'm wrong someone can show me the passage, but I don't
 8 remember what you've now put as having been said.
 9 MR MPOFU: Okay.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: But again it's a point on
 11 the peripheral, isn't it? You can get home without it or
 12 not, as the case may be.
 13 MR MPOFU: Yes. Okay, unfortunately I'm
 14 not in possession of the exact passage, so I won't belabour
 15 the point. I just want to ask you one thing. Did you say
 16 in relation to the discussion between General Mpmembe and
 17 the Provincial Commissioner before the 13:30 meeting, did
 18 you say that because General Mpmembe gave the report and the
 19 Provincial Commissioner seems to agree, that that would
 20 indicate that the Provincial Commissioner was in agreement?
 21 I won't put it higher than that.
 22 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 23 dis reg. Die Provinsiale Kommissaris het saamgestem.
 24 MR MPOFU: Thank you. Now the
 25 intelligence that you received, I'm now talking

Page 9588

1 specifically about the intelligence that was revealed in
 2 the morning of the 16th, or even in the days before that,
 3 indicated among other things two things. One was that the
 4 people had said that they were armed to defend themselves
 5 because of "an attack," as they've put it, upon them by the
 6 NUM. That's one of the issues that they revealed.
 7 Correct?
 8 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 9 ek onthou dit. Ek dink die JOCOM van die 15de, nie die
 10 16de nie.
 11 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: That appears from slide 114
 13 of exhibit L. "Protesters didn't want to surrender their
 14 weapons as they alleged that they needed them for
 15 protection against members of NUM." That's the meeting at
 16 6AM on the 15th.
 17 MR MPOFU: Yes, I'm happy with that,
 18 thank you, General. And on the 16th at least the
 19 intelligence suggested that contrary to what Mr Mathunjwa
 20 may or may not have said, that the people were not going to
 21 lay down their arms and that they would resist efforts by
 22 the police to do so. Correct?
 23 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dis korrek,
 24 Voorsitter.
 25 MR MPOFU: And that intelligence

Page 9589

1 indicated that they were prepared to die.
 2 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek weet nie
 3 wat is die woorde in daardie verslag nie, maar die
 4 strekking is wel so.
 5 MR MPOFU: Okay, that's fine. That's
 6 good enough for where I'm going. The issue is this. As a
 7 result of that intelligence there was, or rather the police
 8 devised a contingency plan. Is that correct?
 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 10 nie 'n gebeurlikheidsplan nie, 'n gebeurlikheid.
 11 MR MPOFU: Okay, please just assist me
 12 then, what's the difference?
 13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 14 miskien die beste wat ek kan verduidelik, 'n
 15 gebeurlikheidsplan sal wees as daar ontruiming moet
 16 plaasvind uit 'n gebou uit en daar is 'n fisiese plan
 17 geskryf in terme van as daar vuur is en die ontruiming
 18 plaasvind, en die gebeurlikheid sal net 'n pertinente aksie
 19 stap wees, soos byvoorbeeld ontruiming sal plaasvind. So
 20 om dit na Marikana toe te bring, Voorsitter, was dit die,
 21 die gebeurlikheid was gewees om die draad sleepwaens te
 22 preposisioneer.
 23 MR MPOFU: Okay, could you agree that if
 24 one were to paraphrase the requirements of the applicable
 25 regulations, one could say that there's a basic rule that

Page 9590

1 teargas, stun grenades, water cannons and those kinds of
 2 measures should only be employed after a warning has been
 3 given?
 4 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 5 ja, in terme van Staande Order 262 as mens sou 'n normale
 6 protesaksie hê en jou sou dan die geleentheid kry na die
 7 ontplooiing van defensiewe maatreëls om dan die waarskuwing
 8 te gee voor die offensiewe maatreëls.
 9 MR MPOFU: And since it would seem that
 10 you knew as much as early in the morning that there would
 11 be resistance and people might even be prepared to die, in
 12 the contingency plan, or the contingency, whatever you call
 13 it, was there provision made for the issuing of such a
 14 warning? If so, at what stage was it going to be done?
 15 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 16 dis 'n standaard vereiste voordat daar offensiewe maatreëls
 17 gaan plaasvind, so in die geval sou dit gewees het nadat
 18 die draad - die defensiewe maatreël - uitgerol was, dan sou
 19 die waarskuwing geskied.
 20 MR MPOFU: Now do you - okay, let me put
 21 it this way. You are aware that the police had the means
 22 to issue such a warning, and in fact we know that there was
 23 a loudhailer which in one of the videos we heard an
 24 announcement being made, "Media, go away. Media, go away."
 25 So the means were there. Should we accept that?

Page 9591

1 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ja, publieke
 2 adresseringsisteme was beskikbaar gewees in ten minste van
 3 die Nyalas, indien nie almal nie.
 4 MR MPOFU: Yes, and I'm sure everyone
 5 will accept that it's no use just having the means; you
 6 must also have the opportunity.
 7 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dit is reg,
 8 Voorsitter, hulle moet die geleentheid ook hê.
 9 MR MPOFU: The evidence of the police
 10 will suggest that there was at least, at least 90 seconds
 11 between the approach at Nyala 4 and the crowd re-emerging
 12 on the other side of the kraal.
 13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek aanvaar
 14 dit so as u dit so stel.
 15 MR MPOFU: And subject to an objection by
 16 Mr Semanya, if you look at the picture where the 90 seconds
 17 is depicted, one could say that there were at least another
 18 half a minute before the actual shooting. So we're talking
 19 "min of meer" two minutes.
 20 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: U sê twee
 21 minute tussen die beweging na die Nyala by posisie nommer 4
 22 en tot by die kraal?
 23 MR MPOFU: Up to the shooting.
 24 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dis
 25 potensieel verseker so.

Page 9592

1 MR MPOFU: Thank you. So if the means
2 were there, the opportunity surely was there within at
3 least that two minutes to make the warning. Correct? To
4 issue the warning.

5 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, I do not quite
6 follow. At this stage the water cannon had already been
7 used; to make which warning?

8 MR MPOFU: Okay –

9 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, I'm also a bit
10 puzzled. At one stage I think you were asking questions
11 about warning before the barbed wire was deployed.

12 MR MPOFU: Yes.

13 CHAIRPERSON: But if we're now at the
14 stage just before the shooting started, then obviously the
15 wire has already been deployed. So you must be referring
16 to some other warning.

17 MR MPOFU: Ja.

18 CHAIRPERSON: So what warning are you
19 referring to?

20 MR MPOFU: Well firstly, Chairperson, no,
21 that's not correct. I was certainly not talking about any
22 warning before the barbed wire was deployed. The witness
23 said very clearly in chief that the barbed wire is regarded
24 as defensive measures –

25 CHAIRPERSON: Ja.

Page 9593

1 MR MPOFU: So that's, let's get another –

2 CHAIRPERSON: So what warning were you
3 talking about?

4 MR MPOFU: Well, I'm now talking about –
5 and Mr Semanya is correct, because I didn't make the
6 distinction. What I'm talking about now is a warning that
7 should have been given, albeit belatedly, before the use of
8 live ammunition, and I didn't make it clear.

9 CHAIRPERSON: In other words if you don't
10 stop your nonsense, if you don't move backwards –

11 MR MPOFU: We now –

12 CHAIRPERSON: - or stay where you are, we
13 will shoot you?

14 MR MPOFU: Yes, we'll use that one, and
15 Mr Semanya is correct, I didn't make it clear that I was
16 now talking about that, ja.

17 CHAIRPERSON: I take it he's now –

18 MR SEMENYA SC: Well, again I have never
19 known in police action that there is a requirement to give
20 a warning before you act in self-defence.

21 CHAIRPERSON: I don't know that Mr Mpofu
22 is suggesting that it's a requirement. He's simply trying
23 to establish if there was time to do it. Is that right?

24 MR MPOFU: That's right, Chairperson.
25 Yes.

Page 9594

1 GENERAAL-MAJoor ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
2 ons probeer regtig hierdie situasie nou vereenvoudig as 'n
3 baie kliniese stapsgewyse situasie, wat dit nie was nie.
4 Voorsitter, die bedoeling van die waarskuwing is nadat mens
5 nou klaar die, al ses van die Nyalas hulle draad ontplooi
6 het en daar is dan nog steeds groeperings wat gevorm is op
7 die koppie, dan sal die waarskuwings gegee word en daar sal
8 'n tyd toegelaat word en dit sou in amptelike tale gedoen
9 word, ten minste twee, plus 'n addisionele taal.
10 Voorsitter, en dan sou daar 'n tweede waarskuwing gegee
11 word en dan sou daar gemeld word aan die groep dat sou
12 hulle nie uiteengaen nie dan gaan die volgende stappe, en
13 dis die offensiewe stappe in terme van die gebruik van
14 waterkanonne of rubber of CS of dan – Voorsitter, soos ek
15 dit verstaan, toe die eerste aanslag kom op die polisielyn
16 selfs by Nyala 4, of die eerste insident, is hier nou
17 heeltemal 'n ander situasie wat hom afspeel en die
18 bevelvoerders moet self praat en Brigadier Calitz moet
19 verduidelik.

20 [14:19] Maar ek kan myself net indink, die plan soos dit
21 voorsien is om uit te speel, dit gaan nou nie so uitspeel
22 nie; hierso is nou 'n ander, 'n veranderlike, hier is nou
23 iets besig om te gebeur. So ek weet werklik nie, selfs al
24 is daar die twee minute, dit is nie asof daar in daardie
25 twee minute niks gebeur het nie. Daar was pertinente

Page 9595

1 handelinge

2 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Mr Mpofu, are you
3 putting to the witness that after the water cannons were
4 deployed, after the stun grenades, the rubber bullets were
5 being shot and the teargas, that thereafter or in that time
6 before they appeared around the kraal, that there should
7 have been a warning for them to step back or move back or
8 there's be live ammunition -

9 MR MPOFU: Live ammunition, yes. That's
10 what I'm putting, Chairperson and Commissioners. All I'm
11 saying, I accept what you're saying, General; I'm just
12 saying that for a police force that according to its
13 prescripts is committed to no loss of life, no injuries,
14 not even minimal, no loss of life and no injuries, that the
15 mere fact that an opportunity might have been missed to
16 give the warning before the water cannons surely did not
17 exempt the police from giving a warning in that two minutes
18 before people were killed.

19 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, we would like to
20 be ready to meet whatever case is being made against the
21 police. Is this a function that obtains purely at the
22 level of common sense, or is it a requirement in any
23 particular policing activity, or is it the regulations?
24 What we fail to understand, if the police case is properly
25 understood, that the issues are about self-defence, which

Page 9596

1 must mean that the threat must have been imminent to life
2 and limb. Is there a requirement somewhere there between
3 the imminent threat and the action?
4 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpfu, as I understand
5 the objection - it's not an objection, I think it's more of
6 query, what Mr Semanya wants to know, what is the source of
7 the obligation which you're going to contend there was
8 resting on the police to give a warning during that time
9 that you answered in response to the question asked by my
10 colleague Commission Hemraj? Just what's the source of the
11 obligation? Is it part of the law of self-defence, is it a
12 police regulation, is it a statute, is it common sense?
13 What is it? I just want to understand correctly.
14 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, the source of the
15 obligation comes from inter alia regulation 262 where it
16 says they must warn the participants according to the act
17 that, of the action that will be taken against them should
18 defensive measures fail, and I've already conceded that
19 point earlier. Then step 2 it says, "We bring forward the
20 reserve or reaction section, platoon, that will be
21 responsible for offensive measures," and I'm assuming let's
22 read that as TRT for the purposes of this case, "as a
23 deterrent to further violence should the abovementioned
24 measures not achieve the desired result."
25 CHAIRPERSON: In other words what you say

Page 9597

1 is the origin of the obligation on which you rely is set
2 out in what I can call a table in paragraph 2 of section
3 11, or subparagraph 2 of paragraph 11 of Standing Order
4 262. Is that correct?
5 MR MPOFU: Yes, and all I'm saying,
6 Chairperson, and I just want to read this out. After that,
7 after the readiness of the TRT, so to speak, it says, "Give
8 a second warning before the commencement" - I'm reading
9 from paragraph 11 of 262, "Give a second warning before the
10 commencement of the offensive measures, giving innocent
11 bystanders the opportunity to leave the area," and so on,
12 and so on. The gist of what I'm saying, Chairperson, is
13 that that obligation endures -
14 CHAIRPERSON: No, I think Mr Semanya now
15 knows what you were saying.
16 MR MPOFU: Thank you.
17 CHAIRPERSON: What the origin is of the
18 rule, or obligation for which you contend. Whether it's
19 correct or not is a matter which will become apparent, we
20 hope, as the Commission proceeds, but that's where you get
21 it from.
22 MR MPOFU: Thank you, that's where I'm
23 getting it, yes.
24 CHAIRPERSON: Alright -
25 MR SEMENYA SC: No, Chair, 262 does not

Page 9598

1 deal with any measures after.
2 CHAIRPERSON: That may be the answer
3 which the witness is going to give, but you asked him what
4 he bases his contention on and he's given you something.
5 Whether that is a basis for his contention is a matter to
6 be analysed. You asked him where he gets it from. That's
7 where he says he gets it from.
8 MR SEMENYA SC: But he's pointing -
9 CHAIRPERSON: If it doesn't come from
10 there, that's a matter we can debate later, surely.
11 MR SEMENYA SC: But he's pointing me to
12 an instrument that doesn't have that basis, Chair, and
13 that's my objection.
14 CHAIRPERSON: On the face of it, Mr
15 Mpfu, it doesn't apply because paragraph 11(2)(4) talks
16 about a second warning being given before the commencement
17 of the offensive measures. Now the witness's point, as I
18 understand it, is they hadn't started with their offensive
19 measures yet when they were - their case is they were
20 attacked and they defended themselves. It's not exactly
21 offensive measures.
22 MR MPOFU: No -
23 CHAIRPERSON: Whether his interpretation
24 of the facts and whether the Commission's finding of the
25 facts is correct, it's something no-one knows the answer to

Page 9599

1 at the moment, but that's the police contention. The point
2 that Mr Semanya is making is that that paragraph doesn't
3 apply on the factual premise, or on the factual
4 circumstances with which the witness is dealing at the
5 moment.
6 MR MPOFU: Okay, Chairperson, I think
7 I'll answer that by asking a question. Does the term
8 "offensive measures" include the - or rather, does it
9 include both the firing of teargas, water, stun grenades,
10 as well as live ammunition?
11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
12 offensiewe maatreëls is genoem, soos genoem deur Adv Mpfu,
13 dit kan wees gesamentlik of enkele van die. Dit hoef nie
14 noodwendig almal te wees nie, maar dit staak by die gebruik
15 van 'n haelgeweer. Voorsitter, die beginsels van die
16 betrokke Staande Order is van toepassing op skarebestuur
17 uitsluitlik, en wat belangrik is, is die paragraaf wat iets
18 lees soos hierdie gemeenregtelike beginsels van
19 selfverdediging, noodweer, of die beskerming van eiendom
20 wat nie geraak deur hierdie order nie. So daardie
21 waarskuwing is nie van toepassing in terme van
22 selfverdediging en beskerming van eiendom en noodweer nie.
23 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Mr Mpfu, doesn't
24 11(4) specifically exclude live ammunition being used in
25 the execution of the plan, because that's the context in

Page 9600

1 which you're reading that table, isn't it?

2 MR MPOFU: Chairperson and Commissioner,

3 the answer is I don't know for now, but it doesn't matter.

4 The only issue is that offensive measures includes the use

5 of live ammunition, which the witness has confirmed.

6 MR MAHLANGU: The witness says no –

7 CHAIRPERSON: From what I understand he

8 said that defensive measures stop with the use of shotgun.

9 So in other words stun grenades and teargas. That's the

10 terminus, as it were, of offensive measures for the

11 purposes of the Standing Orders.

12 MR MPOFU: Well, can we then go to –

13 okay, this time you will have to forgive me because I

14 didn't anticipate, I thought this was common cause, but I'm

15 just going to read you a definition that is contained in –

16 and we will make copies available – National Instruction of

17 2012, Public Order Policing, crowd regulation and

18 management during public gatherings and demonstrations, and

19 before Mr Semenya objects, I do understand that, I think he

20 had raised the question at some stage about whether this

21 particular regulation was already operational or not, but

22 nevertheless, this is what I want to read to you. It

23 defines offensive measures in section 2(n) thereof. I'll

24 just read it out, Chairperson, I'll make it available. It

25 might be an exhibit, I don't know, Ms Pillay.

Page 9601

1 MS PILLAY: Is it also confirmed that Mr

2 Semenya said it was a draft?

3 MR MPOFU: Possibly. That's why I'm

4 acknowledging that, ja. But it says that "Offensive

5 measures refers to reactive tactical measures required to

6 normalise a situation which ranges" –

7 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, what page are you

8 referring to?

9 MR MPOFU: Of that document it's page 3

10 of 21, (n), small letter n for Nellie, National Instruction

11 of 2012, Public Order Policing, crowd regulation and

12 management during public gatherings and demonstrations,

13 which may or may not be a draft?

14 MS PILLAY: Chair, this document is a

15 draft document. It hasn't been entered as an exhibit as

16 yet.

17 MR MPOFU: Yes. I accept that.

18 CHAIRPERSON: I thought it might be

19 exhibit R, but I see it isn't exhibit R.

20 MR MPOFU: No, it's not.

21 CHAIRPERSON: It's a document that hasn't

22 been before us.

23 MR MPOFU: Yes, but it's part of that –

24 CHAIRPERSON: It's just a draft though.

25 Alright, anyway, what does it say?

Page 9602

1 MR MPOFU: It says, and it was submitted

2 by SAPS, "Offensive measures refers to reactive tactical

3 measures required to normalise a situation which ranges

4 from making arrests, using of pyrotechnics, to responding

5 with firearms and includes search and seizure, push-back,

6 evacuation, encircling, and dispersal."

7 CHAIRPERSON: That's what it means in

8 that document. The question is –

9 MR MPOFU: Well –

10 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, no, listen to me,

11 Mr Mpofo, before I attract your ire. That's what it means

12 in that document. What the witness is concerned with is

13 what it means in the Standing Order and he said what he

14 understands it to mean in the Standing Order. The fact

15 that it means one thing in one document doesn't mean it

16 necessarily means the same in another document.

17 MR MPOFU: Right, okay. In the document

18 that is not a draft, which is Order 262, there is a

19 definition of defensive measures. In the other one there's

20 a definition of offensive measures, which includes the use

21 of firearms, but in 262, paragraph 2(f), it says,

22 "Defensive measures refer to proactive tactical measures

23 such as a static barrier which are used to protect and

24 safeguard people or property by cordoning off, blocking,

25 isolating, patrolling, escorting, and channelling people."

Page 9603

1 Do you accept that definition which is in an official

2 document, of defensive measures?

3 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek aanvaar

4 dit so.

5 MR MPOFU: And would you accept that the

6 measures which are not included in the definition of

7 defensive measures, such as those that are included in the

8 other definition, including the use of live ammunition,

9 aggregately constitute offensive measures?

10 MR SEMENYA SC: No –

11 CHAIRPERSON: Before the question is

12 interpreted, I have a problem with that. We're busy

13 interpreting what the expression "offensive measures" means

14 in 262 and 262, die einste 262, says in paragraph 11(4),

15 "The following are prohibited or restricted during crowd

16 management operations. (b), the use of firearms and sharp

17 ammunition, including birdshot and buckshot, prohibited."

18 So the drafter of the Standing Order could never have

19 intended the expression "offensive measures" in 11(2)(4) to

20 include the use of firearms because he or she was going to

21 go on to say in subparagraph (4) that the use of firearms

22 and sharp ammunition were prohibited. So therefore clearly

23 offensive measures didn't come – the use of sharp

24 ammunition wasn't covered by, wasn't really in the

25 contemplation of the expression "defensive measures." That

1 must be so.

2 MR MPOFU: No, Chairperson –

3 CHAIRPERSON: It's a matter of elementary
4 interpretation.

5 MR MPOFU: With respect, Chairperson,
6 that can definitely not be correct. If you go to 11(3) it
7 says, "If the use of force is unavoidable," which I
8 understand is applicable here, at least according to the
9 police, "it must meet the following requirements. The
10 purpose of offensive actions are to de-escalate conflict
11 with the minimum force to accomplish the goal and therefore
12 the success of the actions will be measured by the results
13 of the operation in terms of cost, damage to property,
14 injuries to people, and loss of life." Surely, surely the
15 offensive measures that are contemplated in 262 11(3),
16 which may lead to loss of life, cannot be said to exclude
17 when use of force is unavoidable, the use of live
18 ammunition. I mean it –

19 CHAIRPERSON: Well, even if you're right,
20 Mr Mpofu, it's a matter for interpretation which I don't
21 think can sensibly be debated with this witness. It's a
22 matter you can argue at the appropriate time, but General
23 Annandale isn't the interpreter of the Standing Orders and
24 whatever he says about it would not really be relevant when
25 one interprets the wording used.

1 MR MPOFU: That's fine. Forget offensive
2 measures, whatever it is. Shooting people, whatever it's
3 called, would you accept that a police force that is
4 committed to no loss of life, no injuries to people, which
5 has the means and the opportunity to warn people, should do
6 so before live ammunition is used against them, whatever
7 the definition thereof is?

8 [14:38] CHAIRPERSON: Then you haven't answered
9 Mr Semanya's query. Mr Semanya wanted to know from you
10 when you put the proposition to the witness, what was the
11 source of the obligation upon which you rely, and you said
12 262. We've had a debate about that and I understand you to
13 say you don't persist in that. So then Mr Semanya then is
14 entitled to say well would you please answer my question
15 before the witness is expected to answer it.

16 MR MPOFU: No, Chairperson, with the
17 greatest respect, I've read from 262. We know that even
18 under the common law there's requirement for
19 proportionality and the duty to flee doesn't apply to the
20 police, but at the very least there must be a duty to avoid
21 the calamity. That I'm sure is not a matter for debate.
22 All I'm saying is that - because I don't want to be
23 involved in a semantic debate about offensive or defensive
24 measures – is that when you are contemplating loss of life,
25 which is prohibited by the regulations, about that there's

1 no debate, and you have the means and the opportunity to
2 warn the people that we are now going to get to this stage,
3 call it what you want, isn't there an obligation emanating
4 – I'm prepared to concede – partly from the regulations
5 which says there should be no loss of life and it must be
6 avoided at all costs, but also just from, to answer Mr
7 Semanya's questions more directly, from common sense, but
8 that common sense is not separate from the no loss of life,
9 no injuries, and so on, which is in the regulations.

10 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, you'll forgive
11 me, but it sounds to me as if what you're really saying is
12 that you say the source of the obligation would be the
13 common law, and if that's so, then it's not necessary to
14 ask the witness what he thinks the common law is and nor
15 would the witness's answer be receivable.

16 MR MPOFU: Yes.

17 CHAIRPERSON: So perhaps we can move on
18 then.

19 MR MPOFU: Okay. Alright, you said for
20 example that a lot of things were happening in that two
21 minutes, and I agree with you, some of the lots of things
22 that were happening, at least according to the videos, is
23 that the TRT people were being instructed to form a basic
24 line, whatever that is, and that there was a warning for
25 the media to move away. That happened in that period. You

1 may not be aware of it because you were not there, but are
2 you prepared to accept that those are things that happened
3 in that period?

4 MR SEMENYA SC: - Mr Mpofu may just
5 assist us by explaining which period, just for our
6 edification.

7 MR MPOFU: Okay. Chairperson, let me
8 take a step back. You'll remember that I put a question to
9 Mr Magidiwana who said very clearly that between the time
10 that they were trying to access the road when Nyala 4
11 closed, and the time that they re-emerged on the other side
12 of the kraal, the TRT line – I'm using shorthand – must
13 have been formed at that time, and he said that because I
14 asked him, and I think Mr Ngalwana might even have asked
15 him, but at least I'll account for my side, that, "When you
16 were stopped at Nyala 4 you obviously had a view of where
17 the police line was. Was it there?" and he said, "No, it
18 was not there." "And when you re-emerged, was it there?"
19 "Yes." So obviously it must have been formed at that time.
20 Secondly, we have videos that show very clearly the TRT
21 line rushing to its formation and we have videos that show
22 people saying that basic line, basic line, that they must
23 form a basic line, and I'm sure we'll explore that with
24 other people as to what that means. Then we have the
25 evidence of "Media, move away. Media, move away." All

Page 9608

1 those things clearly happened in that space between Nyala
2 4, the Nyala 4 incident and the shooting, which is why I
3 locate them in the two minutes.

4 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: - there a reference
5 for Mr Magidiwana's evidence where he says that the line
6 was not there initially and then he saw it there? Because
7 my recollection is something else. Do you have a reference
8 or not?

9 MR MPOFU: No, I'm afraid – I'll find it,
10 but I'm a thousand percent sure, because I asked the
11 question myself, either in chief or in re-examination, but
12 I'll find it, Commissioner.

13 CHAIRPERSON: I must confess I haven't
14 got a recollection one way or the other, so you may well be
15 right, but how does this point help us in relation to the
16 evidence of this witness, or more accurately, how does the
17 evidence of this witness help us in relation to this point?

18 MR MPOFU: Well, Chairperson, the
19 evidence of this witness, as I've said earlier, is that the
20 shooting was "onvermydelik." I'm busy putting propositions
21 to him which show that it could have been avoided, one of
22 which –

23 CHAIRPERSON: Okay, carry on.

24 MR MPOFU: Thank you.

25 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, just for the

Page 9609

1 record –

2 MR MPOFU: I'm sorry, "onvermydelik" by
3 the way means unavoidable.

4 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, for the record,
5 even in evidence-in-chief the witness is not saying that
6 the police action was in self-defence. The witness's
7 evidence is he was informed by various stages of commanders
8 that their action was, the action of the police was
9 actuated by self-defence. So you cannot test the
10 correctness of that assertion, if it is that, through this
11 witness. It would have to be those who took the action
12 themselves who must answer to it.

13 CHAIRPERSON: But isn't that right, his
14 evidence on that point is hearsay, so I understand you
15 don't want to be accused of having not challenged his
16 evidence on the point so that it could be argued later that
17 you accepted it. You've made it clear you don't accept it.
18 But inasmuch as his evidence on the point is based on, is
19 hearsay based on what other people told him, it's enough
20 for you to say I'm going to put to the witnesses who gave
21 you your information that they were wrong, it wasn't
22 unavoidable, but I don't propose dealing with it with you.

23 MR MPOFU: Okay –

24 CHAIRPERSON: If you do it that way then
25 it's fine. Then none of those points can be taken against

Page 9610

1 you later, and if they are taken, as I told you before, I
2 won't allow them.

3 MR MPOFU: Thank you. Chairperson, I'm
4 happy to do that for no other reason than to try and save
5 time, but what I have to say is this is the result of the
6 four-day evidence-in-chief where this witness was asked
7 among other things by Mr Semenya whether the actions of the
8 police were avoidable or not. If he did not want that
9 subject to be discussed then he should not have elicited it
10 in chief, but I take what the Chairperson was saying.
11 Okay, I won't even repeat what the Chairperson has said.
12 I'll leave it at that, but you see where I was going with
13 that, what I'm going to argue on that point, but I won't
14 explore it with you any further. But this I'm going to ask
15 you. Your evidence, and indeed it's supported by
16 everything in the regulations, including the definition of
17 defensive measures that I read to you, is that barbed wire
18 is the primary means by which a crowd is blocked or
19 dissuaded from causing damage to life or property in a
20 particular area. Is that a fair statement?

21 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
22 ek weet nie of ek gesê het dat lemmetjiesdraad is die
23 primêre metode in alle gevalle nie. Ek het verwys in die
24 Marikana geval.

25 MR MPOFU: Yes, I'm prepared to accept

Page 9611

1 that. Let's talk about Marikana. You said "Die draad was
2 dan juis ontplooi om enige benadering tot die polisielyn te
3 ontmoedig." Among other things, but the point of the
4 matter is that in the Marikana situation the method by
5 which the police had decided the people will be dissuaded
6 or prevented from entering the police line was barbed wire,
7 hence the drawing of the first four Nyalas, correct?

8 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
9 dit was die draad, maar dit was ook die magsvertoon, die
10 ontplooiing van die ekstra getalle om dan enige so 'n
11 benadering te ontmoedig.

12 MR MPOFU: Yes, but in terms of the so-
13 called force continuum you would agree that barbed wire is
14 a more preferable way of blocking people than semi-
15 automatic rifles?

16 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
17 ons gebruik nie wapens om mense te blok nie. Ons het die
18 draad ontplooi om hulle te ontmoedig om in daardie rigting
19 te beweeg.

20 MR MPOFU: Alright, again to save time,
21 let me cut to the chase. The Nyalas 5 and 6 still had
22 their barbed wire undeployed. Correct?

23 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek het dit so
24 ook, Voorsitter.

25 MR MPOFU: We are back to our discussion

Page 9612

1 of the means and the opportunity. So the means were there;
 2 the barbed wire was available. We've established that, and
 3 the two minutes was there, and we've already established
 4 that, plus-minus. Now I want to say to you that – and I
 5 want your comment – the gap where 16 or so people were
 6 killed is about, we've already established that this is not
 7 scientific, about 20, at most 25 metres – I measured it
 8 myself – and it is between the kraal and the corner of the
 9 fence. You know where the people died, where they were
 10 lying down. That gap is about plus-minus 20, 25 metres.
 11 Would you accept that?

12 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: As ek u nou
 13 reg verstaan, die, daar is drie krale, so die klein kraal
 14 waar die sterftes plaasgevind het, vanaf die kraal tot by
 15 'n draad wat u na verwys, 'n hoek draad, of 'n "corner of a
 16 fence?"

17 MR MPOFU: Okay, well in your evidence
 18 you referred to it as unprotected, but I'll assist you. If
 19 you go to 208, look at 208 and 209 – sorry, exhibit L, 208
 20 and 209 – you see the shack in 208?

21 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek doen, dis
 22 reg, Voorstatter.

23 MR MPOFU: Okay, you can also see it in
 24 209 in a different profile, from an aerial point of view.

25 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek sien ook

Page 9613

1 'n klein plakkershut of sinkhutjie.

2 MR MPOFU: Yes. Right, now you see that,
 3 going back to 208, that there's a fence around that shack?

4 CHAIRPERSON: I think it's probably a
 5 shed actually, but anyway. It's probably a shed, but it
 6 doesn't really matter, I suppose. Shed or shack will be –

7 MR MPOFU: Yes, a shed. It's probably a
 8 shed actually, yes, because it's probably the storeroom for
 9 that other kraal, yes. I think the Chairperson is right,
 10 but you know that I mean, the corrugated iron structure.

11 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek sien
 12 daarso is, lyk soos doringdraad wat gespan is.

13 MR MPOFU: Now the gap I'm talking about,
 14 General, is between the corner of that fence that's around
 15 the shed, and the – if you draw a straight line from that
 16 corner towards the kraal, and that in fact you'll
 17 appreciate better if you look at 209, so 208 is good in
 18 that it shows you the fence, 209 shows you the profile, but
 19 you won't be able to see the fence, so you must read those
 20 pictures together. It is that gap between that corner and
 21 a straight line, or a tangent to the kraal that I'm talking
 22 about, which I measured to be about, what we earlier called
 23 20 Mpofo paces, but I'm prepared to stretch it to 25 metres
 24 just so that I'm sure that I'm not unduly minimising it.
 25 I'm sure it's less than that, but let's say 25.

Page 9614

1 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek is met u.
 2 [14:58] MR MPOFU: Ja, now what I'm saying to you
 3 is that that gap of 25 metres could and should have been
 4 blocked with the barbed wire, the 200 metres of barbed wire
 5 that was still available would have more than sufficiently
 6 covered that 25 metres.

7 MR SEMENYA SC: No, Chair, surely we must
 8 ask where does this come from now? Is it again a matter of
 9 common sense? When would the police have known that
 10 there's going to be a third breach going in that direction
 11 for them to put the barbed wire?

12 MR MPOFU: They did.

13 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, you heard the
 14 query.

15 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, that I must
 16 say is what you call a red herring. The police went there
 17 and formed a basic line and stood with automatic rifles
 18 ready, exactly in that gap. So we're now being told that
 19 they did not know that the people are going to use that
 20 gap. That was the only, the only gap available, that's why
 21 they stood there with those guns. That's why they moved in
 22 there –

23 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, let's not go
 24 there at the moment –

25 MR MPOFU: Well –

Page 9615

1 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, no, I'll tell you
 2 why.

3 MR MPOFU: Okay, that's the answer –

4 CHAIRPERSON: There is a lot of evidence
 5 about different paths and that kind of thing, but what you
 6 do say is that obviously the police seemed to have thought
 7 that the strikers might want to come in that direction –

8 MR MPOFU: Yes.

9 CHAIRPERSON: - hence they placed,
 10 positioned themselves there.

11 MR MPOFU: Correct.

12 CHAIRPERSON: That seems to be your
 13 answer to the question. So I think Mr Semenya is now
 14 informed as to what he wanted to know and you can now carry
 15 on with the question.

16 MR MPOFU: Thank you.

17 CHAIRPERSON: And when you reach a
 18 suitable stage we'll take the adjournment-

19 MR MPOFU: Yes.

20 CHAIRPERSON: But you might want to round
 21 this point off first.

22 MR MPOFU: I just want to round off the
 23 barbed wire point, yes. General, in the answer, or if you
 24 were distracted by that debate and you want me to repeat
 25 the question, then I will.

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9616</p> <p>1 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 2 soos ek dit het, die polisie het nie voorsien dat daar 'n 3 gaping gaan wees en dat 'n groep van die stakers na daardie 4 gapings toe sou gaan nie. Voorsitter, as ons kyk na 5 "slide" 210, en ek is seker daar is dalk beter foto's wat 6 dit kan wys, maar die eerste een links bo wat wys 15:40, 7 dan sal u merk die ses Nyalas met die draadkarre wat 8 ontplooi is, en dan agter hulle is daarso vyf Nyalas wat 9 net so 'n paar meter agter hulle in 'n ry staan, en dan sal 10 u merk daar is 'n sy flank wat ook, dit is vyf voertuie wat 11 waarskynlik vier Nyalas en een Casspir voertuig is wat ook 12 geposisioneer is, wat so half in 'n noordelike rigting sal 13 ek sê wys. Voorsitter, en al hierdie voertuie wat ek nou 14 na verwys is voertuie wat beman is deur Openbare Orde 15 Polisiëring, en dan sal u merk agter die vyf Nyalas wat 16 geposisioneer is net 'n paar meter agter die ses Nyalas met 17 die draad, is daar groot spasie en dan is daar wat ek weet 18 is sagte-dop voertuie, Voorsitter, en dis waar die TRT lede 19 ontplooi was, en ek is seker as ons hierdie foto opblaas 20 sal ons sien daar is nie 'n lyn van die TRT wat gevorm is 21 by die kraal en dat eers later, die laaste foto wat dit lyk 22 vir my na 15:51, dan is daar 'n lyn. So soos wat dit aan 23 my oorgedra is, en ek kan suiwer net sê wat aan my oorgedra 24 is met die eerste beweging van die stakers na die 25 polisielyn toe, die eerste aanval, toe het die lede begin</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9618</p> <p>1 vroeër omdat daar 'n gaping was. 2 CHAIRPERSON: It's my impression – I must 3 say I don't know if I'm correct, but if I'm wrong I trust 4 I'll be corrected – it was my impression that that line of 5 blue squares sort of was formed, as it were, shortly before 6 the shooting in an attempt to block the advance of the 7 strikers who were coming around what I call the left-hand 8 side of the kraal. I think that's right, isn't it? 9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek het dit 10 ook so, Voorsitter, dat hulle beweeg het van waar die 11 sagte-dop voertuie was en toe daar opgevorm het. 12 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpfu, so when it's 13 convenient – 14 MR MPOFU: I will indicate – 15 CHAIRPERSON: - we'll take the tea 16 adjournment, but it's for you to tell me when we do it. 17 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson, one or 18 two questions then. Just to round off this point, General, 19 and bear in mind what the Chairperson has put to you, would 20 you accept that if you look at the – you've referred us to 21 that picture already – the 15:51 picture of slide 210, you 22 see the police line which has formed there, which is 23 probably already in basic line. I don't profess to know 24 what that means. Can you see that? 25 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek sien die</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9617</p> <p>1 op vorm en begin vorentoe beweeg. Ekskuus, Voorsitter, as 2 ek net kan teruggaan na "slide" 205, en ek weet nie of dit 3 'n lyn is wat ek regs bo in die hoek sien van polisielede 4 nie, maar dit blyk dat hulle eers toe begin beweeg het in 5 die rigting van waar hulle dan daardie sogenaamde spies- 6 formasie van 'n groot groep persone gesien beweeg het. 7 CHAIRPERSON: Major-General, if we look 8 at slide 209 you'll see a number of blue squares from which 9 the firing took place. You see the firing being indicated 10 by the red arrows, the direction of the bullets, and the 11 blue line being the position of the shottists, so am I 12 correct in thinking that the strikers were coming around, 13 as one looks at this photograph, on the left-hand side of 14 the kraal one can see that shed which appears to have bits 15 of wood or something on the roof, just to the left of that 16 opening, and then if it's correct that the strikers were 17 coming around on the left-hand side of the kraal, moving 18 towards the line of blue squares, and the shottists are 19 represented by the blue squares, that it seems to indicate 20 that at the time the shooting took place that there was a 21 line of policemen in front of the strikers. Am I 22 interpreting 209 correctly, or am I misunderstanding it? 23 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter, 24 ek het dit ook so, maar my punt was op Adv Mpfu se 25 veronderstelling dat ons reeds die TRT lyn daar gevorm het</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9619</p> <p>1 lyn, dis reg, Voorsitter. 2 MR MPOFU: And you'd agree that that 3 line, just like the blue line that the Chairperson referred 4 to, is facing the gap. In fact those people are facing the 5 gap that you and I had discussed earlier. 6 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek het geen 7 rede om te glo dat hulle in die ander rigting kyk nie. Ek 8 aanvaar hulle kyk na daardie gaping. 9 MR MPOFU: Yes, and what I'm suggesting 10 to you is that for that line to form, and unfortunately 11 these are not static pictures, in the mobile pictures 12 you'll see that there is some time that gets – they sort of 13 rush in and then somebody says "Basic line, basic line," 14 and then they form up the basic line. So that process took 15 place before the strikers emerged from around the kraal. 16 Would you agree? 17 MR SEMENYA SC: Maybe Chair, during 18 adjournment Mr Mpfu will take us there where there is 19 evidence of that happening before, as he put it. 20 MR MPOFU: Okay. 21 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Can I just ask, the 22 police line that's visible on 15:41 of 210, is it perhaps 23 visible on 15:49, Mr Mpfu, of 210? 24 MR MPOFU: Sorry, Commissioner, I missed 25 a portion. You referred to 15:49?</p>

Page 9620

1 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Slide 210.
 2 MR MPOFU: Yes, there's no 15:41 there.
 3 It's 15:40 –
 4 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: No, 15:49.
 5 MR MPOFU: 49, yes.
 6 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Do you perhaps see
 7 the police line there at that time as it appears in the
 8 picture with the time 15:51?
 9 MR MPOFU: No, that's exactly the point.
 10 My evidence according to Mr Magidiwana is that that is the
 11 approach, if you notice, Commissioner, of the place where
 12 Nyala 4 closed.
 13 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Yes.
 14 MR MPOFU: Closed off, and Magidiwana's
 15 evidence is exactly that that line was not there, otherwise
 16 he would have seen it. So which is why I'm saying that
 17 line was formed during the 90 seconds to two minutes when
 18 they were moving around. That's exactly the point, that it
 19 was not there at 15:49 and it was there at 15:51. So one
 20 doesn't have to be a mathematician to say if it wasn't
 21 there at 15:49 but it was there at 15:51, it must have been
 22 formed in that period, in that two-minute period between 49
 23 and 51. In other words, Commissioner, what I am saying is
 24 that, and as I've said, and I'll respond to Mr Semanya's
 25 request by maybe playing the video in the morning. In a

Page 9621

1 static picture you can, you just deduce 49, 51, but in the
 2 mobile pictures you can clearly see that the people rushing
 3 in and then somebody saying to them "Basic line, basic
 4 line," and then they form the line and so on, and so on,
 5 but by the time the strikers emerge, they've already formed
 6 the line. So clearly that must have happened between 15:49
 7 and 15:51.
 8 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: The videos you
 9 refer to, do they show the policemen running from another
 10 line-up to this particular line-up?
 11 MR MPOFU: Well, I don't know where
 12 they're running from. It doesn't matter where they were
 13 running from. The issue is that they ran to that place and
 14 then formed the line. Where they came from I don't think
 15 is –
 16 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, the witness can't
 17 really help us because he wasn't there.
 18 MR MPOFU: No. All I'm asking the
 19 witness, Chairperson, is that those people formed that line
 20 in front of that specific gap before the people, or while
 21 the -
 22 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, I understand what's
 23 your question you're asking him.
 24 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 25 CHAIRPERSON: My problem is I'm not sure

Page 9622

1 he can answer your question because he'll say "andazi," you
 2 know, if he was giving evidence in isiXhosa; he would say I
 3 suppose "ek weet nie," he'll say in his own language. He
 4 doesn't know, he can't know. The eyewitnesses you can ask
 5 and you can confront them with the video and so on, but is
 6 it not with respect a waste of time to ask this witness?
 7 I'm not intending any disrespect either to you or to him,
 8 but trying to be practical. Shall we take the tea while
 9 you can think about it? We'll take the tea adjournment.
 10 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
 11 [15:31] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
 12 Those responsible for the sign can change it. Generaal-
 13 Majoor, u is nog steeds onder eed.
 14 CHARL ANNANDALE: s.o.e.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, you have some
 16 more questions in cross-examination, I believe.
 17 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU (CONTD.):
 18 Thank you, Chairperson. General, in response to what the
 19 Chairperson put to me before tea, I want to try and short-
 20 circuit this discussion as follows. The Chairperson is of
 21 course correct that the people who were on the spot who
 22 formed the line, or who might have asked others to form it
 23 and so on, and the shooters, as we call them, will at some
 24 stage be here. Not all of them. So the question as to why
 25 they formed that line before the people emerged and so on

Page 9623

1 and all that will be put to those people. You yourself
 2 were not there. So the proposition I'm going to put to you
 3 is going to be based on the, assume that when those people
 4 come they will either concede or accept that what we see in
 5 the pictures, that the line was formed before the people
 6 came. Assume that to be the case. The issue I really want
 7 to raise with you is that if that is so, then the barbed
 8 wire could and should have been extended to cover that 25
 9 metres. You understand where I'm going? Once again you
 10 don't have to agree with me, just so that you and I don't
 11 debate were they standing there or not, because you were
 12 not there. Do you accept that?
 13 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,
 14 ek kan slegs getuig in terme van wat die beplanning was met
 15 die draad. Dit sou gewees het –
 16 MR MPOFU: Yes. No, no, I accept that,
 17 and we have video that I was going to play to illustrate
 18 this, but I won't even do that. As I say, assume that
 19 those videos will be played to those witnesses who were on
 20 the ground, and maybe the best way to illustrate the point
 21 I want to make to you is to go to slide 203, L203, and look
 22 at the third bullet. It says, "Nyala 6, barbed wire group,
 23 went around the kraal (underline) without releasing the
 24 barbed wire, to block protesters that were approaching from
 25 the northern side of the kraal in the direction of the

Page 9624

1 police line." You see that?

2 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek sien dit,

3 Voorsitter, maar -

4 MR MPOFU: Yes, and the sum total of my

5 criticism is that that Nyala, instead of driving around and

6 all that to block the protesters, all that they should have

7 done is just to close that gap, because that Nyala 6 had

8 100 metres of barbed wire, should have closed the gap and

9 the massacre would, the tragedy would have been averted.

10 That's really where I'm going, but I won't debate it with

11 you any further. In other words, instead of not releasing

12 the barbed wire, that the barbed wire should have been

13 released and the people would have been prevented from

14 doing anything beyond the barbed wire. Okay, sorry, I know

15 it's a long question. More particularly because we know

16 that when Nyala 4, when Nyala 4 closed them off, that was

17 sufficient deterrent for them to take another route.

18 CHAIRPERSON: The phrase they use in

19 exhibit L is "circumnavigate," I think.

20 MR MPOFU: Yes. Okay, General, just stay

21 with me. Do you accept that on the version that you were

22 given, when Nyala 4 closed against the kraal, the people

23 turned back? They could not go any further.

24 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Voorsitter,

25 ek wil net eers klaarmaak wat ek nou-nou mee begin het in

Page 9625

1 terme van die beplanning vir die uitrol van die draad.

2 Voorsitter, die beplanning sou gewees het dat Nyala 6 sou

3 nie daar na daardie klein hutjie toe beweeg het nie. Nyala

4 6 sou parallel terugbeweeg het in 'n oostelike rigting. So

5 my punt is daardie betrokke spasie wat mnr Mpofo na verwys

6 het van 25 meter sou in elk geval oopgebly het, en dan die

7 laaste vraag wat u gestel het in terme van dat hulle

8 teruggedraai het, Voorsitter, ons doen almal interpretasies

9 nou van die foto's. Dis maar soos dit aan my oorgedra is.

10 Hulle het teruggedraai om te hergroepeer en hulle het toe

11 weer vorentoe beweeg, net na 'n ander posisie op die

12 polisielyn.

13 MR MPOFU: Okay. Okay, General. You

14 see, I don't want us to be drawn into another debate. The

15 version of the protesters is that they were accessing the

16 road to go to the settlement. I know that the version of

17 the police is that they were not going to the settlement,

18 they were attacking, but I just want you to stay with me on

19 one thing. All I'm asking you now is do you dispute the

20 evidence that the closing of the gap with the barbed wire

21 by Nyala 4 had been sufficient to dissuade them to take

22 another route to attack, if they were attacking, but not to

23 proceed on the route that they had planned?

24 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Ek dink dit

25 was waarskynlik 'n kombinasie van 'n fisiese versperring,

Page 9626

1 maar ook die handeling deur die polisie, want soos ek

2 verstaan het hulle daarso reeds begin om rubber, "stun" en

3 CS te gebruik.

4 MR MPOFU: Yes, fair enough. Actually

5 that is the evidence, but that combination of things, which

6 I don't have to enumerate now, was sufficient, well firstly

7 did not result in anybody dying, and (2), was sufficient to

8 dissuade them from proceeding any further. Yes?

9 GENERAAL-MAJOOR ANNANDALE: Dit wil so

10 voorkom, Voorsitter.

11 MR MPOFU: Thank you, General.

12 Chairperson, unfortunately before I move to the next topic,

13 there's a matter that I've been instructed to address with

14 the Commission, which is a little bit uncomfortable.

15 During the lunch break, as the Chairperson remarked, there

16 was a meeting of some of the people that we represent.

17 They have come back to us and requested us to voice their

18 concern regarding what they perceive to be the treatment of

19 the victim parties, including not being given an

20 opportunity to present the case or certain aspects thereof,

21 but also more pertinently that the representatives of

22 Lonmin seem to be, according to them, deliberately

23 disrupting the cross-examination, and also what they

24 perceive to be assistance of the police witnesses. Yes,

25 it's those kinds of issues, Chairperson.

Page 9627

1 I have, as I indicated this morning, assured them

2 at least as a practitioner that although there are all

3 these skirmishes, that two things, Chairperson, that at

4 least from the Chair, or from the Commissioners' point of

5 view, as I indicated in the morning, such complaints as we

6 might have are probably shared by anyone else, if there

7 are, and such praises as we might have are also shared by

8 anyone else. In other words, even though we might grumble

9 about a particular ruling, I'm sure everyone else has done

10 so. In other words, the element of whatever complaints are

11 there, the element of bias should not be included therein,

12 and I do believe that, Chairperson, and I was sharing that

13 with them as someone who has been in various courts and

14 have seen much worse, even when, once again when there's no

15 malicious intent, as it were. As the Chairperson knows, I

16 am duty-bound to raise the concern. It's a serious concern

17 for what it's worth, insofar as it is perceived, and we on

18 our side will do what we can to assuage those feelings.

19 But nevertheless, we have to raise the issue.

20 As far as the issue of the Lonmin party is

21 concerned, I must say, Chairperson, that just an example of

22 what happened on Thursday and today, I do share the concern

23 that has been raised by the clients in that as we

24 demonstrated, obviously every party is entitled to object

25 and -

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9628</p> <p>1 CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible] 2 MR MPOFU: No, I'm sure the interpreter 3 will paraphrase, but I suppose since this involves the 4 clients directly I should give the interpreter an 5 opportunity. 6 MR MPOFU: Thank you. To cut it short, 7 Chairperson, the complaint regarding the Lonmin party is 8 twofold – (1), that the issues that are being discussed at 9 this stage at least are issues that concern the police and 10 the victims, and I did once again explain that, as the 11 Chairperson I think on Thursday indicated, although 12 strictly speaking that is the case, all the parties have a 13 broader interest. The mere fact that they are accepted as 14 parties means that they have a struggling interest, as it 15 were, but I think the second part is where the gist is, 16 which is where they perceive the objections to be without 17 foundation and that there's no attempt to admonish or to 18 try and restrict at least those types of objections which 19 don't have a proper factual basis, whose only effect is 20 just to disturb the cross-examination. 21 By saying this I don't mean to restrict any 22 party, and I'm sure neither do the clients, from exercising 23 its rights. We're all employed as professionals to do 24 whatever we can for the parties that have engaged us, but 25 Chairperson, we also know that this process is very</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9630</p> <p>1 addressed. Thank you, Chairperson. 2 [15:50] CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, do you wish to 3 say anything in – sorry, before Mr Madlanga gets a chance – 4 MS MOTLOENYA: Yes, Chairperson. Chair, 5 just to put it on record that this perception is a 6 perception that is shared by the families. However, it 7 hasn't been raised in the Commission because we are 8 currently dealing with that issue with the families 9 privately. 10 CHAIRPERSON: What exactly is the 11 perception? That they have been treated unfairly or their 12 counsel had been treated unfairly, or both? 13 MS MOTLOENYA: Well Chair, a bit of both. 14 To the families it seems that this bears a bit of bias on 15 the side of SAPS in terms of certain objections being 16 upheld and things of the like. However, we are trying to 17 explain to them under what basis those objections had been 18 upheld and things like that, but just to put it on record 19 that they do share a similar perception. 20 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, thank you. Mr 21 Madlanga. 22 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman, as evidence 23 leaders I want to believe that we are the last people to be 24 considered to be partisan in the matter. I have been in 25 these proceedings from the beginning and perhaps I've not</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9629</p> <p>1 important. The reason the Chairperson reminds us about 2 time and so on is not so much just to save the time; it's 3 also because we know that the nation is waiting for the 4 outcome, but with due respect, the people who are directly 5 affected, we must do everything in our power to make them 6 feel that this is a process which will benefit them in the 7 sense that that was intended in getting down to the truth 8 and that there's no party that is "assisted" unduly, nor 9 any other party that is prejudiced or negatively viewed in 10 the sense that it might predetermine the outcome, and I'm 11 just appealing to the Chair and all of the other parties 12 that we make sure that the integrity of the process is 13 maintained in that regard, and I suppose that's also a 14 statement about our own collegiality and things like what 15 the ruling that the Chairperson had said earlier, which has 16 nothing to do with cross-examination, about when there are 17 issues to be raised counsel should as much as possible try 18 and raise them. It's those kinds of, and that Chair will 19 remember was a matter that I had raised specifically with 20 the Commissioners in chambers, and the outcome was that 21 there was a general understanding, and it has eased that 22 kind of thing which is also likely to contribute to the 23 perceptions. So maybe we should think of other ways - 24 without pointing fingers, all of us – of making sure that 25 those feelings insofar as they may legitimately exist are</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 9631</p> <p>1 been here only for one or two days at the most, and in my 2 observation of what has been happening here I want the 3 families and the victims to be assured that the process 4 that has been going on here has gone on in a very fair 5 manner. I am happy to hear from both my colleagues, Mr 6 Mpofo and Ms Motloenya that they have explained to the 7 families and the victims that what has been happening has 8 been in accordance with what should happen in a process of 9 this nature. Ms Motloenya does go so far as to say that 10 even at this very moment they are in the process of 11 addressing the perceptions that the families and victims 12 have. 13 That said, I want to move on and touch on the 14 matter that relates to Mr Burger specifically. Mr Burger 15 may be more forceful perhaps – 16 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry, Mr Madlanga, is 17 it a good idea for the interpreter to interpret what you 18 said so far and then he can interpret what you have to say 19 about Mr Burger once you've said it? 20 MR MADLANGA SC: Although of course I'm 21 sure Mr Burger will speak for himself, I cannot resist 22 saying this. Perhaps he has been more alert than most of 23 us regarding the need to intervene and object. I recall 24 for example that when I was cross-examining, I think it was 25 one of the NUM witnesses, he objected no less than three</p>

1 times and I do remember, and I must confess to the
2 Commission and to him that at one point I did get a bit hot
3 under the collar, but I am the last person to say that the
4 objections that he raised were not well considered, not all
5 of them, if I'm not mistaken, were upheld, but one cannot
6 go so far as to say that there was no point at all to them
7 being raised.

8 The short point I'm making in this regard is that
9 it has not only been when the families or victims are
10 involved that he has objected. He has objected a number of
11 times when a number of other parties are involved, and I
12 want again to assure, or rather to ask the Commission to
13 assure the families and the victims that this does not
14 necessarily have to do with the fact that now it is counsel
15 for the victims who is cross-examining. Perhaps it's only
16 because the cross-examination has taken much longer and
17 therefore the interventions and objections may be more.
18 With me with the three objections or so, my cross-
19 examination was something like 45 minutes or even less, but
20 there were three objections. Again finally I just want to
21 say thus far my own observations have been that the process
22 has been going on fairly and in a manner that a, or rather
23 proceedings of this nature should be conducted.

24 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mr Madlanga.
25 Any of the parties' representatives wish to say anything?

1 Mr Burger, I see you've been making notes. Do you want to
2 say something?

3 MR BURGER SC: Yes, I should say a few
4 things, Chair. I would have very much liked my learned
5 friend Mr Mpofo to tell us what advice he gave to his
6 clients when they complained about the fact that I
7 interrupted him and that I seem to be making common cause
8 with the SAPS. I wonder what he said to them.

9 I cannot remember last Wednesday and Thursday
10 when I objected what the score was, but my recollection was
11 that most of the objections were upheld. That meant they
12 were considered to be valid by the Chair, but let me not
13 speak in my own defence.

14 As to trying to protect the SAPS, anybody who had
15 listened to the questioning of the National Commissioner
16 would find that a comic submission, with respect. There
17 are perceptions out there, and the perception I will speak
18 to again is a perception that I and my colleagues are not
19 assisting the Commission in getting to finality, that we
20 take too long with witnesses, that we don't have a system
21 where a lead questioner asks questions and the rest have a
22 limited time to ask questions to get it over with. We
23 cannot do a General a month; we don't have that luxury.
24 That's what we're doing. I've said it before and if the
25 need be I'll say it again. I say it in the interest of the

1 Commission and in the interest of my client. We cannot go
2 this slowly.

3 Then lastly, my learned friend says he is counsel
4 for the victims. I'm also counsel for the victims. My
5 client lost two of its employees on the 12th. It lost an
6 employee on the 14th under the most atrocious circumstances.
7 It lost 34 employees or thereabouts on the 16th. It caused
8 a trauma to my client from which it is still trying to
9 recover. So to suggest that we're, any of us are not here
10 to protect victims is an oversimplification. Put
11 differently, to suggest that only some parties represent
12 victims is with great respect not correct. That's all I
13 wish to say, Chair.

14 CHAIRPERSON: Your client actually lost
15 four people on the 12th – the two security guards and two
16 mine employees.

17 MR BURGER SC: I stand corrected on that.
18 The point I make is I act for victims and my client is
19 hugely concerned about that fact and that's why I do this
20 case with some emotion. Lives were lost here. We're
21 concerned about the lives that were lost.

22 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, on behalf of SAPS,
23 if it is of any comfort to anybody, we're feeling as a team
24 that we are carrying a huge burden in relation to the
25 issues before the Commission. We have been overruled more

1 often than we would have find comfort necessarily, but it's
2 in the nature of the process. We take those on the chin
3 and we go to the next point, but as to whether there is any
4 collusion toxic in the fiery language of the opening
5 statement doesn't help us. It just reasserts something
6 that has no factual foundation to it. I certainly don't
7 feel assisted by Mr Burger, not one inch. I have seen him
8 take on the National Commissioner, as he must. I've never
9 protested that, and we have never objected to any questions
10 that did not merit an objection, and we take the rulings as
11 we are supposed to do as professionals, in good stead. If
12 there is no malice intended in them they must be a
13 consequence of the proceedings that we are having.

14 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mr Semanya. Mr
15 Tip.

16 MR TIP SC: Chair, we don't really have a
17 contribution to make. We are not the, we have not been
18 identified as being an entity that is complained about, but
19 perhaps I may just say that objections form a very
20 important part of the process and that in our view by and
21 large the objections are made in order to seek to advance
22 the process and to bring about a more expeditious
23 traversing of the relevant evidence, and we believe that
24 that is important.

25 I may just add, and if I may perhaps say that as

Page 9636

1 someone who has been in practice for rather a good number
 2 of years and have been in courts over thousands of days and
 3 have been involved in the assembly of records that
 4 traversed tens of thousands of pages, I have seen a great
 5 many objections being raised by parties; I have seen
 6 various fora in action, and although it's certainly not for
 7 me to be precocious enough to advance any sort of
 8 judgmental comment from the vantage point that I have
 9 temporarily in the second row as it may be, we have
 10 certainly not seen signs of bias on the part of the
 11 Commission in respect of its attitude to any parties, and I
 12 might say as well that Mr Mpofu should not feel that his
 13 cross-examination has been unduly curtailed. To the
 14 contrary, he has been given a great deal of latitude and
 15 the occasional or frequent objections, as they may be, from
 16 time to time have not affected that.

17 So we would with great respect urge the families
 18 and the victims not to feel that these proceedings are not
 19 well balanced and I'd like just to echo that NUM also
 20 represents, my legal team also represents victims, and I
 21 might put on record that we now act for Mrs Fundi, and of
 22 course her husband was one of the people who died in very
 23 unfortunate circumstances on the morning of the 12th of
 24 August. So we speak not as an entity on the outside; we
 25 also have victims amongst our ranks, both present and past.

Page 9637

1 MR MPOFU: Chair -
 2 CHAIRPERSON: Yes.
 3 MR MPOFU: If I, I just would like rather
 4 to have you having the last word, so can I just address one
 5 or two of the issues -
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, you may.
 7 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
 8 Chairperson, I just want to clarify a few things. Firstly
 9 apropos what Mr Tip is saying, that I - and Mr Tip more
 10 than anyone else would know, that you know, I've been in
 11 this profession for almost 30 years and worked with Mr Tip,
 12 Mr Bizos, and other people. So I have no problems with
 13 taking it on the chin. Anyone who knows me will know that
 14 I take it on the chin more than, or at least I take as much
 15 as I give. This has nothing to do with me, really. And to
 16 answer Mr Burger's question of what advice I gave, I will
 17 answer to that.
 18 [16:10] I said the first thing that I said to the clients
 19 was what I've said earlier, that this is normal. As I said
 20 earlier, this process is quasi adversarial and insofar as
 21 it is adversarial to whatever extent, then of course there
 22 are stances that get taken, and I think that's understood
 23 by everybody.
 24 The second thing that I advised was that this was
 25 not a matter that should be raised in the open forum but it

Page 9638

1 should be raised in chambers with the Commissioners, and
 2 they specifically said no, they wanted it - they had
 3 discussed and they wanted it to be raised here, and I
 4 indicated that to the Chairperson before we came here. So
 5 those are the issues.

6 Apart from that I accept what all my colleagues
 7 have said. The only thing really that I wanted to say is
 8 where I would draw the line, and that's what I was saying,
 9 trying diplomatically to say we must also caution
 10 ourselves, is a situation such as what happened this
 11 morning where the objections do not have a factual basis,
 12 or are as a result of somebody not having read the
 13 particular document in the record, and so on. I think
 14 let's try and avoid those because they just add to the
 15 perception. So that's the only place where I would draw
 16 the line, but of course the Chairperson has in fairness
 17 more than once even admonished us for the nature of the
 18 objection that we make if he was of the view that the basis
 19 of the objection itself was unfounded. So these are the
 20 kinds of examples that I've given to the clients, but
 21 nevertheless all of us here would know that I'm duty-bound
 22 to raise the issue once it has been raised. This is akin
 23 to the situation where you are instructed to ask the judge
 24 to recuse himself or herself. You might think that this is
 25 the best judge who's ever graced the bench, but if the

Page 9639

1 client has a perception which they reasonably hold, based
 2 on their vantage point, then you have a duty to raise it,
 3 even if the judge was your best friend.

4 So I just wanted to clarify just those points,
 5 and of course it's not a competition of who's more of a
 6 victim than any other one. I accept that the victims,
 7 properly defined, are all over. The police for that matter
 8 have lost people. So to that extent I mean everybody to
 9 some extent or another represents the victims. I'd go as
 10 far as to say even the evidence leaders represent all the
 11 victims that we represent, so I didn't mean it in the sense
 12 of starting a competition. Yes, that's all, Chair, that I
 13 just wanted to clarify, apart from what I've added.

14 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you all for what
 15 you've said. I'm pleased that the point has been raised in
 16 the open auditorium so that the parties' families and
 17 anyone here can be aware of the feelings and perceptions,
 18 and they can be discussed. It's only right that that
 19 should happen in the spirit of openness, and so forth.

20 Those who are sitting in the auditorium, many of
 21 them I'm sure haven't had the opportunity of sitting in
 22 court cases for a long time, at least I hope they haven't
 23 had that opportunity. Those who have had the opportunity
 24 to sit in court cases for a long time will see that it's
 25 what happens all the time. Questions are asked, parties

1 object. If the objections are well-founded they're upheld.
 2 If they're not well-founded they're dismissed, and that's
 3 what happened. A number of the objections raised against
 4 some of the questions Mr Mpofu had asked were disallowed,
 5 the question, he was allowed to proceed. In other cases
 6 the objections were upheld. Other parties who have,
 7 counsel who have raised objections against other parties,
 8 sometimes I upheld the objections when I thought they were
 9 correct; other times I dismissed them when I thought they
 10 were wrong, they were bad.

11 If I ever perceive a situation where there's a
 12 whole series of objections being asked without foundation
 13 in order to harass or intimidate or disrupt cross-
 14 examination, I won't hesitate to take strong action. But I
 15 would appeal to those who are sitting here in the
 16 auditorium who haven't, as I've said, had the misfortune
 17 before to sit in legal proceedings for a long time, to
 18 accept that that's the way the system works and not to
 19 think because their side has a ruling given against them
 20 that the ruling is unfair because I can assure you that the
 21 other side, when an objection is upheld against them, also
 22 are inclined to think the same. I have tried from the very
 23 beginning of this Commission, and will do so to the end, to
 24 be fair to all parties, to give all of them a fair
 25 opportunity to put their case, mindful however of the point

1 result of the process. But as I've said, I'm pleased
 2 however that the matter has been brought up here before us
 3 to be openly discussed, and I'm also pleased to hear that
 4 the representatives of those who have this perception are
 5 endeavouring, and as we were told, are still endeavouring
 6 to explain to them how the system works and why it is that
 7 these perceptions have arisen, but why it is that the
 8 perceptions we believe are unfounded. But on that note we
 9 will adjourn until half past 9 tomorrow morning. On that
 10 basis we will take the adjournment now until half past 9
 11 tomorrow morning. I understand we're going to be given
 12 some statements from the side of the Human Rights
 13 Commission, which we will study overnight, and we will
 14 continue again, as I've said, at half past 9 tomorrow.

[COMMISSION ADJOURNED]

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1 that I've stressed over and over again that we, apart from
 2 the need to get an answer sooner rather than later for the
 3 country's sake, apart from the parties, that we have a
 4 limited amount of time and we must try to use it as
 5 gainfully as we can. So some of the objections, some of
 6 the rulings I've given have been designed to speed the
 7 proceedings on.

8 Insofar as to suggest that I have assisted
 9 certain witnesses, what I've done sometimes if I thought
 10 the witness was trying to say something but wasn't
 11 articulating it as briefly as he or she should, I have
 12 suggested what I thought the answer was, something that has
 13 to be done very carefully because obviously one mustn't put
 14 answers in witnesses' mouths and must merely say what one
 15 thinks the witness is trying to say but he's stumbling over
 16 saying.

17 But if people think I'm biased I'm sure there's
 18 nothing I can do about it except to say this, that I
 19 genuinely and honestly believe that my colleagues and I are
 20 not biased; we're doing our best to be fair to everybody.
 21 We are determined to get as far as is possible to do so, to
 22 the truth of what happened, and if in the result we end up
 23 criticising the police, so be it. If we end up criticising
 24 some of the other participants, so be it. We may end with
 25 all of them to some extent dissatisfied, but that may be a

<p>A</p> <p>aan 9503:1 9504:14 9521:16 9568:2 9594:11 9616:22,23 9625:9</p> <p>aanduidend 9523:15</p> <p>aangaan 9505:20</p> <p>Aangeheg 9503:1</p> <p>aanhangsels 9503:8</p> <p>aanslag 9594:15</p> <p>aanvaar 9571:16 9591:13 9603:3 9619:8</p> <p>aanval 9616:25</p> <p>ability 9513:12</p> <p>able 9500:8 9501:15 9502:2 9503:23 9514:21 9555:15 9613:19</p> <p>abovementioned 9596:23</p> <p>Absolutely 9546:19</p> <p>accept 9510:3 9511:23 9522:7,8 9537:22 9541:12 9542:22 9545:25 9555:22 9571:7,15 9572:20 9573:1,22 9590:25 9591:5 9595:11 9601:17 9603:1,5 9605:3 9607:2 9609:17 9610:25 9612:11 9618:20 9623:4,12,16 9624:21 9638:6 9639:6 9640:18</p> <p>accepted 9542:6 9546:3 9575:19 9609:17 9628:13</p> <p>accepting 9544:22,22 9553:1</p> <p>accepts 9561:25</p> <p>access 9607:10</p> <p>accessing 9625:15</p> <p>accomplish 9604:11</p> <p>account 9607:15</p> <p>accurate 9503:13</p> <p>accurately 9608:16</p> <p>accused 9532:16 9556:9 9564:13,14 9609:15</p> <p>accusing 9566:8</p> <p>achieve 9535:6 9596:24</p> <p>acknowledging 9601:4</p> <p>act 9539:17 9572:14 9593:20 9596:16 9634:18 9636:21</p> <p>acted 9539:17</p> <p>acting 9528:21 9572:16</p> <p>action 9518:5 9571:4 9593:19 9596:3,17 9609:6,8,8,11 9636:6 9640:14</p> <p>actions 9519:24 9586:1 9586:5 9604:10,12</p>	<p>9610:7</p> <p>active 9535:19</p> <p>activities 9513:24 9518:25</p> <p>activity 9595:23</p> <p>actual 9520:7 9591:18</p> <p>actuated 9609:9</p> <p>ad 9513:23 9563:23,25 9563:25</p> <p>add 9501:10 9534:2,18 9535:3 9536:3 9635:25 9638:14</p> <p>added 9639:13</p> <p>adding 9526:19</p> <p>addisionele 9594:9</p> <p>address 9524:17 9526:18 9533:16 9552:20 9560:16 9564:11,11 9566:17 9626:13 9637:4</p> <p>addressed 9534:14 9548:11 9561:22 9630:1</p> <p>addresses 9553:9</p> <p>addressing 9631:11</p> <p>adherence 9526:4</p> <p>adjacent 9572:18</p> <p>adjourn 9642:9</p> <p>ADJOURNED 9642:15</p> <p>adjournment 9514:10 9515:3,14 9519:11 9615:18 9618:16 9619:18 9622:9 9642:10</p> <p>ADJOURNS 9519:12 9576:14 9622:10</p> <p>adjudicated 9532:18</p> <p>adjunkte 9509:18</p> <p>admonish 9628:17</p> <p>admonished 9638:17</p> <p>adresseringsisteme 9591:2</p> <p>Adv 9599:12 9617:24</p> <p>advance 9535:24 9536:16 9618:6 9635:21 9636:7</p> <p>advanced 9529:10 9534:17 9565:22</p> <p>advancing 9545:22</p> <p>advantage 9560:17 9563:11</p> <p>adverb 9551:11</p> <p>adversarial 9525:19 9534:23 9549:8,19,22 9550:3,4 9637:20,21</p> <p>adversarially 9549:23</p> <p>adverse 9525:25</p> <p>adversely 9501:17</p> <p>advice 9633:5 9637:16</p> <p>advised 9637:24</p> <p>aerial 9612:24</p> <p>Afdelingskommissaris 9508:20 9509:19 9512:23</p> <p>affect 9567:12</p> <p>affirmative 9580:17</p>	<p>afforded 9554:6,11</p> <p>afraid 9608:9</p> <p>Africa 9552:9,10 9564:22</p> <p>Africans 9538:11</p> <p>Afrikaans 9503:18,19 9529:3</p> <p>afspeel 9594:17</p> <p>afternoon 9526:11 9528:15,18 9578:8</p> <p>aggreately 9603:9</p> <p>aggressive 9570:5</p> <p>ago 9538:3</p> <p>agree 9509:1 9513:24 9581:10 9582:3 9587:19 9589:23 9606:21 9611:13 9619:2,16 9623:10</p> <p>agreed 9510:11 9517:5 9559:3 9587:1</p> <p>agreement 9503:9 9575:1 9587:20</p> <p>agrees 9556:23 9586:23</p> <p>agter 9616:8,9,15,16</p> <p>ahead 9533:12</p> <p>air 9532:19 9540:14 9556:10,11,12,13 9559:12 9572:7 9584:25</p> <p>akin 9638:22</p> <p>aksie 9589:18</p> <p>aksies 9522:5</p> <p>al 9523:16 9594:5,23 9616:13</p> <p>albeit 9593:7</p> <p>aldus 9586:19</p> <p>alert 9631:22</p> <p>alia 9555:5 9556:24 9596:15</p> <p>align 9534:14</p> <p>Allandale 9554:2</p> <p>alle 9610:23</p> <p>allegation 9527:2 9528:16 9540:11,13 9540:18 9541:10 9543:10 9544:6 9558:12,18 9563:19</p> <p>allegations 9532:19 9540:16 9544:5 9551:7</p> <p>alleged 9588:14</p> <p>allegedly 9550:9</p> <p>alleges 9532:15</p> <p>allow 9524:16 9532:16 9543:21 9550:22,23 9553:3 9556:2 9564:10 9565:4 9580:8 9610:2</p> <p>allowed 9549:25 9561:20 9640:5</p> <p>AllPay 9532:6</p> <p>almal 9591:3 9599:14 9625:8</p> <p>alright 9506:15 9519:1 9530:23 9543:5 9546:21 9571:3</p>	<p>9576:13 9579:7 9597:24 9601:25 9606:19 9611:20</p> <p>altyd 9505:8</p> <p>AMCU 9500:4,7,15</p> <p>amendment 9520:5</p> <p>ammunisie 9523:19</p> <p>ammunition 9522:9,21 9523:10 9531:20 9545:23 9546:12,17 9546:23 9557:4 9573:7 9574:8 9581:8 9582:2,18 9583:3,9 9593:8 9595:8,9 9599:10,24 9600:5 9603:8,17,22,24 9604:18 9605:6</p> <p>ammunitions 9574:5</p> <p>amount 9641:4</p> <p>amounts 9586:24</p> <p>amptelike 9594:8</p> <p>analysed 9598:6</p> <p>andazi 9622:1</p> <p>ander 9509:6,23 9510:1 9514:15 9594:17,22 9619:7 9625:11</p> <p>angles 9551:3</p> <p>annexure 9503:4 9506:18</p> <p>announcement 9590:24</p> <p>answer 9513:11,16 9518:19 9519:5 9520:5 9521:23 9530:16 9531:22 9598:2,25 9599:7 9600:3 9605:14,15 9606:6,15 9609:12 9615:3,13,23 9622:1 9637:16,17 9641:2,12</p> <p>answerable 9559:6</p> <p>answered 9582:16 9596:9 9605:8</p> <p>answers 9530:13 9580:17 9641:14</p> <p>anticipate 9600:14</p> <p>anybody 9542:6 9626:7 9633:14 9634:23</p> <p>anyway 9514:25 9548:6,12 9579:7,24 9601:25 9613:5</p> <p>apart 9565:17 9638:6 9639:13 9641:1,3</p> <p>apartheid 9527:5 9528:6 9553:9 9556:5 9564:17,19</p> <p>apologise 9514:12</p> <p>apparent 9597:19</p> <p>appeal 9532:5 9542:1 9640:15</p> <p>appealing 9629:11</p> <p>appear 9501:13</p> <p>appeared 9595:6</p> <p>appearing 9500:3</p> <p>appears 9550:13 9581:14 9588:12 9617:14 9620:7</p>	<p>applicable 9565:21 9589:24 9604:8</p> <p>application 9562:1</p> <p>applied 9543:25</p> <p>apply 9517:2 9542:4 9561:17 9562:22 9598:15 9599:3 9605:19</p> <p>appreciate 9536:3 9577:9 9613:17</p> <p>approach 9559:16 9591:11 9620:11</p> <p>approaching 9623:24</p> <p>appropriate 9533:15 9534:25 9560:19 9604:22</p> <p>approve 9507:24</p> <p>approved 9520:10</p> <p>apropos 9637:9</p> <p>area 9506:21 9536:14 9597:11 9610:20</p> <p>argue 9513:7 9520:12 9526:17 9534:8 9546:6 9580:19 9581:1,6,9,25 9582:2 9582:4,17 9583:7 9604:22 9610:13</p> <p>argued 9528:19 9532:22 9609:16</p> <p>argues 9542:8</p> <p>arguing 9540:10 9542:6</p> <p>argument 9513:1 9517:11,22 9518:15 9520:2,8 9526:18 9533:2 9537:23 9539:16 9540:22 9546:4 9547:7 9555:8 9557:18 9560:25 9575:24 9581:13 9582:6</p> <p>arguments 9575:23</p> <p>arisen 9642:7</p> <p>armed 9588:4</p> <p>arms 9588:21</p> <p>arrangement 9578:22</p> <p>array 9556:21,22 9561:25</p> <p>arrests 9582:11 9602:4</p> <p>arrows 9617:10</p> <p>art 9558:25</p> <p>articulated 9532:20</p> <p>articulating 9641:11</p> <p>ascertain 9543:11</p> <p>ascribe 9560:3 9566:4</p> <p>ascribed 9552:16</p> <p>ascribes 9550:17</p> <p>asked 9527:16 9531:16 9533:9,12 9542:25 9545:2 9547:24 9560:8,12 9565:18 9570:22 9596:9 9598:3,6 9607:14,14 9608:10 9610:6 9622:22 9639:25 9640:4,12</p>
--	---	---	--	---

<p>asking 9502:21 9532:3 9541:10 9552:3 9574:22 9575:2 9592:10 9599:7 9621:18,23 9625:19 asks 9540:15 9633:21 asof 9594:24 aspect 9543:7 9561:19 9566:22 aspects 9626:20 aspekte 9517:8 aspersions 9567:11 assassinations 9501:13 assembly 9636:3 assertion 9609:10 assist 9535:10 9551:3 9564:4 9589:11 9607:5 9612:18 assistance 9568:22 9571:22 9626:24 assisted 9629:8 9635:7 9641:8 assisting 9633:19 assuage 9627:18 assume 9510:5 9516:21 9623:3,6,18 assuming 9553:1 9596:21 assure 9551:14 9567:10 9579:15 9586:13 9632:12,13 9640:20 assured 9627:1 9631:3 atmosphere 9532:12 9551:8 atrocious 9634:6 attack 9570:19 9588:5 9625:22 attacked 9540:19 9572:6 9598:20 attackers 9570:8 9572:16 attacking 9625:18,22 attacks 9570:11 attempt 9541:8 9555:17 9574:8 9618:6 9628:17 attempted 9556:8 attention 9534:20 attitude 9636:11 attract 9510:14 9577:22 9602:11 auditorium 9530:19 9537:16 9639:16,20 9640:16 August 9527:4 9528:17 9572:11 9636:24 Augustus 9568:2 authorities 9520:7 authority 9518:8,9,18 9534:4 9541:25 9570:22 automatic 9611:15 9614:17 available 9514:19 9527:21 9540:3 9577:6 9600:16,24</p>	<p>9612:2 9614:5,20 averted 9624:9 avoid 9552:7 9605:20 9638:14 avoidable 9610:8 avoided 9606:6 9608:21 aware 9525:7 9576:21 9590:21 9607:1 9639:17</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <hr/> <p>b 9555:16 9603:16 back 9500:3 9515:3 9521:21 9533:2 9537:15 9556:19 9567:2,6 9572:4 9576:18 9578:19 9595:7,7 9607:8 9611:25 9613:3 9624:23 9626:17 background 9558:14 backwards 9593:10 bad 9640:10 baie 9594:3 balance 9535:14 balanced 9636:19 barbed 9592:11,22,23 9610:17 9611:6,13,22 9612:2 9614:4,4,11 9615:23 9623:7,22,24 9624:8,12,12,14 9625:20 barbwire 9570:7,15 Barnes 9500:3,5 9501:4 barrier 9602:23 base 9580:19 based 9527:12 9528:3 9528:17 9542:8 9550:9,9 9559:8 9564:19,21 9565:1,1 9566:15,17 9580:21 9609:18,19 9623:3 9639:1 baseless 9529:15 bases 9534:16 9598:4 basic 9542:17,24 9561:17 9565:21 9589:25 9606:23 9607:22,22,23 9614:17 9618:23 9619:13,13,14 9621:3 9621:3 basis 9504:24 9525:18 9525:19 9526:13,16 9526:24 9528:8,13,22 9528:25 9531:25 9532:23 9533:1 9534:23 9537:20 9538:2,23 9540:13 9541:6,9 9542:14 9543:9,20 9544:5,19 9552:1,15 9553:1,20 9554:6,11,25 9556:7 9559:3,5 9560:4</p>	<p>9563:6 9565:12 9566:14,18,24 9581:13 9582:4,17 9598:5,12 9628:19 9630:17 9638:11,18 9642:10 bear 9513:16 9529:16 9531:12 9618:19 bears 9630:14 bed 9545:8 bedoeling 9573:19 9594:4 beg 9501:1,2 beginning 9538:5 9630:25 9640:23 begins 9568:1 beginsels 9599:15,18 behalf 9500:12 9634:22 behaviour 9555:4 beide 9504:14 belabour 9547:16 9587:14 belangrik 9523:8 9599:17 belatedly 9593:7 belies 9562:1 believe 9500:24 9622:16 9627:12 9630:23 9635:23 9641:19 9642:8 believes 9579:14 belong 9515:12 beman 9616:14 bemanning 9568:3 9584:20 benadering 9611:2,11 bench 9638:25 benefit 9629:6 beperk 9523:1 beplanning 9623:14 9625:1,2 besig 9594:23 beskerm 9573:3,5 beskerming 9599:19,22 beskikbaar 9591:2 beskikbaar 9509:24 best 9623:20 9638:25 9639:3 9641:20 beste 9589:14 bet 9538:10 beteken 9522:12,15 9523:3 beter 9616:5 betrokke 9504:24 9517:17 9521:8 9599:16 9625:5 better 9524:8 9613:17 bevelvoerders 9594:18 beweeg 9568:11 9611:19 9617:1,4,6 9618:10 9625:3,11 beweging 9591:21 9616:24 bewus 9511:5 9521:19 9522:19 beyond 9624:14</p>	<p>bias 9627:11 9630:14 9636:10 biased 9541:15,19 9641:17,20 big 9585:7 birdshot 9603:17 bit 9592:9 9626:14 9630:13,14 9632:2 bits 9617:14 Bizos 9637:12 black 9552:9,10,12 9556:11 9559:11,23 9564:22 bladsy 9518:22 9521:14 bladsye 9503:3,8 blame 9559:21 blessings 9586:14,18 block 9618:6 9623:24 9624:6 blocked 9610:18 9614:4 blocking 9602:24 9611:14 blok 9611:17 blood 9552:8 blue 9617:8,11,18,19 9618:5 9619:3 bly 9508:25 blyk 9617:4 bo 9616:6 9617:3 bodies 9554:21,24 9582:13 bona 9547:25 Booi 9514:3 9517:23 born 9550:13 boss 9505:5 Botes 9501:24 9529:19 9529:20,21,21,22 9546:10,22 9548:6,11 9556:25 9576:8 9582:22 9583:13 bottom 9536:10 9567:17,20,21,21 bound 9525:10 box 9504:18,20 9506:18 breach 9614:10 break 9580:15 9626:15 bridge 9543:19 9560:12 brief 9525:4 briefly 9641:11 Brigadier 9504:13,14 9504:25,25 9505:1 9522:13 9524:8 9529:7 9531:8 9533:5 9569:19,20 9570:1,3 9570:8 9572:8,14,23 9572:24 9573:20 9574:21 9575:18,21 9580:22 9581:2,18,22 9594:18 bring 9523:21 9556:19 9589:20 9596:19 9635:22</p>	<p>bringing 9556:10 broad 9582:19 broadened 9538:21 broader 9628:13 broadly 9519:25 9534:14 brothers 9500:25 brought 9642:2 brown 9504:18,20 Bruinders 9527:12,16 9551:14,15,20,25 9552:16 9553:1,9 9564:20 9566:16 buckshot 9603:17 Budlender 9586:22 built 9532:21 buite 9523:18 buiten 9517:18 bulky 9506:1 bullet 9507:21 9537:9 9623:22 bullets 9595:4 9617:10 burden 9634:24 Burger 9524:18,25 9530:1,15 9531:2,4 9533:16 9534:15,19 9534:23 9536:8 9538:4 9540:9 9541:24 9542:7,25 9543:24 9549:6,22 9550:7,22 9551:19,19 9553:17 9557:24 9558:7 9559:4,9 9560:7,20 9561:14,24 9562:8,11,14,18,23 9562:25 9563:24 9564:5,11,12,13 9565:19 9566:4 9569:13,14,16 9570:22 9577:23 9631:14,14,19,21 9633:1,3 9634:17 9635:7 Burger's 9541:11 9544:23 9571:22 9637:16 busy 9502:20 9513:25 9515:19 9516:1 9521:22 9538:5 9543:6 9545:24 9556:23 9575:5 9603:12 9608:20 bystanders 9597:11 byvoorbeeld 9589:19</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <hr/> <p>C 9555:16 calamity 9605:21 calculated 9535:24 Calitz 9522:13 9524:8 9529:7 9531:9,9 9533:5 9569:19,20 9570:1,3,8 9572:8,23 9573:20 9574:21 9575:18,21 9581:18 9581:23 9594:18</p>
---	--	--	--	---

<p>Calitz's 9572:15 9581:2 call 9505:18 9506:10 9511:20 9536:6 9551:12,23 9558:22 9576:10 9590:12 9597:2 9606:3 9614:16 9618:7 9622:23 called 9506:22 9510:24 9520:1,17 9527:5 9529:17 9532:6 9538:9 9540:12 9570:13 9584:6 9605:3 9611:13 9613:22 calls 9532:21 9562:6 canon 9570:16 9581:18 9592:6 cannons 9582:1,14 9590:1 9595:3,16 canvass 9556:1 9582:20 canvassed 9544:15 9580:22 canvassing 9555:24 can't 9537:19 9578:11 9621:16 9622:4 capacities 9518:25 Cape 9542:1 capitalists 9552:13 Captain 9554:10 care 9536:7,22 9537:3 carefully 9534:19 9641:13 carried 9578:24 carry 9501:15 9515:15 9520:24 9579:9 9580:3 9608:23 9615:14 carrying 9574:1 9634:24 case 9525:19,21 9532:6 9533:4 9539:16 9545:24,24 9546:6 9555:11 9557:7,20 9561:1,2 9562:2 9587:12 9595:20,24 9596:22 9598:19 9623:6 9626:20 9628:12 9634:20 9640:25 cases 9501:13 9532:12 9532:18,22 9561:17 9639:22,24 9640:5 Casspir 9616:11 casting 9567:11 cause 9529:9 9600:14 9633:7 caused 9541:17 9634:7 causing 9610:19 caution 9638:9 cease 9554:19 central 9541:11 9557:7 centrality 9538:17 certain 9574:15</p>	<p>9626:20 9630:15 9641:9 certainly 9518:8 9535:18 9541:20 9562:22 9592:21 9635:6 9636:6,10 Chair 9500:5 9502:1,12 9506:11 9507:9 9516:10 9519:16 9524:7,10,19 9525:7 9531:4 9533:7 9534:1 9534:13 9535:16,23 9536:3 9565:2 9568:23 9574:12 9577:20 9578:6 9592:5 9595:19 9597:25 9598:12 9601:14 9608:25 9609:4 9614:7 9619:17 9627:4 9629:11,18 9630:4,13 9633:4,12 9634:13,22 9635:16 9637:1 9639:12 chairing 9586:7 Chairman 9533:24 9630:22 Chairperson's 9557:13 challenged 9563:15 9609:15 chambers 9629:20 9638:1 chance 9524:17 9530:5 9530:7 9533:17,17 9558:10 9560:16 9630:3 change 9622:12 changed 9510:20 channelling 9602:25 charging 9545:21 CHARL 9501:22 9519:19 9577:4 9622:14 chart 9506:10 chase 9611:21 cheap 9552:9,10 9556:12 9559:11,23 9564:22 check-up 9578:8 chest 9565:16 chief 9532:7 9586:21 9592:23 9608:11 9610:10 child 9538:7 children 9500:24 chin 9635:2 9637:13,14 chopped 9572:12 chopper 9581:20 9584:2 circuit 9622:20 circular 9555:8 circumnavigate 9624:19 circumstances 9500:11 9511:15 9512:10 9599:4 9634:6</p>	<p>9636:23 citizens 9524:6 claim 9527:11 9538:13 claims 9529:14 clarify 9637:8 9639:4 9639:13 classically 9525:18 clear 9503:25 9510:3 9519:23 9520:9 9528:3 9559:13 9580:24 9593:8,15 9609:17 clearly 9532:20 9564:15 9572:7,22 9574:20 9592:23 9603:22 9607:9,20 9608:1 9621:2,6 client 9525:5 9526:20 9565:6,7 9634:1,5,8 9634:14,18 9639:1 clients 9559:18,19 9576:16 9627:23 9628:4,22 9633:6 9637:18 9638:20 cloak 9535:22 close 9570:4 9624:7 closed 9607:11 9620:12 9620:14 9624:8,16,22 closing 9585:19 9625:20 Coin 9583:20,25 9584:1,5,5,25 coincide 9507:15 collar 9632:3 colleague 9539:8,10 9562:16 9596:10 colleagues 9576:10 9631:5 9633:18 9638:6 9641:19 collegiality 9629:14 collusion 9635:4 Colonel 9529:4 9574:13,20 9581:21 9582:13 combination 9562:5,7 9562:22 9626:5 combo 9557:13,14,15 9557:17 9563:1,2 9566:7,13 come 9508:9 9515:3 9525:14 9541:18 9576:18 9578:19 9579:4 9598:9 9603:23 9614:8 9615:7 9623:4 9626:17 comes 9513:2 9548:7 9567:5 9596:15 comfort 9634:23 9635:1 comic 9633:16 coming 9509:3 9536:7 9547:2 9552:7 9583:10 9617:12,17 9618:7 command 9523:10,12</p>	<p>9538:22 9539:6,9,18 9545:16 9546:1 9554:19 9557:9,16 9561:2,4,6 9562:3,16 9562:19 9566:7,12 9571:8 9580:20 commanded 9562:10 9562:13 commander 9509:9 9513:13 commanders 9609:7 commencement 9597:8 9597:10 9598:16 comment 9510:17 9521:2 9581:10 9612:5 9636:8 commission 9500:2,14 9500:21 9501:5,14,18 9519:12,12,13 9525:11,17,25 9526:17 9534:15,20 9534:22,24 9535:5,6 9535:10,16,18,23,25 9538:9 9540:2 9542:3 9542:7 9551:1,6 9552:2 9554:18 9557:21,25 9558:8 9561:16 9576:14,14 9580:7 9596:10 9597:20 9622:10,10 9622:11 9626:14 9630:7 9632:2,12 9633:19 9634:1,25 9636:11 9640:23 9642:13,15 commissioner 9500:16 9504:1,2 9505:5,6,13 9505:14,21 9507:22 9507:25 9509:15 9511:21 9512:1,14,16 9513:5 9514:18 9516:5,14,24 9517:12 9518:2,5,17 9520:8 9520:15,16 9521:10 9521:10,13,16,17 9523:9 9527:19,21 9533:14 9549:23 9550:2,4 9585:11,12 9585:14,19,21,24 9586:15 9587:2,17,19 9587:20 9595:2 9599:23 9600:2 9608:4,12 9619:21,24 9620:1,4,6,11,13,23 9621:8 9633:15 9635:8 Commissioners 9515:17 9535:23 9536:13 9555:19 9579:13,15,25 9595:10 9627:4 9629:20 9638:1 commissions 9525:9,9 9542:4,4 Commission's 9598:24 commitment 9527:23</p>	<p>committed 9595:13 9605:4 common 9529:9 9595:22 9596:12 9600:14 9605:18 9606:7,8,13,14 9614:9 9633:7 communicated 9585:20 9586:16 competition 9639:5,12 complained 9633:6 9635:18 complaint 9553:6 9558:11,19 9574:17 9628:7 complaints 9627:5,10 completion 9505:3 9582:16 compliance 9525:20 component 9506:18 Comrades 9552:5,8 concede 9516:21 9563:8 9606:4 9623:4 conceded 9561:12,15 9596:18 concepts 9539:15 concern 9501:18 9536:22 9537:3 9543:5 9547:24 9558:8 9626:18 9627:16,16,22 9628:9 concerned 9505:17 9509:4 9512:1 9521:25 9536:12 9537:4 9538:4 9544:2 9551:2 9558:1 9602:12 9627:21 9634:19,21 conclude 9535:14 conclusion 9566:25 concrete 9547:2 9559:12,13 condemned 9500:25 condolences 9501:5,8 conduct 9532:15 9540:20 conducted 9532:13 9632:23 confess 9516:11 9608:13 9632:1 confidence 9529:1 9532:20 confined 9522:23 confirm 9586:8 confirmed 9600:5 9601:1 conflict 9604:10 confront 9622:5 connection 9584:5 connotations 9576:24 consequence 9635:13 consequences 9526:2 considerate 9560:18 considerations 9553:22 considered 9538:18 9630:24 9632:4</p>
--	--	--	--	---

<p>9633:12 consistently 9544:1 Consolidated 9532:6 constitute 9553:15 9603:9 constructive 9580:10 consulted 9574:16 contained 9553:13 9600:15 CONTD 9502:15 9519:21 9580:4 9622:17 contemplated 9604:15 contemplating 9605:24 contemplation 9603:25 contend 9596:7 9597:18 contention 9539:21,22 9598:4,5 9599:1 contentious 9531:25 9532:25 9534:17 contest 9575:9 context 9523:5,21 9545:17 9548:8 9556:22,24 9560:2 9564:17 9565:14 9582:1 9599:25 continental 9549:11 contingency 9589:8 9590:12,12 continue 9524:16 9642:14 continues 9567:21 continuum 9611:13 contrary 9542:6 9588:19 9636:14 contribute 9629:22 contribution 9635:17 control 9577:8 convenient 9519:6 9618:13 conveniently 9506:25 conventional 9525:20 conversation 9524:8 conveyed 9501:8,9 convinced 9527:17 cooperation 9551:1 coordinate 9511:23 9512:15 9516:25 coordination 9513:6 copies 9501:24 9514:9 9600:16 copy 9502:4 9511:8 9514:18 9519:14 9567:24 cordoning 9602:24 corner 9612:8,15 9613:14,16,20 corpses 9554:20 correct 9502:1 9504:3 9505:6 9508:9 9509:8 9509:9 9510:5,6 9513:8 9516:17 9517:5 9518:10 9519:16 9520:23 9521:24,24 9522:1</p>	<p>9523:6 9524:15 9529:11,16 9533:7 9534:6 9539:2 9540:23 9547:9 9563:9 9566:20 9573:7 9585:1 9588:7 9588:22 9589:8 9592:3,21 9593:5,15 9597:4,19 9598:25 9604:6 9611:7,22 9615:11 9617:12,16 9618:3 9622:21 9634:12 9640:9 corrected 9618:4 9634:17 correctly 9509:10 9534:21 9596:13 9617:22 correctness 9609:10 corrugated 9613:10 cost 9604:13 costs 9606:6 counsel 9533:9,15,20 9544:2 9576:4 9629:17 9630:12 9632:14 9634:3,4 9640:7 country's 9641:3 course 9520:4 9527:6 9535:1,25 9541:3 9542:12 9547:8 9548:9 9553:15 9557:15 9560:1,15 9577:24 9578:16 9622:21 9631:20 9636:22 9637:21 9638:16 9639:5 court 9525:10 9532:5 9534:21 9561:16 9639:22,24 courts 9525:8,8 9532:11 9627:13 9636:2 cover 9507:14 9623:8 covered 9516:16 9518:3 9539:6 9603:24 9614:6 covering 9507:18 cows 9550:5 crafted 9534:19 created 9541:15 criminal 9513:20 critical 9545:6 criticised 9540:20 criticising 9641:23,23 criticism 9543:14 9624:5 criticisms 9561:22 9565:17 cross 9520:24 9543:19 9558:12,25 9577:12 9578:23 9579:16 9632:18 9640:13 cross-examination 9502:3,15 9516:18 9519:21 9520:21</p>	<p>9527:6 9533:11 9534:2 9542:15 9543:7 9548:15 9549:24 9553:4 9558:25 9560:23 9561:18,19 9578:4 9579:10 9580:4 9586:21 9622:16,17 9626:23 9628:20 9629:16 9632:16 9636:13 cross-examine 9520:15 9524:14 9575:15 cross-examined 9549:23 9558:15,16 cross-examiner 9540:17 9541:7 9559:1 9579:13 cross-examiners 9577:17 cross-examining 9575:20 9631:24 9632:15 crowd 9591:11 9600:17 9601:11 9603:15 9610:18 crucial 9517:1 CS 9522:4 9594:14 9626:3 cure 9507:14 current 9556:19 9585:21,25 9586:5 currently 9579:19 9630:8 curtailed 9636:13 cut 9611:21 9628:6</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <p>d 9514:15,16 9517:8,18 daar 9503:2 9505:22 9509:22,23 9589:15 9589:16,17 9590:16 9594:6,7,10,11,24,24 9594:25 9612:13 9616:2,5,10,17,17,20 9616:22 9617:25 9618:1,11 9625:3 daardie 9568:19 9589:3 9594:24 9599:20 9611:18 9616:3 9617:5 9619:8 9625:3,5 daarna 9509:24 9518:22,23 daarso 9613:12 9616:8 9626:2 daarvan 9522:19 Daar's 9502:25 dalk 9616:5 damage 9578:4 9604:13 9610:19 dan 9503:3 9505:9 9508:16,18 9509:17 9509:20 9512:21,22 9512:22 9514:3,14,16 9514:17 9517:18,20</p>	<p>9523:15,16,17 9583:18 9590:6,7,18 9594:6,7,10,11,12,14 9611:2,10 9616:7,8,9 9616:15,17,22 9617:5 9625:6 Dankie 9583:22 dat 9509:17 9521:5,6 9521:19 9522:11,12 9529:8 9573:20 9583:16,19 9586:18 9594:11 9610:22 9616:2,3,21 9617:4 9617:25 9618:10 9619:7 9625:2,7 day 9526:17 9559:10 9574:24 9575:9 9577:18 9578:25 9579:14 days 9525:1 9588:2 9631:1 9636:2 dead 9500:16 9554:21 9554:23 deadlock 9585:22 deal 9503:23 9506:4 9514:24 9515:2 9520:12,14 9522:6 9530:10 9535:1 9536:11 9546:5 9576:2 9581:17 9585:5 9598:1 9636:14 dealing 9542:2 9560:17 9599:4 9609:22 9630:8 deals 9576:3 dealt 9502:5 9507:4 9528:9 9553:10,11 9557:3,18 9558:18 9582:22,23 9585:8 dear 9577:21 death 9500:14 9554:3 9572:12,12 deaths 9501:17 debate 9514:19 9517:10 9524:20 9531:15 9537:24 9560:22,24 9561:7,25 9564:10 9566:19 9567:12 9585:3,4 9598:10 9605:12,21 9605:23 9606:1 9615:24 9623:11 9624:10 9625:14 debated 9604:21 debating 9574:18 debunk 9553:8 decide 9574:24 decided 9532:22 9611:5 decision 9525:14 9528:4 9532:4 9542:1 decode 9524:3 deduce 9621:1 defeated 9552:13 defence 9536:13</p>	<p>9538:21 9539:9,17,19 9545:17 9553:23 9554:13 9557:8 9562:17,20,21,21 9633:13 defend 9539:7,10 9562:15 9572:14 9573:3,9,23 9588:4 defended 9598:20 defending 9560:14 9561:21 9573:16 defensiewe 9590:7,18 defensive 9592:24 9596:18 9600:8 9602:19,22 9603:2,7 9603:25 9605:23 9610:17 defiant 9535:11 defined 9639:7 defines 9600:23 definitely 9604:6 definition 9600:15 9602:19,20 9603:1,6 9603:8 9605:7 9610:16 delegation 9502:22 deliberately 9626:22 demand 9561:7 9562:4 demands 9526:4 demeanour 9555:3,4 demonstrated 9559:8 9627:24 demonstrations 9600:18 9601:12 denies 9526:23 deny 9526:23 9580:13 depend 9523:5 depends 9556:22 9577:7 depicted 9591:17 deploy 9505:4 9507:25 9508:13 9510:9 9516:6 9518:18 9534:4 deployed 9509:14 9545:20 9570:7,16 9592:11,15,22 9595:4 deployment 9507:5,8 9507:24 9508:7 9509:2,11 9510:6 9519:24,25 derived 9563:10,11 describe 9502:11 9503:11 9508:22 9581:15 described 9509:10 9510:23 9518:18 9585:17 description 9502:22 9503:13 designed 9641:6 desire 9508:1 desired 9596:24 destructive 9500:23 detain 9576:24 detaining 9576:22</p>
--	--	---	--	---

<p>determine 9555:19 determined 9641:21 deterrent 9596:23 9624:17 deur 9504:25 9508:16 9509:6,18 9599:12,20 9616:14 9626:1 devised 9589:8 devolved 9505:16 de-escalate 9604:10 dictate 9526:14 Dictionary 9531:21 didn't 9512:7 9528:23 9529:3,18 9539:17 9544:1,2 9553:18 9557:23 9558:6 9567:11 9569:4,11 9588:13 9593:5,8,15 9600:14 9603:23 9639:11 died 9501:2 9612:9 9636:22 diens 9568:2 Dienste 9509:19 differ 9534:7 9561:18 difference 9534:20 9565:19 9589:12 different 9539:18 9612:24 9615:5 differently 9534:8 9634:11 difficult 9514:20 difficulty 9524:19 dink 9518:22 9522:3 9588:9 9625:24 diplomatically 9638:9 directing 9518:24 direction 9572:17 9581:21 9614:10 9615:7 9617:10 9623:25 directly 9504:1 9546:12,23 9606:7 9628:4 9629:4 dis 9504:6 9508:5 9511:6 9513:10 9524:2 9573:5 9584:22,23 9587:23 9588:23 9590:16 9591:24 9594:13 9612:21 9616:18 9619:1 9625:9 disagree 9521:2 9543:1 disallowed 9564:15 9640:4 disclosing 9533:1 discourse 9532:11 discrimination 9536:16 discussed 9530:19 9578:16 9610:9 9619:5 9628:8 9638:3 9639:18 9642:3 discussion 9547:22 9566:16 9587:16 9611:25 9622:20 dishonestly 9548:20</p>	<p>disinclined 9560:10 disingenuous 9550:15 9550:18 9564:14 dismissed 9575:25 9640:2,9 dispersal 9602:6 displeasure 9541:18 disproved 9554:25 dispute 9625:19 disputing 9526:18 disrespect 9622:7 disrupt 9640:13 disrupting 9626:23 disruption 9501:16 disruptive 9516:18 dissatisfied 9641:25 dissuade 9625:21 9626:8 dissuaded 9610:19 9611:5 distinction 9513:12 9525:8 9593:6 distracted 9615:24 distributed 9501:24 disturb 9628:20 dit 9504:24,25 9505:20 9505:20 9508:4,10 9510:12 9512:21,22 9512:23 9514:15 9517:18,18 9518:12 9518:12,12 9522:14 9523:1,2,14,18 9571:17 9573:4,11,11 9573:11,12,12,14,20 9581:11 9583:12,13 9583:14,18,19,20,20 9583:23 9586:10 9588:9 9589:20,20 9590:17 9591:7,14,14 9594:3,8,15,20,21,24 9599:13,13,14 9603:4 9611:9,9,23 9616:2,6 9616:10,21,22 9617:2 9617:4,24 9618:9 9623:15 9624:2 9625:9,24 9626:9 Division 9542:2 Divisional 9504:2 9505:4,13,21 9507:22 9521:16 document 9502:23 9505:15 9506:3 9510:16,22 9511:3,11 9512:4,13 9514:9,19 9515:4,8,14,23 9529:18 9537:11 9601:9,14,15,21 9602:8,12,15,16,17 9603:2 9638:13 documentation 9511:24 9560:5 9584:2 documents 9503:22 9510:17 9511:9 9538:1 doen 9514:16 9612:21</p>	<p>9625:8 doesn't 9503:13 9515:11 9516:6 9518:7,17 9547:13 9553:15 9555:9 9561:20 9563:19,21 9565:1 9574:15 9598:9,12,15 9599:2 9599:23 9600:3 9602:15 9605:19 9613:6 9620:20 9621:12 9622:4 9635:5 doing 9531:14 9538:5 9550:16 9555:10 9566:9 9569:9,24 9579:16 9624:14 9633:24 9641:20 dokument 9502:25 9503:2,3 9511:6 Donderdag 9524:1 9568:1 doors 9570:5 doringdraad 9613:12 dozen 9536:18 draad 9583:17 9589:21 9590:18 9594:5 9611:1,9,18 9612:15 9612:15 9616:17 9623:15 9625:1 draadkarre 9616:7 draft 9601:2,13,15,24 9602:18 drafter 9603:18 draw 9513:6 9613:15 9638:8,15 drawing 9611:7 drawn 9534:20 9625:14 drie 9612:13 drive 9540:3 9563:13 9563:16 9585:18 driving 9624:5 drove 9526:9 due 9500:15 9535:25 9629:4 duly 9501:9 dusted 9571:19 duty 9605:19,20 9639:2 duty-bound 9627:16 9638:21 dwelt 9535:4 dying 9626:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">E</p> <p>ear 9578:20 earlier 9566:17 9571:8 9574:18 9576:7 9584:19 9596:19 9608:19 9613:22 9619:5 9629:15 9637:19,20 early 9578:13,13 9590:10 earshot 9567:5 eased 9629:21</p>	<p>easier 9536:11 9575:12 9575:14 easiest 9507:3 easy 9569:7 echo 9636:19 edification 9607:6 EE 9585:9,17 eed 9501:21 9519:18 9567:6 9577:3 9622:13 een 9509:22 9616:6,11 eenhede 9508:17 9509:6,18 eenheidsbevelvoerder 9508:17 9512:20 9514:16 eers 9583:21 9616:21 9617:4 9624:25 eerste 9583:15 9594:15 9594:16 9616:6,24,25 effect 9523:25 9564:21 9575:8 9581:24 9628:19 effectively 9533:9 9539:24 9540:10 9560:9,14 efforts 9588:21 eiendom 9599:19,22 einste 9603:14 either 9520:9 9526:18 9531:23 9555:16 9557:17 9586:21 9608:11 9622:7 9623:4 ekskuus 9521:5 9617:1 ekstra 9611:10 elegantly 9528:9 element 9627:10,11 elementary 9604:3 elicited 9610:9 elk 9625:6 emanates 9503:25 emanating 9534:2 9606:3 emerge 9621:5 emerged 9619:15 9622:25 emotion 9634:20 employed 9590:2 9628:23 employee 9634:6 employees 9634:5,7,16 empowered 9505:12 empowers 9512:4 en 9503:3 9504:13,25 9505:8 9508:16,20,25 9509:6,24 9512:22,22 9513:19 9521:6,14,15 9521:18 9522:4,4,12 9523:14,18 9569:19 9570:1 9573:13,21 9583:18,20 9589:16 9589:17,18 9590:6 9591:22 9594:6,7,8 9594:10,11,12,17,18 9599:17,22,22 9616:3</p>	<p>9616:5,8,9,11,13,15 9616:17,18,19,21,23 9617:1,2 9618:11 9625:6,10 9626:2 enable 9540:19 encircling 9602:6 endeavouring 9642:5,5 endorse 9501:9 endures 9597:13 engage 9521:23,25 9522:11,21 9523:24 9524:11 9531:17,22 9533:4 9543:16,16,20 9543:21 9544:11,11 9546:15 9547:4,9 9556:13,21 9581:23 9581:25 9582:9,25 9583:14,14,14,16 engaged 9556:5 9581:24 9628:24 engages 9523:25 9524:12 English 9503:18 enige 9508:17 9509:18 9514:15 9611:2,10 enigemand 9514:17 enigste 9522:13 enkele 9599:13 enlarge 9540:4 ensuring 9518:23 entered 9601:15 entering 9611:6 entirely 9501:9 9563:9 9574:25 entitled 9505:4 9524:14 9525:20 9557:14 9561:4 9563:1,1,20 9565:9,10 9605:14 9627:24 entity 9635:18 9636:24 enumerate 9626:6 equipment 9513:21 ergo 9565:14 escorting 9552:6 9602:25 especially 9577:1 essential 9535:5 essentially 9534:23 establish 9535:10 9555:12,14 9593:23 established 9505:3 9512:15 9513:25 9534:16 9549:5 9555:16,17 9556:16 9557:5 9563:3 9612:2 9612:3,6 etcetera 9506:17 evacuation 9602:6 event 9501:20 9511:10 9523:10 9554:15 9584:24 everybody 9507:18 9533:18 9540:3 9576:16 9637:23 9639:8 9641:20 evidence 9500:15</p>
---	--	---	---	---

9525:11,12 9532:12 9533:13,18 9535:9 9543:22 9545:25 9547:2,21 9548:20 9551:21 9552:19 9553:15 9555:15 9556:13 9559:8 9574:21,22,24 9581:14 9586:20 9591:9 9607:25 9608:5,16,17,19 9609:7,14,16,18 9610:15 9612:17 9615:4 9619:19 9620:10,15 9622:2 9625:20 9626:5 9630:22 9635:23 9639:10 evidenced 9566:19 evidence-in-chief 9609:5 9610:6 evidential 9527:10 9540:1,17,21 9553:20 9554:11 9558:17 9563:13,14 exact 9555:24 9566:8 9587:14 exactly 9512:6 9538:24 9545:15 9548:7,15 9555:7,10 9566:9 9598:20 9614:18 9620:9,15,18 9630:10 examination 9520:25 9543:20 9558:13 9577:25 9578:24 9579:17 9632:19 9640:14 examination-in-chief 9524:13 examiner 9526:15 9559:1 examiners 9577:13 example 9526:6 9527:1 9528:11,11,16 9533:4 9534:2,9 9541:4 9545:15 9549:6 9550:7 9553:10 9554:10 9563:13 9571:13 9606:20 9627:21 9631:24 examples 9526:5 9544:23 9556:4 9638:20 exchange 9527:12 9551:20 9564:19 exclude 9522:21 9573:23 9574:15 9599:24 9604:16 excluded 9517:12 9518:2,9 exclusive 9538:19 9539:15 exclusivity 9538:23 executed 9585:23 execution 9599:25 Executive 9532:7	exempt 9595:17 exercising 9628:22 exhibit 9502:8 9503:6 9503:12,12 9505:12 9505:16,25 9507:10 9507:12 9519:15 9537:12 9539:24 9552:2 9569:1 9585:8 9585:9,17 9588:13 9600:25 9601:15,19 9601:19 9612:19 9624:19 exist 9551:8 9629:25 expect 9525:20 9580:13 9580:17 expected 9559:24 9605:15 expedition 9635:22 experience 9580:2 experienced 9579:25 explain 9505:15 9628:10 9630:17 9642:6 explained 9560:1 9631:6 explaining 9607:5 explicit 9546:5 explore 9565:12 9607:23 9610:14 express 9562:6 expressed 9547:23 expression 9550:21 9570:23 9603:13,19 9603:25 expressly 9520:9 extend 9501:5 extended 9623:8 extent 9567:1 9637:21 9639:8,9 9641:25 eye 9547:4 eyes 9537:1 eyewitnesses 9622:4 <hr/> F <hr/> face 9512:17 9598:14 facie 9516:16 facing 9619:4,4 fact 9525:10 9528:14 9537:25 9542:19 9546:2 9547:23 9548:14 9549:9 9553:14 9555:8 9557:1 9561:2,6,12 9562:19 9565:23 9590:22 9595:15 9602:14 9613:16 9619:4 9628:13 9632:14 9633:6 9634:19 factor 9501:10 9525:23 9549:7 facts 9525:12,14 9526:15,16,19,19 9528:3 9563:3 9598:24,25 factual 9526:13,24	9528:8,13,22,24 9531:25 9533:1 9534:10,16 9541:6 9542:14 9543:9 9544:5,19 9552:1,15 9556:7 9559:3,5 9560:4 9561:8,12 9563:6 9565:11 9566:14,18,24 9599:3 9599:3 9628:19 9635:6 9638:11 factually 9536:24 fail 9595:24 9596:18 fair 9525:16 9532:16 9532:24 9540:8 9542:7 9548:14 9610:20 9626:4 9631:4 9640:24,24 9641:20 fairly 9543:2,10 9632:22 fairness 9526:4,14 9540:16 9541:25 9542:4 9549:7 9561:17 9638:16 fall 9534:5 falling 9518:4 familiar 9511:3 families 9630:6,8,14 9631:3,7,11 9632:9 9632:13 9636:17 9639:16 family 9500:19 9501:6 far 9505:16 9512:1 9513:3 9521:25 9526:1 9536:11 9537:4 9538:4 9547:11 9551:1 9627:20 9631:9,18 9632:6,21 9639:10 9641:21 Farlam 9538:9 fashion 9535:11 9542:5 9549:10 fasiliteer 9510:1 fathers 9500:25 favour 9541:16 favouring 9541:19 fear 9575:23 fears 9547:21 feedback 9527:22 feel 9535:23 9629:6 9635:7 9636:12,18 feeling 9510:18 9634:23 feelings 9627:18 9629:25 9639:17 feels 9518:5 fence 9612:9,16 9613:3 9613:14,18,19 fides 9547:25 fiercely 9549:22 fiery 9635:4 fifth 9520:5 fight 9552:4 9561:20 filed 9529:21	finalise 9556:17 finality 9633:19 finally 9580:2 9632:20 find 9504:17 9505:24 9518:20 9529:13 9536:15,18 9538:11 9608:9,12 9633:16 9635:1 finding 9598:24 findings 9526:1 9535:25 fine 9505:24 9512:9 9530:14 9544:21 9578:10 9585:2 9589:5 9605:1 9609:25 fingers 9629:24 finish 9530:1,10 9552:11 9577:7,9 9578:7,9,11,11,18 finished 9558:21 9577:14 fire 9539:7,10 9545:22 9554:19 firearms 9602:5,21 9603:16,20,21 firing 9522:9 9546:12 9599:9 9617:9,9 first 9506:8,12,13,16 9517:24 9526:6 9529:10 9533:1,13,17 9537:9 9545:19 9562:1 9566:24 9567:22 9611:7 9615:21 9637:18 firstly 9523:22 9524:4 9550:16 9553:13 9560:3 9572:20 9583:7 9592:20 9626:6 9637:8 fisiese 9589:16 9625:25 five 9545:9,11 flabbergasted 9538:6 flank 9616:10 flavour 9509:2,13 9513:15 9517:4 flee 9605:19 floated 9528:12 flowing 9552:8 flows 9567:25 fold 9557:22 follow 9514:19 9515:7 9544:4 9562:2 9592:6 followed 9541:13 9542:9 9543:1 9544:3 9558:10 following 9524:20 9532:9 9552:3 9555:3 9603:15 9604:9 follows 9539:14 9566:20 9622:20 foot 9503:21 football 9500:17 fora 9636:6 force 9511:1,16 9512:11 9513:21	9584:25 9595:12 9604:7,11,17 9605:3 9611:13 forceful 9631:15 forget 9568:7 9605:1 forgive 9600:13 9606:10 forgone 9560:21 forgot 9556:15 form 9606:23 9607:23 9619:10,14 9621:4 9622:22 9635:19 formasie 9617:6 formation 9607:21 formed 9607:13,19 9614:17 9618:5,22 9620:17,22 9621:5,14 9621:19 9622:22,25 9623:5 formeel 9509:25 forth 9639:19 forthrightly 9532:16 fortunately 9580:25 forum 9560:20 9637:25 forward 9520:22 9553:21 9596:19 foto 9616:19,21 foto's 9616:5 9625:9 found 9531:22 foundation 9527:11 9534:10 9548:22 9628:17 9635:6 9640:12 founded 9547:23 9548:5 four 9611:7 9634:15 four-day 9610:6 frenzy 9526:9 frequent 9636:15 frequently 9537:1 Friday 9523:23 9524:22,24 friend 9525:4 9526:7 9527:2,12,16 9528:25 9529:2,10 9530:15 9531:5,14 9560:23 9562:25 9564:20 9565:8 9566:17 9633:5 9634:3 9639:3 friends 9501:6 9565:4 Fritz 9504:13,25 front 9515:4 9617:21 9621:20 fruits 9563:10 fulfilled 9552:23 fully 9530:10 9548:11 function 9535:9 9574:24 9595:21 functions 9501:16 9503:1,15 fundamental 9542:8 Fundi 9636:21 further 9525:23 9528:11 9534:18 9596:23 9610:14 9624:11,23 9626:8
---	---	---	--	---

future 9533:12 9560:9 9560:13	9618:18 9622:18 9624:20 9625:13 9626:11 9629:21 9633:23	9514:9 9523:10 9537:12 9543:22 9552:20 9560:13 9572:23 9590:3 9593:7 9598:4,16 9624:22 9626:19 9636:14 9638:20 9640:19 9641:6 9642:11	group 9570:5,5,7,12,12 9570:13,19 9571:20 9572:4,7 9623:22 Groups 9572:16 grumble 9627:8 guards 9634:15 guessed 9564:23 guidance 9524:19 9525:2,6 9526:21 9532:1,4,24 9534:24 guns 9614:21	9605:8 9608:13 9639:21,22 9640:16 head 9503:1,15 9504:9 9504:11,17 9506:9,16 9511:22 9512:14,16 9513:5 9516:24 headed 9507:5,8 heading 9511:15 9512:10 9526:12 9528:18 9585:19 headline 9528:14 9553:11 headlines 9559:6 hear 9512:7 9526:13 9528:7 9532:1 9542:5 9546:16 9564:16 9572:10 9583:2,4 9631:5 9642:3 heard 9548:21 9549:2 9564:15 9572:25 9580:5 9590:23 9614:13 hearing 9546:15 9582:25 hearings 9541:3 hears 9547:22 hearsay 9525:12 9609:14,19 heartbeat 9545:21 heeltemal 9594:17 held 9542:3 9561:17 helicopter 9570:15 9572:13,15 9584:1,4 9584:7 helicopters 9584:25 helikopter 9529:8 9568:3 9583:20,21 9584:11,18,21 help 9518:16 9569:13 9608:15,17 9621:17 9635:5 Hemraj 9514:18 9523:9 9533:14 9595:2 9596:10 9599:23 9608:4 9619:21 9620:1,4,6 9620:13 9621:8 hergroepeer 9625:10 herhaal 9529:8 9583:19 herring 9614:16 hesitate 9640:14 hesitated 9570:12,13 het 9505:8 9517:19 9518:12 9521:8,18 9522:3,11 9523:1,2 9529:7,8 9568:10,19 9570:1 9583:13,13,16 9583:18,21,22 9584:17 9587:23 9590:17 9594:6,25 9610:22,23 9611:17 9611:23 9612:14 9616:2,2,25 9617:4,6 9617:24,25 9618:9,10 9618:11 9619:6
G			H	
gaan 9590:17 9594:12 9594:21 9616:3,4 gainfully 9641:5 gap 9579:4 9612:5,10 9613:13,20 9614:3,18 9614:20,20 9619:4,5 9621:20 9624:7,8 9625:20 gaping 9616:3 9618:1 9619:8 gapings 9616:4 gas 9557:2 9570:17,17 9571:14 9574:3 gatherings 9600:18 9601:12 gebeur 9594:23,25 gebeurlikheid 9589:10 9589:18,21 gebeurlikheidsplan 9589:10,15 gebou 9589:16 gebruik 9517:20 9522:3,11 9523:14 9594:13 9599:14 9611:17 9626:3 gedeelte 9583:19 gedoen 9594:8 gee 9514:3 9559:25 9590:8 geen 9619:6 gegee 9570:1 9594:7,10 gehoor 9583:14,16 geken 9517:16 geleentheid 9590:6 9591:8 gelees 9513:18 gemaak 9505:21 9509:22 9586:10 gemeenregtelike 9599:18 gemeld 9594:11 gemerk 9503:3 gemobiliseer 9517:17 Generaal 9521:5,19 9583:22 9622:12 general 9502:16 9503:20 9504:3,22 9507:2,23 9508:8,8 9513:11 9515:25 9517:9 9519:22 9521:18 9522:16 9523:9 9526:7 9527:6 9527:7 9531:19 9541:24 9543:20,25 9560:1 9563:15 9567:2,10 9569:7 9571:6 9572:21 9578:17 9580:5 9585:12 9586:12 9587:16,18 9588:18 9595:11 9604:22 9613:14 9615:23	9618:18 9622:18 9624:20 9625:13 9626:11 9629:21 9633:23 genoem 9599:12,12 genuinely 9641:19 geposisioneer 9616:12 9616:16 geraak 9599:20 gesag 9505:8 gesamentlik 9599:13 gesien 9529:8 9617:6 geskakel 9521:8 geskied 9590:19 geskryf 9589:17 gespan 9613:12 gestel 9518:12 9625:7 gesê 9523:2 9583:13 9610:22 getalle 9611:10 getalm 9568:19 getiteld 9502:25 getting 9597:23 9629:7 9633:19 getuig 9521:19 9522:11 9623:14 geval 9509:20 9590:17 9610:24 9625:6 gevalle 9610:23 gevorm 9594:6 9616:20 9617:25 gewee 9504:25 gewees 9568:2 9573:19 9583:18 9589:21 9590:17 9591:2 9623:15 9625:2 gewoonlik 9509:22 GGG 9502:9 GGG17 9529:4 9567:13 9569:2 GGG19 9502:12 9531:5 9539:24 GGG2 9518:22 GGG20 9503:6,12 9508:9 9511:25 9512:18 9513:2 9518:19 9519:2,23 GGG21 9519:15 9537:13,16 Gibson 9505:1 gist 9597:12 9628:15 give 9500:15 9510:20 9511:8,10 9518:6 9524:16 9526:5 9528:11 9530:1,4,6 9533:10,15 9539:6 9542:25 9544:7,18,20 9558:1,10 9560:16 9561:6,7 9572:8 9574:21,21 9580:12 9585:7 9593:19 9595:16 9596:8 9597:7,9 9598:3 9628:4 9637:15 9640:24 given 9502:7 9510:16	9514:9 9523:10 9537:12 9543:22 9552:20 9560:13 9572:23 9590:3 9593:7 9598:4,16 9624:22 9626:19 9636:14 9638:20 9640:19 9641:6 9642:11 giving 9551:21 9565:22 9595:17 9597:10 9622:2 glance 9503:25 gleaned 9518:19 glo 9619:7 go 9510:9 9514:23 9528:2 9536:14 9543:21 9546:10 9547:24,25 9548:1,17 9548:24 9551:15 9556:23 9557:22 9567:13 9568:7 9571:22 9575:13 9582:15,24 9585:6 9590:24,24 9600:12 9603:21 9604:6 9612:19 9614:23 9623:21 9624:23 9625:16 9631:9 9632:6 9634:1 9635:3 9639:9 goal 9604:11 God 9552:7 goed 9523:2 9573:13 goedkeuring 9586:18 goes 9561:25 9581:16 good 9502:16,17 9506:15 9546:5 9559:15 9565:13 9570:21 9571:21 9589:6 9613:17 9631:17 9635:11 9636:1 grabbed 9540:14 graced 9638:25 granate 9570:17 9573:13 great 9500:13 9501:18 9535:1 9634:12 9636:4,14,17 greatest 9557:6 9575:4 9605:17 grenades 9570:17,18 9570:18 9573:24 9581:3,4 9590:1 9595:4 9599:9 9600:9 grieving 9500:24 groep 9568:10,19,21 9569:8,22,23 9594:11 9616:3 9617:6 groeperings 9594:6 groot 9616:17 9617:6 ground 9582:8,19,21 9623:20 grounds 9532:21 9582:20	haal 9521:16 haar 9509:18 hacked 9572:12 hadn't 9587:1 9598:18 haelgeweer 9522:4 9599:15 haelgewere 9523:17 9573:13 half 9538:2 9576:12,13 9591:18 9616:12 9642:9,10,14 handed 9519:14 9529:20 9537:15 9569:1 handeling 9626:1 handelinge 9595:1 handicapped 9519:2 hands 9502:22 Hang 9542:21 happen 9530:21 9532:2 9545:7 9565:5 9631:8 9639:19 happened 9501:15,19 9523:22 9535:15 9536:23 9538:2,20 9545:7 9546:24 9560:18 9561:1 9562:13 9571:12 9572:21 9583:8 9606:25 9607:2 9608:1 9621:6 9627:22 9638:10 9640:3 9641:22 happening 9536:25 9606:20,22 9619:19 9631:2,7 happens 9526:20 9561:19 9565:3 9639:25 happy 9547:24 9563:24 9588:17 9610:4 9631:5 harass 9640:13 harbour 9559:19,19 harboured 9527:5,9 9559:17 hard 9540:3 9563:13 9563:16 9577:9 9585:17 harmony 9551:2 hasn't 9574:16 9601:15 9601:21 9630:7 haven't 9519:2 9576:18	

9623:15 9624:25 9625:2,3,4,6,7,8,10 9625:10 9626:2 hetsy 9509:18 he'll 9622:1,3 he's 9500:9 9520:16 9526:23,23 9529:19 9531:10,11 9537:5 9545:2,3 9547:9,11 9547:24 9552:3 9562:6 9563:3,20,25 9565:8,10 9566:8 9574:14 9593:17,22 9598:4,8,11 9641:15 hier 9505:20 9573:4 9594:16,22 hierdie 9594:2 9599:18 9599:20 9616:13,19 hierso 9594:22 higher 9587:21 high-risk 9513:20 9516:8 hinted 9581:24 Hm 9568:9 9569:24 hoef 9599:13 hoek 9612:15 9617:3 hold 9511:12 9525:4 9533:2 9639:1 Holdings 9532:6 holy 9550:5 hom 9594:17 home 9557:22 9587:11 honestly 9547:5 9641:19 hoor 9581:11 9582:6 9583:12,20 hope 9501:19 9528:23 9547:19 9559:15 9564:16 9577:6 9597:20 9639:22 hoped 9500:7 hopefully 9505:14 9515:4 9578:11 hostage 9511:18 9516:3 9516:8 hot 9632:2 hour 9538:3 houses 9572:18 hovering 9532:19 huge 9634:24 hugely 9634:19 hulle 9512:21 9517:16 9517:19 9521:7 9573:3 9583:21 9591:8 9594:5,12 9611:18 9616:8,9 9617:4,5 9618:10 9619:7,8 9625:7,10 9625:10 9626:2 hulleself 9573:5 hulp 9509:21 Human 9642:12 husband 9636:22 hutjie 9625:3 hy 9521:6 9583:14,22 9584:15,16	hê 9590:6 9591:8 <hr/> I idea 9631:17 idem 9513:24 9563:23 9563:25 9564:1 identification 9510:21 identified 9535:8 9635:18 iets 9517:18,20 9594:23 9599:17 illustrate 9623:17,20 illustrates 9574:13 imagined 9534:5 immediate 9505:5 immediately 9546:16 9546:24 9547:5 9548:7 9559:16 9582:8 9583:1,2,8 imminent 9596:1,3 immunity 9535:22 impact 9501:17 impels 9535:13 implemented 9585:13 9587:3 implication 9520:10 implications 9513:6 implied 9537:23 implies 9548:19 9550:19 implikasie 9508:18 9512:20 important 9501:14 9515:19,20 9525:25 9530:7 9531:11 9549:7 9629:1 9635:20,24 impression 9541:15 9575:16 9618:2,4 improper 9532:13 impute 9532:13 inasmuch 9609:18 Inaudible 9569:14 9628:1 inch 9635:7 incident 9517:13 9557:2 9572:10 9608:2 incidentally 9524:11 9537:12 inclined 9640:22 include 9538:21 9573:15 9574:8 9599:8,9 9603:20 included 9571:9 9603:6 9603:7 9627:11 includes 9517:14 9522:22 9600:4 9602:5,20 including 9603:8,17 9610:16 9626:19 incorrect 9566:15,19 incorrectly 9540:22 incurring 9579:12 indebted 9518:13 9533:7	independent 9527:10 inderdaad 9502:25 indexing 9510:19,20 indicate 9516:13 9546:17 9578:20 9587:20 9617:19 9618:14 indicated 9550:10 9577:17 9581:18,21 9581:23 9582:14 9585:11,14,20,24,24 9586:4 9588:3 9589:1 9617:9 9627:1,5 9628:11 9638:4 indien 9591:3 indink 9594:20 individuele 9573:11 industry 9500:23 inelegantly 9528:8 inform 9500:13 9525:12 9582:17 9585:25 9586:4 information 9585:15 9609:21 informed 9521:18 9609:7 9615:14 informing 9585:21 ingelig 9586:19 ingenious 9551:23 initially 9608:6 injuries 9595:13,14 9604:14 9605:4 9606:9 injury 9577:7 innocent 9597:10 innuendo 9532:14,18 input 9536:12 9538:1 inputs 9536:11 inquiry 9500:21 9525:9 inquisitorial 9525:17 9549:10,25 inserted 9579:2 insident 9594:16 insofar 9509:2 9542:24 9556:4 9627:17 9629:25 9637:20 9641:8 instance 9510:2 9534:22 9575:15 instances 9501:11 9535:16 9559:4 9565:22 instructed 9587:2 9606:23 9626:13 9638:23 instruction 9510:25 9519:14 9537:14 9545:23 9546:11,16 9547:2 9572:23 9573:1 9583:3,9 9600:16 9601:10 instructions 9518:6 9531:17 9583:5 instrument 9598:12 insults 9551:7 integrity 9550:19	9567:11 9629:12 intelligence 9587:25 9588:1,19,25 9589:7 intend 9543:23 9556:3 intended 9603:19 9629:7 9635:12 intending 9622:7 intent 9627:15 intents 9547:3 9586:24 inter 9555:5 9556:24 9596:15 interest 9580:6 9628:13 9628:14 9633:25 9634:1 interference 9501:16 interpret 9503:19 9517:23 9574:22 9631:17,18 interpretasie 9583:12 interpretasies 9625:8 interpretation 9518:15 9519:4 9547:8 9583:6 9583:25 9598:23 9604:4,20 interpreted 9546:18 9603:12 interpreter 9604:23 9628:2,4 9631:17 interpreting 9603:13 9617:22 interprets 9575:3 9604:25 interrupt 9529:24 interrupted 9633:7 intervene 9535:17 9631:23 interventions 9541:17 9632:17 intimidate 9640:13 introduction 9525:24 invariably 9541:13 9544:4 Invest 9545:13 investigation 9543:15 Investment 9532:6 invite 9540:22 invited 9541:7 invites 9544:4 involve 9518:17 involved 9525:16 9526:2 9571:14 9573:6,8 9605:23 9632:10,11 9636:3 involves 9518:18 9628:3 ipsissima 9526:8 ire 9510:15 9577:23 9579:13,25 9602:11 iron 9613:10 irrespective 9520:6 isiXhosa 9622:2 isn't 9533:10 9587:11 9600:1 9601:19 9604:23 9606:3 9609:13 9618:8 isolating 9602:25	issue 9516:3 9518:14 9518:15 9521:22 9523:12 9553:9,12 9555:24 9556:1,6,6 9556:13,14 9557:4 9572:22 9578:6,14 9580:20,24 9589:6 9590:22 9592:4 9600:4 9621:13 9623:6 9627:19,20 9630:8 9638:22 issues 9549:6 9556:15 9557:7 9576:22 9581:3 9585:4,6 9588:6 9595:25 9626:25 9628:8,9 9629:17 9634:25 9637:5 9638:5 issuing 9590:13 item 9540:1 I'd 9526:20 9530:21 9538:10 9636:19 9639:9 I'll 9503:23 9506:3 9516:21 9517:21 9520:14 9522:6 9524:16 9530:4,10 9533:8,13,18,19 9536:10 9582:20 9599:7 9600:23,24 9607:15 9608:9,12 9610:12 9612:18 9615:1 9618:4 9620:24 9633:25 I've 9502:6,13 9520:1 9524:21 9578:7 9579:21 9596:18 9605:17 9608:19 9620:24 9626:13 9630:25 9633:24 9635:8 9637:10,19 9638:20 9639:13 9640:16 9641:1,6,9 9642:1,14 <hr/> J ja 9506:20 9507:7 9508:6 9524:3 9537:17 9542:10 9544:21 9549:1 9551:4,9,11 9553:11 9554:15,16 9562:24 9569:3 9570:11 9573:5 9578:5 9580:11 9583:12 9587:5 9590:5 9591:1 9592:17,25 9593:16 9601:4 9614:2 jaar 9503:9 JELE 9568:22 9579:11 9579:19 job 9502:22 9503:12 9528:2 JOCOM 9587:1 9588:9 Joseph 9500:6 jou 9590:6
---	---	---	--	--

<p>judge 9638:23,25 9639:3</p> <p>judgmental 9636:8</p> <p>judicial 9532:18</p> <p>juis 9611:2</p> <p>jump 9582:23,23</p> <p>junior 9586:22</p> <p>jurisdiction 9509:15 9513:14</p> <p>Justice 9532:8 9540:12</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">K</p> <p>kan 9505:20 9508:15 9512:21 9513:18 9514:14,15 9521:5 9522:14,14 9523:2 9573:13,14,19,20 9583:20 9589:14 9594:20 9599:13 9616:6,23 9617:2 9623:14</p> <p>kans 9514:3</p> <p>keep 9532:3</p> <p>keer 9583:15</p> <p>Key 9506:21</p> <p>Khomanani 9500:18</p> <p>Khulekile 9500:14,16 9501:7</p> <p>Khulekile's 9500:10</p> <p>kicking 9554:20</p> <p>kill 9528:18 9552:10</p> <p>killed 9501:12,12 9527:3,8,18 9528:5 9528:17 9538:12 9552:22,23,24 9559:22,24 9595:18 9612:6</p> <p>killing 9526:10</p> <p>killings 9500:22 9501:3 9526:12 9528:15</p> <p>kind 9501:17,20 9515:11 9540:16 9541:3 9545:14 9549:24 9551:7 9575:23 9615:5 9629:22</p> <p>kinds 9590:1 9626:25 9629:18 9638:20</p> <p>klaar 9594:5</p> <p>klaarmaak 9624:25</p> <p>klein 9584:12 9612:13 9613:1 9625:3</p> <p>kliniese 9594:3</p> <p>knew 9590:10</p> <p>know 9500:20 9508:12 9511:17 9516:7 9519:4 9523:22 9524:20,23 9526:22 9529:21 9530:16 9531:24 9532:2 9549:17 9550:1 9552:22 9559:11 9562:12 9563:19 9564:25 9565:1 9567:24 9569:4 9571:3 9576:25</p>	<p>9577:13,15,23 9579:5 9579:24 9580:18 9584:19 9590:22 9593:21 9596:6 9600:3,25 9605:9,17 9612:9 9613:10 9614:19 9615:14 9618:3,23 9621:11 9622:2,4,4 9624:14 9624:15 9625:16 9628:25 9629:3 9637:10,10,13 9638:21</p> <p>knowing 9558:16</p> <p>known 9584:2 9593:19 9614:9</p> <p>knows 9597:15 9598:25 9627:15 9637:13</p> <p>Kolonel 9584:12</p> <p>kom 9594:15</p> <p>kombinasie 9625:25</p> <p>Kommissaris 9505:8 9505:23 9508:20 9509:17 9514:14 9517:7,16,19 9521:7 9523:13,16 9586:19 9587:23</p> <p>komponentshoof 9505:10 9509:20 9512:22</p> <p>konteks 9522:14 9523:7,17,18</p> <p>koppie 9553:22 9594:7</p> <p>korrek 9504:6 9508:11 9510:13 9511:6 9524:2 9573:5 9588:23</p> <p>kraal 9557:4 9570:6 9572:5,21 9581:7 9591:12,22 9595:6 9607:12 9612:8,13,14 9613:9,16,21 9616:21 9617:14,17 9618:8 9619:15 9623:23,25 9624:22</p> <p>krale 9612:13</p> <p>kry 9590:6</p> <p>kyk 9616:4 9619:7,8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <p>L 9588:13 9612:19 9624:19</p> <p>laaste 9521:15 9616:21 9625:7</p> <p>lack 9550:19</p> <p>laid 9527:10,13 9538:23 9544:19 9556:7</p> <p>language 9622:3 9635:4</p> <p>large 9635:21</p> <p>lastly 9565:8 9634:3</p> <p>late 9501:7 9530:13</p> <p>latitude 9636:14</p> <p>laughing 9554:21</p> <p>launch 9571:2,5,8</p>	<p>law 9525:10 9534:21 9538:8 9596:11 9605:18 9606:13,14</p> <p>lawyer 9538:14</p> <p>lay 9588:21</p> <p>lead 9564:23 9565:2 9604:16 9633:21</p> <p>leaders 9533:13,19 9535:9 9630:23 9639:10</p> <p>learned 9525:4 9526:7 9527:2,12,16 9528:25 9529:2,10 9530:15 9531:5,13 9560:23 9562:25 9564:20 9565:4,8 9566:17 9633:4 9634:3</p> <p>leave 9500:24 9517:21 9518:14 9519:4 9520:2 9523:20 9530:18 9546:10 9551:11 9597:11 9610:12</p> <p>led 9526:10 9575:6</p> <p>lede 9529:9 9568:19 9569:19 9570:1 9573:11 9616:18,25</p> <p>lees 9573:11 9599:18</p> <p>left 9617:15</p> <p>left-hand 9617:13,17 9618:7</p> <p>legal 9517:10 9636:20 9640:17</p> <p>legio 9522:14 9523:2</p> <p>legitimately 9629:25</p> <p>lemmetjiesdraad 9610:22</p> <p>letter 9601:10</p> <p>let's 9505:18 9506:5,14 9510:5,7 9511:20 9519:1 9521:21 9523:20 9524:3 9544:22 9545:8,14 9548:1,25 9554:2 9559:8 9560:2,3,4 9566:18 9567:13 9568:7 9574:7 9576:9 9593:1 9596:21 9611:1 9613:25 9614:23 9638:14</p> <p>let's 9573:7</p> <p>level 9510:7,8,11 9555:1 9560:22 9595:22</p> <p>Lieutenant 9521:17</p> <p>Lieutenant-Colonel 9529:5 9575:18,22 9580:23 9584:7</p> <p>Lieutenant-General 9504:4,5 9585:9</p> <p>life 9552:9,9,12 9555:23 9556:11 9559:11,23 9564:21 9595:13,14 9596:1 9604:14,16 9605:4,24 9606:5,8 9610:19</p>	<p>light 9538:17 9548:20</p> <p>lights 9536:7</p> <p>liked 9633:4</p> <p>limb 9596:2</p> <p>limit 9510:7 9579:16</p> <p>limited 9535:12 9633:22 9641:4</p> <p>line 9575:10 9581:20 9581:20 9606:24 9607:12,17,21,22,22 9607:23 9608:5 9611:6 9613:15,21 9614:17 9617:11,18 9617:21 9618:4,22,23 9619:3,3,10,13,13,14 9619:22 9620:7,15,17 9621:3,4,4,6,14,19 9622:22,25 9623:5 9624:1 9638:8,16</p> <p>lines 9533:16</p> <p>line-up 9621:10,10</p> <p>link 9546:1,23</p> <p>linked 9546:7</p> <p>links 9546:11 9616:6</p> <p>list 9503:12</p> <p>listen 9514:20 9548:5 9602:10</p> <p>listened 9633:15</p> <p>listening 9533:7 9548:16</p> <p>litigant 9532:15</p> <p>little 9626:14</p> <p>live 9522:9,21 9523:10 9528:19 9545:22 9546:12,17,23 9557:4 9573:7 9581:8 9582:2 9582:18 9583:3,9 9593:8 9595:8,9 9599:10,24 9600:5 9603:8 9604:17 9605:6</p> <p>lives 9634:20,21</p> <p>local 9510:8 9513:13</p> <p>locate 9608:3</p> <p>long 9511:11 9525:1 9543:21 9565:15 9577:13 9624:15 9633:20 9639:22,24 9640:17</p> <p>longer 9527:24 9551:8 9632:16</p> <p>longish 9580:13</p> <p>Lonmin 9500:15 9528:20 9529:19 9532:2 9556:14 9584:2,6,6 9626:22 9627:20 9628:7</p> <p>loods 9570:24</p> <p>look 9520:22 9544:22 9563:16,17 9571:12 9591:16 9612:19 9613:17 9617:7 9618:20 9623:21</p> <p>looked 9531:21</p> <p>looks 9533:12 9567:24 9578:23 9579:20</p>	<p>9617:13</p> <p>lordship 9532:8</p> <p>lose 9525:1</p> <p>loss 9595:13,14 9604:14,16 9605:4,24 9606:5,8</p> <p>lost 9634:5,5,7,14,20,21 9639:8</p> <p>lot 9524:21 9541:25 9545:14 9576:17 9578:6 9606:20 9615:4</p> <p>lots 9606:21</p> <p>loudhailer 9590:23</p> <p>loudly 9564:15</p> <p>loved 9501:6</p> <p>lowest 9533:3</p> <p>Lugmag 9584:11</p> <p>lunch 9576:9 9626:15</p> <p>lunchtime 9578:18</p> <p>luxury 9633:23</p> <p>lying 9554:20 9582:13 9612:10</p> <p>lyk 9613:12 9616:21</p> <p>lyn 9616:20,22 9617:3 9617:25 9619:1</p> <p>L203 9623:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <p>maak 9514:4</p> <p>Maandag 9521:8</p> <p>maar 9514:16 9523:1 9523:16 9573:12 9582:6 9589:3 9594:20 9599:14 9611:9 9616:6 9617:4 9617:24 9624:3 9625:9 9626:1</p> <p>maatreël 9590:18</p> <p>maatreëls 9590:7,8,16 9599:12</p> <p>Madlanga 9533:21,23 9578:15 9630:2,3,21 9630:22 9631:16,20 9632:24</p> <p>mag 9583:13</p> <p>Magidiwana 9552:19 9607:9 9620:10</p> <p>Magidiwana's 9608:5 9620:14</p> <p>magsvertoon 9611:9</p> <p>MAHLANGU 9507:6 9521:12 9569:17 9585:1 9600:6</p> <p>maintained 9629:13</p> <p>Majoor 9622:13</p> <p>Major-General 9502:17 9503:14 9507:20 9511:3 9520:6 9530:18,23 9567:2 9579:15 9584:4 9617:7</p> <p>making 9517:2 9529:11 9551:23 9563:22 9586:12 9599:2 9602:4 9629:24</p>
---	--	---	---	---

<p>9632:8 9633:1,7 malfeasance 9532:10 9532:14 9540:12,18 malice 9555:1,5 9635:12 malicious 9627:15 managed 9502:21 management 9527:22 9527:24 9600:18 9601:12 9603:16 manner 9525:3 9631:5 9632:22 March 9532:8 Marikana 9500:21 9501:15 9508:22,25 9509:12 9513:14 9517:4 9526:12 9528:15 9589:20 9610:24 9611:1,4 mark 9537:16 marked 9502:14 9568:24 9569:2 mass 9570:11,12,14 massacre 9624:9 material 9540:2,17,21 9541:7 9558:13,17 9563:13,14 mathematician 9620:20 Mathunjwa 9500:6,7 9501:9 9527:2,13,14 9527:17,18 9550:9,11 9551:20,21 9552:3,18 9552:23 9556:11 9559:16,20,22,25 9564:20 9588:19 Mathunjwa's 9550:7 matter 9501:18 9512:18 9513:1,7 9517:10 9519:3 9530:19 9536:24 9537:23 9538:7 9540:15 9541:24 9546:4 9547:7,13,25 9550:3 9555:18 9558:1 9559:2 9563:10 9565:20 9566:22 9575:21 9578:16 9583:6 9597:19 9598:5,10 9600:3 9604:3,20,22 9605:21 9611:4 9613:6 9614:8 9621:12 9626:13 9629:19 9630:24 9631:14 9637:25 9639:7 9642:2 matters 9548:10 9557:18 9558:8 Mawela 9504:3,5 9507:23 9508:8 9520:16 9521:18,19 Mbombo 9585:10,12 9586:12 mean 9516:6,7 9519:25 9522:7,9 9527:18</p>	<p>9531:19 9542:13 9552:13 9555:9 9557:3,18 9561:3 9567:21 9571:2,4 9576:20 9579:5 9596:1 9602:14,15 9604:18 9613:10 9628:21 9639:8,11 meaning 9521:23 9523:21 meaningful 9525:13 meanings 9523:4 means 9525:13 9531:17 9531:19,22 9538:19 9543:12,16 9556:21 9569:13 9570:23 9577:6 9583:7 9590:21,25 9591:5 9592:1 9602:7,11,13 9602:15,16 9603:13 9605:5 9606:1 9607:24 9609:3 9610:18 9612:1,1 9618:24 9628:14 meant 9521:25 9533:5 9548:7 9575:19 9633:11 measured 9604:12 9612:7 9613:22 measures 9590:2 9592:24 9596:18,21 9596:24 9597:10 9598:1,17,19,21 9599:8 9600:4,8,10 9600:23 9601:5,5 9602:2,3,19,20,22,22 9603:2,6,7,9,13,19,23 9603:25 9604:15 9605:2,24 9610:17 media 9590:24,24 9606:25 9607:25,25 mee 9624:25 meer 9583:21 9591:19 meet 9527:21,24 9595:20 9604:9 meeting 9500:10 9528:1 9586:7 9587:17 9588:15 9626:16 meld 9583:13,23 member 9539:7,9 members 9562:9 9569:20 9570:4,9,13 9572:9,10,11,13,16 9572:25 9573:2 9588:15 mens 9583:20 9590:5 9594:4 mense 9611:17 mentality 9527:5,9 9528:7 9564:18,19 mentioned 9522:8,22 9522:24 9551:15 9573:25 9582:10,13 mentioning 9542:18 mere 9532:9 9548:14</p>	<p>9595:15 9628:13 merely 9541:10 9641:14 merit 9528:10 9535:1 9635:10 merk 9616:7,10,15 mero 9536:21 met 9521:6 9523:18 9583:22 9584:17 9614:1 9616:7,16,24 9623:14 meter 9616:9,16 9625:6 method 9611:4 metode 9610:23 metres 9612:7,10 9613:23 9614:3,4,6 9623:9 9624:8 middle 9579:2 millimetres 9573:16,21 9574:9 min 9583:21 9591:19 mind 9513:16 9516:1 9516:13 9528:7 9586:2 9618:19 minded 9533:16 mindful 9525:9 9640:25 mine 9506:7 9634:16 mineworkers 9500:22 minimal 9595:14 minimising 9613:24 minimum 9501:16 9604:11 mining 9500:23 Minister 9585:15,25 9586:4,16 minste 9591:2 9594:9 minute 9505:25 9583:17 9586:8 9591:18,21 9594:24 9594:25 minutes 9515:1 9545:9 9545:11 9567:3 9591:19 9592:3 9595:17 9606:21 9608:3 9612:3 9620:17 9632:19 misconduct 9540:11 misfortune 9640:16 misheard 9551:18 miskien 9589:14 missed 9558:5 9595:15 9619:24 mistaken 9632:5 misunderstanding 9617:22 mix 9511:25 Mmm 9511:13 mnr 9514:3 9583:13 9625:5 mobile 9619:11 9621:2 mobilisation 9510:25 9513:5 mobilise 9508:13 9511:22 9512:2,14 9514:1 9516:24</p>	<p>mobilised 9511:16 9512:11 9517:1 mobiliseer 9512:21 mobilising 9517:12 moes 9583:18 moet 9589:15 9591:8 9594:18,18 Mokwena's 9528:1 moment 9515:9 9558:11 9599:1,5 9614:24 9631:10 Monday 9572:11 month 9564:23 9633:23 months 9575:10 moral 9532:10,14 morning 9500:3 9502:16,17 9534:3 9581:25 9588:2 9590:10 9620:25 9627:1,5 9636:23 9638:11 9642:9,11 mothers 9500:25 motivated 9555:5 Motloenya 9630:4,13 9631:6,9 motu 9536:21 mount 9570:9,25 9571:5 9572:9,23 mountain 9516:7,15,22 9527:22 9528:2 mouths 9641:14 move 9521:21 9544:11 9581:19,20,22 9593:10 9595:7 9606:17,25 9607:25 9607:25 9626:12 9631:13 moved 9560:2 9570:6 9578:8 9614:21 moves 9571:19 9572:4 moving 9519:7 9585:5 9617:17 9620:18 Mpembe 9583:22 9584:4 9587:16,18 mustn't 9503:19 9576:23 9641:13 mutual 9538:23 mutually 9538:19 9539:15 myth 9553:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <hr/> <p>n 9502:25 9503:2,3 9504:24 9505:1 9508:15,25 9509:22 9509:25 9512:20,20 9522:14 9523:2 9530:25 9583:12,19 9583:19 9589:10,10 9589:14,16,18 9590:5,16 9594:2,8,9 9594:10,17,22,22 9599:15 9601:10,10 9611:10 9612:15,15 9612:15 9613:1</p>	<p>9616:2,3,9,9,10,12,16 9616:20,22 9617:3,6 9618:1 9625:4,11,25 9625:25 nadat 9583:17 9590:17 9594:4 Naidoo 9521:5 9554:1 name 9504:21 named 9531:9,10,11 nasionale 9505:8,23 9508:20 9509:6,18 9514:14 9517:7,16,19 9586:19 nation 9552:7 9629:3 national 9504:1 9505:5 9505:13 9507:25 9508:23 9509:2,12 9510:7,8,10,24 9511:21 9512:1,14,16 9513:5,15 9516:5,14 9516:23 9517:2,3,4 9517:12 9518:2,4,17 9519:14 9520:8,15 9521:10,16 9537:14 9549:23 9550:2,4 9585:10,12,14,20,24 9586:14 9600:16 9601:10 9633:15 9635:8 NATJOC 9509:24 nature 9535:5 9574:17 9631:9 9632:23 9635:2 9638:17 necessarily 9562:17 9602:16 9632:14 9635:1 necessary 9510:16 9518:6 9578:4 9579:17 9606:13 necessitated 9573:2 nee 9508:25 9512:20 9517:7,16 9573:19 9584:11,15 need 9525:6 9532:1 9534:16 9573:2 9577:10 9579:14,20 9631:23 9633:25 9641:2 needed 9588:14 needs 9534:24 9535:15 9550:2 negate 9538:24 negated 9554:5 negates 9557:16 negatively 9629:9 negotiations 9585:22 neither 9512:16 9519:23 9532:11 9628:22 Nellie 9601:10 net 9509:23 9514:3 9521:5 9583:12,23 9586:18 9589:18 9594:20 9616:9,16,23 9617:2 9624:25 9625:11</p>
---	---	---	--	--

<p>neutral 9571:4 never 9516:13 9528:13 9551:15 9564:7,16,16 9564:22 9593:18 9603:18 9635:8,9 nevertheless 9600:22 9627:19 9638:21 new 9511:10 9537:11 news 9526:11 newspapers 9525:13 9528:12 News24 9526:11 9528:14 Ngalwana 9607:14 nie 9505:22,23 9513:10 9513:10,18,19 9514:15 9517:7,8,16 9517:18,20,20 9518:23,23 9522:12 9522:12 9523:1,2 9573:11,12,12,13,19 9573:20,20,21 9582:6 9582:6 9583:13,15 9584:16,16 9586:18 9586:18 9588:9,10 9589:2,3,10,10 9591:3,3 9594:3,3,12 9594:12,21,22,23,24 9594:25 9599:13,14 9599:20,20,21,22 9610:22,23 9611:17 9611:17 9616:2,4,20 9617:2,4 9619:7 9622:3 9625:3,3 niks 9594:25 NIU 9504:9,11,14 9505:4,20 9507:5,7,8 9507:25 9509:11 9510:6 nodig 9517:7 nog 9501:21 9519:17 9567:6 9577:3 9594:6 9622:13 nommer 9591:21 nonsense 9593:10 noodweer 9599:19,22 noodwendig 9586:18 9599:14 noordelike 9616:12 normal 9637:19 normale 9590:5 normalise 9601:6 9602:3 North 9509:3 northern 9623:25 note 9642:8 notes 9633:1 notice 9620:11 notion 9545:25 Notwithstanding 9511:20 9516:4,12 nou 9594:2,5,16,21,22 9594:22 9612:12 9616:13 9625:9 nou-nou 9624:25 no-one 9598:25</p>	<p>Nugent 9532:9 9540:12 NUM 9588:6,15 9631:25 9636:19 number 9500:18 9502:8 9506:9,16 9507:8,11 9537:13 9541:5 9579:22 9617:8 9632:10,11 9636:1 9640:3 numbered 9506:24 Nyala 9569:20 9570:1,4 9570:14 9591:11,21 9594:16 9607:10,16 9608:1,2 9620:12 9623:22 9624:5,7,16 9624:16,22 9625:2,3 9625:21 Nyalas 9570:6 9582:10 9591:3 9594:5 9611:7 9611:21 9616:7,8,11 9616:15,16</p> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p>oath 9522:17 object 9524:22 9526:21 9534:25 9565:3,3 9627:24 9631:23 9640:1 objected 9524:21 9528:23,24 9631:25 9632:10,10 9633:10 9635:9 objecting 9524:24,24 9541:14 objection 9535:21 9536:1 9538:1 9541:4 9541:21 9542:19,21 9544:23 9556:20 9591:15 9596:5,5 9598:13 9635:10 9638:18,19 9640:21 objectionable 9535:17 objections 9628:16,18 9630:15,17 9632:4,17 9632:18,20 9633:11 9635:19,21 9636:5,15 9638:11 9640:1,3,6,7 9640:8,12 9641:5 objects 9600:19 obligation 9596:7,11,15 9597:1,13,18 9605:11 9606:3,12 obliged 9520:4 observation 9631:2 observations 9632:21 obtains 9595:21 obviously 9509:14 9535:3,12 9536:1 9567:4 9578:20 9582:20 9592:14 9607:16,19 9615:6 9627:24 9641:13 occasion 9581:1 occasional 9636:15 occasions 9541:5 occurred 9557:2</p>	<p>9571:15 October 9529:13 9555:25 offensiewe 9590:8,16 9594:13 9599:12 offensive 9571:3,5,9,14 9572:24 9596:21 9597:10 9598:17,18 9598:21 9599:8 9600:4,10,23 9601:4 9602:2,20 9603:9,13 9603:19,23 9604:10 9604:15 9605:1,23 offered 9556:18 officer 9532:7 9539:6 officers 9528:20 9545:19 official 9603:1 oggend 9568:3,3 Oh 9570:2 9577:21 9584:20 okay 9503:10,20 9505:24 9507:19 9510:2 9512:9 9517:9 9517:21 9521:1 9522:6 9523:20 9524:3 9539:13 9542:16 9544:21 9550:24 9569:6 9576:1 9579:9 9580:11 9585:2 9587:9,13 9589:5,11 9589:23 9590:20 9592:8 9599:6 9600:13 9602:17 9606:19 9607:7 9608:23 9609:23 9610:11 9612:17,23 9615:3 9619:20 9624:14,20 9625:13 9625:13 om 9509:23,25 9514:3 9517:19 9522:12 9530:24 9570:24 9573:3,5 9589:20,21 9590:7 9594:21,23 9611:2,10,17,18,18 9619:7 9625:10 9626:2 omdat 9618:1 omgee 9530:24 omstandighede 9523:16 omtrent 9583:17 omvattend 9518:22,23 once 9505:15 9511:24 9513:3 9514:1 9516:25 9519:3 9533:13 9551:6 9552:1 9553:12 9556:1 9557:4 9559:3 9566:4,11 9575:22 9582:3 9623:9 9627:14 9628:10 9631:19 9638:17,22 onder 9501:21 9514:15</p>	<p>9519:18 9567:6 9577:3 9622:13 ondersteuning 9509:6 ones 9501:6 9513:4 9552:14 9580:17 ongeveer 9568:20 ons 9584:17 9594:2 9611:17,17 9616:4,19 9616:20 9617:25 9625:8 onthou 9505:20 9521:6 9583:16 9588:9 ontmoedig 9611:3,11 9611:18 ontplooi 9508:16 9594:5 9611:2,18 9616:8,19 ontplooiing 9509:25 9521:20 9590:7 9611:10 ontruiming 9589:15,17 9589:19 onttrek 9584:18 onvermydelik 9575:8 9575:11 9608:20 9609:2 ook 9505:9 9508:17,20 9509:6 9512:21,22,23 9517:19 9521:5 9523:15,16 9573:13 9573:14 9583:19 9591:8 9611:9,24 9612:25 9616:10,11 9617:24 9618:10 9626:1 ooggebly 9625:6 oorgedra 9616:23,23 9625:9 oostelike 9625:4 op 9504:24 9508:15 9518:12 9521:8,14 9523:15 9524:1 9568:3 9583:13,19 9584:20 9594:6,15 9599:16 9617:1,24 9625:11 opblaas 9616:19 opdrag 9529:7 9570:1 open 9637:25 9639:16 Openbare 9509:21 9616:14 opened 9545:22 opening 9529:14 9545:17 9553:13,15 9555:3,6,9 9557:16 9565:9,11,13 9617:16 9635:4 openly 9532:15,22 9642:3 openness 9639:19 operasie 9508:25 Operasionele 9509:19 operate 9542:5 operation 9508:23,23 9509:12 9511:23 9513:15,20 9516:25</p>	<p>9517:3 9518:25 9570:9 9571:1,5 9572:9 9586:14 9604:13 operational 9505:22 9507:22 9512:23 9521:17 9585:23 9600:21 operations 9503:1,16 9504:18 9506:10,17 9516:8 9518:24 9603:16 opgestyg 9583:22 opgevorm 9618:11 opportunity 9500:21 9530:1 9532:17 9535:4 9536:3 9558:2 9558:16 9591:6 9592:2 9595:15 9597:11 9605:5 9606:1 9612:1 9626:20 9628:5 9639:21,23,23 9640:25 oproep 9509:22 optimistically 9578:17 optrede 9508:25 optree 9529:9 Orde 9509:21 9616:14 order 9500:8 9525:14 9531:13 9534:24 9539:7,10 9562:15 9564:10 9569:20 9570:4,4,9 9571:22 9572:9,15 9581:2,3 9586:24 9590:5 9597:3 9599:16,20 9600:17 9601:11 9602:13,14,18 9603:18 9635:21 9640:13 ordered 9531:7 orderly 9564:10 orders 9528:18,18,21 9557:10,11,12 9600:11 9604:23 organisasion 9579:12 organisatoriese 9503:2 organiser 9500:15 origin 9597:1,17 ORS 9504:2 Oryx 9584:1,8,8,11 ouditorium 9530:24 outcome 9629:4,10,20 outside 9509:3,14 9636:24 overheard 9523:24 overnight 9642:13 overriding 9518:9 9525:15 overruled 9536:21 9634:25 oversimplification 9634:10 Oxford 9531:21</p>
---	---	--	---	--

P				
<p>paar 9616:9,16 paces 9613:23 page 9502:5 9506:8,9 9506:10,12,13,16,16 9506:17,18,18,19 9507:2,4,15,15,18,18 9510:18 9527:15 9545:18 9546:13 9563:16 9567:20,22 9568:11 9585:17 9601:7,9 pages 9506:25 9581:15 9636:4 paginate 9506:3 pagination 9507:2 9510:18 9511:10 painting 9516:22 panga 9582:12,12 para 9568:4 paragraaf 9513:19 9514:14 9521:15 9583:15 9599:17 paragraph 9511:21 9516:5 9529:6,14 9531:6,6,9,10,11 9539:24 9546:11 9556:25 9567:15,17 9567:20,20,25,25 9568:8,12,17 9571:11 9571:13 9576:8 9582:23,24,24 9585:18 9597:2,3,9 9598:15 9599:2 9602:21 9603:14 parallel 9625:4 paraphrase 9589:24 9628:3 paraphrasing 9540:22 parlance 9531:18 part 9520:21 9535:13 9540:2 9568:7 9586:8 9596:11 9601:23 9628:15 9635:20 9636:10 participants 9596:16 9641:24 particular 9501:11 9506:3 9520:16 9523:22 9533:11 9535:21 9543:7 9550:1 9561:19 9563:17 9595:23 9600:21 9610:20 9621:10 9627:9 9638:13 particularly 9525:16 9525:24 9531:10 9534:15 9537:1 9624:15 parties 9525:16,19 9526:1,2 9532:24 9535:6,20 9536:5 9540:19 9541:18 9551:2 9555:25</p>	<p>9565:6 9626:19 9628:12,14,24 9629:11 9632:11,25 9634:11 9636:5,11 9639:16,25 9640:6,7 9640:24 9641:3 partisan 9630:24 partly 9606:4 party 9533:3 9541:16 9541:19 9627:20,24 9628:7,22 9629:8,9 party's 9558:15 passage 9531:4 9543:12 9585:18 9586:2 9587:7,14 passages 9550:14 paths 9615:5 patrolling 9602:25 pay 9552:11 people 9504:9,10 9505:3,12 9509:13 9510:9 9512:12 9513:8 9518:7 9527:17 9529:19 9531:7,20 9536:19 9538:12 9552:4,21 9557:8 9559:18,22,24 9570:8 9576:17 9581:6,21,23 9582:10 9587:1 9588:4,20 9590:11 9595:18 9602:24,25 9604:14 9605:2,4,5 9606:2,23 9607:22,24 9609:19 9611:5,14 9612:5,9 9614:19 9619:4 9621:2,19,20 9622:21 9622:25 9623:1,3,5 9624:13,22 9626:16 9629:4 9630:23 9634:15 9636:22 9637:12 9639:8 9641:17 perceive 9626:18,24 9628:16 9640:11 perceived 9627:17 percent 9608:10 perception 9630:5,6,11 9630:19 9633:17,18 9638:15 9639:1 9642:4 perceptions 9629:23 9631:11 9633:17 9639:17 9642:7,8 perform 9535:9 9582:11 performance 9503:9 9506:21 period 9606:25 9607:3 9607:5 9620:22,22 peripheral 9587:11 permission 9577:16 perplexed 9537:4 persist 9605:13 person 9510:9 9532:16 9546:22 9551:13</p>	<p>9552:9,10 9556:12 9559:11,23 9564:22 9586:22 9632:3 persone 9617:6 personel 9509:24 persons 9509:3 9535:7 9537:25 person's 9552:12 persoon 9522:13 persuade 9552:4 pertinent 9508:16 9513:19 9518:22 9521:15 9535:21 9537:21 pertinente 9505:22 9589:18 9594:25 pertinently 9541:20 9626:21 phase 9585:22 Phiyega 9508:8 9578:17 Photo 9570:12 9572:5 photograph 9572:16 9617:13 phrase 9564:21 9624:18 phrases 9523:11 picture 9591:16 9618:21,21 9620:8 9621:1 pictures 9613:20 9619:11,11 9621:2 9623:5 Pillay 9502:10,12 9503:6 9507:9 9519:16 9600:25 9601:1,14 Pillay's 9507:15 plaasgevind 9612:14 plaasvind 9589:16,18 9589:19 9590:17 place 9532:9,11 9542:19 9544:24 9563:2,4 9617:9,20 9619:15 9620:11 9621:13 9638:15 placed 9552:2,3 9615:9 plakkershut 9613:1 plan 9585:13,23 9589:8 9589:16 9590:12 9594:20 9599:25 planned 9625:23 planting 9554:23 platform 9572:1 platoon 9596:20 play 9578:20 9623:17 played 9623:19 playing 9535:19 9620:25 plea 9562:21 plead 9500:22 9520:5 pleading 9535:12 pleadings 9525:11 please 9501:7,7 9504:22 9531:2 9545:8 9551:10</p>	<p>9560:2,18 9561:23 9564:6 9589:11 9605:14 pleased 9639:15 9642:1 9642:3 plus 9594:9 plus-minus 9612:4,10 point 9515:2,25 9516:21,23 9517:1 9518:1,6 9520:12,12 9533:22 9536:6 9537:2 9540:4 9543:22 9544:3,7,11 9544:12 9545:12,16 9545:16 9547:17,17 9548:6 9550:3 9551:22 9553:18 9559:1,2 9561:5 9562:4 9563:6,23 9566:24 9574:13 9575:2,16 9586:6,13 9587:10,15 9596:19 9598:17 9599:1 9608:15,17 9609:14 9609:16,18 9610:13 9611:3 9612:24 9615:21,23 9618:18 9620:9,18 9623:20 9627:4 9632:2,6,8 9634:18 9635:3 9636:8 9639:2,15 9640:25 pointed 9502:6 9509:11 9534:6 9541:16 pointing 9598:8,11 9629:24 points 9520:18 9533:14 9541:20 9544:2 9545:5 9550:8 9560:10,15,24 9563:12 9609:25 9639:4 police 9525:5 9527:3,7 9528:2,16 9531:18 9538:12 9539:17 9540:3 9545:18 9552:6 9553:21 9554:3,18 9555:4 9561:5 9563:13 9572:6,11 9585:17,25 9586:5 9588:22 9589:7 9590:21 9591:9 9593:19 9595:12,17,21,24 9596:8,12 9599:1 9604:9 9605:3,20 9607:17 9609:6,8 9610:8 9611:5,6 9614:9,16 9615:6 9618:22 9619:22 9620:7 9624:1 9625:17 9626:24 9628:9 9639:7 9641:23 policeman 9529:5 9547:9</p>	<p>policemen 9526:10 9554:19 9617:21 9621:9 police's 9546:8 9561:1 9562:2 policing 9518:24 9595:23 9600:17 9601:11 polisie 9616:2 9626:1 polisielede 9617:3 polisielyn 9594:15 9611:2 9616:25 9625:12 polisietaal 9522:12 Polisiëring 9509:21 9616:15 portion 9619:25 pos 9504:24 pose 9526:15 posise 9591:21 9625:11 position 9617:11 positioned 9615:10 possession 9587:14 possibility 9573:23 possible 9523:11 9629:17 9641:21 possibly 9520:19 9541:17 9601:3 potensieel 9522:4 9573:14 9591:25 potensieë 9522:14 9523:2 potential 9501:12 potentially 9526:1 poverty 9501:1 power 9508:7,13 9512:13 9513:4 9579:16 9629:5 PowerPoint 9507:10 powers 9502:23 9505:14,16,17 9508:9 9537:6,23 praat 9594:18 practical 9622:8 practically 9570:14 practice 9536:23 9540:15 9541:12 9543:1 9544:3 9636:1 practices 9542:9 practitioner 9627:2 praises 9627:7 prayers 9500:19 precision 9518:14 precocious 9636:7 predetermine 9629:10 preface 9550:6 preferable 9611:14 prejudiced 9629:9 prejudicial 9532:17 preliminary 9515:11 premise 9542:8 9599:3 prepared 9522:8 9537:22 9545:8,11 9589:1 9590:11 9606:4 9607:2</p>

<p>9610:25 9613:23 preposisioneer 9589:22 prescripts 9525:21 9595:13 presence 9586:8 present 9535:7 9626:20 9636:25 presentation 9507:10 presently 9500:9 president 9500:6 presies 9518:12 9583:15 presumably 9516:15 Pretoria 9526:9 Pretorius 9510:19 9511:9 prevent 9530:12 prevented 9611:6 9624:13 previous 9568:7,17 9569:19 previously 9520:1 prima 9516:16 primary 9505:17 9508:7 9513:3 9610:18 primère 9610:23 principle 9525:15,24 9561:25 9562:1 principles 9542:3 9561:16 9565:21 prioritise 9507:23 prioritised 9554:3 private 9538:21 9539:8 9539:19 9553:23 9554:13 9562:20,21 9562:21 privately 9630:9 privy 9515:8 proactive 9602:22 probably 9586:15,21 9613:4,5,7,8 9618:23 9627:6 probe 9525:5 9538:16 9557:15 9561:4,5 9563:1,3,4 9565:9,14 probed 9563:5 probeer 9594:2 probing 9525:4 9552:24 9557:7,20,24 9558:7 9560:1 problem 9515:15 9530:17 9540:7 9564:24 9567:1 9576:16 9603:12 9621:25 problems 9637:12 procedural 9526:4 9558:1 procedure 9558:9,9 proceed 9502:3,19 9515:23 9531:3 9543:19 9544:10 9553:3 9560:18 9561:23 9576:19 9625:23 9640:5</p>	<p>proceeding 9534:22 9549:10 9626:8 proceedings 9500:1 9542:19 9630:25 9632:23 9635:13 9636:18 9640:17 9641:7 proceeds 9525:17 9597:20 process 9525:15,21 9526:3 9532:5,18,20 9535:12,13 9549:8 9550:1 9619:14 9628:25 9629:6,12 9631:3,8,10 9632:21 9635:2,20,22 9637:20 9642:1 produced 9554:22 produce 9618:23 profession 9637:11 professionals 9628:23 9635:11 profile 9612:24 9613:18 profoundly 9501:19 prohibited 9603:15,17 9603:22 9605:25 projected 9546:2 9578:19 promise 9560:23 9566:4 9579:23 prompted 9553:22 proper 9510:20 9534:16 9578:14 9628:19 properly 9595:24 9639:7 property 9602:24 9604:13 9610:19 prophecy 9552:22 proportionality 9605:19 propose 9503:15 9550:22 9565:21 9566:21 9609:22 proposition 9526:22 9533:6 9534:6 9540:10 9541:24 9542:14,22,23 9544:18 9546:7 9561:8 9562:3 9563:2 9563:5,15,15,21 9564:8,24 9565:12 9574:16 9605:10 9623:2 propositions 9534:9,17 9535:17 9564:25 9565:10 9608:20 prosedure 9509:17 protagonist 9526:18 Protea 9583:19 protect 9570:10 9573:8 9602:23 9633:14 9634:10 protected 9550:2 protection 9588:15</p>	<p>protesaksie 9590:6 protested 9635:9 protesters 9524:5 9527:4,8 9528:17 9588:13 9623:24 9624:6 9625:15 protesting 9524:6 protestor 9545:22 protestors 9545:22 proved 9555:9 provide 9541:7,9 province 9508:1 9509:3 9510:10 provinces 9507:24 9509:13 Provincial 9509:15 9520:16 9521:9,11,13 9527:19,20 9542:1 9585:19 9587:2,17,19 9587:20 provinsiale 9508:25 9509:17 9521:7 9587:23 provinsie 9509:23,23 9510:1 provinsies 9509:7 provision 9590:13 public 9600:17,18 9601:11,12 publieke 9591:1 punt 9514:4 9617:24 9625:5 purely 9549:25 9595:21 purpose 9502:25 9503:15 9506:10,17 9565:24 9586:11 9604:10 purposes 9507:9 9510:4 9547:3 9586:24 9596:22 9600:11 pursuant 9557:10,12 push-back 9602:5 put 9504:10 9517:24 9519:1 9522:20 9526:22,24,25 9527:1 9528:8 9532:25 9533:6 9534:9 9535:18 9537:7,8,20 9540:12 9541:6 9542:15 9543:10,10 9544:6 9545:8 9546:1 9546:7,20 9550:8 9552:11 9554:3 9555:24,25 9559:7,7 9560:2 9561:3 9562:3 9562:5,7 9563:1,5,14 9563:19 9564:7,18,24 9564:25 9565:10,11 9565:15 9566:24,25 9573:7 9575:22 9576:6 9587:8,21 9588:5 9590:20 9605:10 9607:8 9609:20 9614:11</p>	<p>9618:19 9619:19 9622:19 9623:1,2 9630:5,18 9634:10 9636:21 9640:25 9641:13 putting 9516:17 9551:16 9552:17 9561:7 9575:1,2 9595:3,10 9608:20 puzzled 9592:10 pyrotechnics 9602:4</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Q</p> <p>quarrel 9541:12,23 9542:11,13,18 quasi 9549:19,21 9550:3,4 9637:20 query 9596:6 9605:9 9614:14 question 9510:3,5 9520:4 9531:15 9535:21,22,24 9536:17,21 9538:15 9538:15,18 9547:8 9551:16 9554:7 9561:9 9566:25 9569:8 9572:19 9580:16 9596:9 9599:7 9600:20 9602:8 9603:11 9605:14 9607:8 9608:11 9615:13,15 9615:25 9621:23 9622:1,24 9624:15 9637:16 9640:5 questioner 9633:21 questioning 9633:15 questions 9514:24 9533:11,12 9537:19 9549:12 9565:18 9567:12 9572:2 9592:10 9606:7 9618:18 9622:16 9633:21,22 9635:9 9639:25 9640:4 quick 9503:24 quickly 9506:6 quiet 9532:3 quite 9503:13 9516:21 9525:2 9534:21 9536:17 9547:24 9569:12 9580:9 9592:5 quote 9526:7 9532:4 9582:24 quoting 9582:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">R</p> <p>R 9601:19,19 raise 9535:20 9536:1 9575:24 9623:7 9627:16,19 9629:18 9638:22 9639:2 raised 9541:4,5,20 9544:3 9560:22 9575:23 9600:20</p>	<p>9627:23 9629:17,19 9630:7 9632:4,7 9636:5 9637:25 9638:1,3,22 9639:15 9640:3,7 raises 9549:6 ran 9572:17 9621:13 ranges 9601:6 9602:3 rangorde 9514:17 rank 9529:4 ranks 9636:25 rapporteer 9504:14 ratified 9520:10 reach 9615:17 reached 9585:22 reaching 9526:2 reaction 9596:20 reactive 9601:5 9602:2 read 9500:7,8,11 9505:15 9510:15 9511:17,19 9516:2,12 9519:2,3 9529:14 9545:17 9550:14 9553:24 9554:2 9567:18 9568:13 9569:7 9570:21 9579:23 9580:24 9586:4 9596:22 9597:6 9600:15,22,24 9605:17 9610:17 9613:19 9638:12 readiness 9597:7 reading 9511:9 9519:23 9525:13 9548:15 9568:16 9569:25 9597:8 9600:1 reads 9569:17 ready 9595:20 9614:18 Reaksie 9509:19 real 9518:15 realised 9572:13 really 9514:22 9533:10 9547:18 9560:21 9561:21 9574:22 9577:19 9586:6 9603:24 9604:24 9606:11 9613:6 9621:17 9623:6 9624:10 9635:16 9637:15 9638:7 reason 9511:22 9516:14,15,16,22 9517:1,13 9526:8 9529:2,10,12,13,17 9535:20 9538:13,23 9544:18 9552:21,25 9554:4 9576:19 9610:4 9629:1 reasonably 9639:1 reasons 9529:1 9531:12 9552:21 9554:12 reasserts 9635:5 recall 9541:2 9631:23 receivable 9606:15 received 9587:25</p>
---	---	--	--	--

<p>receiving 9537:2 recollection 9608:7,14 9633:10 Reconciliation 9542:2 record 9507:10 9519:22 9527:15 9536:14,24 9550:10 9551:15 9566:19 9609:1,4 9630:5,18 9636:21 9638:13 records 9636:3 recover 9634:9 recuse 9638:24 red 9536:7 9614:16 9617:10 rede 9514:15 9619:7 redes 9517:17 reeds 9617:25 9626:2 refer 9506:25 9540:17 9582:1 9602:22 9621:9 reference 9515:18 9535:8 9536:17 9585:9 9608:4,7 references 9536:18 referred 9501:25 9507:6 9515:20 9565:13 9569:1 9576:6 9582:18 9583:25 9584:3 9612:18 9618:20 9619:3,25 referring 9507:2,5,12 9508:2 9514:10 9524:5 9567:16 9585:16 9592:15,19 9601:8 refers 9556:6 9581:1 9582:2 9601:5 9602:2 reflect 9550:11 refraining 9575:20 refuse 9545:25 reg 9508:5 9517:19 9582:5 9584:23 9587:23 9591:7 9612:13,22 9619:1 regard 9535:19 9575:19 9629:13 9632:8 regarded 9592:23 regarding 9626:18 9628:7 9631:23 regional 9500:14 regrouped 9571:20 9572:5 regs 9617:3 regtig 9594:2 regulate 9525:21 regulation 9596:12,15 9600:17,21 9601:11 regulations 9589:25 9595:23 9605:25 9606:4,9 9610:16 related 9513:20 relates 9556:5,5 9581:7 9631:14</p>	<p>relation 9533:22 9534:15 9541:11 9560:11 9580:19 9587:16 9608:15,17 9634:24 relayed 9585:15 released 9624:13 releasing 9623:23 9624:11 relevance 9538:14 relevant 9532:5 9533:10 9575:17,17 9578:14 9604:24 9635:23 relevante 9503:3 reliable 9570:22 relied 9540:21 9551:13 9562:17 9563:19,20 relies 9531:5 rely 9539:23 9558:13 9597:1 9605:11 relying 9551:20,24 9579:23 remarked 9581:19 9626:15 remarks 9536:2 9585:19 9586:7,12,13 remember 9513:12 9523:23 9524:5 9527:10 9567:18 9575:5 9580:2 9582:11,12 9586:25 9587:6,8 9607:8 9629:19 9632:1 9633:9 remind 9508:2 reminded 9527:25 reminds 9629:1 reneged 9527:23 repeat 9537:10 9578:4 9610:11 9615:24 repeated 9546:15 9552:19 9572:14,24 9581:2 9582:25 repetitions 9501:20 replied 9533:14 reply 9530:5 9533:18 9536:7 9558:2,11,22 9560:7,8,16,21 report 9504:1,2 9526:11 9527:21 9587:18 reported 9532:7 9585:10 repositories 9508:7 9513:4 represent 9626:16 9634:11 9639:10,11 representatives 9535:7 9536:5 9626:21 9632:25 9642:4 represented 9617:19 represents 9636:20,20 9639:9 request 9509:10 9513:13 9541:11</p>	<p>9578:16 9620:25 requested 9626:17 requesting 9510:9 required 9513:22 9601:5 9602:3 requirement 9561:12 9593:19,22 9595:22 9596:2 9605:18 requirements 9589:24 9604:9 reserve 9596:20 resist 9588:21 9631:21 resistance 9590:11 respect 9502:23 9519:24 9529:15 9531:12 9535:2,14,17 9540:20 9557:7 9560:15 9565:2 9575:2,5,17 9581:14 9582:7 9604:5 9605:17 9622:6 9629:4 9633:16 9634:12 9636:11,17 respond 9532:17 9540:20 9620:24 responding 9602:4 response 9505:22 9507:22 9512:23 9521:17 9596:9 9622:18 responses 9535:4 responsible 9500:20 9596:21 9622:12 rest 9633:21 resting 9596:8 restrict 9628:18,21 restricted 9603:15 rests 9544:6 result 9561:3 9580:10 9589:7 9596:24 9610:5 9626:7 9638:12 9641:22 9642:1 results 9604:12 resume 9576:12 resumes 9500:2 9519:12,13 9576:14 9622:10,11 retreat 9572:8 revealed 9588:1,6 revenge 9526:12 9528:15 9553:12,12 9554:7 9555:5 9556:6 9565:13 revisit 9556:3 re-emerged 9607:11,18 re-emerging 9591:11 re-examination 9578:3 9578:6 9608:11 rhetorically 9532:25 rifles 9573:17,25 9611:15 9614:17 right 9502:19 9504:19 9512:12 9516:21 9521:21 9549:20 9555:7 9559:25</p>	<p>9560:21 9571:18 9593:23,24 9602:17 9604:19 9608:15 9609:13 9613:2,9 9618:8 9639:18 rights 9628:23 9642:12 righting 9523:15 9611:18 9616:12 9617:5 9619:7 9625:4 risk 9542:8 9579:12 RKE 9568:4 9584:21 road 9607:10 9625:16 roadblock 9516:22 roadblocks 9516:7,15 Robinson 9584:12,16 9584:21,23 role 9535:19 roof 9617:15 rotasie 9504:24 round 9580:14 9615:20 9615:22 9618:18 route 9624:17 9625:22 9625:23 row 9636:9 RPB 9584:18 rubber 9522:4,5 9574:3 9594:14 9595:4 9626:2 rule 9540:15 9589:25 9597:18 ruled 9561:10,11 rules 9525:10 ruling 9524:17 9533:10 9541:11 9542:25 9543:2,24,25 9544:7 9544:18,20 9545:2 9559:2 9560:9,12,13 9563:7 9565:22 9627:9 9629:15 9640:19,20 rulings 9635:10 9641:6 rumours 9559:17 running 9621:9,12,13 rush 9619:13 rushed 9553:21 rushing 9607:21 9621:2 ry 9616:9 Ryland's 9554:10 R44 9568:4 9584:12,21 R5 9573:16,21 R5s 9574:8</p>	<p>9521:6 9522:13 9523:14,14,17,18 9530:24 9573:11,12 9589:15,18,19 9594:7 9594:7 9616:7,9,12 9616:15,20 salaries 9552:11 SAPS 9510:17 9511:9 9584:25 9602:2 9630:15 9633:8,14 9634:22 sat 9500:17 Saturday 9500:17 save 9580:6 9610:4 9611:20 9629:2 saw 9572:15 9608:6 saying 9505:11 9508:6 9512:17 9513:2 9516:1,3 9521:2 9525:7 9528:1 9537:5 9541:1 9554:17 9556:3,17 9557:19 9571:7 9574:14 9581:8 9587:1 9595:11,11,12 9597:5 9597:12,15 9605:22 9606:11 9607:22 9609:5 9610:10 9614:2 9620:16,23 9621:3 9628:21 9631:22 9637:9 9638:8 9641:16 says 9503:22 9507:21 9511:14,15,17,20 9512:4,10 9516:4,13 9529:21 9534:23 9537:5,10,10 9538:22 9540:11,15 9545:18 9546:12,24 9547:4 9551:13 9552:18 9559:22 9560:25 9564:20 9565:8 9566:9,15 9571:12,20 9572:22 9574:20 9582:24 9583:4 9584:17,20 9586:22 9596:16,19 9597:7 9598:7 9600:6 9601:4 9602:1,21 9603:14 9604:7,24 9606:5 9608:5 9619:13 9623:22 9634:3 SC 9516:10 9524:7,18 9524:25 9530:15 9531:4 9533:23 9534:1,13 9560:20 9561:14,24 9562:8,11 9562:14,18,23,25 9563:24 9564:5,13 9569:14 9574:12 9592:5 9593:18 9595:19 9597:25 9598:8,11 9603:10 9607:4 9608:25 9609:4 9614:7 9619:17 9630:22</p>
---	---	---	---	--

<p>9631:20 9633:3 9634:17,22 9635:16 SCA 9542:1,3 scene 9572:18 9581:17 school 9516:23 scientific 9612:7 score 9633:10 Scott 9554:1 scratch 9555:14 se 9517:7 9521:5 9529:7 9617:24 search 9602:5 second 9506:9,16 9507:21 9527:1 9529:12,12 9569:5 9582:7 9585:18 9597:8,9 9598:16 9628:15 9636:9 9637:24 secondly 9533:2 9547:18 9607:20 seconds 9591:10,16 9620:17 section 9504:8,11,17 9507:3 9511:8,11,11 9511:15,16,19,22 9512:14,16 9513:5 9515:12,17,17,18 9516:24 9517:2 9596:20 9597:2 9600:23 security 9584:1,6 9634:15 see 9500:3 9501:7 9503:21 9508:2 9516:12 9531:9 9536:6 9538:14 9546:14 9552:8 9560:16 9561:5 9563:17 9565:24 9575:2 9576:16 9601:19 9610:12 9612:20,23 9613:2,19 9617:8,9,14 9618:22 9618:24 9619:12 9620:6 9621:2 9623:4 9624:1 9625:14 9633:1 9639:24 Seeing 9503:18 seek 9635:21 seeks 9543:25 seen 9570:15 9572:7 9620:16 9627:14 9635:7 9636:4,5,10 seizure 9602:5 seker 9616:5,19 sekerlik 9583:17 seksiehoof 9504:13 9508:18 9512:22 seksies 9504:14 self 9523:1 9539:17,19 9545:16 9553:23 9554:12 9557:8 9573:3 9594:18 selfs 9508:15 9594:16 9594:23</p>	<p>selfverdediging 9599:19,22 self-defence 9528:21 9529:15 9538:7,12,20 9557:17 9575:7 9593:20 9595:25 9596:11 9609:6,9 self-deployment 9520:1 semantic 9605:23 Semenya 9516:10 9524:7,13,15 9533:20 9533:25 9534:1 9536:8 9537:4,19 9541:4 9574:10,11,12 9574:20 9575:6 9578:15 9591:16 9592:5 9593:5,15,18 9595:19 9596:6 9597:14,25 9598:8,11 9599:2 9600:19 9601:2 9603:10 9605:9,13 9607:4 9608:25 9609:4 9610:7 9614:7 9615:13 9619:17 9634:22 9635:14 Semenya's 9538:1 9605:9 9606:7 9620:24 semi 9611:14 semi-automatic 9573:17 senior 9586:23,23 sense 9535:11 9540:2 9549:11 9595:22 9596:12 9606:7,8 9614:9 9629:7,10 9639:11 sensibly 9604:21 sensitive 9525:6 sentence 9510:15 9524:4,4 9569:19 sentences 9568:17,18 9569:12 9571:23 sentiments 9534:14 separate 9606:8 sequence 9571:12 9572:20 sequenced 9580:25 sequentially 9571:14 series 9640:12 serious 9540:11 9544:5 9558:12 9564:2 9627:16 seriously 9525:3 service 9506:2 9539:7 9539:10 9545:20 9562:10 Services 9505:22 9507:23 9512:24 9521:17 ses 9594:5 9616:7,16 set 9597:1 settlement 9625:16,17 seven 9568:8 9571:23 sewe-uur 9568:2,3</p>	<p>shack 9612:20 9613:3,6 shacks 9572:17 Shaft 9500:18 share 9627:22 9630:19 shared 9627:6,7 9630:6 sharing 9627:12 sharp 9574:5,7,8 9603:16,22,23 sharp-point 9531:20 shed 9613:5,5,6,7,8,15 9617:14 she'd 9585:20 she's 9512:4 9518:9 shift 9578:23,24 shoe 9503:21 shoot 9523:10,14 9531:13,19 9562:3,4 9562:13,20 9593:13 shooters 9622:23 shooting 9522:21 9538:20 9547:5 9554:12 9561:1 9575:7 9581:8 9582:18 9583:2,9 9591:18,23 9592:14 9605:2 9608:2,20 9617:20 9618:6 short 9515:18 9580:16 9622:19 9628:6 9632:8 shortcut 9568:6 shorthand 9507:3 9607:12 shortish 9577:24 shortly 9544:10 9618:5 shot 9500:16 9527:3,8 9528:17,20 9531:7 9554:19 9557:8 9561:3 9562:20 9595:5 shotgun 9600:8 shotguns 9574:1,2,2 shottists 9617:11,18 shouldn't 9576:19 show 9511:25 9526:19 9536:24 9538:24 9542:20 9544:23 9547:25 9551:24 9556:24 9587:7 9607:20,21 9608:21 9621:9 showed 9528:19 9555:4 shown 9559:5 9563:4 9566:11 9579:22 shows 9547:14 9613:18 9613:18 side 9572:5,21 9581:7 9582:15 9591:12 9607:11,15 9617:13 9617:17 9618:8 9623:25 9627:18 9630:15 9640:19,21 9642:12 sien 9508:4 9612:25 9613:11 9616:20 9617:3 9618:25</p>	<p>9624:2 sight 9525:1 sit 9622:12 sign 9636:10 similar 9630:19 simply 9511:17 9513:3 9537:24 9593:22 sin 9521:16 sinkhutjie 9613:1 Sir 9502:18 9521:12 9565:16 sisters 9500:25 sit 9639:24 9640:17 site 9544:18 sitting 9525:8,9 9639:20,21 9640:15 situasie 9594:2,3,17 situation 9509:12 9512:17 9516:8 9518:4,16 9521:18 9539:9,18 9554:17 9562:7 9585:21,25 9586:5 9601:6 9602:3 9611:4 9638:10,23 9640:11 situations 9508:22 9511:18 9516:3 9518:3 six 9569:12 9575:9 skarebestuur 9523:17 9523:18 9599:16 skerppunt-ammunisie 9573:21 skerppunt 9523:18 sketches 9542:9 skiet 9522:12 9523:17 skills 9513:21 skirmishes 9627:3 skok 9573:13 skokgranaat 9522:4 skokgranate 9522:3 sleepwaens 9589:21 slegs 9517:18 9623:14 slide 9507:7,11,11,12 9537:10 9588:12 9616:5 9617:2,8 9618:21 9620:1 9623:21 slides 9546:3 slowly 9634:2 small 9546:25 9585:6 9601:10 sodanige 9509:25 sogenaamde 9617:5 solicited 9524:12 solved 9515:15 som 9518:12 somebody 9543:18 9547:3 9619:13 9621:3 9638:12 some things 9537:8 sonder 9513:18 sooner 9641:2 soos 9505:20 9518:12 9573:4,11 9583:14 9589:19 9594:14,20</p>	<p>9599:12,18 9613:12 9616:2,22 9625:9 9626:1 sorry 9506:11 9514:5,8 9514:23 9517:25 9521:9,12 9524:16 9553:20 9565:15 9567:10,19,19 9569:21,22 9570:12 9570:17 9583:24 9601:7 9609:2 9612:19 9619:24 9624:14 9630:3 9631:16 sort 9535:22 9554:21 9618:5 9619:12 9636:7 sou 9517:18 9590:5,6 9590:17,18 9594:8,10 9594:11,11 9616:4 9623:15 9625:2,2,4,6 sought 9560:13 sound 9503:13 9526:20 sounds 9606:11 source 9596:6,10,14 9605:11 9606:12 South 9538:11 so-called 9556:10,10,20 space 9608:1 sparked 9526:10 9556:19 spasie 9616:17 9625:5 speak 9533:17 9576:22 9597:7 9631:21 9633:13,17 9636:24 speaker 9531:8 speaking 9565:7 9628:12 Special 9510:25 9511:16 9512:10 9513:21 specialised 9503:1,16 9506:9,17 9513:21 9518:24,25 specific 9546:16 9583:3 9583:5,5 9621:20 specifically 9512:13 9581:16 9588:1 9599:24 9629:19 9631:14 9638:2 specified 9512:12 9513:4,8 9537:25 speed 9641:6 speel 9594:21 spend 9545:11 9548:25 spending 9534:3 9566:21 spent 9524:8 9580:8,9 9580:12 Spesiale 9504:13 9508:15,18 spies 9617:5 spirit 9559:15 9639:19 split 9582:14 spoken 9585:10 spontaneous 9535:4</p>
---	---	---	--	--

<p>spot 9622:21 spraying 9521:25 9522:23 sproei 9523:1 squares 9617:8,18,19 9618:5 squatter's 9572:18 Squirrel 9584:13,14,16 9584:18 SS3 9506:3,10 staak 9599:14 staan 9616:9 Staande 9590:5 9599:16 stadium 9568:20 stage 9519:6,11 9520:2 9520:11 9523:22 9529:18 9536:3 9557:19 9560:17 9565:25 9570:8 9571:8 9578:17 9581:22 9582:9 9585:13 9587:3 9590:14 9592:6,10,14 9600:20 9606:2 9615:18 9622:24 9628:9 stages 9609:7 stakers 9616:3,24 stances 9637:22 stand 9565:4 9579:19 9634:17 standaard 9590:16 standing 9562:17 9597:3 9600:11 9602:13,14 9603:18 9604:23 9623:11 stands 9578:22 stap 9589:19 stappe 9594:12,13 stapsgewyse 9594:3 start 9502:20 9506:11 9536:10 9538:5 9551:6 9561:7 9567:13 9569:18,22 9583:2 started 9571:13 9592:14 9598:18 starting 9560:5 9639:12 starts 9545:19 9567:20 9568:10 stasiebevelvoerder 9508:16 9512:21 9514:17 state 9528:7 statement 9500:6,8,11 9501:24 9526:6,14,14 9526:24 9529:1,4,6 9529:11,16,19,20,21 9531:16,25,25 9545:18 9546:11 9550:7 9551:13 9553:15,25 9554:1,1 9555:3,6,9 9556:14 9557:1,16 9565:14</p>	<p>9567:14 9572:22 9580:13,22,25 9582:22 9610:20 9629:14 9635:5 statements 9532:25 9546:9 9549:24 9553:24 9566:11 9568:23 9574:23 9579:22 9642:12 states 9552:3 static 9602:23 9619:11 9621:1 statute 9596:12 stay 9593:12 9624:20 9625:18 stead 9635:11 steeds 9501:21 9519:18 9567:6 9577:3 9594:6 9622:13 stel 9591:14 stem 9582:6 step 9595:7 9596:19 9607:8 sterftes 9612:14 Steve 9500:14 Steve's 9500:19 STF 9504:9,11 9507:4 9508:13 9511:18,22 9511:23 9513:25 9516:24,25 9517:13 9518:5 stood 9614:17,21 stop 9500:22 9501:2 9557:24 9593:10 9600:8 stopped 9555:19,24 9557:6,20 9558:7 9607:16 storeroom 9613:8 straight 9613:15,21 street 9538:8 strekking 9589:4 stressed 9641:1 stretch 9613:23 strictly 9628:12 strikers 9615:7 9617:12,16,21 9618:7 9619:15 9621:5 striking 9528:20 striving 9551:2 strong 9640:14 strongly 9528:24 struck 9535:15 structure 9613:10 struggling 9628:14 struktuur 9503:2 studied 9515:22 study 9550:10 9642:13 stumbling 9641:15 stun 9570:16 9573:24 9581:3,4 9590:1 9595:4 9599:9 9600:9 9626:2 style 9558:25 9561:18 styles 9561:18 subject 9502:20</p>	<p>9591:15 9610:9 submission 9526:19 9535:2 9561:9 9633:16 submissions 9534:19 9536:5 9548:4 submit 9525:19 9526:3 9526:5 9532:5 9535:14 9548:14 9580:10 submitted 9602:1 subparagraaf 9513:18 9513:18 subparagraph 9518:3 9597:3 9603:21 subsection 9511:19 9516:4 subsequent 9527:23 Subsequently 9527:20 substance 9566:23 substructure 9561:8,13 success 9604:12 successful 9541:8,9 9556:9 successfully 9555:18 sufficient 9536:23 9554:24 9624:17 9625:21 9626:6,7 sufficiently 9614:5 suggest 9530:16 9531:7 9531:8 9558:7 9559:10 9591:10 9634:9,11 9641:8 suggested 9521:24 9527:3,7,11 9530:20 9531:12 9553:25 9554:2 9588:19 9641:12 suggesting 9517:11 9529:13 9530:12 9534:3 9553:21 9554:7,11 9555:1 9593:22 9619:9 suggestion 9528:6 9532:14,19 9543:6 9554:18 suggestions 9537:5 9559:13 Suid-Afrikaanse 9584:11 suitable 9615:18 suiwer 9616:23 sum 9624:4 Sundays 9564:23 super-active 9541:14 support 9545:20 9558:18 9563:18,21 supported 9610:15 suppose 9613:6 9622:3 9628:3 9629:13 supposed 9635:11 supposedly 9556:19 Supreme 9532:4 sure 9512:3 9536:17 9539:1 9544:17 9546:5 9547:24</p>	<p>9548:21 9551:16 9562:16 9563:25 9567:5 9569:12 9574:15 9577:2 9580:7 9585:7 9586:11 9591:4 9605:21 9607:23 9608:10 9613:24,25 9621:25 9627:9 9628:2,22 9629:12,24 9631:21 9639:21 9641:17 surely 9517:11,13,13 9524:5 9559:24 9566:20 9592:2 9595:16 9598:10 9604:14,14 9614:7 surprised 9542:5 9553:17 surrender 9588:13 suspect 9519:15 9531:5 suspected 9533:3 suspicion 9532:10 sy 9514:15 9521:15 9616:10 sympathy 9501:6,8 system 9633:20 9640:18 9642:6 sê 9513:19 9521:5 9573:19,20 9591:20 9616:13,23 s.o.e 9501:22 9519:19 9567:8 9577:4 9622:14</p>	<p>talk 9611:1 talking 9508:21 9513:14 9559:14,17 9574:6 9578:15 9587:25 9591:18 9592:21 9593:3,4,6 9593:16 9613:13,21 talks 9598:15 talm 9569:13 tangent 9613:21 target 9523:24,25 9524:4,12,12 Task 9510:25 9511:16 9512:10 9513:21 tavern 9500:18 te 9509:23 9510:1 9514:3 9517:19 9522:12 9530:24 9570:24 9573:3,5 9589:20,21 9590:8 9594:21,23 9599:14 9611:2,11,17,18,19 9619:7 9625:10 9626:3 tea 9503:23 9514:10 9515:3,4,14,25 9519:3,11 9618:15 9622:8,9,19 team 9634:23 9636:20 tear 9557:2 9570:17,17 9571:14 9574:3 teargas 9522:1 9571:9 9581:4,5 9590:1 9595:5 9599:9 9600:9 teenwoordigheid 9586:10 telephone 9576:10 television 9500:18 tell 9500:4 9502:10 9512:18 9547:20 9548:7 9549:12 9551:12 9577:5 9580:15 9615:1 9618:16 9633:5 telling 9569:5 9582:3 tells 9531:19 temporarily 9636:9 ten 9591:2 9594:9 tens 9636:4 terdeë 9522:19 term 9599:7 terme 9505:9 9509:21 9518:23 9522:5 9589:17 9590:5 9594:13 9599:21 9623:14 9625:1,7 terminus 9600:10 terms 9505:12 9535:8 9536:17 9572:20 9576:6 9580:25 9604:13 9611:12 9630:15 terrorism 9517:13 terug 9568:11 terugbeweeg 9625:4 teruggaan 9617:2</p>
T				
<p>taakmag 9504:13 9508:15,17,18 taal 9594:9 table 9532:24 9597:2 9600:1 tactical 9504:17 9601:5 9602:2,22 tailor 9547:21 9548:20 take 9500:20 9511:2 9514:8 9515:2,13 9518:1 9519:10 9520:4,11 9544:1 9545:14 9553:18 9559:15 9566:10 9571:4 9575:21 9582:12,12 9593:17 9607:8 9610:10 9615:18 9618:15 9619:18 9622:8,9 9624:17 9625:21 9633:20 9635:2,8,10 9637:14,14 9640:14 9642:10 taken 9518:5 9528:4 9531:17 9536:22 9537:3 9544:7 9552:5 9586:1,6 9596:17 9609:25 9610:1 9632:16 9637:22 tale 9594:8</p>				

<p>teruggedraai 9625:8,10 test 9609:9 testifies 9524:9 testify 9574:14 thank 9500:5 9501:3,4 9501:20 9502:13,16 9503:10,17 9507:1,17 9509:8 9511:2,7,7 9514:10 9515:16,24 9518:13 9519:9 9521:1 9531:1 9533:24 9534:13 9537:17 9544:16 9553:5,7 9560:5 9565:16 9567:9 9569:5,15 9570:18,20 9570:20 9571:24 9572:3,19 9576:11 9579:8 9580:5 9587:24 9588:18 9592:1 9597:16,22 9608:24 9610:3 9615:16 9618:17 9622:18 9626:11 9628:6 9630:1,20 9632:24 9635:14 9637:7 9639:14 thanks 9503:20 9519:5 theoretical 9523:21 thereabouts 9634:7 thereof 9545:19 9600:23 9605:7 9626:20 there's 9515:2 9518:3 9525:23 9535:1 9536:14 9541:25,25 9547:2 9560:4 9567:24 9577:24 9578:5 9589:25 9595:8 9602:19 9605:18,25 9613:3 9614:10 9620:2 9626:13 9627:14 9628:17 9629:8 9640:11 9641:17 theses 9528:12 they'll 9528:1 they're 9533:9 9535:4 9577:13 9621:12 9640:1,2,2 they've 9588:5 9621:5 thing 9523:24 9527:19 9545:14 9546:25 9553:8 9558:23 9566:3,7,12,22 9575:11 9587:15 9602:15 9615:5 9625:19 9629:22 9637:18,24 9638:7 things 9503:24 9517:14 9522:7,22,24 9523:5 9537:21 9538:24 9542:14 9548:14 9554:21,24 9555:13 9556:24 9560:3,17 9566:5 9574:15</p>	<p>9579:19 9580:21 9581:17 9588:3,3 9606:20,21 9607:2 9608:1 9610:7 9611:3 9626:5 9627:3 9629:14 9630:16,18 9633:4 9637:8 think 9504:2 9509:9 9510:19 9516:16 9518:7 9521:10 9524:16 9529:9 9530:9 9536:2,10,12 9536:20,22 9537:1,3 9537:12,13 9538:1,10 9541:2 9543:19 9544:14 9547:17,21 9549:2 9550:8 9551:18 9553:11 9554:1,10 9556:2 9558:19 9559:25 9566:23 9567:1 9570:7,10,25 9574:7 9578:5 9583:24 9584:7,8 9586:1 9592:10 9596:5 9597:14 9599:6 9600:19 9604:21 9607:14 9613:4,9 9615:13 9618:8 9621:14 9622:9 9624:19 9628:11,15 9629:23 9631:24 9637:22 9638:13,24 9640:19,22 9641:17 thinking 9617:12 thinks 9606:14 9641:15 third 9504:18 9528:16 9529:17 9556:15 9557:3 9582:19,21 9585:17 9614:10 9623:22 thoroughly 9544:15 thought 9506:2 9525:18 9534:19 9538:7 9539:5 9543:25 9561:9 9563:6,22 9565:16 9566:15 9569:24 9572:25 9578:18 9586:20 9600:14 9601:18 9615:6 9640:8,9 9641:9,12 thoughts 9500:19 9535:3 thousand 9608:10 thousands 9636:2,4 threat 9578:23 9596:1 9596:3 three 9520:19 9526:5 9529:1 9531:11 9560:24 9631:25 9632:18,20 thrown 9551:7 Thursday 9501:25 9521:22 9524:21,25 9568:15 9569:1</p>	<p>9627:22 9628:11 9633:9 tie 9545:15 time 9503:6,23 9511:21 9515:3 9516:5,13,14 9524:21 9528:24 9530:14 9533:18 9534:3 9545:7 9546:6 9548:25 9558:17 9563:2 9564:1 9565:5 9566:22 9570:10 9571:11,12 9577:8 9578:22 9579:20 9580:6,6,7,11,25 9593:23 9595:5 9596:8 9600:13 9604:22 9607:9,11,13 9607:19 9610:5 9611:20 9617:20 9619:12 9620:7,8 9621:5 9622:6 9629:2 9629:2 9633:22 9636:16,16 9639:22 9639:24,25 9640:17 9641:4 times 9528:19 9536:15 9542:7 9546:16 9583:1,1 9632:1,11 9640:9 Tip 9534:11,13 9536:8 9577:23 9635:15,16 9637:9,9,11 Tip's 9536:11 9537:3 today 9500:8 9527:20 9529:20 9565:13 9577:7,9 9578:11,18 9627:22 toe 9521:7 9589:20 9594:15 9616:4,25,25 9617:4 9618:11 9625:3,10 toegelaat 9594:8 toepassing 9599:16,21 toestemming 9517:7 told 9510:19 9531:18 9534:7 9547:1 9563:20 9574:14 9575:9 9585:12 9609:19 9610:1 9614:18 9642:5 tomorrow 9577:6,10 9578:12,13,21 9642:9 9642:11,14 toneel 9583:18,18 tongue 9527:13 tonight 9579:23 topic 9519:8 9580:14 9585:7 9626:12 tot 9503:8 9514:15,16 9517:8,18 9523:1 9591:22 9611:2 9612:14 total 9624:4 touch 9631:13 toxic 9635:4 tragedy 9624:9</p>	<p>trailer 9570:7,15 training 9538:8 translate 9529:2 9569:11,16 9571:23 translated 9529:6 9568:14 9570:10,23 translation 9569:9 transparency 9532:21 trauma 9634:8 traversed 9636:4 traversing 9635:23 treated 9630:11,12 treatment 9626:18 tried 9543:11 9640:22 trouble 9503:5 TRT 9545:19 9581:19 9581:20 9596:22 9597:7 9606:23 9607:12,20 9616:18 9616:20 9617:25 true 9549:6,7,11 truncate 9576:5 trust 9618:3 truth 9501:14 9535:10 9535:11 9542:2 9545:13 9551:6 9629:7 9641:22 try 9552:7 9575:24 9576:5 9577:9 9578:7 9578:9 9580:7,12 9610:4 9622:19 9628:18 9629:17 9638:14 9641:4 trying 9511:12 9545:25 9552:4 9580:6 9593:22 9607:10 9622:8 9630:16 9633:14 9634:8 9638:9 9641:10,15 Tsilokane 9504:14,25 turn 9533:6 turned 9624:23 turpitude 9532:10,14 tussen 9591:21 twee 9503:8 9591:20 9594:9,24,25 tweede 9594:10 two 9505:12,17 9514:24 9520:18,18 9526:10 9536:10 9537:8,21 9538:19 9539:15 9556:24 9557:1 9560:3 9564:18,18 9568:17 9568:18,23 9572:11 9574:23,25 9588:3 9591:19 9592:3 9595:17 9606:20 9608:3 9612:3 9618:18 9620:17 9627:3 9631:1 9634:5 9634:15,15 9637:5 twofold 9628:8 two-minute 9620:22 tyd 9594:8 type 9513:14,24</p>	<p>types 9514:1 9628:18</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">U</p> <hr/> <p>u 9501:21 9518:12 9519:17 9521:6 9530:24 9567:6 9577:3 9582:5,6 9591:14,20 9612:12 9612:15 9614:1 9616:7,10,15 9622:13 9625:7 uit 9529:8 9589:16,16 9594:21 uiteendryf 9522:5 uiteengaan 9594:12 uiteraard 9505:8 uitgerol 9583:17 9590:18 uitrol 9625:1 uitset-ooreenkoms 9503:8 uitsluitlik 9599:17 uitspeel 9594:21 unable 9500:9 unauthorised 9520:11 unavoidable 9604:7,17 9609:3,22 uncomfortable 9626:14 undeployed 9611:22 underline 9555:4 9583:1,1 9623:23 underlined 9537:7 understand 9500:4 9501:23 9514:21 9522:16 9529:3 9534:25 9539:16,23 9540:6 9541:1 9547:11,15 9548:3 9557:23,25 9558:6 9560:25 9562:23 9563:8,12 9564:9 9565:19 9568:4,23 9577:7 9579:21,24 9581:9 9583:10 9585:3 9595:24 9596:4,13 9598:18 9600:7,19 9604:8 9605:12 9609:14 9621:22 9623:9 9642:11 understanding 9558:24 9575:6 9629:21 understands 9602:14 understood 9520:6 9551:19 9558:9,10,11 9587:4 9595:25 9637:22 unduly 9516:17 9613:24 9629:8 9636:13 unfair 9526:5,22 9532:13 9542:5 9561:20 9565:5,6 9640:20 unfairly 9630:11,12 unfortunate 9636:23</p>
---	---	---	--	--

<p>unfortunately 9505:25 9506:1 9579:14 9587:13 9619:10 9626:12</p> <p>unfounded 9638:19 9642:8</p> <p>unhappy 9576:24</p> <p>uninvited 9526:9</p> <p>unit 9507:24 9509:9 9513:13</p> <p>units 9519:25 9534:4</p> <p>unnumbered 9506:1</p> <p>unprotected 9612:18</p> <p>unsubstantiated 9540:14</p> <p>untruthfully 9550:16</p> <p>upheld 9541:6,21 9562:22 9630:16,18 9632:5 9633:11 9640:1,6,8,21</p> <p>uphold 9548:5</p> <p>urge 9636:17</p> <p>urgent 9576:10</p> <p>use 9546:17,23 9550:22 9550:23 9566:13 9573:6,8 9576:23 9582:8 9583:3 9591:5 9593:7,14 9600:4,8 9602:20 9603:8,16,20 9603:21,23 9604:7,17 9604:17 9614:19 9624:18 9641:4</p> <p>utmost 9501:2</p> <p>uttered 9533:3</p> <p>uur 9583:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">V</p> <p>vakant 9504:24</p> <p>valid 9538:13 9633:12</p> <p>value 9512:17</p> <p>van 9505:9,21,23 9508:15,17,17 9509:18,19,21 9511:6 9513:19 9518:23 9521:15,19 9522:3,5 9522:11,14 9523:1,2 9523:15,17 9570:1 9573:19 9583:18,19 9588:9 9589:17 9590:5,7 9591:2 9594:4,5,13,13 9599:13,15,15,16,18 9599:19,21,21,22 9611:10 9616:3,20,24 9617:3,5,6 9618:10 9623:14 9625:1,1,6,7 9625:9,25</p> <p>vanaf 9509:22,25 9568:2 9612:14</p> <p>vantage 9636:8 9639:2</p> <p>variety 9523:4</p> <p>various 9536:19 9541:18 9551:3 9580:21 9609:7 9627:13 9636:6</p> <p>vengefulness 9555:1</p>	<p>ventilated 9532:23</p> <p>ver 9505:20</p> <p>veracity 9561:5</p> <p>veranderlike 9594:22</p> <p>verantwoordelikhede 9505:9</p> <p>verba 9526:8</p> <p>verduidelik 9522:14 9589:14 9594:19</p> <p>vereenvoudig 9594:2</p> <p>vereiste 9590:16</p> <p>verklaring 9521:6,15</p> <p>verlaat 9530:24</p> <p>Vermaak 9529:4,5 9567:13 9568:23 9571:7 9572:24 9573:1 9574:13 9575:18,22 9580:23 9580:23 9581:21 9582:13 9584:7,12</p> <p>Vermaak's 9557:1</p> <p>vermeld 9514:15 9517:8,17,20 9573:5 9583:15</p> <p>vermelding 9505:21,23</p> <p>verneem 9509:23</p> <p>veronderstelling 9617:25</p> <p>verseker 9522:12 9523:8 9583:20 9591:25</p> <p>version 9546:8 9554:23 9624:21 9625:15,16</p> <p>verslag 9589:3</p> <p>versoek 9508:15 9509:20,21,24,25</p> <p>versperring 9625:25</p> <p>verstaan 9594:15 9612:13 9626:2</p> <p>versus 9532:7</p> <p>vertaal 9514:3</p> <p>verwys 9518:23 9522:3 9523:17 9573:12 9610:23 9612:15 9616:14 9625:5</p> <p>victim 9626:19 9639:6</p> <p>victims 9546:25 9628:10 9631:3,7,11 9632:9,13,15 9634:4 9634:4,10,12,18 9636:18,20,25 9639:6 9639:9,11</p> <p>video 9563:17,17 9620:25 9622:5 9623:17</p> <p>videos 9563:14 9590:23 9606:22 9607:20,21 9621:8 9623:19</p> <p>vier 9517:8 9616:11</p> <p>view 9526:20 9531:12 9547:23 9586:13 9607:16 9612:24 9627:5 9635:20 9638:18</p> <p>viewed 9629:9</p> <p>viewpoints 9551:5</p>	<p>violence 9596:23</p> <p>vir 9503:9 9504:13 9509:21 9514:3,14 9517:8,17,20 9530:25 9583:12 9616:22 9625:1</p> <p>virtually 9545:21</p> <p>visible 9619:22,23</p> <p>voertuie 9616:10,13,14 9616:18 9618:11</p> <p>voertuig 9521:7 9616:11</p> <p>voice 9626:17</p> <p>volgende 9594:12</p> <p>voluntary 9506:2</p> <p>voor 9590:8</p> <p>voordat 9590:16</p> <p>voorkom 9626:10</p> <p>voorsien 9594:21 9616:2</p> <p>vorentoe 9617:1 9625:11</p> <p>vorm 9617:1</p> <p>vraag 9625:7</p> <p>vroeër 9521:19 9618:1</p> <p>vuur 9589:17</p> <p>vyf 9616:8,10,15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <p>waar 9513:10 9612:14 9616:18 9617:5 9618:10</p> <p>waarna 9573:12</p> <p>waarop 9529:8</p> <p>waarskuwing 9590:7 9590:19 9594:4,10 9599:21</p> <p>waarskuwings 9594:7</p> <p>waarskynlik 9523:14 9616:11 9625:25</p> <p>wait 9532:1</p> <p>waiting 9629:3</p> <p>wake 9559:10</p> <p>walking 9537:15</p> <p>want 9500:20 9501:10 9511:19 9515:13 9516:17 9517:9,24 9518:16 9524:22 9525:23 9529:23 9530:12 9537:10 9541:15 9549:3,5,12 9552:8 9553:8 9555:2 9555:21 9560:8 9564:12 9566:14 9567:10,12 9569:7 9571:6 9577:22 9578:20,21 9579:1 9580:14 9581:10 9583:21 9585:6 9586:6 9587:15 9588:13 9596:13 9597:6 9600:22 9605:22 9606:3 9609:15 9610:8 9612:4,5 9615:7,20 9615:22,24 9622:19</p> <p>9623:6,21 9625:14,18 9626:1 9630:23 9631:2,13 9632:12,20 9633:1 9637:8</p> <p>wanted 9546:9 9582:16 9605:9 9615:14 9638:2,3,7 9639:4,13</p> <p>wants 9536:14 9574:10 9596:6</p> <p>wapens 9611:17</p> <p>warn 9578:7 9596:16 9605:5 9606:2</p> <p>warning 9590:2,14,22 9592:3,4,7,11,16,18 9592:22 9593:2,6,20 9595:7,16,17 9596:8 9597:8,9 9598:16 9606:24</p> <p>wasn't 9603:24,24 9609:21 9620:20 9621:17 9641:10</p> <p>waste 9528:23 9545:8 9545:11 9578:21 9622:6</p> <p>wasted 9580:8</p> <p>wasting 9524:21 9565:5</p> <p>wat 9504:14 9513:19 9517:20 9522:13 9523:15 9573:19 9583:13,14,16,20 9589:3,14 9594:3,6 9594:17 9599:17,17 9599:20 9612:15 9613:12 9616:5,6,7,8 9616:10,10,11,12,13 9616:14,15,17,20,21 9616:22,23 9617:3 9623:14 9624:25 9625:5,7</p> <p>watching 9500:17</p> <p>water 9522:1,23 9523:1 9543:18 9557:2 9560:12 9570:16 9571:9,14 9573:8,9 9573:12 9581:3,18 9582:1,14 9590:1 9592:6 9595:3,16 9599:9</p> <p>waterkanonne 9594:14</p> <p>watse 9523:15</p> <p>way 9504:10 9507:14 9515:15 9516:12 9525:24 9526:5,9 9534:18 9544:8 9546:18 9547:25 9549:16 9550:15,25 9554:3 9558:9 9559:9 9561:22 9565:15 9566:25 9567:4 9572:8 9575:12,15 9585:6 9590:21 9608:14 9609:3,24 9611:14 9623:20 9640:18</p> <p>ways 9629:23</p>	<p>weapons 9554:23 9588:14</p> <p>Wednesday 9524:25 9578:19 9633:9</p> <p>week 9505:3 9539:6 9545:8 9570:22</p> <p>weer 9529:7 9625:11</p> <p>wees 9517:18 9522:13 9523:15,18 9573:12 9573:13 9589:15,19 9599:13,14 9616:3</p> <p>weet 9573:13 9583:19 9583:21 9589:2 9594:23 9610:22 9616:17 9617:2 9622:3</p> <p>weight 9506:19,22</p> <p>wel 9589:4</p> <p>welcome 9535:18</p> <p>well-founded 9640:1,2</p> <p>went 9527:16 9559:16 9576:18 9614:16 9623:23</p> <p>weren't 9524:24</p> <p>werklik 9594:23</p> <p>West 9509:3</p> <p>we'll 9505:24 9506:10 9507:16 9510:11,20 9511:8 9514:9,24 9515:4 9518:14 9519:1,4,10 9520:2 9577:10 9578:20 9593:14 9607:23 9615:18 9618:15 9622:9</p> <p>we're 9504:16 9578:15 9580:5 9591:18 9592:13 9603:12 9614:18 9628:23 9633:24 9634:9,20,23 9641:20 9642:11</p> <p>we've 9501:11 9505:15 9506:24 9512:15 9513:12 9519:14 9525:1 9535:3 9538:21 9585:8 9605:12 9612:2,3,6</p> <p>We'll 9546:5 9576:12</p> <p>we're 9543:6 9549:16 9559:16</p> <p>we've 9559:3</p> <p>what's 9529:4 9541:6 9563:19 9570:13 9589:12 9596:10 9621:22</p> <p>who's 9510:9 9531:14 9638:25 9639:5</p> <p>wide 9556:21,22</p> <p>wider 9540:10</p> <p>widow 9500:10</p> <p>widows 9500:24</p> <p>wie 9523:15</p> <p>wife 9500:19</p> <p>wil 9514:3 9624:25 9626:9</p> <p>willing 9527:24</p>
---	---	--	--

<p>win 9552:14 wire 9592:11,15,22,23 9610:17 9611:6,13,22 9612:2 9614:4,4,11 9615:23 9623:8,22,24 9624:8,12,12,14 9625:20 wish 9500:7 9501:5 9520:5 9533:19,21,22 9534:11 9536:2,5 9548:4 9558:22 9566:1 9630:2 9632:25 9634:13 wished 9541:14 witness 9501:12,12 9502:5 9503:18 9515:20 9521:11 9524:10 9526:16,22 9528:9 9530:13 9531:14 9534:4 9537:6,8,9,20,22,24 9538:18 9539:3 9544:6 9546:7,10,20 9547:4,19,21 9548:16 9548:20 9550:1 9552:18 9556:20 9558:14,15 9559:7,13 9563:18 9564:8 9565:1 9566:6,10 9567:4 9574:16,17,22 9575:3,6,10 9576:7 9577:10 9579:2 9583:25 9592:22 9595:3 9598:3 9599:4 9600:5,6 9602:12 9604:21 9605:10,15 9606:14 9608:16,17 9608:19 9609:5,11 9610:6 9621:16,19 9622:6 9641:10,15 witnesses 9533:1 9534:9 9540:12 9553:25 9555:16 9574:23,25 9579:5 9582:20 9585:4 9609:20 9623:19 9626:24 9631:25 9633:20 9641:9,14 witness's 9598:17 9606:15 9609:6 wonder 9633:8 won't 9511:17 9554:4 9587:14,21 9610:2,11 9610:13 9613:19 9623:18 9624:10 9640:14 wood 9617:15 woord 9522:11 9523:14 9583:16 woorde 9522:15 9583:14 9589:3 word 9504:24,25 9508:16 9509:22,25 9509:25 9512:7 9513:18 9517:16,17 9521:23 9522:20</p>	<p>9523:6,14 9531:17,21 9545:10 9546:15 9547:4,9 9556:21 9569:13 9573:12 9576:23 9578:14 9581:25 9582:9,25 9583:4 9594:7,8,9,11 9594:11 9637:4 wording 9604:25 words 9510:8 9516:6 9522:23 9523:11,25 9524:11 9527:25 9533:4 9535:19 9536:20 9539:8 9551:15 9552:17 9575:8 9581:24 9582:8 9583:4 9593:9 9596:25 9600:9 9620:23 9624:11 9627:8,10 work 9501:18 worked 9637:11 workers 9528:4,20 working 9551:1 works 9640:18 9642:6 worry 9530:5 worse 9627:14 worth 9542:18 9627:17 wou 9583:23 wouldn't 9531:22 9556:18 9579:1 wrap 9515:25 wrong 9553:2 9559:4 9587:7 9609:21 9618:3 9640:10 wrongly 9552:16 9565:23,24 wrote 9565:9,11 wyle 9530:25 wys 9616:6,6,13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <p>year 9529:22 9532:8 9555:25 years 9636:2 9637:11 you'd 9619:2 you'll 9521:24 9531:9 9536:18 9577:7 9578:11 9580:15 9606:10 9607:8 9613:16 9617:8 9619:12 you're 9500:3 9502:2 9511:3 9514:9 9516:17,20 9517:11 9520:4 9577:6,14 9579:22 9585:16 9595:11 9596:7 9600:1 9604:19 9606:11 9621:23 you've 9501:24 9510:4 9510:5 9522:22 9526:24 9543:2 9548:3 9549:3 9560:12 9580:5 9582:15 9587:8</p>	<p>9609:17 9618:20 9631:19 9633:1 9639:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">0</p> <p>000 9559:21 9568:20 009 9552:2</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>1 9506:13,14 9507:15 9507:18 9511:16,21 9513:18,19 9516:5,13 9518:3 9527:18 9576:17 9581:17 9583:18 9628:8 10 9545:9 10:16 9500:2 10:36 9508:10 10:56 9516:20 100 9624:8 100% 9551:16 11 9515:1 9597:3,3,9 11th 9500:17 11(2)(4) 9598:15 9603:19 11(3) 9604:6,15 11(4) 9599:24 9603:14 11:23 9519:13 11:43 9527:15 114 9588:12 12th 9634:5,15 9636:23 12:03 9538:22 12:23 9555:11 12:42 9568:18 13 9500:1 13A 9568:24 13th 9520:9 9572:11 13:30 9587:17 13:39 9576:15 13:59 9586:25 14th 9634:6 14:19 9594:20 14:38 9605:8 14:58 9614:2 15de 9588:9 15th 9528:1 9588:16 15:31 9622:11 15:40 9616:6 9620:3 15:41 9619:22 9620:2 15:46 9570:6 9571:12 15:49 9619:23,25 9620:4,19,21 9621:6 15:50 9630:2 15:51 9616:22 9618:21 9620:8,19,21 9621:7 15:55 9571:19 9572:6 15:56 9572:18 1515 9570:12 1516 9572:6 1517 9572:17 16 9568:1 9612:5 16de 9588:10 16th 9523:22 9527:4,9 9528:17 9584:20,20 9588:2,18 9634:7 16:10 9637:18</p>	<p>16:55 9571:13 1613 9585:18 17 9545:19 9546:13 18 9545:18 1948 9528:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>2 9500:18 9506:10,17 9506:21 9511:19,20 9513:18 9516:4 9518:22 9521:15,15 9527:22 9537:9 9553:22 9596:19 9597:2,3 9626:7 2(f) 9602:21 2(n) 9600:23 20 9567:3 9576:17 9583:17 9612:7,10 9613:23 20% 9506:19,22 200 9614:4 2011 9510:25 9519:15 9537:15 2012 9529:14 9568:2 9600:17 9601:11 2012/2013 9503:9 2013 9500:1,17 9532:7 203 9623:21 205 9617:2 208 9612:19,19,19,20 9613:3,17 209 9612:19,20,24 9613:17,18 9617:8,22 21 9537:17 9601:10 210 9616:5 9618:21 9619:22,23 9620:1 2378 9527:15 25 9612:7,10 9613:23 9613:25 9614:3,6 9623:8 9625:6 262 9590:5 9596:15 9597:4,9,25 9602:18 9602:21 9603:14,14 9603:14 9604:15 9605:12,17 27th 9532:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p>3 9506:18 9527:22 9559:21 9568:20 9585:13,23 9587:3 9601:9 30 9637:11 3000 9570:8 34 9634:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>4 9506:19 9511:11 9515:17,17 9583:21 9583:21 9591:11,21 9594:16 9603:21 9607:10,16 9608:2,2 9620:12 9624:16,16 9624:22 9625:21 4(1) 9511:14 9515:18 9516:2 9517:14</p>	<p>4(1)(a) 9517:8,17 4(1)(c) 9513:19 9518:4 4(2) 9511:20 9514:14 9515:19 45 9632:19 49 9620:5,22 9621:1</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>5 9506:19 9567:25 9611:21 500 9563:16 51 9620:23 9621:1 550 9510:18 56 9531:9 57 9531:6,11 9539:24 9543:12 9582:23 9583:15 58 9531:10 9582:24 59 9546:11 9576:8 9582:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <p>6 9515:1 9567:17,20,20 9567:25 9568:1,4 9611:21 9623:22 9624:7 9625:2,4 6AM 9588:16</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <p>7 9529:6 9568:8 9571:11,13 70 9507:3,6 71 9507:12,13,18 9537:10</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">8</p> <p>80 9538:10 8334 9581:15,16 8335 9581:15 8339 9581:16,16</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">9</p> <p>9 9510:25 9519:14 9537:14 9573:16,20 9574:9 9642:9,10,14 9.8 9555:2,14 90 9591:10,16 9620:17 90% 9538:11</p>
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