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 222 25 APRIL 2014 PAGES 27340 TO 27457



© REALTIME TRANSCRIPTIONS

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

NCRA...

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

```
Page 27340
                                                                                                                        Page 27342
    [PROCEEDINGS ON 25 APRIL 2014]
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Yes, but Roots had
                                                                   1
2
    [09:08] CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       occurred after the Marikana incident. Chairperson, even if
                                   The Commission resumes.
                                                                   2
3
    Colonel, you're still under oath.
                                                                   3
                                                                       I'd raised those concerns at Roots they would not have been
4
           OMPHILE JOSEPH MERAFE:
                                            (s.u.o.)
                                                                   4
                                                                       of any help then, but only for the future.
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                Mr Mpofu, I've given you
                                                                   5
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes, everything we are going
    one topic to cross-examine on and that's the so-called
                                                                   6
                                                                       to discuss happened after the massacre, or tragedy,
6
7
                                                                   7
                                                                       whatever it's called. I'm saying to you, you and I have
    Mkhwanazi work group, matters related thereto.
8
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   8
                             Thank you, Chair.
                                                                       agreed that not only you but others had expressed concerns
9
                                                                   9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 I understand that Adv Bizos
                                                                       about various levels of non-compliance with 262, which I
    who was going to cross-examine on that has given you his
                                                                  10
                                                                       don't want to go into now because you've already testified
10
    notes. I don't know whether they take it any further than
                                                                  11
11
                                                                       about it. I'm saying the places where you - and you've
    the notes you prepared yourself, but in any event -
                                                                  12
12
                                                                       said that you did express those reservations. I'm saying
13
           MR MPOFU:
                             Yes. Chairperson, yes, it is
                                                                  13
                                                                       the places that, where you must have expressed those
14
    just a good coincidence that the one topic that Adv Bizos
                                                                  14
                                                                       reservations would include Roots, correct?
15
    had not covered was the one that you had allowed me.
                                                                  15
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        That is correct, Sir.
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Alright. Are you feeling
                                                                  16
16
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                And they would also include
    better this morning, Colonel?
17
                                                                  17
                                                                       your interactions with the Mkhwanazi investigation,
18
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    I am feeling better,
                                                                  18
                                                                       correct?
19
    Sir.
                                                                  19
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Correct, Chairperson.
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 You were heartbroken
                                                                  20
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 And they would also have
    yesterday and we could see you were deeply moved. Anyway,
                                                                       included your interactions with your legal team, correct?
21
                                                                  21
                                                                  22
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
22
    you're able to proceed this morning?
                                                                                                        Ja, to an extent, yes.
23
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  23
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Why to an extent? Why would
                                    No, I'm okay this
    morning.
                                                                  24
                                                                       you not express your reservations on deviations from 262 in
24
25
                                                                       your interactions with your legal team when that legal team
           CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU:
                                                      Thank
                                                      Page 27341
                                                                                                                        Page 27343
    you. Good morning, Lieutenant-Colonel.
                                                                       was about the Commission that deals with what happened
1
2
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   2
                                                                       during the massacre?
                                     Morning, Advocate.
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              I'm glad that you're feeling
                                                                   3
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Chairperson, I did not
4
    better today. Now I'm just going to cover one topic as
                                                                       see reason why I should raise reservations with my legal
5
    such, but I just want to preface it with one or two
                                                                       team because the assistance I wanted was from the team that
                                                                       I worked with.
6
    questions so that you know where I'm going. It's correct
                                                                   6
7
                                                                   7
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                You know what this Commission
    that during your cross-examination by many of my
                                                                       is about, correct?
8
    colleagues, just so that we don't have to re-traverse that
9
                                                                   9
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I do know, Sir, yes.
    ground, you have conceded that there were many deviations
10
    from Standing Order 262, correct?
                                                                  10
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                You know that its primary
11
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                       purpose is to find out what went wrong or right during
                                     It is correct, Chair,
                                                                  11
12
                                                                  12
                                                                       those fateful days, correct?
    yes.
                                                                  13
13
           MR MPOFU:
                              And therefore in the various
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I know that, Sir, yes.
14
    meetings and internal discussions that you would have been
                                                                  14
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                So you know that one of the
                                                                       most relevant things for this Commission is to be informed
15
    involved in you would have expressed those criticisms in
                                                                  15
    respect of non-compliance with 262, correct?
                                                                  16
                                                                       of deviations from 262, among other things, correct?
16
17
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Yes, it is so.
                                                                  17
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       What I know about the
                                                                       Commission is that the truth should be brought forward so
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              And surely you were not the
                                                                  18
19
    only one who expressed criticisms. Other people as well
                                                                  19
                                                                       that there would be restoration and justice.
                                                                                                Ja, well okay, that you can
    might have either agreed with you or expressed other
                                                                  20
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
21
    criticisms in relation to non-compliance with 262, correct?
                                                                  21
                                                                       read behind the Commissioners. I'm asking you about -
22
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     It is so.
                                                                  22
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   [Microphone off, inaudible]
           MR MPOFU: And these places where you
                                                                  23
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
23
                                                                                                Well ja, but it's not the
24 would have expressed, you and others would have expressed
                                                                       truth about Father Christmas. It's a truth about what
   those criticisms would include Roots, correct?
                                                                       happened during the massacre, correct?
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

22 out.

23

MR MPOFU:

```
Page 27344
                                                                                                                            Page 27346
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                    What I said wasn't
                                                                         express the same reservations or as many reservations as
 1
     recorded. I say he is correct, that is what this
                                                                         you had expressed at Roots and during the Mkhwanazi process
 2
 3
     Commission is all about.
                                                                         about non-compliance to 262?
 4
            MR MPOFU:
                                Ja, he is correct. But you
                                                                     4
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   Chairperson, I'm afraid Mr
 5
     understand that that is not just the truth about football;
                                                                         Mpofu seems to want to get into what would otherwise be
     it's a truth about what happened during the Marikana
                                                                     6
                                                                         privileged conversations. He's asking the witness about
 6
 7
                                                                     7
     massacre and related events, correct?
                                                                         conversations with his attorney or with his counsel and I'm
 8
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                     8
                                       I understand,
                                                                         not sure that that is proper.
                                                                     9
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
 9
     Chairperson, but I do not understand how you bring about
                                                                                                   No, Chairperson, I'm not doing
     football when we spoke about the Marikana incident.
                                                                    10
                                                                         anything of that sort. All I'm asking, I'm testing the
10
            MR MPOFU:
                                Just answer the question. Do
                                                                    11
                                                                         witness is whether whenever he had an opportunity to state
11
                                                                    12
                                                                         what went wrong, which is the core business of this
12
     you understand that the truth, justice and reconciliation
13
     and all that that you've mentioned is in relation to the
                                                                    13
                                                                         Commission, he expressed those reservations. His answer is
14
     events that happened between the 9th of August up to the
                                                                    14
                                                                         that yes, he did so at Roots, yes, he did so at, during the
15
     16th of August? Yes or no?
                                                                         Mkhwanazi investigation, but when it came to his legal
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                         representatives, which is reflected in his statement which
16
                                        Between the 10th of
                                                                    17
                                                                         I'll come to, he only did so to a certain extent, and
17
     August to the 16th.
18
            MR MPOFU:
                                Okay ja, between those dates,
                                                                         that's all. I'm just dealing with the question of the
19
     if you insist. Is that correct?
                                                                    19
                                                                         extent, not the contents of what was discussed.
20
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                        That is so.
                                                                    20
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      You correctly summarise his
21
                                Right, and that was, this
                                                                    21
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                         evidence. Yes, perhaps you can help us. To what extent
     thing called Operation Platinum was effectively a crowd
22
                                                                    22
                                                                         did you raise these reservations during those
23
                                                                    23
                                                                         consultations? Don't give us the detail, but just to what
     management operation, correct?
24
                                                                    24
                                                                         extent? You said you did it to a certain extent. To what
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                        We're talking about the
25
                                                                         extent did you do it?
     Lonmin. Operation Platinum came thereafter.
                                                        Page 27345
                                                                                                                            Page 27347
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                          I said, Chairperson, I
 1
                              Ja okay, forget about what
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                         did it to a certain extent because in my own statement that
 2
    came before. Operation, I'm talking about Operation
 3
     Platinum. When it became Operation Platinum, that is what
                                                                         I have written, I have already raised all issues that I
 4
     the truth is supposed to be about, among other things,
                                                                         needed to. I do not know what it was that I was raising
                                                                     5
 5
     correct?
                                                                         more than what was contained in my statements which I made
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                     6
 6
                                     It is correct, Sir.
                                                                         available to my legal team.
 7
            MR MPOFU:
                              And at the core of the
                                                                     7
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Mr Mpofu, you know I think
     evaluation of Operation Platinum must lie the compliance or
                                                                         on reflection there's substance in the objection raised.
 8
                                                                     8
 9
                                                                     9
     non-compliance with regulation 262, correct?
                                                                         You are I think trespassing onto privileged ground. I'm
10
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    10
                                                                         not sure that you need to do so for the purpose of the
                                     Correct, Chair.
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                    11
                                                                         points that you're going to make, so I would suggest you
11
                              So then if we then agree that
12
    the Commission is concerned with those events and that at
                                                                    12
                                                                         keep away from -
                                                                    13
13
     the core of that is Operation Platinum, and at the core of
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Chairperson, no that's fine.
14
     Operation Platinum is the regulation 262, then when you
                                                                    14
                                                                         Thank you, Chairperson, but - ja, I certainly won't get
15
     were consulting about this Commission you would have, you
                                                                         into the content of what you discussed with your - I was
                                                                    15
     should have at least expressed your reservations not to a
                                                                    16
                                                                         just testing what you mean by "to a certain extent," but
16
17
     certain extent when you were consulting with your legal
                                                                    17
                                                                         that's fine. So let's forget what you said to your legal
18
    team, correct? But to a full extent?
                                                                    18
                                                                         representatives. The reason I'm asking you this is
19
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     When I consulted with my
                                                                    19
                                                                         because, let's now go to your statements; in your
     legal team I spoke everything that was necessary, the whole
                                                                    20
                                                                         statements, all of them, you do not go to any extent, as it
21
     truth. As far as I'm concerned there's nothing that I left
                                                                    21
                                                                         were, about criticisms of non-compliance with regulation
```

22

23

24

25

Let me put it simply as this.

24 When you were consulting with your legal team and when you

were drafting the statements for the Commission, did you

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

262, which -

standing order.

CHAIRPERSON:

MR MPOFU:

Point of correction, it's a

Standing order, sorry -

```
Page 27348
                                                                                                                         Page 27350
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - point of accuracy.
                                                                       same thing that I'm saying. At Roots also you were dealing
1
                              Yes, that's correct. Ja.
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                   2
                                                                       with what went right and what went wrong, correct?
2
3
    Would you at least accept that? Because that we can test
                                                                   3
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        That is so.
4
    by looking at the statement, not what you said to your
                                                                   4
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Ja, so the two processes were
5
    lawyers or whatever, correct? Is there a section in any of
                                                                       similar to that extent at least, correct?
                                                                   6
    your statements where you deal with -
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
6
                                                                                                        I am not sure, Sir.
7
                                                                   7
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                 What is it that you're not
                                      In my statements, Chair,
                                                                   8
                                                                       sure of?
8
    I was raising, I was telling what happened there and I
                                                                   9
9
    wasn't criticising. My aim was not to talk about Standing
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I'm not sure whether the
    Order 262 or to criticise whether Standing Order 262 was
                                                                   10
                                                                       two were similarly. What I said is I was told that this
10
     complied with or not. I was just telling my story in my
                                                                   11
11
                                                                       meeting that I held with Mkhwanazi was to check about the
12
    statement.
                                                                   12
                                                                       role of POP, and then the other one of Roots we were
13
           MR MPOFU:
                               But at Roots you saw it
                                                                   13
                                                                       reflecting at all incident that was happening to compile a
14
     necessary to criticise and to point out non-compliance with
                                                                   14
                                                                       police report in regard to the Marikana, but that one -
                                                                   15
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
15
    regulation 262, correct?
                                                                                                 Ja -
16
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      It was necessary there
                                                                   16
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        That's why I say for me
17
    that I mention because at Roots we were reflecting on what
                                                                  17
                                                                       I could not say they are similarly.
18
    has happened. Yes, I was making those remarks.
                                                                   18
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 No, you must listen very
                                                                       carefully. When I say "to that extent" I meant this; I
19
            MR MPOFU:
                              And Roots was the gathering
                                                                   19
    which was called for the specific purposes of preparing for
20
                                                                   20
                                                                       said to you to the extent that both processes were looking
21
    this Commission, correct?
                                                                   21
                                                                       at what went right and what went wrong, to that extent they
22
                                                                   22
                                                                       were similar, correct?
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      Correct, Sir.
23
                                                                  23
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
           MR MPOFU:
                              And the Mkhwanazi
                                                                                                        Yes, to that extent,
                                                                   24
24
    investigation was also a process to prepare for this
                                                                       yes, they were.
25
                                                                   25
    Commission, correct?
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Thank you. And the Commission
                                                                                                                         Page 27351
                                                      Page 27349
                                 I don't think that's
                                                                       also is to look into what went right and what went wrong.
1
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       So to that extent it's also similar to the other two.
2
    correct -
3
           MR MPOFU:
                             Well, I'm asking a question,
                                                                   3
                                                                       correct?
4
    Chair.
                                                                   4
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Correct.
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                Oh, I'm sorry.
                                                                   5
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Well. Mkhwanazi is a POP man.
           MR MPOFU:
                             I'm not asking the
                                                                   6
                                                                       correct?
6
7
    Chairperson -
                                                                   7
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Yes, correct.
                                No, you're quite right.
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   8
8
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 And you are a POP man too.
9
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   9
                             - I'm asking the witness.
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Correct.
10
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                The witness may know more
                                                                   10
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 So in the Mkhwanazi process as
11
    about it than I do.
                                                                       it were, and to the extent that it dealt with deviations
                                                                   11
12
           MR MPOFU:
                             Answer the question.
                                                                   12
                                                                       from 262 you would have been the main person to check out
13
                                                                       for deviations, correct? Or at least one of them. I'm not
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    The question again was?
                                                                   13
14
           MR MPOFU:
                             Similarly the Mkhwanazi
                                                                   14
                                                                       saying you're the only one, but one of the main people,
15
                                                                   15
                                                                       correct?
    investigation was a process leading up or in preparation of
    the Commission, correct?
16
                                                                   16
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Yes, I am the one other,
17
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Chairperson, the
                                                                   17
                                                                       one of the people that consulted with Mkhwanazi -
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
18
    explanation I received from Brigadier Mkhwanazi was that
                                                                   18
                                                                                                 Yes.
                                                                  19
    they had been mandated by the National Commissioner to look
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        - to talk about POP.
20
    into the role played by POP
                                                                   20
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes.
21
           MR MPOFU:
                             Yes, and she, in giving that
                                                                   21
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Because that is my
    instruction she said you have to check what went right and
                                                                   22
                                                                       environment.
    what went wrong, correct?
                                                                   23
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Correct. That's exactly what
        COLONEL MERAFE:
                                  That is correct.
                                                                   24
                                                                       I'm saying, Sir. Now the - well, I'm putting this as a
                            Yes, but that's exactly the
                                                                       statement to you. You know that one of the, or rather the
```

RCHIVE FOR IUSTICE

```
Page 27352
                                                                                                                       Page 27354
     product of Roots was exhibit L. correct?
                                                                      highlighting the deviation from Regulation 262 at Roots you
2
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                      were dealing with the 13th and the 15th, is that what that
                                      It is so, Sir.
3
            MR MPOFU:
                              And will you be surprised that
                                                                      means?
4
    despite the fact that you raised criticisms of non-
                                                                  4
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                      Yes, Chairperson,
5
    compliance with regulation 262, in exhibit L they are
                                                                      according to 262, the person of, a POP senior member on the
    nowhere to be found, despite the fact that you raised them
                                                                  6
                                                                      scene should have been the operational commander.
6
7
                                                                  7
    at Roots?
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                              Ja –
8
                                                                  8
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      I don't clearly
                                                                                                      That is 262.
                                                                  9
9
    understand, unless you direct me on according to you this
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                              Ja, let me assist you, I don't
    was supposed to be in that report, then I would -
                                                                 10
                                                                      care what date you're talking about -
10
            MR MPOFU:
                              No. it's fine. I'll do it
                                                                 11
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
11
                                                                                                      Pertaining to the 13th.
                                                                 12
12
    slowly. Roots was a process which was meant to bring
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                              Okay, it could have been
13
    information from the police to the Commission.
                                                                 13
                                                                      whatever, the point of the matter is that at Roots you
                                                                 14
14
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      That is so.
                                                                      highlighted criticisms according to 262 about any date
15
            MR MPOFU:
                              In that process you raised
                                                                 15
                                                                      whatsoever in the calendar, correct?
    among other things very sharp criticisms about non-
                                                                 16
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                      I hear you, Sir.
16
                                                                 17
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                              Ja, alright. Now I'm saying
17
    compliance with regulation 262, correct?
18
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      Chair, I went to Roots
                                                                 18
                                                                      to you, you must make up your mind, you've testified
                                                                      earlier that you highlighted those deviations and now you
19
    to talk about the role that I played on the 13th at
                                                                 19
20
    Marikana, and I did not stand up and say according to
                                                                 20
                                                                      are saying you didn't. Which one is the truth, which one
21
                                                                 21
                                                                      is the lie?
    Standing Order 262 this was supposed to be done. I never
                                                                 22
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
22
    criticised -
                                                                                                      I believe you heard me,
23
                                                                 23
                                                                      the operational commander in a Crowd Management situation
            MR MPOFU:
                              No.
                                                                 24
                                                                      should be a senior POP member, that is the criticism that I
24
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      - or talk about the
25
                                                                      raise and it stands.
    deviation as, at Roots.
                                                     Page 27353
                                                                                                                       Page 27355
           MR MPOFU:
                             Colonel, listen, it's too late
1
                                                                  1
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                So you did raise a criticism?
2
    for you to change your evidence now. You've already
                                                                  2
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        That is the criticism
3
    testified that you raised your criticism about non-
                                                                  3
                                                                      I'm talking about -
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
    compliance both at Roots and at the Mkhwanazi
4
                                                                  4
                                                                                                So why did you say two
5
    investigation, so you can't change that evidence now,
                                                                      questions you did not raise a criticism?
    unless if you want to contradict yourself. You are under
                                                                  6
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
6
                                                                                                        I am saying that is the
7
                                                                  7
                                                                      criticism I -
    oath.
                                                                  8
8
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Yes, I am under oath,
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Colonel Merafe, don't waste
                                                                  9
9
    but things will not be put into my mouth, whether I'm under
                                                                      time here
    oath or not. I'm going to talk what I know.
                                                                 10
10
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    But Mr Mpofu, Mr Mpofu, the
11
           MR MPOFU:
                             Okay, I'm going to put words
                                                                 11
                                                                      two -
12
    in your mouth now -
                                                                 12
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Well, -
13
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Mr Mpofu, sorry, before you
                                                                 13
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    - there is, (a), people
14
    proceed.
                                                                 14
                                                                      talking over each other which isn't good for the
15
    [09:28] You were with primarily concerns of what happened
                                                                 15
                                                                      transcribers.
    from the 13th to the 15th, is that right?
                                                                 16
                                                                             INTERPRETER:
                                                                                                   Thank you, Sir.
17
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Correct, Chairperson.
                                                                 17
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    And secondly, if he wastes
18
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 You weren't there on the
                                                                 18
                                                                      time I will pull him up -
19
    16th?
                                                                 19
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Okay, well, -
20
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    I wasn't there on the
                                                                 20
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    It is not -
21
    16th.
                                                                 21
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                - then let's waste time -
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                You couldn't give any input
                                                                 22
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
22
                                                                                                    It is not for you to, - no,
                                                                      no, that sarcastic remark is not worthy of you, Mr Mpofu,
    from your own knowledge as to what happened on the 16th?
23
                                                                 23
         COLONEL MERAFE:
                                  No.
                                                                 24
                                                                      let's -
           MR MPOFU:
                            Okay, so when you were
                                                                 25
                                                                             INTERPRETER:
                                                                                                   That is fine -
    RCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 27356
                                                                                                                        Page 27358
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - just carry on without
                                                                       scene should be in charge in a Crowd Management situation,
1
                                                                       apart from that one which you do remember and you told us
2
    unnecessary comments of that kind?
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay, well, then we'll have to
                                                                       about, can you remember any of the other criticisms that
4
    go around this merry go round. Did you -
                                                                       you raised?
                                                                   5
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       The other criticisms
                                 No, no, no, Mr Mpofu, let's
    not go around merry go around and mulberry bushes, just
                                                                   6
                                                                       that I raised was that -
6
                                                                   7
7
    repeat the question and let's see if we get an answer and
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   If you can't remember then
    if he doesn't give you an answer, - I don't think the
8
                                                                       you must just say so. I can see you're racking your brains
9
    answer has been interpreted. Mr Merafe, can you remember
                                                                   9
                                                                       trying to remember, but if you can't remember then you must
10
    what the answer was?
                                                                  10
                                                                       just say so.
11
                                     Yes, Sir.
                                                                  11
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Unless I refer to my
12
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Or shall we hear what Mr
                                                                  12
                                                                       notes, Chairperson.
                                                                  13
13
    Mpofu -
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Yes, you're perfectly
14
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     The answer was -
                                                                  14
                                                                       entitled to refer to your notes, you are perfectly entitled
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       to refer to your notes, do you have your notes here?
                                 - and take a step back?
                                                                  16
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Ja, I have my notes.
16
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     The answer was, I am
                                                                  17
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Do you want him to go
17
    repeating what I have already said which is on record.
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay, did you or did you not
                                                                  18
                                                                       there. Mr Mpofu?
19
    say two or three questions ago that you did not raise
                                                                  19
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                No, I don't, Chairperson.
20
    criticisms of 262, at which point I reminded you that
                                                                  20
                                                                       Listen, Colonel, -
21
    earlier on in the morning you said you had raised those
                                                                  21
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   No, Mr Mpofu, you've asked
22
    criticisms, did that happen or is it a figment of my
                                                                  22
                                                                       him a question and he said he can't remember -
23
    imagination?
                                                                  23
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                I haven't, you asked him that
24
                                                                  24
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I said, Chairperson, I
                                                                       question, I don't want that answer to that question. I'm
25
    raised the issue that the most senior member of the POP in
                                                                  25
                                                                       saying -
                                                      Page 27357
                                                                                                                        Page 27359
    terms of Standing Order 262 is the person, the right person
                                                                   1
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    I see -
1
    to take control in a Crowd Management situation. That is
2
                                                                   2
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 - I don't want to know what
3
    the thing that I raised at Roots. When I was asked if I
                                                                       the criticisms were, all I've asked him, did he raise one
4
    had raised a criticism I said, yes, that is what I meant
                                                                   4
                                                                       or many and he said, many. I'm happy with that, I don't
5
    that.
                                                                   5
                                                                       want to know what they are.
                                                                   6
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
6
           MR MPOFIL:
                              So you raised one criticism,
                                                                                                    Okay, if we can now move on
                                                                   7
7
    that's what you are saying now, this is the third version
                                                                       without referring to his notes.
                                                                   8
8
    you are giving us.
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes
9
                                                                   9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                  If this is a third version,
                                                                                                    Let's move on to the next
    a matter you can argue it later. Did you only raise one
10
                                                                       point.
                                                                  10
    criticism or did you raise more criticisms?
11
                                                                  11
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Correct, ja. So to cut the
12
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     The response, Sir, is
                                                                  12
                                                                       story short, Lieutenant-Colonel Merafe, I don't want to
13
    that we discussed quite a number of things there and to be
                                                                       know what those many criticisms were. My question is
                                                                  14
                                                                       simply this. Are you surprised or are you not surprised
14
    specific I will sometimes miss the ball because there were
                                                                  15
15
    many points that were being discussed. Like for instance
                                                                       that the many criticisms, whatever they are that you raised
                                                                       do not appear in Exhibit L, which was the product of Roots,
16
    talking about the Standing Order, Chairperson, if I was not
                                                                  16
17
    in charge there I am unable to say so and so did right or
                                                                  17
                                                                       yes or no?
18
    wrong here.
                                                                  18
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Yes, Chairperson.
19
           MR MPOFU:
                              Do you even remember the
                                                                  19
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes, you're surprised, okay,
    question, did you raise one criticism or did you raise many
                                                                  20
                                                                       good. Would you even be more surprised if actually what
21
    criticisms?
                                                                  21
                                                                       appears in the police version is that there was great
22
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  22
                                                                       compliance with 262, but even worse than just, it not being
                                     I raised many
    criticisms.
23
                                                                  23
                                                                       there but the opposite being -
        CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Do you remember what they
                                                                  24
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Mr Mpofu, I'm not sure -
    were, apart from the one about the senior POP person at the
                                                                  25
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 - accepted?
   RCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 27360
                                                                                                                         Page 27362
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   I'm not sure if you phrased
                                                                        surprised?
 1
                                                                    1
     that question correctly, I think it would be more correct
                                                                    2
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
 2
                                                                                                         Chair, what I understand
 3
     to phrase it, there is no suggestion in L that there was
                                                                    3
                                                                        Exhibit L to have been, Chairperson was, they were giving
 4
     any noncompliance. I'm not sure you can put it -
                                                                    4
                                                                        the side of the police as to what happened and what's
 5
            MR MPOFU:
                               No -
                                                                    5
                                                                        happening, they were not speaking of criticisms that were
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    6
 6
                                                                        raised
                                       - positively, more
 7
                                                                    7
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
     positively than that, unless there is something, except if
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu now goes further
     you want to -
                                                                        you see, Mr Mpofu puts it that the police version as
 8
 9
                                                                    9
            MR MPOFU:
                               Well, Chairperson, I'm afraid
                                                                        presented here in the opening statement, in the evidence of
     you're making a mistake. Both in the opening statement of
                                                                   10
                                                                        the National Commissioner and so on, goes further. I'm not
10
     SAPS and in 262 and in the evidence of, I mean Exhibit L,
                                                                   11
                                                                        quite sure if he is right but for the purpose of the
11
                                                                   12
12
     in the evidence of -
                                                                        question I think we can assume he is right.
                                                                   13
13
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   I'm -
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Yes.
14
            MR MPOFU:
                               - the National Commissioner,
                                                                   14
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     That their case is or was
15
     the evidence of this one and that one -
                                                                   15
                                                                        perhaps, comparatively recently, that they complied with
                                   No, Mr Mpofu, I'm sorry but
                                                                        262. Now are you surprised at that, that's the question he
16
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   16
                                                                   17
17
     can I say something? My comment was based on L, my
                                                                        asked?
18
     understanding is I don't remember, if there something I
                                                                   18
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Chairperson, at one time
19
     have overlooked I'll be grateful to be reminded of it, I
                                                                   19
                                                                        I read the - hybrid, that this was a hybrid situation and
                                                                        not an ordinary POP operation. They were trying to explain
20
     don't remember any positive statement that they complied
                                                                   20
21
                                                                   21
     with 262, but what I do remember is, I can't remember
                                                                        that in case that it is said that they did not comply, the
22
     anything critical of the police conduct in Exhibit L. It
                                                                   22
                                                                        operation itself was not one of the Standing Order 262, I
23
                                                                   23
                                                                        heard them saying so.
     is a matter that has been covered repeatedly here in cross-
                                                                   24
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I think you're right.
24
     examination, that L -
                                                                   25
25
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         That's what I
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes -
                                                       Page 27361
                                                                                                                         Page 27363
                                  - is a partial statement of
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        understand.
 1
     what happened -
                                                                    2
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     The real thrust of the
 2
 3
           MR MPOFU:
                              Fair enough, -
                                                                    3
                                                                        State's case certainly, - sorry, the police case, certainly
 4
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - whether he -
                                                                    4
                                                                        as presented by people like General Annandale, was that you
                                                                    5
 5
           MR MPOFU:
                              - no, fair enough -
                                                                        can't just look at 262 to see whether 262 was complied with
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    6
                                                                       because 262 didn't exactly cover the situation because it
 6
                                  - doubt the points of
 7
                                                                    7
                                                                        was a hybrid situation, that was what he said here.
     criticism, but if there is something specific that goes
                                                                    8
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
 8
     beyond what I've said then obviously you must bring it to
                                                                                                         That -
 9
                                                                    9
     my attention and the witness, but for the moment you can
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     And you've already said you
10
     put to the witness that, - well, you can put it in your own
                                                                   10
                                                                       don't agree with that, so we don't have to, - Mr Mpofu, I
11
     words, I won't endeavour to paraphrase it because I may get
                                                                   11
                                                                        take it we don't have to go over that again. I take it one
12
     it wrong.
                                                                   12
                                                                        of these days we're going to get to the Mkhwanazi topic
13
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, no, no, fair enough,
                                                                   13
                                                                        directly that I gave you permission to deal with. I
14
     Chairperson, yes. No, maybe I was moving too fast, I spoke
                                                                   14
                                                                        understand this is leading up to it, -
                                                                   15
15
     about L but now I'm talking about the version which is a
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                   16
16
     different thing. I was saying, would you be more surprised
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I understand it is leading
17
     that in the version, and that encapsulates a whole lot of
                                                                   17
                                                                        up to it, but ja.
                                                                   18
18
    things, of SAPS, there are assertions that there was
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Ja, this is the Mkhwanazi
19
     compliance with Regulation 262. That's the question, we
                                                                        topic, Chairperson. What I'm saying is this, that this
     know that you are surprised that is not in L, I was asking
                                                                   20
                                                                       witness is a POP man and Mkhwanazi is a POP man, to the
21
     you a completely different thing now to say, are you even
                                                                   21
                                                                        extent that he participated in the Mkhwanazi process it
22 more surprised that in the version of the police there is
                                                                       would have been around 262 which is what we are dealing
     an assertion that there was compliance with 262 despite
                                                                   23
                                                                        with now, thanks, Chairperson. Now your criticisms or the
```

24

24 your many criticisms and your pointing out many deviations

25 there from. Are you equally surprised or even more

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 021 6457 Fax: 011 440 9119

deviations that you pointed out from the many deviations

that you pointed out from Standing Order 262, which were

```
Page 27364
                                                                                                                         Page 27366
    communicated to the Mkhwanazi process, do you know what
                                                                        late stage, and it wasn't at Roots either, I don't think.
                                                                    2
                                                                        So on no basis does it qualify Roots 2 -
2
    became of that in relation to the Commission? Was that
                                                                    3
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
3
    presented to the Commission, to your knowledge?
                                                                                                  Yes, I meant -
4
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I don't think it is that, I
                                                                    4
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     It was a separate, you're
5
                                                                        correct in saying, I don't think you need the witness to
    don't think it is necessary to ask him that, we know
    ourselves. You've read the, what's called the final
6
                                                                    6
                                                                        give us this information, we have it already, it was a
7
    interim report of what's being called the Mkhwanazi working
                                                                    7
                                                                        separate inquiry into whether the policies, precepts, rules
    group, is that correct?
                                                                    8
                                                                        and so forth applicable to the police operations, the Crowd
8
9
                                                                    9
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      It is so, Sir.
                                                                        Management operations had been complied with.
10
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  And eventually it surfaced
                                                                   10
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Yes
    here at the Commission, rather late in the day but anyway,
                                                                   11
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
11
                                                                                                     I think that's correct and
    that's not something that you know about?
                                                                   12
12
                                                                        to the extent that Roots was involved in that it was a
13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      No, Sir.
                                                                   13
                                                                        duplication, but to the extent that Roots wasn't, it wasn't
14
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, and I just want to
                                                                   14
                                                                        a duplication, but I think all those facts we have.
    understand the relationship between these things, if you
                                                                   15
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
15
                                                                                                  Yes
                                                                   16
16
    can maybe help. Would it be correct that in any event
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     We don't know if you need
17
    Mkhwanazi's involvement at Roots was exactly for that
                                                                   17
                                                                        to ask the witness about them.
18
    purpose to determine what went right and what went wrong
                                                                   18
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Thank you, Chairperson, yes,
19
    from a POP point of view, correct?
                                                                   19
                                                                        the chairperson is correct, when I said Roots 2 I meant it
20
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   20
                                                                        in that sense, not literally that it was in Potchefstroom
                                      It is so, yes.
21
           MR MPOFU:
                              Ja. Well, unfortunately
                                                                   21
                                                                        and so on and so on, but to the extent that both processes,
22
    Brigadier Mkhwanazi did not disclose to this Commission
                                                                   22
                                                                        which you and I have already agreed, from a POP point of
23
    that he was asked to conduct a separate investigation from
                                                                   23
                                                                        view were looking at what went right and what went wrong.
24
    Roots.
                                                                   24
                                                                        It was a repetition of what had occurred at Roots, correct?
25
                                                                   25
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                  Would the witness know
                                                                                                         It was not a repetition
                                                      Page 27365
                                                                                                                         Page 27367
                                                                       of Roots, I have already said the Mkhwanazi meeting, we
1
    that?
2
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                        discussed POPS at Roots, there were many units that were
                              Well, I'm telling him, that's
3
    why I'm telling him that.
                                                                       involved at Marikana, so Roots was covering the whole
4
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I accept what you're
                                                                       spectrum of everything that went, that was happening at
                                                                    5
5
    telling me.
                                                                       Marikana.
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, and are you able to tell
                                                                    6
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
6
                                                                                                 Yes
7
                                                                    7
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
    us and I might have missed this in the transcripts, which
                                                                                                        The one with Mkhwanazi
                                                                    8
                                                                        dealt specifically with -
8
    came first, the Mkhwanazi process or Roots?
9
                                                                    9
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 POPS -
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Roots came first.
           MR MPOFU:
10
                                                                   10
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        - POPS, so -
                              Okay.
11
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Yes, no, no, we are together,
                                  When you appeared before
                                                                   11
12
    this working group, was Roots already over or did you leave
                                                                   12
                                                                        again maybe I didn't make it clear or you didn't listen to
13
    Roots as it were for a while to appear before the working
                                                                   13
                                                                        the question. I'm saying I accept all that, the other one
14
    group and then go back to Roots?
                                                                   14
                                                                       was bigger, it was in Potchefstroom and all those
15
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   15
                                                                        differences. All I'm saying to you is that to the extent
                                     Roots, I was not at
16
    Roots at that time, I was back to my unit, it was over, I
                                                                   16
                                                                        that we are dealing with POP issues and Mkhwanazi being a
17
    think so.
                                                                   17
                                                                       POP man, what happened at Roots which was looking at what
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, so from a POP's point of
                                                                   18
                                                                       went right, what went wrong was repeated in the Mkhwanazi
19
    view the Mkhwanazi process was Roots 2, because they were
                                                                        process, or what we now call the Mkhwanazi process which is
20
    looking to the same thing, what went right, what went
                                                                       what went right and what went wrong from a POP point of
21
    wrong, correct?
                                                                   21
                                                                        view, correct, to that extent it was a repetition?
22
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I don't know if your way of
                                                                   22
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I say it was not a
    putting it, Roots 2 could mean a number of things. It was
                                                                   23
                                                                       repetition, it was a single meeting talking about POPS. At
24 certainly not intended to be a presentation that was put
                                                                   24
                                                                       Roots it was a meeting of all components that was at
25 before us because it was kept away from us until a very
                                                                       Marikana, it cannot be a repetition.
```

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 27368
                                                                                                                           Page 27370
           MR MPOFU:
                             No, I think you understand the
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
 1
                                                                     1
                                                                                                          I was called alone on
    question, you are just -
 2
                                                                        that day, Chairperson, whether other people were called or
 3
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Mr Mpofu, I think you must
                                                                     3
                                                                         not I don't know. I did not see any known POP person
 4
    agree to differ on that, I understand what's the point
                                                                     4
                                                                         there.
 5
    you're putting, I understand what the witness says, I think
                                                                     5
                                                                                MR MPOFIL:
                                                                                                   Alright before I deal, I'm now
    we're in -
 6
                                                                     6
                                                                        just going to deal with some of the contents of the
 7
           MR MPOFU:
                             Well, that's fine -
                                                                     7
                                                                         Nkwanazi report. I just want you to comment on this.
8
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                Well, you can address us at
                                                                     8
                                                                         Given what you and I have discussed this morning so far I'm
                                                                     9
 9
    the end as to what the correct interpretation is, but I'm
                                                                         going to argue that the version that was given to the
10
    not sure if the resolution of the difference between the
                                                                    10
                                                                        Commissioner either in exhibit L or your statement or by
11
    two of you will take us much further in dealing with our
                                                                    11
                                                                         other witnesses is the sanitised version of the full extent
    terms of reference.
                                                                    12
12
                                                                        of what happened at Roots. In other words by that I mean
13
           MR MPOFU:
                             Alright, you were, at all
                                                                    13
                                                                        for example that sanitisation means cleaning out something.
14
    these processes you were seen as a kind of POP expert or
                                                                        That while you introduced into the mix there many
15
    Crowd Management expert, correct?
                                                                        criticisms and deviations those deviations were sanitised
           COLONEL MERAFE:
16
                                    It is correct.
                                                                    16
                                                                         out and edited out. By the time exhibit L was brought here
17
           MR MPOFU:
                             For example that could be the
                                                                    17
                                                                        it did not contain those criticisms, not only from you from
18
    only reason that you would have been asked about the
                                                                    18
                                                                        other people as you have testified.
19
    deployment of barbed wire on the 16th when you were not even
                                                                    19
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Mr Mpofu -
20
    there, it was because of your broader knowledge of those
                                                                    20
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   What do you say to that?
21
    kinds of issues, correct?
                                                                    21
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      I don't think he can
22
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    22
                                                                        answer in relation to the evidence given by other witnesses
                                    Correct, Chair.
23
           MR MPOFU:
                             Who are the other people from
                                                                    23
                                                                        here.
                                                                    24
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
24
    POP to your knowledge who gave evidence or participated in
                                                                                                   Okay.
25
                                                                    25
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
    the Mkhwanazi process?
                                                                                                      He can only testify about
                                                       Page 27369
                                                                                                                           Page 27371
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      Colonel Mkhari of
                                                                        himself and what he's seen.
 1
     Gauteng Provincial office, Colonel Twala, Public Order in
                                                                     2
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
 2
                                                                                                  Agreed. Yes, okay so subject
 3
     National.
                                                                        to that, so what I've already asked you if you still
 4
     [09:48] Former Colonel Ali who was with us at the
                                                                        remember but take out the fact that other people might have
 5
     training POP.
                                                                     5
                                                                        also voiced criticisms. That it was sanitised only to the
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I'm sorry to interrupt
                                                                     6
                                                                        extent that your criticisms were eliminated.
 6
 7
                                                                     7
     you. I'm not sure -
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          If you want to argue, I
 8
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      He was with us at
                                                                    8
                                                                        am saying it is in the powers of counsel, Sir, to argue in
                                                                     9
 9
                                                                        that way. If he feels that some of the things that I
     training at POP training.
10
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Yes, I'm not sure that you
                                                                    10
                                                                        mentioned did not appear in the presentation he has the
     and Mr Mpofu are dealing with the same point. The people
11
                                                                    11
                                                                        right to do that argument.
12
     you've mentioned to us as far I know were members of the
                                                                    12
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Yes. No, thank you for
13
     panel of which Brigadier Nkwanazi was a member. I
                                                                    13
                                                                        defining my right. What I'm saying to you is that I'm
14
     understood Mr Mpofu to be interested in whether other
                                                                    14
                                                                        asking you that when I say that your criticisms were
15
                                                                    15
                                                                        eliminated deliberately will I be right or will I be wrong
     witnesses, other witnesses is perhaps the wrong word, but
16
     other POP people to your knowledge participate in the sense
                                                                    16
                                                                        at the end?
17
     that they appeared before the panel as you did and gave
                                                                    17
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      I'm not sure he can deal
18
     their opinion. Obviously you wouldn't know what they said
                                                                    18
                                                                        with the deliberate part.
                                                                    19
     but I think Mr Mpofu wants to know do you know what other
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Well, okay.
     POP people did what you did and went and appeared before
                                                                    20
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      But with respect does the
21
     the panel to give their views on such matters that the
                                                                    21
                                                                        question take any further.
     panel asked them about. Can you answer that? Is that
                                                                    22
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Ja.
     right, Mr Mpofu, that's what you're about?
                                                                    23
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      We've seen L, we've heard
24
          MR MPOFU:
                               That's correct.
                                                                        his evidence. We're in a position to decide to what extent
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Ja.
                                                                        L didn't contain matter which you will contend it should
```

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

```
Page 27372
                                                                                                                         Page 27374
    have contained but I'm not sure this witness's opinion on
                                                                       you've looked through the whole thing on the screen you can
     the matter will take it any further.
                                                                    2
                                                                        then tell us what it is that you don't agree with, if there
2
3
            MR MPOFU:
                               No, fine. That's okay,
                                                                    3
                                                                        is anything that you don't agree with.
4
    alright. The, you've now seen the Nkwanazi report?
                                                                    4
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Okay.
5
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    5
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Exhibit LLL11.
                                      I saw it there.
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    6
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                               And do you agree with its
                                                                                                 11, LLL11, Chairperson.
6
7
    contents?
                                                                    7
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     The purpose is the first
                                                                    8
8
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      If you want to see
                                                                       paragraph. Then there are unique challenges in the second.
9
    whether I agree with, I think you should go to the specific
                                                                    9
                                                                        Is there anything specific that you want to put to the
    points because there are many things that are being
                                                                   10
                                                                       witness from the report?
10
    mentioned there.
                                                                   11
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
11
                                                                                                 No, not at all. I've asked
12
                                                                   12
            MR MPOFU:
                               Ja, I'm doing exactly that.
                                                                       him a simple question. Is there anything in the report
13
     I'm doing a shortcut. Are there points in the report that
                                                                        that he disagrees with so that we know, if the answer is no
14
    you don't agree with?
                                                                   14
                                                                        then we know he agrees with all of it.
15
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      I am reading that we
                                                                   15
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Okay well it's not a very
16
    don't do shortcuts, that we go through -
                                                                   16
                                                                       long report. So you've seen the first page of it.
17
            MR MPOFU:
                               No, you can't tell me how I
                                                                   17
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I've seen the first
18
    must do my cross-examination. I'm asking you a question.
                                                                   18
                                                                       page, Chairperson.
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
19
     Is there points that you don't agree with?
                                                                   19
                                                                                                     Let's move to the second
20
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Mr Mpofu, sorry you can't
                                                                   20
                                                                       page.
                                                                   21
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
21
    tell him how to answer. Would you prefer to have a, to
                                                                                                        I've got nothing.
                                                                   22
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
22
    look, to have a copy up on the screen of the report and you
                                                                                                     Alright. You've seen the
23
                                                                   23
                                                                       second page now, anything on the second page you don't
    don't have to go through it in-depth. Obviously Mr Mpofu
                                                                   24
                                                                        agree with?
24
    has very commendably tried to cut this as short, keep this
                                                                   25
25
    as short as he can. Something I would support. But if it
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Ja, Chairperson the
                                                       Page 27373
                                                                                                                         Page 27375
    will help you to answer his question in a helpful way to us
                                                                       issue of the language Fanagalo used there, I don't agree
1
    then if the report were put on the screen then perhaps we
                                                                    2
                                                                       with it.
2
3
    must do. Would you prefer that? Would that help you to
                                                                    3
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 You don't agree that it is
4
    answer his question?
                                                                    4
                                                                       used in the mining environment. Generally in the country.
                                                                    5
5
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Ja, Chairperson, I'd
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I agree that it is used
    prefer that because I don't want to go wild without
                                                                    6
                                                                       in the mining environment but during the time when we,
6
7
                                                                    7
    focusing on what I'm answering about.
                                                                       General Mpembe was speaking with the miners they were able
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 We don't have to read it
                                                                    8
8
                                                                       to hear each other and they responded accordingly.
9
                                                                    9
    aloud. It's just sufficient to be put on the screen.
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    The suggestion is the use
10
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                       of the language was an inhibiting factor in communication.
                                     Okay.
                                                                   10
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       You say that's not correct, General Mpembe spoke Zulu to
11
                                 And you can look at it,
                                                                   11
                                                                   12
                                                                       them, I think, most of, well the majority of them I think
12
    page by page.
13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Okay.
                                                                   13
                                                                       were Xhosa speakers or certainly speakers of the Nguni
14
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Pick up points, and tell
                                                                   14
                                                                       language and they appeared to understand him and they
                                                                   15
                                                                       communicated with each other.
15
    us if there's anything there that you don't agree with.
                                                                   16
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
16
    That's the point that Mr Mpofu is concerned.
                                                                                                        Yes, Chairperson.
17
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Thank you, Chairperson.
                                                                   17
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    So there wasn't an
18
    That would be fair for me.
                                                                   18
                                                                       inhibiting factor in communication?
19
           MR MPOFU:
                              That's fine, we're going to be
                                                                   19
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        No.
    fine. But from your own memory can you remember anything
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Alright. Anything else on
21
    that you don't agree with in that report?
                                                                   21
                                                                       that, that's your evidence, is that right?
22
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 I don't think he need to
                                                                   22
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Can I deal with that.
    answer that question. Let's have it on the screen and you
                                                                   23
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
23
                                                                                                    That's fine, you're cross-
24 can look at it page by page. Make little notes as you go
                                                                   24
                                                                       examining aren't you?
    along. If you see anything you disagree with and then when
                                                                   25
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Thank you. Well, so you think
  ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 27376
                                                                                                                          Page 27378
    that when General Mpembe asked for Mr Blou, for a Fanagalo
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Any other criticisms on
                                                                    1
    interpreter he was just wasting his time?
                                                                        this page, I don't think we've got the whole page. Let's
2
                                                                    2
                                     I don't say he was
3
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    3
                                                                        just move the page down a bit.
4
    wasting his time. My argument is General Mpembe was
                                                                    4
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          It's okay, you can go,
5
    speaking to the miners and the miners and General Mpembe
                                                                    5
                                                                        Chairperson. The page can proceed.
                                                                    6
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
    including myself who is Setswana speaking we hear each
                                                                                                      That's the end of the
6
7
                                                                    7
    other, we were understanding what we said to each other.
                                                                        page. Any other criticism that you have with anything on
    So it cannot be right to say Fanagalo was -
                                                                    8
                                                                        that, on that page before we move onto the next page.
8
9
                                                                    9
           MR MPOFU:
                              An inhibiting factor.
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          No, let's move to the
10
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   10
                                     There was a problem
                                                                        next page.
                                                                   11
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
11
    there.
                                                                                                      Okay, no other criticisms
12
                                                                   12
           MR MPOFU:
                              So you think, look it's one
                                                                        on that page. Now we're onto the next page. There' a
    thing for people to make do, I can speak in Xhosa, you
                                                                        number of points I would imagine that you agree with, they
13
14
    answer me in Tswana. But you do agree that the better
                                                                   14
                                                                        talk about the capacity to rapidly -
    solution is if we are speaking in the same language and we
                                                                   15
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          Ja, I agree with.
15
                                                                   16
16
    understand each other? That is preferable.
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Capacity rapidly to
17
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     The better thing is for
                                                                   17
                                                                        mobilise and deploy which previously existed didn't exist
    us to hear each other and understand each other. That is
18
                                                                   18
                                                                        thereafter because of the changes, restructuring and that
19
    the basis of my argument regarding that.
                                                                   19
                                                                        caused a problem, you agree with that?
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  There's a complicating
                                                                   20
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          I agree with that.
21
    factor here. He was concerned that what happened on the
                                                                   21
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      You don't dispute that.
22
    13th. Subsequently in the period up to the 15th I think
                                                                   22
                                                                        Anything that you disagree with on that page.
23
    when there was negotiations with Lieutenant Colonel
                                                                   23
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          I do agree with
24
    Macintosh there I think Fanagalo was used and there was an
                                                                   24
                                                                        everything in the page.
                                                                   25
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
25
    interpreter who interpreted. But and the suggestion seems
                                                                                                      Page. I think we've got
                                                       Page 27377
                                                                                                                          Page 27379
    to be the fact that Fanagalo was used was an inhibiting
                                                                        the whole page now on the screen. Anything there you
                                                                    2
                                                                        disagree with?
2
    factor but if the witness doesn't know anything about that
3
    because he wasn't involved in those negotiations -
                                                                    3
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        No, I do agree,
4
           MR MPOFU:
                             Ja, I'm only confining to the
                                                                    4
                                                                        Chairperson.
                                                                    5
5
    one where he was involved. I'm putting a simple
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Okay fine, thank you. So the
    proposition. I'm saying if the two people speaking in
6
                                                                    6
                                                                        only thing in that whole report that you disagree with is
    different languages was not an inhibiting factor then Mr
                                                                    7
7
                                                                        the fact that Fanagalo was or was not an inhibiting factor.
8
    Mpembe, General Mpembe would not have asked for a Fanagalo
                                                                        Otherwise you agree with the whole report. If you can take
9
                                                                    9
    interpreter. Would you at least accept that? That he,
                                                                        out that paragraph, you'll agree with the whole report
                                                                   10
10
    when he could not get an interpreter then he took the
                                                                        correct?
    second best solution which was he speaks in Zulu and the
                                                                   11
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
11
                                                                                                        I do agree with the
12
    answer in Fanagalo. But that was the second best thing.
                                                                   12
                                                                        whole report.
                                                                   13
13
    It's simply because he was denied the first, his first
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Thank you. Now do you think
14
    choice of having a Fanagalo interpreter. Would you at
                                                                   14
                                                                        that issues like undermining of collective bargaining
15
    least accept that?
                                                                   15
                                                                        processes which are contained in that report should have
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   16
                                                                        been concerns of the police?
16
                                    Chairperson, I can't at
17
    least accept. I say the people who were there at the
                                                                   17
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I am not sure that, that
18
    railway crossing and General Mpembe were understanding,
                                                                   18
                                                                        question's sufficiently clear for me to understand it, I
19
    hearing each other and they were able to at least agree at
                                                                   19
                                                                        don't know whether the witness understands it.
    the end of the day. Now for us to say the Fanagalo was a
                                                                   20
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 I think the witness
21
    problem there, people should have come and speak Fanagalo
                                                                   21
                                                                        understands otherwise he'll say so.
22
    in order for the people to communicate, it's wrong.
                                                                   22
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Do you understand the
           MR MPOFU:
                          Okay, that's fine, it's wrong,
                                                                   23
23
                                                                        question fully?
24 totally wrong. Alright what other points do you disagree
                                                                   24
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I want Advocate to go
                                                                        clear and tell me the bargaining processes between whom and
   with in the report?
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTI
```

```
Page 27380
                                                                                                                           Page 27382
    whom so that the part of the police also I should
                                                                         resulted in a power struggle at the time that led to
2
    understand before I respond. Can you tell me what you say.
                                                                     2
                                                                         rivalry among the employees" and so on and so on. Those
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              What do you think, bargaining
                                                                     3
                                                                         issues that are discussed in that paragraph about
    processes -
4
                                                                     4
                                                                         undermining of collective bargaining processes concerns of
           COLONEL MERAFE:
5
                                     You talk about -
                                                                    5
                                                                         the police or not?
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    6
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                              Between the union and
                                                                                                           No, they are not.
6
7
                                                                    7
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
    management.
                                                                                                    Yes.
8
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    8
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Okay.
                                                                                                           The police problem.
                                                                    9
9
           MR MPOFU:
                             That's obvious. Do you think
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   And therefore the, to the
    that the issues about the bargaining, the undermining of
                                                                        extent that the report contains things that should not be
10
                                                                    10
    the bargaining processes between the union and management
                                                                         concerns of the police it can be criticised as including
11
                                                                    11
    in, were, should have been concerns of the police or not?
12
                                                                    12
                                                                         things which should not be there, correct?
13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     No, that's not a police
                                                                    13
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                    Chairperson, the, on a
14
    problem.
                                                                    14
                                                                         reading of this paragraph 2.2 it's not clear that this is
15
           MR MPOFU:
                             And do you think that the
                                                                         considered to be a concern of the police and I'm not sure
    issues like the impact on the strike on the economy should
16
                                                                         that it is fair in fact to ask the witness questions along
17
    have been concerns of the police?
                                                                    17
                                                                         the lines that Mr Mpofu is doing now.
18
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Not to do with the
                                                                    18
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       Yes, well I don't think we
    police, Chair.
19
                                                                    19
                                                                         should put words in the witness's mouth. But I must say
20
           MR MPOFU:
                             So the inclusion of those
                                                                    20
                                                                         well I won't say what I think, let's get the witness -
21
    kinds of considerations would be something you would
                                                                    21
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                    I think that's -
                                                                    22
22
    criticise, correct?
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       The, do you have any
23
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    23
                                                                         comment to make about this paragraph. You say that the
                                     Inclusion of it where?
24
           MR MPOFU:
                              In the evaluation by the
                                                                    24
                                                                         undermining of collective bargaining process which it talks
25
    police of Nkwanazi, of the situation in, of the operation
                                                                    25
                                                                         about and was allegedly caused by rivalry and a power
                                                       Page 27381
                                                                                                                           Page 27383
                                                                        struggle between different unions said that that then led
1
    as such.
2
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     That is so, Sir.
                                                                        to a fight for dominance resulting in murder, assault,
3
           MR MPOFU:
                              But you said you agree with
                                                                        damage to property and arson. To what extent if at all
4
    all those things.
                                                                        matters raised in this paragraph matters of concern to the
                                                                    5
5
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I understood he agreed
                                                                        police?
    with what was in the report, he didn't say whether, because
                                                                    6
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
6
                                                                                                         I am saying, Chair, the
                                                                    7
7
    you didn't ask him, whether there were other matters that
                                                                        bargaining processes between the employer and the employee
    he thought that they should have dealt that they didn't
8
                                                                        is not a problem of the police. It belongs to the two
9
    deal with, which is what you really busy with now. Well I
                                                                        mentioned groups, the employer and the employee. The
    suppose I'll ask the question. You say you agreed with
                                                                    10
                                                                        problem of the police is when a crime has been committed or
10
    apart from the Fanagalo point that you mentioned you're
                                                                        is being committed. Because once a crime has been
11
                                                                    11
12
    agreeing with what's in the report? Were there other
                                                                    12
                                                                        committed the police should be there.
13
    factors which in your view were relevant which were not
                                                                    13
                                                                        [10:07] In order to prevent crime, in order to stop
14
    considered or dealt with in the report?
                                                                    14
                                                                        people from killing each other and so forth.
15
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    15
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                     Chairperson, I've said
                                                                                                 Yes. Yes, and in fairness,
    the report of Brigadier Nkwanazi, I do agree with it. But
                                                                    16
                                                                        that's exactly the steadfast evidence of the National
17
    the thing that counsel is raising some of the things that
                                                                    17
                                                                        Commissioner of Police when she was sitting where you are
18
    are not covered by the Nkwanazi. We need to deal with them
                                                                    18
                                                                        sitting, was that the police had no concern whatsoever on
19
    and I should respond where I can.
                                                                    19
                                                                        labour issues, but was there, as you are saying, for crime
                              Okay, can you go to 2.2, can
20
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    20
                                                                        prevention. So you agree with her?
21
    you roll back. 2.2 of the report. Can you read that,
                                                                    21
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         It is so, Sir.
22 either silently or openly, 2.2. It says "the collective
                                                                    22
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 And similarly the impact of
    bargaining processes was created to ensure that it provided
                                                                    23
                                                                        the strike to the economy, that's no business of the
24 a structured platform to concern around labour issues could
                                                                    24
                                                                        police, correct?
25 be addressed. Undermining of this process by the union
                                                                    25
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Correct, Sir.
```

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

17

18

19

21

22

23

Chairperson is correct. In fact I don't even have to ask

be voluntary because of the terrain because that's not

something you said you disagree with, correct?

24 dispersion that is involuntary, or that is forced or

COLONEL MERAFE:

MR MPOFU:

Tel: 011 021 6457 Fax: 011 440 9119

you. I must assume that you agree with what is contained

in the report that dispersion from the koppie would have to

Correct, Chairperson.

And that would mean that any

```
Page 27384
                                                                                                                          Page 27386
            MR MPOFU:
                               And do you agree with what is
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
 1
                                                                    1
                                                                                                         Mostly in many instances
     contained in the report as well that the dispersion of the
                                                                        the police ask the people to do things voluntarily on their
 2
                                                                    2
 3
     people from the koppie would have to be voluntary because
                                                                    3
                                                                        own, but there are times, Chairperson, when after such a
 4
     of the terrain?
                                                                        request there is no compliance with it, you enforce the
                                                                    5
 5
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        law.
                                  He certainly agreed with
     everything in the report if he looked through -
                                                                    6
 6
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  No, please listen to me very
 7
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                    7
                                                                        carefully. I accept what you are saying. Even the
                               Yes.
 8
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    8
                                                                        apartheid police would pretend to give you five minutes and
                                   - looked through it before
 9
     he answered, so I take it you can assume the answer to that
                                                                    9
                                                                        then charge after one minute. I'm saying to you it's one
10
                                                                    10
                                                                        thing if you were in a, if these people had gathered on a
     is yes.
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                    11
                                                                        soccer field, okay, you would still have to ask them nicely
11
                               Yes. Well, Chairperson, I'm
                                                                    12
12
     grateful for that, but it was a question that was prefacing
                                                                        first, okay, and if they don't then you would have to
13
     my next questions, because I didn't want to ask him about
                                                                    13
                                                                        enforce the law. Is that correct?
14
     things he didn't agree with -
                                                                    14
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Correct, Chairperson.
15
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    15
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                  No, no, no, I gave an
                                                                                                  Yes, but now because of the
16
     answer which I think was a repetition of what he'd said
                                                                        terrain - that's what the report says - because of the
17
     earlier, so that forms the launching pad for your next
                                                                    17
                                                                        terrain that they were at, which is not a flat soccer
18
     question. You can proceed.
                                                                        stadium, it was not advisable to have an involuntary
19
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes
                                                                    19
                                                                        dispersion. That's the only reading you can get from this.
            MR NTSONKOTA:
20
                                    Chair, sorry, pardon to
                                                                    20
                                                                        Is that correct? Agreed? Nodding doesn't help. Do you
21
     interrupt Mr Mpofu. Just with reference to paragraph 2.2
                                                                   21
                                                                        agree or do you not agree?
                                                                    22
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Chairperson, I've said,
22
     of the report I just want to make it clear that at least
23
     insofar as the evidence led in the Commission thus far
                                                                   23
                                                                        and I will repeat, the police will request nicely, get out
24
     there's no evidence to suggest, even faintly so, that NUM
                                                                    24
                                                                        of that place. You then get the police will remove you the
25
                                                                        next time. They told you that now we remove you, then they
     undermined this process of -
                                                       Page 27385
                                                                                                                          Page 27387
 1
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  No, no, [inaudible]
                                                                        will remove you.
                                                                     1
     objection to the question was it's really a disagreement
                                                                    2
 2
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  No, no, Colonel, please,
 3
     with the reports, but we're not concerned with whether NUM
                                                                    3
                                                                        please, please, I'm begging you, listen to the question.
 4
     disagrees with the report. We're not concerned whether the
                                                                    4
                                                                        I'm saying again, if protesters let's say are in a petrol
 5
     report is correct or not. Mr Mpofu is simply asking the
                                                                        refinery, okay, it would not be advisable to throw, to
     witness, who was one of the witnesses before that working
                                                                    6
                                                                        shoot there because there might be a big explosion. Do you
 6
     group, to what extent he agrees with that report. But it's
                                                                    7
                                                                        understand that?
 7
                                                                    8
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
 8
     a different matter, so -
                                                                                                          I understand that,
 9
                                                                    9
            MR NTSONKOTA:
                                                                        Counsel.
                                    I'm just raising it,
                                                                    10
10
     Chair, just -
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Ja, so as a function of the
11
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  You've made the point, not
                                                                    11
                                                                        terrain, the fact that what you might be doing if it was a
12
     quite properly because it's not really an objection, but
                                                                    12
                                                                        nice flat ground at a stadium, the terrain might determine
13
     it's been made. So the water is under the bridge. Mr
                                                                    13
                                                                        that you do not enforce the law in the same way because of
14
     Mpofu will continue.
                                                                    14
                                                                        the terrain. That's what is meant here. Here, because of
15
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                    15
                                                                        the terrain, only a voluntary dispersion was advisable and
                               Chair, I'm going to move away
     from this very quickly. All I'm saying for now is - the
16
                                                                    16
                                                                        not an involuntary one, a forced one. Do you agree?
```

imposed would be incorrect, would be wrong.

25 that were learnt from the whole episode, correct?

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

COLONEL MERAFE:

COLONEL MERAFE:

COLONEL MERAFE:

MR MPOFU:

MR MPOFU:

MR MPOFU:

Okay.

Now you understand?

I agree.

Thank you. Thank you very

And you agree?

much. Alright, now let's move on. Again obviously you

also agree with what Brigadier Mkhwanazi says the lessons

Now I understand.

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

```
Page 27388
                                                                                                                        Page 27390
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                      it.
1
                                     Correct, Chairperson.
                                                                   1
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   2
2
                             Now I know that you said you
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Okay, let me just say one
3
    can't remember all the criticisms, but is it possible that
                                                                   3
                                                                       thing -
4
    one of the criticisms that you raised as far as non-
                                                                   4
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Even though it wasn't
5
    compliance with the prescripts as such was the fact that
                                                                       covered by the topics you were given permission to cross-
6
    pellets were used which were burned by the police?
                                                                   6
                                                                       examine on.
7
                                                                   7
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    No, Chairperson.
                                                                                                Yes. No, that's true,
8
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   8
                                                                       Chairperson. I'm saying that in - okay, you are a senior
                             Ja, no okay, and that might be
                                                                   9
9
    because maybe at that stage you were not aware that pellets
                                                                       POP commander in the North West, correct?
    were used. Otherwise if you were aware you would have put
                                                                  10
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       That is so, in
10
11
    that as one of your criticisms, correct?
                                                                  11
                                                                       Rustenburg, Sir.
12
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  12
                                     Correct, Chairperson.
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Yes, in the Madibeng area.
13
           MR MPOFU:
                             Yes, okay, now you were in
                                                                  13
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Madibeng area have got a
14
    charge of the operation more recently on Mothotlung when
                                                                  14
                                                                       satellite unit there.
    pellets were also used, correct?
                                                                  15
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Yes, and both the areas I'm
15
16
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Incorrect. No.
                                                                  16
                                                                       talking about are in the Madibeng area. I'm saying to you
17
           MR MPOFU:
                             Okay, let me put it this way.
                                                                  17
                                                                       as both in the operation that we are talking about, you and
18
    It was -
                                                                       I are talking about here in relation to deviations from the
19
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Mr Mpofu, this isn't
                                                                  19
                                                                       prescripts, in the same area of your jurisdiction in the
20
    covered by the topic for which I gave you permission -
                                                                  20
                                                                       Marikana incident and in the Mothotlung incident it would
21
           MR MPOFU:
                             Well, Chairperson -
                                                                  21
                                                                       seem that pellets were used, although they were banned. Is
22
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  22
                                                                       that so?
                                 And I'm not interested in
23
    what happened subsequently at Mothotlung. It's not covered
                                                                  23
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       That is so, yes.
                                                                  24
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
    by our terms of reference either, unless you can - but in
24
                                                                                                Ja, and I'm asking this, the
                                                                      only relevance to that with the Mkhwanazi report is simply
25
    any case, it's not an issue on which you asked permission
                                                                                                                        Page 27391
                                                      Page 27389
                                                                      this; had you known, and I'm accepting that you might not
1
     to cross-examine this witness, and -
                                                                      have known that pellets were used at the Marikana incident
2
            MR MPOFU:
                               Ja, Chairperson, I can accept
3
     that, and I can justify why it is relevant, but honestly,
                                                                   3
                                                                      at that stage, but had you known that, that would have been
     you can't say you're not interested, Chairperson, when
                                                                   4
                                                                      one of the criticisms that you would have raised with the
 4
5
                                                                      Mkhwanazi people as a deviation from the prescripts,
     people were killed in Marikana with pellets that were
                                                                   6
                                                                      correct?
     disallowed and they were killed again by the same police,
6
7
                                                                   7
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
     Bophuthatswana police or whatever it's called.
                                                                                                       Correct, yes.
                                                                  8
8
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   We know -
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Thank you. Chairperson, if I
9
                                                                   9
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                      can just check my notes. Do you know the origin of the
                                North West police, ja.
                                                                      assertion in the Mkhwanazi report that the strikers
10
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   Mr Mpofu, we know that
                                                                  10
                                                                      regarded the koppie as holy ground, which you agree with?
     fact. We know, it's been put before us. It indicates that
                                                                  11
11
     the ban on pellets was not an entirely successful one and
                                                                  12
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I saw it.
12
                                                                  13
13
     the use of pellets persisted after the ban. That's a fact
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                No, not only have you seen it,
                                                                  14
                                                                      you also agree with it. I'm saying do you know its origin?
14
     we now know -
                                                                  15
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
15
            MR MPOFU:
                                Yes.
                                                                                                       I don't know where it
16
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   It's been established
                                                                  16
                                                                      originated, but what I'm saying is that I saw it.
17
     before us. The actual details of how the ban was
                                                                  17
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                So why do you agree with
18
     contravened -
                                                                  18
                                                                      something you don't know, whose origins you don't know?
19
            MR MPOFU:
                                That's not what I'm asking.
                                                                  19
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       You asked me if I saw
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   - are not a matter of
                                                                      that the strikers in the report are said to regard the
20
21
     concern to us.
                                                                  21
                                                                       mountain as holy. I said I saw that. You did not ask me
                                                                  22
22
            MR MPOFU:
                               No, that's not what I'm
                                                                      if I agree with it.
                                                                  23
                                                                             MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                I did. I asked you earlier to
23
    asking.
         CHAIRPERSON:
                                  You put to the witness he
                                                                  24
                                                                      point out - you said the only thing you did not agree with
    was in charge at that subsequent operation. He's denied
                                                                      was the Fanagalo thing. That means you agree with
```

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 27392
                                                                                                                         Page 27394
                                                                       but that's not true because the evidence is that they moved
    everything else. So why do you agree with something whose
    origin you don't know?
                                                                   2
                                                                       from the so-called holy ground and in fact they moved, they
2
3
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 I don't think you're
                                                                   3
                                                                       went home every day, leaving the holy ground behind, and
4
    putting it accurately.
                                                                   4
                                                                       when the barbed wire was rolled out they also left the holy
5
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                       ground. So your justification of that is just based on
                              Okay -
                                                                   6
                                                                       nonsensical -
6
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 He was asked "What do you
7
                                                                   7
    disagree with?" Now he told us what he disagreed with.
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Chairperson -
    I'm not sure that that necessarily means he agrees with
                                                                   8
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
8
                                                                                                 - or absent evidence.
                                                                   9
9
    everything else -
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Objection, Chairperson. What
10
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   10
                                                                       Mr Mpofu has put to the witness now is not accurate. The
                              No, it doesn't, but I asked
                                                                       evidence is that every evening the majority would leave and
11
    the question -
                                                                   11
12
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 There are two categories.
                                                                   12
                                                                       some would remain on the koppie. That is the evidence.
13
    One is he agrees with things. The other things he's not
                                                                   13
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Oh, I see. So was it holy
14
    able to disagree -
                                                                   14
                                                                       ground for some?
15
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   15
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Mr Mpofu -
                              No -
                                                                   16
16
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 - but it may be that you
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Colonel -
17
    asked him in terms does he agree, in which case he should
                                                                   17
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Mr Mpofu, I'm reluctant to
18
    have said there are some things I can't comment on, but
                                                                   18
                                                                       interrupt you, but you're busy now with a point which will
19
    that's the point you're busy with.
                                                                   19
                                                                       give us no assistance whatever when we come to write our
           MR MPOFU:
20
                              Yes, Chairperson.
                                                                   20
                                                                       report in our terms of reference. The question is in my
21
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Alright, carry on, on that
                                                                   21
                                                                       opinion irrelevant and I disallow it. Please move on to
22
    basis.
                                                                   22
                                                                       the next point.
23
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                  23
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, Chairperson. I did not
                                                                                                 Well then, Chairperson, you
    make that mistake. I asked him, that's why I asked him
                                                                   24
                                                                       should have disallowed my entire cross-examination because
24
25
    exactly that question. Once we've finished with Fanagalo I
                                                                       I've asked about other aspects of -
                                                      Page 27393
                                                                                                                         Page 27395
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Mr Mpofu -
 1
     said does that mean you agree with the rest, and he said
                                                                   1
                                                                   2
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                I mean really -
2
    yes. So I'm working on that basis, Chairperson -
3
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Mr Mpofu, I don't propose
                                   Okay, carry on -
4
            MR MPOFU:
                               I didn't leave that gap. I
                                                                       to go back and to adopt what you now suggest. I've allowed
5
    wouldn't do that mistake.
                                                                       you to ask questions in the hope that you get evidence
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       which will assist us in our terms of reference and I've
6
                                   Carry on, on that basis.
7
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                   7
                               Ja. You remember that I asked
                                                                       been very patient, but this particular issue is one which,
8
    you a specific question after the Fanagalo discussion that
                                                                       par excellence is one which will not assist us at all to
9
                                                                   9
     said that means you agree with the rest and you said yes?
                                                                       write our report. I've disallowed the question. Please
                                                                   10
10
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                       move on.
                                      That is so.
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                   11
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
11
                               Yes, thank you very much. Now
                                                                                                Okay. Alright, Chairperson.
     in respect of the holy ground allegation, why do you agree
                                                                   12
                                                                       Chairperson, if I can just consult my notes. As a senior
12
13
     with something whose origin you don't know?
                                                                       POP person you would agree that some of the requirements
14
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      When you speak of an
                                                                   14
                                                                       regarding the behaviour of SAPS members during an operation
15
                                                                   15
                                                                       might not be written in black and white in 262, but might
     origin, Sir, exactly what do you mean?
                                                                  16
                                                                       emanate just from common sense? Would you agree with that?
16
            MR MPOFU:
                               Okay, let me put it this way.
17
     Do you agree that the strikers regarded the koppie as their
                                                                   17
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   [Microphone off, inaudible]
18
    holy ground?
                                                                   18
                                                                       got to do with the topic you were given permission to ask
19
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                       If people refuse to move
                                                                   19
                                                                       questions on?
    from a particular place it means they believe it is their
                                                                   20
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                It's exactly to do with the
20
21
     own place.
                                                                   21
                                                                       issue of deviations, Chairperson. If they deviated from
22
            MR MPOFU:
                               When did they refuse to leave?
                                                                       both the letter and the spirit of 262 then those would be
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      After the police had to
23
                                                                   23
                                                                       equal deviations. I mean that's obviously what I'm asking
24
    move them out of there on the 16th.
                                                                       him about. I'm saying to him some of the prescripts might
25
            MR MPOFU:
                           Well firstly we're not there,
                                                                       be written in black and white, but others would flow
```

RCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 27396
                                                                                                                         Page 27398
    logically from common sense, and if there's deviation from
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Okay, which law is that?
                                                                   1
    one or the other it's the same, it should have the same
                                                                    2
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
2
                                                                                                       SHE Management, Health
3
    weight on you, Chairperson.
                                                                       and Safety Law Act, it says if a person is somehow affected
4
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Well they are matters that
                                                                       you can't put that man, he is a risk.
                                                                   5
5
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Yes.
    you can argue, but I don't, the -
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
6
                              Well, I'm just asking a
                                                                   6
                                                                                                       You put him in a risk
7
                                                                   7
                                                                       his life is at risk.
    question. The answer might be no, in which case I won't -
8
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   8
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                  Alright, well ask the
                                                                                                Very good.
                                                                   9
9
    question. You've asked the question. What's the answer?
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Good.
10
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   10
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                      I'm not aware,
                                                                                                Very good, so it would be
                                                                       risky to deploy someone if there was a possibility that
                                                                   11
11
    Chairperson.
                                                                   12
                                                                       they might be psychologically affected by something?
12
           MR MPOFU:
                              Ja, okay. I'll give you an
                                                                   13
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
13
    example. For example even though 262 doesn't say so, if
                                                                                                       It might be it is
14
    you as a senior POP person saw that one of your troops was
                                                                   14
                                                                       another term because I can't pre-empt, Ntate Mpofu.
    drunk, you would exclude him from the operation. You don't
                                                                   15
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                No, no, no, you've given
15
    have to - common sense, do you understand that? It's not
                                                                       not only the prescript but you've even given the
16
                                                                       justification for it. So your evidence is that because of
17
    written in 262, but it's something that you as a senior
                                                                   17
18
    leader would disallow.
                                                                   18
                                                                       SHE or whatever prescript, you cannot deploy someone who is
19
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   19
                                                                       psychologically affected and you know the reason for that
                                      Yes, we have orders.
20
    police orders, not only 262. We work with all those
                                                                   20
                                                                       is because it is risky to do so, is that your evidence
21
    orders.
                                                                   21
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       That is correct.
22
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   22
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, but that's exactly what
                                                                                                Thank you, and you yourself
23
    I'm trying to say. I'm saying some of the behavioural
                                                                   23
                                                                       were emotionally affected by what happened on the 13th,
     prescripts might either be contained in other documents or
                                                                   24
                                                                       correct?
24
                                                                   25
25
    just emanate from common sense.
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       No.
                                                      Page 27397
                                                                                                                         Page 27399
                                                                                                Others were?
1
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      Not from common sense,
                                                                   1
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                   2
2
    but they are there, they are noted somewhere. We don't
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Yes.
3
    work with things that are common sense.
                                                                   3
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                So you're just superman?
4
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                   4
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    It is an inappropriate
                              Okay, so if you had a
                                                                       question.
5
    policeman who can't hear properly you wouldn't deploy them
                                                                   5
    in a situation where the detection of noise was important.
                                                                   6
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
6
                                                                                                Yes
                                                                   7
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
7
    That's common sense. It doesn't have to be written
                                                                                                    I disallow it.
                                                                   8
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
8
    anywhere. Do you understand that?
                                                                                                Okay, sorry, ja. Now, okay,
9
                                                                   9
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                       but to the extent that other people were affected, not you,
                                      Mr Mpofu, I don't
    understand that and I won't -
10
                                                                       it would be risky to deploy those people correct?
                                                                   10
11
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I don't think that's a
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   11
                                                                                                       Chairperson, in our
12
    question -
                                                                   12
                                                                       environment, the police environment, we have people that do
13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      I don't understand that
                                                                   13
                                                                       the checking if that person has been affected and make
    and I won't -
                                                                   14
14
                                                                       sure, and after checking that person and we as commanders
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   15
                                  I don't think that question
                                                                       can see the person is traumatised, we cannot deploy those
                                                                   16
                                                                       people, we remove them.
    raises a relevant consideration for us. I disallow the
17
    question. Please move on to the next point.
                                                                   17
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Yes, but when it came to
18
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay. Okay, I won't ask you.
                                                                   18
                                                                       deploying the people on the 16th miraculously nobody was
19
    [10:27] But yes, I'm saying to you, is it, - okay, let me
                                                                       affected by the traumatic and the brutal killings that they
    put it directly. Would common sense dictate that you
                                                                       had observed of their colleagues two days before, is that
21
    should not deploy people who are psychologically
                                                                   21
                                                                       your evidence?
    traumatised?
                                                                   22
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I'm not sure if I'm
22
         COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      By law a person who is
                                                                   23
23
                                                                       right here, some members were not there, some attended the
    psychologically traumatised cannot be deployed, it is not a
                                                                   24
                                                                       memorial service of Lepaaku, other members [African
   common sense.
                                                                       language], so I'm not going to say everyone, who was
```

```
Page 27400
                                                                                                                           Page 27402
    involved in the 13th was involved in the 16th operation –
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Well, -
                                                                     1
2
           MR MPOFU:
                             Yes, no fair enough.
                                                                     2
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Who made the decision, are
3
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    - as I was not there for
                                                                         you aware of who made the decision insofar as decisions
4
    that matter.
                                                                         were made, to exclude people from further participation in
5
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                     5
                             No, I accept it -
                                                                         the operations at Marikana because it was feared that they
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Briefly what he said -
                                                                     6
                                                                         were traumatised by what happened on the 13th? Who
6
7
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                     7
                             That includes you, ja, but to
                                                                         effectively withdrew them or directed them to, or deployed
    your knowledge nobody was excluded or rather those who were
                                                                     8
                                                                         them to other activities such as arranging and attending
8
                                                                     9
9
    excluded were excluded because they went to a funeral or
                                                                         the funeral?
10
    whatever, nobody was excluded for the purposes that they
                                                                    10
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          Chair, because I've lost
    were psychologically affected by what they had observed, to
11
                                                                    11
                                                                         a member who worked directly under my command, then I
    your knowledge?
                                                                         requested to go and bury him. Secondly, other members that
12
                                                                    12
13
                                                                    13
                                                                         are working with them also requested that they can attend,
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I'm not sure,
                                                                    14
                                                                         then we granted them permission.
14
    Chairperson, I totally don't know.
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 But were the people who
                                                                    15
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Yes, but that's because they
    participated in the operation on the 13th, interviewed by
                                                                         loved the person and they wanted to go and bury him, but
16
    social workers and others after the incident on the 13th to
                                                                         your evidence was that they were excused because they were
17
                                                                    17
18
    give them trauma counselling if they required it and to
                                                                    18
                                                                         psychologically affected, which is a lie.
                                                                    19
19
    assess whether that would be appropriate to withdraw them
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   Chairperson, objection
20
    from further operations for the time being, or aren't you
                                                                    20
                                                                         Chairperson, it is improper -
21
    able to answer that?
                                                                    21
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Okay, it is new -
22
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    22
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                    I have already said
                                                                                                  Chairperson, may I please
23
    that, Chairperson, they were attended and then after being
                                                                    23
                                                                         register my objection? Mr Mpofu is putting things that he
24
                                                                    24
                                                                         has no basis whatsoever to put. One, when he says they
    attended some, those that cannot stand it were voluntarily
25
    withdrawn from the operations and they attended other
                                                                         went because they loved the person, he has absolutely no
                                                       Page 27401
                                                                                                                           Page 27403
1
    matters like the preparation for the funeral of the late
                                                                         basis to say that. Two, the language that he uses with the
2
    Warrant-Officer Lepaaku as well as the late Warrant-Officer
                                                                     2
                                                                         witness, Chairperson, it is unacceptable, you have made
3
    Monene, so I believe those members who could not handle it
                                                                     3
                                                                         rulings previously that counsel may not refer to witnesses
4
    went home to go and sort out themselves.
                                                                     4
                                                                         and say they are lying. It is unacceptable coming from him
                                                                     5
5
           MR MPOFU:
                              And that included you, you
                                                                         too.
                                                                     6
    also went to Lepaaku?
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Okay, it is untrue.
6
7
                                                                     7
                                                                                                       I didn't hear him use the
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I went there because I
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
    am the direct commander of Lepaaku, not necessarily because
8
                                                                     8
                                                                         word lying
                                                                     9
9
    I, - it was only human for me to go there as a commander.
                                                                                                   Okay, it is -
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
10
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    10
                              Ja, well, I put it to you that
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       If he used it, -
11
    that is just, you're just concocting the evidence.
                                                                    11
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   - not true.
           CHAIRPERSON:
12
                                 What basis is there for
                                                                    12
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       If he used it, I'm not
13
    that -
                                                                    13
                                                                         saying he didn't use it, but if he did use it, I've already
14
           MR MPOFU:
                                                                    14
                                                                         reprimanded counsel for using that and saying that, -
                              Well, it is because -
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    15
                                 Will that -
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Yes -
           MR MPOFU:
16
                              I've asked this question, ja,
                                                                    16
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       I don't allow that, I
17
    thank you, Chairperson. The reason is that I've asked
                                                                    17
                                                                         didn't allow it when I was a judge in my court and I'm not
18
    these questions to everybody who was involved in that
                                                                    18
                                                                         proposing to allow it in this Commission.
19
    operation, including General Mpembe and it is the first
                                                                    19
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Thank you, Chairperson.
    time that anybody says people were excluded because they
                                                                    20
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       As far as I am concerned
21
    were psychologically affected. The evidence has been that
                                                                    21
                                                                         that is unacceptable behaviour by counsel and it shouldn't
22
    nobody was excluded on that -
                                                                    22
                                                                         be permitted.
           CHAIRPERSON: I'm not sure of the
                                                                    23
23
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   Thank you, Chairperson, -
   evidence, I'm not sure if that statement of the evidence is
                                                                    24
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                       But if you -
    correct.
                                                                    25
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                   - it is not a lie, it is just
```

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

```
Page 27404
                                                                                                                        Page 27406
                                                                              CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MPOFU (CONTD.):
 1
     not the truth.
                                                                   1
2
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   You can rephrase the
                                                                   2
                                                                       Thank you, Chairperson. Colonel, okay, I just want to
3
     question differently.
                                                                   3
                                                                       round off the point that we were busy with before I get to
 4
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes.
                                                                       my two last points. You see, I don't want to fight with
5
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       you, so I apologise for saying it's a lie, but what I was
                                   But can I ask you this, how
     much longer are you likely to be with your cross-
                                                                       putting to you is this; that it's not true that anybody was
6
7
                                                                   7
     examination?
                                                                       excused from attending, from being part of the operation on
8
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                   8
                                                                       the 16th because they had been psychologically or
                               I have two small sections.
                                                                   9
9
     Chairperson, two -
                                                                       emotionally affected on the 13th. You would agree with
10
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  10
                                                                       that?
                                       Chair, -
            MR MPOFU:
                               We can take a short break -
                                                                  11
11
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I agree with you.
                                   I'll ask for a comfort
                                                                  12
12
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Thank you. Okay, but we do
13
     break now.
                                                                  13
                                                                       know that emotions were high, as the Provincial
14
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes.
                                                                  14
                                                                       Commissioner put it, correct?
15
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  15
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                       Yes, I request a comfort
                                                                                                       It is so.
16
                                                                  16
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                And some - well, you say you
17
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   But I'll hold you to your
                                                                  17
                                                                       were not psychologically or emotionally affected by the
    two short points.
                                                                  18
                                                                       killings, correct?
18
19
            MR MPOFU:
                               Thank you, not two questions,
                                                                  19
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Not to an extent where I
20
     two topics, Chairperson.
                                                                  20
                                                                       could not perform my duties as a police officer.
                                                                                                Well, then why were you
21
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  21
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                   Two short points?
                                                                  22
                                                                       emotionally and psychologically affected yesterday? Why
22
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes, two points, yes.
23
            INTERPRETER:
                                                                  23
                                                                       were you crying?
                                  Chairperson, there is a
                                                                  24
24
     request from the witness.
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       The question that was
25
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                       put to me yesterday, Sir, was whether I was happy about the
                                   Before we adjourn was there
                                                                                                                        Page 27407
                                                      Page 27405
                                                                       police killing people. The death of any person, Mr
    something that -
1
2
           INTERPRETER:
                               No, it was actually -
                                                                   2
                                                                       Chairperson, affects me and I cannot be happy about the
3
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                - the witness wished to
                                                                   3
                                                                       death of people who have been killed by the police.
4
    say, or you wish to say, Mr Mahlangu?
                                                                   4
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Yes, true. That's why you
5
           INTERPRETER:
                                I wasn't aware that you are
                                                                       were emotional yesterday, because the death of any person
    adjourning, it was a request from the witness for a comfort
                                                                   6
                                                                       affects you emotionally and psychologically, correct?
6
7
    break.
                                                                   7
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       It is so.
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                Oh, before he even raised
                                                                   8
8
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                And equally the deaths of
9
                                                                   9
    the matter directly on some sort of telepathic basis, the
                                                                       those three policemen, of the two policemen and those three
10
    idea was communicated and the comfort break is being
                                                                  10
                                                                       civilians would have affected you emotionally and
11
    granted.
                                                                       psychologically equally as well because they are also
                                                                  11
12
           INTERPRETER:
                               Thank you, Chair.
                                                                  12
                                                                       people, correct?
13
           [COMMISSION ADJOURNS
                                         COMMISSION RESUMES]
                                                                  13
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       It is so.
    [11:08] CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  14
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                And therefore if we then - we
14
                                  The Commission resumes. I
15
    want to announce at this stage that we will be sitting next
                                                                  15
                                                                       now know that you yourself was emotionally and
    week on Tuesday and Wednesday. Wednesday will be treated
                                                                       psychologically affected and so were others, but we know
16
17
    as Fridays normally are. We hope if we get an extension to
                                                                  17
                                                                       that but for the fact that you just had gone to a funeral
                                                                       you would have been deployed on the 16th. Is that correct?
18
    resume sitting on the 8th of May, but that obviously depends
                                                                  18
                                                                  19
19
    upon whether we get an extension. If for some reason or
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       As I have already
    other it's not possible for administrative reasons to sit
                                                                  20
                                                                       explained, Sir, I was affected though as a policeman I had
    on the 8th but we'll be sitting thereafter, we will inform
                                                                  21
                                                                       a job to do.
    everybody by email and we'll also have a public statement
                                                                  22
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                Yes
    issued. You're still under oath, Colonel.
                                                                  23
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       And also I am a
         OMPHILE JOSEPH MERAFE:
                                        (s.u.o.)
                                                                  24
                                                                       commander. I couldn't just leave members to operate there
           CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, two short points.
                                                                  25
                                                                       on their own.
```

RCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 021 6457 Fax: 011 440 9119

Page 27408 Page 27410 MR MPOFU: 1 MR MPOFU: If we don't know and there's 1 No, that's true, but emotions ambiguity about that question, that would be a recipe for 2 know no commander. I'm just saying that if you were so 3 psychologically affected, commander or no commander, that disaster, correct? 4 it was a bad idea for you to be involved on the 16th, then 4 **COLONEL MERAFE:** Correct, Chair. 5 you should have been withdrawn even if you are a commander. 5 MR MPOFU: Who was the operational commander on the 13th? 6 MS BALOYI: Chairperson, objection. The 6 7 witness has said that "I was affected but not to the extent 7 COLONEL MERAFE: I am, I was the that I couldn't do my work." He said that. 8 operational commander, Chairperson. 8 9 9 MR MPOFU: That's one answer, MR MPOFU: Ja, you see so that means that Chairperson. The answer he's giving now is that he had to there was ambiguity and that's why there was chaos, because 10 10 be there; whatever his emotional state, because he's a 11 Major-General Mpembe says he was the operational commander. 11 commander he had to be there. 12 **COLONEL MERAFE:** 12 From the beginning, 13 CHAIRPERSON: Perhaps ask him the 13 Chairperson, the Provincial Commissioner had chosen General 14 question -14 Mpembe as the overall commander. 15 15 MR MPOFU: Yes, thank you, Chairperson. MR MPOFU: CHAIRPERSON: 16 **COLONEL MERAFE:** But somehow when we 16 - in a way that arrived at the railway crossing he decided to take over 17 accommodates the objection, then we can move on. This is 17 18 your first short point, is it? It's your first short point even the operation part. 19 19 of the two? MR MPOFU: Yes, no, that's exactly the 20 MR MPOFU: No, no, I was just rounding 20 point I'm making. Now it means SAPS doesn't know who was 21 off the old point, Chairperson. 21 the operational commander. You say you were the 22 CHAIRPERSON: Well round it off fairly 22 operational commander. General Mpembe says he was both the 23 crisply and -23 overall commander and the operational commander. That is a 24 24 recipe for disaster, isn't it? MR MPOFU: Okay, I'm done, subject to the 25 25 Chairperson's question. **COLONEL MERAFE:** I do not agree with you Page 27409 Page 27411 when you say SAPS doesn't know. POPS senior officer on the 1 CHAIRPERSON: Alright -2 MR MPOFU: I thought the Chairperson was scene during crowd management resume responsibility of 3 operational commander. saying he was going to ask the question. 4 CHAIRPERSON: No, I thought you were 4 MR MPOFU: Yes. going to. You say you were affected by the events of the 5 5 COLONEL MERAFE: Now SAPS knows because 13th, but you felt you were capable of functioning properly of Standing Order 262. 6 6 7 7 on the 16th if you didn't have to go to the funeral. Is MR MPOFU: Okay, maybe SAPS knows, but 8 that right? the Commission doesn't know, because you say you think you 9 9 **COLONEL MERAFE:** were the operational commander and General Mpembe also That is so, Chairperson. CHAIRPERSON: 10 thinks he was the operational commander. That's the kind 10 Now if you had felt that it has affected you so badly that you couldn't do your work 11 of ambiguity that should not happen in an operation as 11 properly on the 16th, would you still have insisted on doing 12 sensitive as this one, correct? 12 13 13 it because you were in a leadership position and you didn't **COLONEL MERAFE:** Chairperson, about want to leave your people without your leadership? 14 General thinking that and the likes, according to Standing 14 15 **COLONEL MERAFE:** 15 Order 262 that I have explained it is given that I was the I would have asked to be senior POPS commander. The General was not a senior POP replaced by another person, Chairperson, until such a time 16 16 17 that I was correct. 17 commander by then. 18 18 MR MPOFU: Alright, okay, we'll leave CHAIRPERSON: Did you at the scene on the 19 that point for argument. Thank you. One of the - I'm 13th issue any orders or commands? Was there any scope for going back to the issues of 262 and Mkhwanazi report. It's misunderstanding on the part of the members there as to who 20 21 true that one of the requirements of 262 is that there 21 was giving the instructions to be followed and what they 22 should be clarity of roles. We must know who is the 22 were? overall commander, who is the operational commander, 23 **COLONEL MERAFE:** When we arrived at the 24 correct? 24 scene, Chair, and the workers, the mineworkers squatted on COLONEL MERAFE: Correct, Chairperson. the floor, the officers who were with me, those that I

```
Page 27412
                                                                                                                          Page 27414
    mentioned, Diole, Tsiloane and Mpembe, stood and I
                                                                        help us on what happened on the 16th. As far as the 13th is
2
                                                                    2
    proceeded forward to communicate with the workers and then
                                                                        concerned -
3
    I was told I should reverse, I should go back, these people
                                                                    3
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Okay, well -
4
    are going to kill me. It was from there that the General
                                                                    4
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     - the evidence is that, as
5
    took over and communicated with them.
                                                                    5
                                                                        I understand it, that General Mpembe took over and was
           MR MPOFU:
6
                              Yes, all I'm saying, and I'm
                                                                    6
                                                                        issuing the orders. As far as you were concerned was there
7
                                                                    7
    not going to belabour this point, is that from us sitting
                                                                        any scope for any confusion on the 13th? You say you stood
                                                                    8
                                                                        back, you let General Mpembe go forward. Is that right?
8
    outside looking in, you would agree that it's a recipe for
9
                                                                    9
    disaster if in a team, as it were, two people are confusing
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Correct, Chair, there
10
    their roles and are - okay, I'll stay away from football.
                                                                   10
                                                                        was no confusion, Chairperson, because from there on we all
    Let's say it was a choir. If two people both thought they
11
                                                                        followed the instruction by General Mpembe, including
                                                                   11
    were conductors of the choir, that's a bit of a problem.
12
                                                                   12
13
                                                                   13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     It is so, though I must
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Yes, but that's why I asked
14
    explain, Chairperson, that I went back when the General
                                                                   14
                                                                        you the simple question three or four questions ago, who
15
    took over. We were not talking at the same time.
                                                                        was the operational commander. You said it was you. There
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes, but when I asked you a
16
                                                                   16
                                                                        was no confusion. But if I put that same question to
    few minutes ago who was the operational commander you said
17
                                                                   17
                                                                        General Mpembe he would say it was him. So you might not
18
    it was you. You didn't say you stepped back.
                                                                        be confused, but I'm confused. You understand? Because
19
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Lexplained, Lalso
                                                                   19
                                                                        you can't have two choir masters of the same choir, both
20
    explained that it was in terms of Standing Order 262. I
                                                                   20
                                                                        thinking that they are conducting the choir.
    also explained the reasons why I stepped back and the
                                                                   21
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
21
                                                                                                     Remember your -
22
                                                                   22
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  That's a recipe for disaster.
    General took over.
           MR MPOFU:
23
                                                                   23
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu -
                              Yes. Well you know, this kind
24
                                                                   24
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
    of confusion was actually perpetuated even on the 16th. Who
                                                                                                  You and I have agreed.
25
                                                                   25
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
    was the overall commander on the 16th, to your knowledge?
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu, your confusion
                                                       Page 27413
                                                                                                                          Page 27415
           COLONEL MERAFE:
1
                                     General Mpembe.
                                                                        isn't relevant. You weren't one of the members of the
                                                                    2
2
           MR MPOFU:
                              And who was the real overall
                                                                        police service -
3
    commander? Who was giving the shots?
                                                                    3
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Well, but you are,
4
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    The one that gives the
                                                                    4
                                                                        Chairperson -
5
    shot was the operational commander on the ground. I am not
                                                                    5
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      - who were there on the
6
    clear which shots -
                                                                    6
                                                                        13th. So -
7
                                                                    7
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  It's for the Commission must
           MR MPOFU:
                              Okay, I'm sorry. Yes, no,
8
    it's not clear. Ja, no okay, as the team General Mpembe
                                                                    8
                                                                        know, not me.
9
                                                                    9
    and General Annandale, who was calling the shots?
                                                                                                      Yes, no -
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
10
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   10
                                    Chairperson, I was not
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Forget about me.
11
    present on that day, Chairperson, and as such I don't know
                                                                   11
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      No, you can argue the point
12
    who it was, whether it's General Mpembe or General
                                                                   12
                                                                        in due course. So that's the first of your short points.
13
    Annandale who was calling the shots.
                                                                   13
                                                                        What's the second one?
14
           MR MPOFU:
                              Fair enough.
                                                                   14
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Then I just want clarification
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   15
                                                                        on something. Sorry, Chairperson, I have to find this on
                                 This point has been
                                                                        my transcript. Alright, while I'm looking for this you
16
    extensively canvassed with other witnesses, but as the
                                                                   16
17
    witness says, he can't help us on it.
                                                                   17
                                                                        might as well just answer this -
18
           MR MPOFU:
                             No, Chairperson, with the
                                                                   18
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      No, no, no, Mr Mpofu. I
19
    greatest respect, this point, I'm relating it to exactly
                                                                   19
                                                                        said you can have two short points and you're now trying to
    the same confusion as to who's the overall leader in a
                                                                   20
                                                                        slip a third one in between the first and the second while
21
    particular situation where he was involved, and I'm
                                                                   21
                                                                        you're looking for the second one. I'm prepared to wait
22
    relating that -
                                                                   22
                                                                        while you find the second one in your notes.
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 No, no, I understand -
23
                                                                   23
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Well, Chairperson, no, it's
24
           MR MPOFU:
                              Yes.
                                                                   24
                                                                        one point but a point is not a question. I'm just saying
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 All I'm saying is he can't
                                                                        I'm going to ask him a question. A point might have 20
```

Page 27416

Tel: 011 021 6457 Fax: 011 440 9119

Page 27418

```
auestions -
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I said I'm unable to
 1
2
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        respond to that question.
                                   As long as the question
3
    relates to the point I haven't got a problem.
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Oh, I'll assist you. I'm
4
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes, but a point might have 20
                                                                    4
                                                                        saying given the Mkhwanazi diagnosis, which you agree with,
5
    questions. I'm just asking him one of the questions on the
                                                                        that an involuntary dispersal was not to be advised, given
     point.
                                                                    6
                                                                        that, which you and I have agreed on, would you agree that
6
7
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                    7
                                                                        an alternative, a more suitable alternative would have been
                                   I said as long as the
     question relates to the point -
                                                                    8
                                                                        the original plan of rather encircling the people at the
8
9
                                                                    9
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes, it does.
                                                                        koppie? It's very simple.
10
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   - I haven't got a problem.
                                                                   10
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I don't agree with it.
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                               But you're saying it doesn't,
                                                                   11
                                                                                                You don't agree, okay. Would
11
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                   12
                                                                        you agree that, again logically, if I say to you look, once
12
     Chairperson, before you hear it.
                                                                        these people are in this terrain, once they are there it's
13
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   Please ask a question
                                                                   13
14
     relevant to the point you're busy dealing with.
                                                                   14
                                                                        not advisable to disperse them involuntarily, that again a
15
            MR MPOFU:
                               Yes, yes. That's exactly what
                                                                        logical way to deal with the situation would be to prevent
    I'm doing. Colonel, finally I'm going to ask you a couple
                                                                        them from gathering in that terrain at all?
16
                                                                   17
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
17
    of questions on one point and what I was saying is you
                                                                                                        That is so.
                                                                   18
18
    might as well answer this. It's in relation to something
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                 Okay. Thank you, Chairperson,
19
    that you and I have discussed about the inadvisability of
                                                                   19
                                                                        I have nothing further.
20
     effecting an involuntary dispersion. You remember we
                                                                   20
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    Thank you, Mr Mpofu. Ms
21
    discussed that?
                                                                   21
                                                                        Baloyi, are you ready for your re-examination?
22
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   22
                                                                        [11:28] RE-EXAMINATION BY MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                                        Thank you,
                                       I remember that.
23
                                                                   23
            MR MPOFU:
                               Now would you agree that in a
                                                                        Chairperson. Colonel Merafe, we discussed in your evidence
                                                                   24
24
    situation - let's not talk theoretically. In this
                                                                        in chief and cross-examination the operations of the 22nd of
25
    situation if the diagnosis was that an involuntary
                                                                        May and the 13th of August in 2012. Now if I may just ask
                                                      Page 27417
                                                                                                                          Page 27419
                                                                        you to look gain at Standing Order 262, in fact maybe you
    dispersion, or dispersal is not advised, then one of the
1
2
    logical conclusions of that would have been to stick to the
                                                                        don't even need to look at it, 262, Clause 14 which
3
    original plan of encircling the people. Would you agree
                                                                        provides for a first member who arrives at a spontaneous
4
    with that?
                                                                    4
                                                                        gathering and it prescribes what steps they should take.
                                                                    5
5
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                        Now that first member, in fact the specific wording is
                                      No, I don't agree with
                                                                        "first member", and that first member that arrives there,
    you, Sir.
                                                                    6
6
7
            MR MPOFU:
                                                                    7
                              Are you aware as one of the
                                                                        is it required that they should be a POP member, the first
8
    planners to some extent, I know that you were not the main
                                                                    8
                                                                        member who responds to that?
9
                                                                    9
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
     planner, but are you aware that at some stage it was
                                                                                                         The Standing Order does
                                                                   10
                                                                        not say whether POP or not POP, first member means any
10
    considered that the people should rather be encircled while
11
    they are at the koppie?
                                                                        policeman.
                                                                   11
12
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  He gave slightly different
                                                                   12
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, now with the operations
13
    evidence about that yesterday before you arrived.
                                                                   13
                                                                        on the 22nd of May, you have testified that you had the NIU,
            MR MPOFU:
                              No, I read it. I've read
                                                                   14
                                                                        TRT and VISPOL and you also mentioned the air wing, the
14
15
                                                                   15
                                                                        assistance of Colonel Vermaak, am I correct?
    everything he said, Chairperson.
                                                                   16
16
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  I'm not sure how this, what
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Correct, Chair.
17
    relevance this is to Mkhwanazi work group, but let's get
                                                                   17
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, now the TRT, the air
    the answer. What he's putting to you, shortly, is that if
                                                                   18
                                                                        wing and VISPOL, am I correct that none of them are POP
18
19
    it wasn't advisable to try a dispersal operation, regard
                                                                   19
                                                                        members?
    being had to the terrain, on the Thursday, would it not
                                                                   20
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         That is so.
21
    have been better to have stuck to the original encirclement
                                                                   21
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 And yet in your evidence, am
    plan, or a plan that had been worked out earlier?
                                                                        I correct that you testified that every member of the SAPS
22
         MR MPOFU:
                              Yes.
                                                                   23
                                                                        must take part in Crime Prevention as part of their job,
23
         CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Are you able to answer that
                                                                   24
                                                                        they are required to do that?
                                                                   25
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         I agree with that,
    or not?
```

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

```
Page 27420
                                                                                                                         Page 27422
     Chair.
                                                                       police hard-drive page number that you want, because I'm
 1
                                                                   2
                                                                       not sure that we're looking at the moment at the document
 2
           MS BALOYI:
                              Now in fact if you look at
 3
     the final report of Mr Hendrickx at paragraph 88 -
                                                                   3
                                                                       to which you are referring?
 4
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 This is the, - it is the
                                                                   4
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Chair, if the chair would
 5
     Hendrickx report we need, not the -
                                                                       bear with me, I think it was page 7, I'm looking for
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                       paragraph 3.1, Chairperson. Yes, that's the one with the
 6
                              Yes, LLL12, Chairperson.
                                                                   6
 7
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   7
                                 Now we've got it, yes.
                                                                       heading, "Concept and focus", do you see that?
 8
           MS BALOYI:
                              If you look at paragraph 88
                                                                   8
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     So what we're looking at is
 9
     thereof -
                                                                   9
                                                                       Exhibit SS3 at page 8 of 89.
10
                                                                   10
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, thank you, Chair. Now
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Now I got paragraph 88 on
                                                                       you see at 3.1 it says, firstly the heading is "Concept and
11
     the screen.
                                                                   11
                                                                       focus" and then 3.1 says, "Date and duration," and then is
12
           MS BALOYI:
                              Yes, now the second sentence
                                                                   12
13
    of that statement which reads, "The uses of tactical forces
                                                                   13
                                                                       says, "Monday, 20/12/08, 13 until the situation
14
     trained solely are specifically in the use of deadly force
                                                                   14
                                                                       normalised," do you see that?
     in relation to Public Order Policing should be limited and
                                                                   15
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
15
                                                                                                        I see it, Chairperson.
     exceptional and accordingly require special justification."
                                                                   16
16
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, it may appear obvious,
17
     Do you see that?
                                                                   17
                                                                       what does this mean, what does this capture, 3.1?
18
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I see that.
                                                                   18
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        This mean this operation
19
           MS BALOYI:
                              Yes, am I correct to
                                                                   19
                                                                       will be used until such time that the situation is
20
    understand that Mr Hendrickx does contemplate that special
                                                                   20
                                                                       normalised, but furthermore it needed us to have a proper
21
     units may well be used in relation to Crowd Management
                                                                   21
                                                                       plan given the fact that we get the necessary information
22
     situations in special circumstances he says?
                                                                   22
                                                                       which will help us to compile the proper plan, but if we
23
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     It is so, Chair, but I
                                                                  23
                                                                       don't get that to that stage it means we will operate with
24
     also mention that the specialised unit should not outnumber
                                                                   24
                                                                       this contingency plan until we finish the operation.
25
     the people who are primarily doing Crowd Management being
                                                                  25
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, now you've, - perhaps
                                                      Page 27421
                                                                                                                         Page 27423
     POP.
                                                                       again Clause 9.2 of Standing Order 262, it talks about, if
 1
 2
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                       you would look at Clause 9.2 -
                               Yes, now you also -
 3
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            Sorry, the tactical
                                                                   3
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     9.2 on the screen.
 4
     forces then you say are used as a support to the POP's
                                                                   4
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes.
 5
     unit?
                                                                   5
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Which subparagraph of 9.2
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      That's positive,
                                                                   6
                                                                       are you referring to?
 6
 7
     Chairperson.
                                                                   7
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Number 1, paragraph 1, yes.
                                                                   8
 8
            COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            And would you still
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                    What's called "Step one"?
                                                                   9
 9
     call such an operation with all the tactical units, would
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, do you see that, it
     you still call it a POP's operation?
10
                                                                   10
                                                                       says, "Develop a comprehensive original operation plan" and
11
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                       then in brackets it says, "See the guidelines contained in
                                      It is a POP's operation,
                                                                   11
12
     the other components are used as a support.
                                                                   12
                                                                       Module 2 of the Crowd Management for SAPS Management
13
           MS BALOYI:
                              And then if we could perhaps
                                                                   13
                                                                       Module," do you see that?
     now talk about the plan, Mr Bizos yesterday discussed with
                                                                   14
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
14
                                                                                                        I see that.
15
     you that the criticism, Mr Hendrickx' criticism that there
                                                                   15
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, now with your knowledge
     was no comprehensive plan for the operation on the 16th of
16
                                                                       of guidelines, of the guidelines that I referred to there
17
     August, do you remember that?
                                                                   17
                                                                       and your experience, this plan that we're looking at now,
18
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      I remember that, Chair.
                                                                       SS3 for the 13th, in what respect do you say it doesn't meet
19
            MS BALOYI:
                              Yes, now if we could look at
                                                                   19
                                                                       the requirements in subparagraph 1, if at all?
     SS3, the contingency plan for the 13th of August, please,
                                                                   20
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Chairperson, like I say
     and then specifically paragraph 3 -
21
                                                                  21
                                                                       it is a plan but it is general. This one is when you got
22
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  You said you want the 13th
                                                                       the information whereby you are going to have a
     August, we have on the screen the one for the 10th? Have
                                                                  23
                                                                       comprehensive plan where it covers, - where you are
    you got the number, you see in the top right hand corner we
                                                                       information driven in terms of how are you going to work,
   have the police hard-drive page numbers. Have you got the
                                                                       how are you going to police the situation.
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 27424
                                                                                                                           Page 27426
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
1
                              Yes, I'm not sure, Colonel
                                                                     1
                                                                                                   And when you saw on the 13th
2
    Merafe, that your answer is clear, I'm trying to get you to
                                                                     2
                                                                         now, when you saw the strikers on the CCTV, I think that is
3
    make us understand. When you look at SS3, we all have SS3,
                                                                     3
                                                                         your evidence, you say while in the JOC, after you returned
4
    we see that paragraph 2.1 or Clause 9.2.1 says, "A
                                                                         from the meeting with Lonmin and you went back to the JOC
5
    comprehensive written operational plan in accordance with
                                                                         you saw the strikers on the CCTV, am I correct, that's your
                                                                     6
    the guidelines."
                                                                         evidence?
6
7
                                                                     7
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Do you say SS1, we're
                                                                                                          That's correct.
    looking at Exhibit SS2 at the moment, - sorry, you said SS3
                                                                     8
                                                                         Chairperson.
8
                                                                     9
9
    I think, we look at SS2?
                                                                                                   When you saw those strikers
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
10
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                    10
                                                                        did you know that these strikers that you saw on CCTV are
                              Yes, Chair, - well, perhaps
    let me say that again. Chair, what I'm saying is that we
                                                                         the people that underwent a ritual on the Sunday, on the
11
                                                                    11
12
    have Exhibit SS3 which is a plan and we have one for the
                                                                    12
                                                                         11th, did you know that?
                                                                    13
13
    13th of August and then you have Clause 9.2.1 of the
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      The Sunday was the 12th.
14
    Standing Order which says, "Develop a comprehensive written
                                                                    14
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   On the 12th, thank you,
15
    operational plan." What I'm asking you is to assist us to
                                                                    15
                                                                         Chairperson, did you know that?
    understand that when we look at SS3 what is the detail that
                                                                    16
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          I did not know that,
    is missing that should have been there in terms of the
17
                                                                    17
                                                                         Chairperson.
18
    auidelines?
                                                                    18
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   And when you saw those same
                                                                         strikers on the CCTV did you know that those strikers or
19
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     There is nothing that is
                                                                    19
20
    missing there, Chairperson.
                                                                    20
                                                                         any of them were involved in any of the attacks on the 11th
21
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                    21
                                                                         and the 12th?
                              Now if you would go back to
                                                                    22
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
22
    SS3, the plan again and then you look at paragraph 5.1.1,
                                                                                                          I was not aware.
23
    5.1.1 says, the heading is "Planning" and then it says,
                                                                    23
                                                                        Chairperson.
                                                                    24
24
    "Daily planning to be conducted at the JOC." What does
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   And at the -
25
                                                                    25
                                                                                MR MPOFU:
    that mean, Colonel?
                                                                                                   Chairperson, I'm not sure I
                                                       Page 27425
                                                                                                                           Page 27427
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                        follow what is being said, when Ms Baloyi says, did you
1
                                     What it means is that at
2
    the JOC, the Joint Operational Centre, on a daily basis,
                                                                        know that they were the same people, is she saying, did you
3
    the sooner we get information pertaining to what is going
                                                                        know whether they were the same people or is she suggesting
4
    to happen we immediately update or develop a plan that we
                                                                        that she has evidence that they're the same people?
                                                                     5
5
    will use in order to deal with the situation.
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     I think it has fallen in
           MS BALOYI:
6
                              Yes, now moving to another
                                                                     6
                                                                        regard to the answer, she said, no, so, - I understand the
7
                                                                     7
    topic, yesterday Ms Le Roux discussed with you the planning
                                                                        distinction you're drawing.
                                                                               MR MPOFU:
                                                                    8
8
    and the failure to update the plan and one of the areas of
                                                                                                  No, I'm objecting to the
                                                                    9
                                                                        question, not to the answer, Chair.
9
    criticism was that the police failed to take into account,
    to update the plan, to take into account that the strikers
                                                                    10
                                                                               CHAIRPERSON:
10
                                                                                                     I know but the answer
    would attack the police, do you remember that conversation
                                                                        renders the objection irrelevant. Please proceed.
11
                                                                    11
12
    with Ms Le Roux?
                                                                    12
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  Thank you, Chairperson.
13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I do remember it,
                                                                    13
                                                                        Further, when you saw these strikers on the CCTV did you
14
    Chairperson.
                                                                    14
                                                                        know whether that group of people had been at the koppie
15
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                    15
                                                                        earlier, before you saw them by the railway line, did you
                              Yes, and in particular she
                                                                    16
                                                                        know that?
16
    was referring to the development and taking into account
17
    the developments on the 10th, the 11th and the 12th and then
                                                                    17
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         I did not know that,
                                                                    18
18
    she said, with all of that you failed to provide for that
                                                                        Chairperson.
19
    risk of an attack on the police. Do you remember that?
                                                                    19
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  And in the same line did you
20
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                        know whether that group of strikers, when you saw them on
                                     I remember that, Chair.
21
           MS BALOYI:
                              Now did you have any reason
                                                                    21
                                                                        the CCTV, that they were going to the koppie when you saw
   to suspect that the strikers would attach the police at any
                                                                    22
                                                                        them at that point?
    point?
                                                                    23
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
23
                                                                                                         I did not know that.
         COLONEL MERAFE: I had no reason to
                                                                    24
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  Now when Mr Gumbi was talking
```

to you, was examining you he, amongst the things that he

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

suspect that the police could be attacked, Chairperson.

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 27428
                                                                                                                          Page 27430
    put on behalf of Lieutenant Baloyi, was that General Mpembe
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  Yes.
                                                                    1
2
    should have briefed the members personally, do you remember
                                                                    2
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         What to do after the
3
    that conversation?
                                                                    3
                                                                        instruction has been given.
4
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    I remember that, Chair.
                                                                    4
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  So again General Mpembe
5
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                        doesn't tell members, doesn't deal directly with members to
                             Now, and we are talking about
                                                                        tell them what to do, it is the sectional commanders that
    the 13th here. Now can I ask that we look at Standing Order
                                                                    6
6
7
    262, Clause 10, subparagraph 2? Yes, now paragraph 2,
                                                                    7
                                                                        speak to the members?
    subparagraph A says, "The operational commander must
                                                                    8
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
8
                                                                                                         Ja, the general speaks
9
                                                                    9
    personally brief all members in the command structure," do
                                                                        to the commanders.
10
    you see that?
                                                                   10
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  Another criticism that was
11
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    I see that, Chair.
                                                                   11
                                                                        raised with you was that, and I think this is Mr Bizos
12
           MS BALOYI:
                             Is that the same as saying
                                                                   12
                                                                        referring to the report of Mr Hendrickx, that the SAPS did
    the operational commander must brief all members, is it the
13
                                                                   13
                                                                        not have any intelligence about the strikers, do you
14
    same?
                                                                   14
                                                                        remember that?
15
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Do we need the answer to
                                                                   15
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         I remember it,
    that because isn't -
                                                                   16
                                                                        Chairperson.
17
           MS BALOYI:
                             No, we -
                                                                   17
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  Now we've heard evidence that
18
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 - the answer clear from 2.
                                                                   18
                                                                        after the attack on the, after the attack of the 13th, that
19
    sub 10.2B?
                                                                   19
                                                                        evening the SAPS management met with Lonmin
20
           MS BALOYI:
                             Yes.
                                                                   20
                                                                        representatives, are you aware of that?
21
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 The operational commander
                                                                   21
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         I am aware of that,
22
    must, A, personally brief all members at the command
                                                                   22
                                                                        Chairperson.
23
    structure. B, ensures that all members of the command
                                                                   23
                                                                               MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                  Were you part of those
24
    structure communicate the objectives to the operation
                                                                   24
                                                                        meetings?
25
                                                                   25
    clearly to all members deployed for the event. So clearly
                                                                               COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         I was not part of the
                                                       Page 27429
                                                                                                                          Page 27431
                                                                        meetings with Lonmin officials during the night.
    A and B read together makes it clear that all members of
                                                                    2
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
2
    the command structure are the commanders and B says the
                                                                                                Are you aware that at those
3
    commanders must then deal communicate the objectives to all
                                                                        meetings the SAPS, that is the evidence and I'm asking you
4
    members?
                                                                        if you are aware of that, that in that meeting the SAPS
5
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                    5
                                                                        requested that Lonmin assist them to identify some of the
                             Yes
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                        strikers from the photographs that were taken earlier in
                                 So clearly there are two
6
7
                                                                    7
                                                                        the day, are you aware of that?
    tiers, those in the command structure and those not in the
                                                                    8
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
8
    command structure, so I don't know -
                                                                                                       Ja, that was the fact
9
                                                                    9
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                        that before the police went to Lonmin we discussed it
                             Thank you, Chair, -
10
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 - when you asked the
                                                                   10
                                                                        amongst ourselves.
                                                                        [11:48] MS BALOYI:
11
    witness the question, the answer seems clear from the
                                                                   11
                                                                                                   Yes, and are you aware that
12
    wording of the standing order.
                                                                   12
                                                                        at the, as at the 13th, are you aware that as at the 13th,
13
           MS BALOYI:
                             Thank you, Chair.
                                                                   13
                                                                        you may not have known personally on the 13th, are you aware
14
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Am I right?
                                                                   14
                                                                        that the SAPS had information that some of the strikers
15
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    That's correct,
                                                                   15
                                                                        gathered on the koppie were seen undergoing a ritual with
                                                                   16
                                                                        the assistance of the Sangoma, are you aware of that?
16
    Chairperson.
17
           MS BALOYI:
                             Thank you, Chair. Now when
                                                                   17
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I am aware of that,
18
    the members are at the, and I'm still talking about the
                                                                   18
                                                                        Chairperson.
                                                                   19
    incident of the 13th at the railway line and General Mpembe
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                And are you aware that the
    gives the command that the strikers should be escorted,
                                                                   20
                                                                        SAPS in the discussions with the union requested that Mr
21
    what is the role of the sectional commanders? After
                                                                   21
                                                                        Zokwana assist the police to identify some of the
22 General Mpembe has given that instruction what role do the
                                                                   22
                                                                        witnesses, some of the strikers involved in the incident of
    sectional commanders play with respect to their members?
                                                                   23
                                                                        the 13th?
        COLONEL MERAFE: They should go and brief
                                                                   24
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       That one I'm not aware
   their members about their roles.
                                                                       of, Chairperson.
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

```
Page 27432
                                                                                                                       Page 27434
            MS BALOYI:
                               Another topic that was
                                                                      negotiating team negotiating from inside the Nyala was that
 1
    discussed with you had to do with the negotiations and
                                                                   2
                                                                      the position on the 14th already?
2
    there was two parts to it. The one is that the wrong
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       I said on the 14th I was
3
                                                                   3
4
    person was appointed to negotiate, you remember that?
                                                                  4
                                                                      not there.
5
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      I do remember it. Chair.
                                                                  5
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                Okay.
            MS BALOYI:
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
6
                               And the second was that the
                                                                  6
                                                                                                       So I can't comment on
7
                                                                  7
    negotiations was conducted inappropriately because there
                                                                      that.
    was Nyalas, they were negotiating from inside a Nyala and
                                                                  8
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                But we know that on the 15th
8
                                                                  9
9
    there were a lot of police vehicles and police presence
                                                                      when you were there they were negotiating from inside the
    there. You remember that criticism?
                                                                  10
                                                                      Nyala, am I correct?
10
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  11
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
11
                                      I do remember it.
                                                                                                       That is so, yes.
                                                                  12
12
    Chairperson.
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                And do you know what the
13
            MS BALOYI:
                               Now we know from your
                                                                  13
                                                                      reason was for them negotiating from inside the Nyala?
14
    evidence that on the 14th you stayed at the JOC the whole
                                                                  14
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                       Ja, the police were
     time, you were not at the koppie, am I correct?
                                                                  15
                                                                      afraid that they might be attacked, that's why they went
15
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                      into the Nyala.
16
                                      Correct, Chairperson.
                                                                  16
17
            MS BALOYI:
                               And that on the 16th you were
                                                                  17
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                Yes. In fact we know that
18
    not at the operation?
                                                                  18
                                                                      later that day and you have testified to this that later on
19
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      That is correct
                                                                  19
                                                                      the 15th the union representatives were brought to the
                               So you were only at the
20
            MS BALOYI:
                                                                  20
                                                                      koppie and they were caused to address the strikers from
21
    koppie on the 15th, that is correct?
                                                                  21
                                                                      inside police Nyalas, they were not allowed to get out of
22
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                  22
                                                                      the Nyala, is that correct?
                                      On the 15th, yes I was
23
                                                                 23
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
    there.
                                                                                                       That is so, I was
                                                                  24
24
            MS BALOYI:
                               Now from where you were, were
                                                                      present.
                                                                  25
25
    you able to hear the discussions or the negotiations
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                And do you know what the
                                                     Page 27433
                                                                                                                       Page 27435
    between Colonel Macintosh and the representatives of the
                                                                  1
                                                                      reasons were for that?
1
    strikers that were involved in negotiation or discussion
                                                                  2
                                                                             COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                      The reason is the
2
3
    with the strikers, were you able to hear any of those
                                                                      possibility of an attack.
4
    conversations?
                                                                  4
                                                                             COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                                                                                            Was there a threat
5
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I was five Nyalas away
                                                                  5
                                                                      made already on the 15th, I don't seem to remember.
    from where it was taking, I could not hear a thing,
                                                                  6
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                               A threat to the negotiating
6
7
                                                                  7
                                                                      Nyala?
    Chairperson.
                                                                  8
                                                                             COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                                                                                            Yes.
8
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            Even though the
9
                                                                  9
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                               Not to my recollection.
    communication was over a loudhailer at some stage?
                                                                 10
                                                                             COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
10
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     No, I did not hear what
                                                                                                            Then I'm mistaken,
11
                                                                  11
    they were talking about, Chairperson.
                                                                      I beg your pardon.
12
           MS BALOYI:
                              Now not having had any of the
                                                                  12
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                  I seem to remember the
13
    negotiations because of the position where you were do you,
                                                                  13
                                                                      evidence was that there was a threat on them. One threat
    are you in a position to say whether any of the
                                                                  14
                                                                      on the 15th and a number of threats on the 16th. There was
14
                                                                  15
15
    negotiations that was conducted by Colonel Macintosh was
                                                                      cross-examination about that and the suggestions that there
    not done properly?
                                                                  16
16
                                                                      was various contradictions and so on. But the, as far as I
17
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I'm not in a position,
                                                                  17
                                                                      can recall the evidence was there was one threat on the 15th
18
    Chairperson, but I must add that our POPS commander
                                                                  18
                                                                      and a number on the 16th. But my memory may be inaccurate
                                                                  19
19
    Brigadier Calitz as well as Warrant Officer Mere were
                                                                      in that part but we'll both check it up in due course.
    amongst the team that negotiated together with Lieutenant
                                                                  20
                                                                             COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
21
    Colonel Macintosh. They were within that team that was
                                                                  21
                                                                      recollection as well I must say. Perhaps the evidence
22 there during the negotiations. So although I was not aware
                                                                  22
                                                                      leaders can help us.
    what was taking place I believe they were there as
                                                                 23
                                                                             MS BALOYI:
                                                                                               Thank you, Chair, I don't
                                                                      have any independent recollection on that part of the
24 experienced POP, they would have helped there.
                            Yes. Now about the
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                      evidence. The other topic that, Chairperson, we're still
```

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

```
Page 27436
                                                                                                                        Page 27438
    checking if I could be allowed to come back to it. The
                                                                       as a priority and then two, "warn participants according to
    other topic that was discussed with you Colonel is the and
                                                                       the act of the action that will be taken against them
2
3
    this is a criticism again by Mr Hendrickx that, and he
                                                                       should defensive measures fail". You see that?
4
    criticises that the police did not give a warning before
                                                                   4
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I see that, Chairperson.
5
    the barbed wire was rolled out. You remember that?
                                                                   5
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes, now the defensive
                                                                       measures referred to in 2.1 what is that? What kind of
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   6
6
                                     I do remember that one.
7
                                                                   7
           MS BALOYI:
                              Now if you could look at
                                                                       steps or options available there?
8
    standing order 262 clause 11. Clause 11 sub 2 item 1, step
                                                                   8
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        The defensive measures
9
                                                                   9
     1. It says "put defensive measures in place as a
                                                                       that was put in place, that actually should have been put
10
    priority", you see that?
                                                                  10
                                                                       in place was a barbed wire.
                                                                  11
11
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      I see that, Chair.
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes.
                                                                  12
12
           MS BALOYI:
                              And then two, it says "warn
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        To defend the people
13
    participants according to the act or the action that will
                                                                  13
                                                                       being attacked first.
14
    be taken against them should defensive measures fail". You
                                                                  14
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Yes. So am I correct in
15
                                                                       understanding that clause 11.2.1 contemplates that before a
16
                                                                       warning is given a defensive measure will still be, will be
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I see that, Chair.
17
            COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            Back to that point,
                                                                  17
                                                                       put in place first?
18
    exhibit L there is reference, I can't remember what slide
                                                                  18
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Ja, according to ja
19
    but -
                                                                  19
                                                                       standing order 262 it says so, yes.
20
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  118, reference according
                                                                  20
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Now the, if we could then
                                                                  21
                                                                       talk about the discussion that you had with Mr Wesley and
21
    to exhibit L is to something that happened on the 15th. It
                                                                  22
                                                                       this relates to the statements that you submitted. QQQ2
22
    looks as if it was round about 10:15. There was
23
    discussion, according to slide 118 about the
                                                                  23
                                                                       and GGG15 and you recall that in his cross-examination of
24
                                                                  24
                                                                       you Mr Wesley did an exercise in which he pointed out, in
    representatives wanting, representatives of strikers
25
    wanting the telephone number of the commander of the
                                                                       which he sought to point out that the two statements that
                                                      Page 27437
                                                                                                                        Page 27439
    operation because they want to provide him or her with the
                                                                       you have contained differences, you remember that?
1
    telephone of their advocate, Advocate Shapiro and they were
                                                                   2
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
2
                                                                                                        I remember that,
3
    told the request shall be forwarded to the JOC for the
                                                                   3
                                                                       Chairperson.
4
    decision to be made and then the slide 118 continues, "at
                                                                   4
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                And that he also said that
5
    this point one of the representatives became very
                                                                       some of the differences were significant others not, you
    aggressive and stated the police should not be there and
                                                                   6
                                                                       remember that?
6
7
                                                                   7
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
    that the people in the Hippos, referring to the armoured
                                                                                                        I do remember that,
                                                                   8
8
    vehicles would die there and not one Nyala would leave the
                                                                       Chairperson.
9
                                                                   9
    ground". That's what -
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                Now Mr Wesley, I do not
10
           MS BALOYI:
                              Thank you, Chairperson. I'm
                                                                  10
                                                                       recall him specifying which of the differences did he
11
    indebted to the Commissioner.
                                                                       consider as insignificant and others significant but I
                                                                  11
12
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 And then the evidence of
                                                                  12
                                                                       would like us to talk about QQQ2. You said, you testified
13
    course is that the following day when Mr Mathunjwa was
                                                                  13
                                                                       that you prepared that statement, the unsigned statement?
14
    there and this is actually recorded on, I think it's 006,
                                                                  14
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        That is so, Chair.
                                                                  15
15
    009 there's a statement about the commander from the
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Now how did it come about,
16
    homelands and what would happen to him and that was the
                                                                       please explain to the Commission how did it come about that
17
    subject, that was in Mr Mathunjwa's presence and that was
                                                                  17
                                                                       you ended up preparing QQQ2?
                                                                  18
18
    the subject of cross-examination of Mr Mathunjwa. But, and
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        I was called for a
                                                                       consultation in Rustenburg, Chairperson, by the evidence
19
    there's evidence about other threats as well but the
                                                                  19
    evidence was contradictory. But any way that seems to be
                                                                  20
                                                                       leaders. Where I was told to go and prepare a statement.
21
    the position.
                                                                  21
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
22
           MS BALOYI:
                              Thank you, Chairperson. I'm
                                                                  22
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                        Then I was also like
    indebted to the Commissioners. Colonel, I have asked that
                                                                  23
                                                                       during the consultation told to, not to concentrate at the,
```

24

on the day the 13th, on that I should start a little bit

earlier on during the year about the incident that took

24 we look at standing order 262 paragraph 11 or clause 11.2

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

step one which talks about put defensive measures in place

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

```
Page 27440
                                                                                                                            Page 27442
    place at my area of policing, that is the strikes that
                                                                         statements, in particular in QQQ1, am I correct?
                                                                     2
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
2
    happens earlier and the incident of the 22 whereby, the
                                                                                                          It is so.
3
    incident whereby the mine workers wanted to go to Tlhabane
                                                                     3
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   It doesn't for example speak
                                                                         about the session at Roots, am I correct?
4
    Court, that's why some of the things I started there in my
                                                                     4
                                                                     5
5
    statement.
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          Correct, Chairperson.
                               Yes. When you say you
6
            MS BALOYI:
                                                                     6
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   It doesn't speak about the,
                                                                     7
                                                                         your meeting with the team of experts, the Nkwanazi team of
7
    consulted with the evidence leaders do you remember who of
    the evidence leaders you consulted with?
                                                                     8
8
                                                                         experts, am I correct?
9
                                                                     9
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      The, they are not here.
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          That is so.
    I can remember but I was with Mr Mokotedi, he may assist
                                                                    10
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   And it doesn't also speak
10
                                                                         about your account of the 13th that you saw Colonel Vermaak
                                                                    11
11
    us.
12
                                                                    12
                                                                         chase after the strikers after the attack?
            MS BALOYI:
                               Chairperson, with your leave
                                                                    13
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
13
    if I may, my instructions are that he consulted with Mr
                                                                                                          That is also so, yes.
                                                                    14
14
    Danie Van Tonder and Mr Piet Beyleveld.
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   Now the conversation that you
15
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                    15
                                                                         had, on these two statements were in QQQ2 at paragraph 5
                                      Piet Pienaar, ja.
                                                                         thereof, in the first line where you say "during all these
16
            MS BALOYI:
                               These are the investigators -
                                                                         challenges police management in the province -
17
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Either of those - evidence
                                                                    17
18
    leader, they were both, they are both investigators?
                                                                    18
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      It's not on the screen.
19
            MS BALOYI:
                               Yes.
                                                                    19
                                                                         Oh it is, it's the second paragraph on the page.
20
            COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      Yes, those
                                                                    20
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   It is, Chair.
21
                                                                    21
                                                                                CHAIRPERSON:
    investigators.
                                                                                                      During these challenges
22
            MS BALOYI:
                               Now you included in that
                                                                    22
                                                                         police management in the provinces -
23
    statement material or paragraphs that are not an account of
                                                                    23
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   Yes, and you say that "during
    what happened with the operation in Marikana. You talk in
                                                                    24
24
                                                                         all these challenges police management in the province and
25
    that statement about the operation on the 22nd of May and
                                                                         national made some intervention by providing us with
                                                        Page 27441
                                                                                                                            Page 27443
    you talk about meetings with management and other
                                                                         additional personnel and resources". You see that?
                                                                     1
    activities, you remember in that statement?
                                                                     2
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
2
                                                                                                          I see that.
3
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    It is correct.
                                                                     3
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   And then Mr Wesley compared
4
    Chairperson.
                                                                     4
                                                                         that with GGG15 paragraph 8. If we may have GGG15
5
           MS BALOYI:
                             Yes. Why did you decide to
                                                                     5
                                                                         paragraph 8 and he specifically read, he said, "due to the
    include those paragraphs, those accounts?
                                                                         extent of some of these incidents and to ensure that it's
6
                                                                     6
7
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                     7
                                    It was as per
                                                                         been addressed effectively and sufficiently provincial and
8
    instructions that I got during the consultation.
                                                                     8
                                                                         national management had to intervene and provide additional
           MS BALOYI:
9
                                                                     9
                             Now Mr Wesley spent some time
                                                                         resources", you see that?
    with you to point out differences in the two statements, in
                                                                    10
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
10
                                                                                                          I see that.
    QQQ2 and GGG15. But before he did that, he put to you that
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   Yes, now the difference, Mr
11
                                                                    11
12
    your QQQ2 is your comprehensive statement, you remember him
                                                                    12
                                                                         Wesley says these are different, they don't say the same
    saying that? That was a comprehensive statement?
13
                                                                    13
                                                                         thing. He says they don't say the same thing and in fact
14
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    I remember that, Chair.
                                                                    14
                                                                         GGG15 you were trying to, someone was trying to make, may
15
           MS BALOYI:
                             And he also said that QQQ2
                                                                    15
                                                                         well have been trying to make the SAPS not look so bad from
    was in fact the most reliable, I think that's the
16
                                                                    16
                                                                         your original statement QQQ2.
17
    expression he used, he will correct me if I'm wrong, was
                                                                    17
                                                                         [12:07] Now, what is your understanding about any
18
    that that was the most reliable statement that you
                                                                    18
                                                                         differences between you saying Provincial and National made
19
    prepared, do you remember that?
                                                                    19
                                                                         some interventions in where you say they had to intervene.
20
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Yes, I remember him
                                                                         Do you understand for there to be a difference, and if you
21
    saying so.
                                                                    21
                                                                         do, what is the difference that you understand?
22
           MS BALOYI:
                             Now on it being comprehensive
                                                                    22
                                                                                COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          According to me they are
    you, we have established now through your evidence-in-chief
                                                                    23
                                                                         not different, Chairperson.
    and cross-examination that in fact QQQ2 does not contain
                                                                    24
                                                                                MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                   In the same paragraph, QQQ2,
    quite a lot of material that you find in the other
                                                                         paragraph 5, in the third, it starts in the second line,
```

```
Page 27444
                                                                                                                         Page 27446
    the second sentence, it reads, "There has been several
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                 Chairperson, those are my
                                                                   1
2
    meetings held where management raised their concerns
                                                                   2
                                                                       auestions.
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
3
    regarding the use of force during unrest situations." You
                                                                   3
                                                                                                     Thank you. Yes, Mr
4
    see that?
                                                                   4
                                                                       Budlender?
                                                                   5
5
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                              MR BUDLENDER SC:
                                     I see that, Chair.
                                                                                                          Chair, there is one
           MS BALOYI:
                                                                       question which Mr Wesley would like to ask arising out of
6
                              And in the same paragraph 8,
                                                                   6
7
                                                                   7
    GGG15, if we go to the same paragraph 8, GGG15, in the
                                                                       that re-examination.
    second paragraph it says, "In addition to above several
                                                                   8
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                     Let's hear what the
8
9
                                                                   9
    meetings were also held in order to address amongst others
                                                                       question is first.
10
    the following challenges," and then you list insufficient
                                                                   10
                                                                              MR WESLEY:
                                                                                                  Chair, it concerns the origin
11
     personnel, use of force during uprising, and training. You
                                                                   11
                                                                       of the statement GGG15 and the witness's mention of a
                                                                       consultation that was had with Mr Beyleveld and Mr Van
                                                                   12
12
    see that?
13
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I see that, Chair.
                                                                   13
                                                                       Tonder. Colonel, the consultation that you had with Mr
14
           MS BALOYI:
                              Yes, now what is the
                                                                   14
                                                                       Beyleveld and Mr Van Tonder, that was on the 29th of
                                                                  15
                                                                       November 2012.
15
    difference in your understanding between you having used in
    the one case where management raised concerns, the word
                                                                   16
16
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         That is so, yes.
                                                                   17
17
     "concerns," and in GGG15 you speak of challenges, "the
                                                                              MR WESLEY:
                                                                                                  And that interview was
18
    following challenges," and you list pretty much the same
                                                                   18
                                                                       conducted also in the presence of Mr Mokotedi.
19
    thing. What is the difference in your understanding?
                                                                   19
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Correct, Chairperson.
20
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     The challenges and the
                                                                   20
                                                                              MR WESLEY:
                                                                                                  Now after that consultation,
21
    concern as far as I'm concerned are two, are the same,
                                                                   21
                                                                       I want to get exactly what it was you requested, what you
    English words that says the same thing, two English words
22
                                                                   22
                                                                       were told you must now prepare or draft or deal with in the
23
    with the same meaning.
                                                                   23
                                                                       statement that you were going to prepare. A detailed
           CHAIRPERSON:
24
                                 The difference of course is
                                                                   24
                                                                       statement dealing with both your observations of the
25
    that in QQQ2 the management had raised these concerns or
                                                                       incident on 13 August and the facts related to your
                                                      Page 27445
                                                                                                                         Page 27447
    challenges and they were matters which caused concern on
                                                                       position as commander of the POP unit which was deployed on
1
2
    the part of management and that's why they raised them,
                                                                       10 August 2012. Let me put it to you this way. I'm going
3
    whereas here they're just referred to as challenges that
                                                                       to hand this in, Chair, with your leave, as -
                                                                   4
4
    were addressed. So there is a slight difference, isn't
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   [Microphone off, inaudible]
                                                                   5
5
    there? Now the management to which you were referred in
                                                                              MR WESLEY:
                                                                                                 It's an email. What
    your statement QQQ2, that management had raised these
                                                                       happened, Chair -
6
                                                                   6
7
    concerns, was that the management in the North West?
                                                                   7
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   No, no - well let me look
8
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   8
                                                                       at the email.
                                    That is so, Sir.
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
9
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                   9
                                                                                                Chair -
                                So the management in the
10
    North West were concerned about these problems and that's
                                                                   10
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Ms Baloyi?
11
    why they raised them with National Management. Is that so?
                                                                   11
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                Chairperson, I have no idea
12
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    That is so.
                                                                   12
                                                                       what this is. I don't know the emails that are being
13
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                And that point is not clear
                                                                   13
                                                                       handed up. Mr Wesley had the opportunity when he cross-
14
    from paragraph 8 of GGG15. That's correct, isn't it?
                                                                   14
                                                                       examined the witness about this statement, QQQ2, to put to
15
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                    Ja, at QQQ2 it talks
                                                                   15
                                                                       him everything relating to the statement. He chose not to.
    about raising with the Provincial, but here mentions the
                                                                  16
                                                                       This seems to me highly improper, Chair.
16
17
    Provincial and National.
                                                                   17
                                                                              MR BUDLENDER SC:
                                                                                                        [Microphone off,
18
           MS BALOYI:
                             Now Colonel Merafe, on that,
                                                                   18
                                                                       inaudible]
    in GGG15, paragraph 8, you do not say management raised the
19
                                                                  19
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                No, I'm addressing the Chair,
    - you don't mention that it is management that raised the
                                                                   20
                                                                       please. I'm addressing the Chair. You're not chairing the
                                                                   21
21
    concern. That's the difference that the Chairperson is
                                                                       Commission.
    pointing out to you. Did you decide, or did you seek to
                                                                   22
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   Mr Budlender, we must let
   withhold in GGG15, paragraph 8, did you seek to withhold
                                                                   23
                                                                       Ms Baloyi speak without - if there's some response you can
24 that management raised concerns?
                                                                   24
                                                                       give it after she's finished addressing us. Yes, carry on.
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                 No, Chairperson.
                                                                  25
                                                                              MS BALOYI:
                                                                                                Yes, Chairperson, I'm raising
   ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE
```

22

23

24

25

20

21

Page 27450

```
Page 27448
    an objection about this irregular procedure or process. Mr
    Wesley cross-examined the witness on this statement. He
2
                                                                   3
3
    had opportunity to raise any issue relating to the
4
    statement and consultations, which in fact he was aware of.
                                                                   4
5
    He was aware of the consultations with the investigators.
    He had opportunity to raise it with the witness. He
6
                                                                   7
7
    elected not to. I'm entitled to have re-examined the way
                                                                   8
8
    that I did to establish the genesis of the statement, and
                                                                   9
9
    he's not entitled to cross-examine again, Chairperson,
    especially without explanation.
10
11
           MR BUDLENDER SC:
                                                                  11
                                       Chair, may I respond -
12
           MS BALOYI:
                              And the document that is
13
    handed up, Chair, we haven't seen it. I have no idea what
14
    it is.
15
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Have you finished now, Ms
16
    Baloyi?
17
            MS BALOYI:
                              I have, thank you, Chair.
18
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Mr Budlender, do you wish
19
    to respond?
20
           MR BUDLENDER SC:
                                       Chair, this is a new
21
    matter arising out of the re-examination. In re-
```

examination the witness was asked what he was asked at a

evidence leaders to the SAPS legal team immediately after

consultation. This is an email which was sent by the

the consultation, sent by me, saying we refer to the

email to the SAPS attorneys, a copy on Friday -CHAIRPERSON: Ja, okay, Mr Wesley, don't give evidence. You're asking a question, that's all. Ask the question and that's it. If you want to give evidence you can be sworn in later and cross-examined about it, but I don't think that would be an appropriate procedure. So let's just carry on with the question. MR WESLEY: As it pleases you, Chair. 10 Colonel, what we want to know is, I'm going to read the body of the email, it's one paragraph and all we want to 12 know is, is this what you were asked to deal with in your statement. That's the only question; were you asked to 14 deal with these matters. I'm going to read it to you. 15 I'll read it to you as it stands in the email. "We requested a detailed statement from him dealing both with 16 17 his observations of the incident on 13 August and with facts related to his position as commander of the POP unit 19 which was deployed on 10 August, and your statement should 20 also include the following matter; your unit's logistical 21 preparedness, resources, available trained manpower and 22 capability to deal with matters of this nature in the 23 recent past before the events of August 2012." You've 24 heard that. Is that what you were asked to deal with? 25 COLONEL MERAFE: That is correct. Page 27451

to make one, clarify one thing. I specifically gave this

Page 27449

1

2

3

5

7

10

11

12

13

14

15

17

18

19

20

21

23

24

25

Chairperson.

MR WESLEY:

CHAIRPERSON:

```
consultation with Mr Mokotedi. He's going to prepare a
 1
     statement, could he please address the following matters in
 2
 3
     the statement. So all we're asking, it's not a matter of
 4
     cross-examining the witness; it's just to check that this
 5
     is, these are the matters that he was asked to address in
     his statement, which is the very matter which was a new
 6
 7
     matter which was raised by our colleague in re-examination.
 8
     We're not trying to score a point or discredit the witness
 9
     or anything. All we're trying to do is to get before the
10
     Commission all of the evidence as to what the witness was
11
     asked to do after that consultation. I don't understand
12
     why it's controversial even. All we would like to ask the
13
     witness is, is this what he was asked to address in his
14
     statement.
15
            CHAIRPERSON:
                                   Well, I'll allow that
16
     question to be asked. I don't think the email should go in
17
     as the email covers other matters as well, but I can
18
     understand the point raised. The consultation was raised
19
     in re-examination and what was addressed, if that is the
```

right word, to be used, and I haven't got a problem with

the email put in between counsel and so on. So Mr Wesley,

MR WESLEY: Thank you, Chair, but I need

the topics that were addressed being the subject of a

22 question, but I don't think it's necessary for us to have

ARCHIVE FOR JUSTICE

Tel: 011 021 6457 Fax: 011 440 9119

24 you may ask that question.

```
to ask some questions.
      COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                       Colonel, can you
just please clarify something you said to the Chairman
yesterday when he asked you something about QQQ5, your
notebook. It related to the first query on the 13th. Now
with the kind assistance of Ms Baloyi and Mr Budlender
we've had a look at the original and it seems to me there
are entries that relate to the 13th and then the next date
is the 15th. Is that right?
      COLONEL MERAFE:
                                That's correct,
Chairperson.
      COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                       And you said to the
Chair yesterday that the first entry on the 13th, that you
might have confused it with something that happened on the
15th.
      COLONEL MERAFE:
                                No, I said something
```

Thank you.

Commissioner Hemraj wishes

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

colonel Merafe: No, I said something that happens on the 14th because what happens, the issue regarding the barbed wire and these other things that I listed here happens in the early morning of the 14th when we had to go and draw the plan. That's where I started noting these things.

COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: I understand that.

```
Page 27452
                                                                                                                        Page 27454
    And that entry, does it relate to some of the options that
                                                                       minutes.
    were discussed?
                                                                   2
2
                                                                              COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                                                                                             Thank you very
3
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Correct, Chairperson.
                                                                       much, Colonel.
4
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            Okay, thank you.
                                                                   4
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   I'd like to ask you one
5
    And the second thing, if you could please assist in
                                                                       question which relates to exhibit QQQ1. It's paragraph
6
    clarifying, the plan that was eventually presented at 13:30
                                                                       5.18 of exhibit QQQ1, 5.18. It reads, "As the police and
7
                                                                   7
                                                                       marchers were walking someone at the front on the right of
    on the 16th, I know you weren't there but had you had any
    knowledge of this plan prior, at any stage prior to that?
                                                                   8
                                                                       the strikers fired a teargas canister. The marchers did
8
9
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   9
                                     I had the insight of it
                                                                       not appear to be affected by the teargas and continued
    on the 15th, yes, I saw it, but as and when it is updated I
                                                                  10
                                                                       walking." And then according to what we could see on the
10
    was not aware of the contents thereof, if there was any
                                                                  11
                                                                       video it appears that the teargas canister actually came
11
                                                                       from the left of the strikers. The strikers were going in
                                                                  12
12
    amendment on it.
13
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            When you say you
                                                                  13
                                                                       the direction of the koppie. They had their backs to the
14
    were aware of it, were there any discussions surrounding
                                                                  14
                                                                       main group of members who were walking behind them, and as
    this at any stage prior to the 16th, relating to the actual
                                                                       far as we could see from the video the teargas canister
15
    plan that was presented at 13:30 on the 16th?
                                                                       came from the strikers' left. You say in the statement
16
17
                                                                       that someone at the front on the right of the strikers
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Ja, Chairperson, on the
18
    14th in the morning and on the 15th - actually on the 15th in
                                                                       fired a teargas canister. Is that perhaps a mistake in the
19
    the morning the commanders had the opportunity to put
                                                                  19
                                                                       light of what we can see on the video?
20
    their, to say whatever they wanted to, actually there was a
                                                                  20
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                      Ja, Chairperson, I was
21
    discussion surrounding the plan on that day.
                                                                  21
                                                                       not privileged to see the video before I make a statement,
22
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                                                  22
                                                                       but what I saw, because it was flying, I thought it was
                                            And as long as you
23
    were there until your involvement ended on the 15th, if
                                                                  23
                                                                       from the right. I was driving, so I couldn't verify
                                                                       whether left or right. I was inside the car by then.
24
                                                                  24
    there were any major non-compliances with whatever laws or
                                                                  25
                                                                             CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                   I understand. You were
25
    prescripts applied, would you have been in a position to
                                                      Page 27453
                                                                                                                        Page 27455
    correct them, and did you?
                                                                   1
                                                                       inside a car.
1
2
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                   2
                                     No. I was not in the
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Yes, Chairperson.
3
    position to correct whatever changes or something that went
                                                                   3
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      I see. So you were -
4
    wrong when I was not there.
                                                                   4
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                          It might be that I was
5
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            No, no, while you
                                                                       mistaken -
    were there until the end of the 15th, if there was anything
                                                                   6
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
6
                                                                                                      You might be mistaken.
7
    that was not in accordance with any of the prescripts.
                                                                   7
                                                                              COLONEL MERAFE:
                                                                                                         Yes, Chairperson.
                                                                   8
8
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     I would have corrected
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Thank you. Thank you. Any
9
                                                                   9
                                                                       questions arising from the questions asked by members of
    it, Chairperson.
10
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            And did you have -
                                                                  10
                                                                       the Commission?
11
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Or raised it.
                                                                  11
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Yes, just one, Chairperson.
12
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            And did you have
                                                                  12
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      What's the question?
13
    occasion to correct anything?
                                                                  13
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  I promise. I think it's L47 -
14
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Come again, Chairperson?
                                                                  14
                                                                       or I won't go there. The version of the police until, I
15
           COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ:
                                            Did you have
                                                                       think until the previous witness Vermaak, I put the
    opportunity, did an opportunity arise or did occasion arise
                                                                  16
                                                                       question but the version that's contained in exhibit L, you
17
    where you had to correct certain instances?
                                                                  17
                                                                       can accept is that these people who were marching on the
18
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                      Definitely so,
                                                                  18
                                                                       11th were being prevented from going to an informal
19
    Chairperson, because I was part of the meeting in the
                                                                  19
                                                                       settlement on the left -
20
    morning.
                                                                  20
                                                                                                     Mr Mpofu, I'm sorry, that -
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                  This meeting you're talking
21
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                  21
                                                                       oh yes, you can -
22
    about, is that the JOCCOM meeting on the 15th?
                                                                  22
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  I'm sorry, on the 13th -
           COLONEL MERAFE:
                                     Yes, in the morning,
                                                                  23
23
                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                                                                                      Yes, you can ask that
   Chairperson.
                                                                  24
                                                                       question.
           CHAIRPERSON:
                                 Which was the subject of
                                                                  25
                                                                              MR MPOFU:
                                                                                                  Shall I continue, Chairperson?
```

Page 27456 CHAIRPERSON: It doesn't arise from the 1 2 question I asked, but I understand what -3 MR MPOFU: Well, Chairperson, the 4 canister, and if they were being prevented, whether it's 5 left or right is very important. CHAIRPERSON: 6 Ja, okay. 7 MR MPOFU: Okay. 8 CHAIRPERSON: One question. 9 MR MPOFU: You allow me one question, ja. I don't want to waste my one question. What I'm saying is 10 11 you would agree that it is incorrect to suggest, as it is suggested in exhibit L, that the strikers were being prevented from going towards the left of the direction that 14 they were marching? Remember the left was this side. They were going towards the - or let me put it this way; the 15 16 informal settlement that they were being prevented from 17 going to was to their right -18 CHAIRPERSON: Allegedly prevented. Allegedly, yes, was to their 19 MR MPOFU: 20 right and not to their left. 21 **COLONEL MERAFE:** Ja, it was to their 22 right, not to the left. 23 That's right. CHAIRPERSON: 24 MR MPOFU: Thank you. 25 **COLONEL MERAFE:** It was on their right, Page 27457 not to their left. 1 2 CHAIRPERSON: And you in fact had been 3 instructed by General Mpembe to block, to ensure that they 4 didn't go to that informal settlement and that was why 5 Nyalas were moved up along the road, effectively blocked any access by them to that informal settlement. 6 **COLONEL MERAFE:** 7 That's positive, 8 Chairperson. 9 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, okay. Alright, on this note we will adjourn then until Tuesday morning at 9 10 o'clock. The witness is excused from further attendance on 11 12 the usual understanding that if you have to come back or we 13 ask you to come back you'll come back. 14 **COLONEL MERAFE:** Thank you, Chairperson. 15 CHAIRPERSON: And otherwise you're excused, and that's the end of your evidence as far as we 17 are aware. 18 **COLONEL MERAFE:** Thank you, Chairperson. 19 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. 20 [NO FURTHER QUESTIONS – WITNESS EXCUSED] 21 [COMMISSION ADJOURNED] 22 23

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

Page 1

				ı
A	27414:14	27396:7,9 27400:21	27450:12,13,24	27381:21 27395:4
	agree 27345:11	27408:9,10 27415:17	27451:7 27455:9	27409:20 27412:3,14
able 27340:22 27365:6	27363:10 27368:4	27416:18 27417:18	27456:2	27412:18,21 27414:8
27375:7 27377:19				The state of the s
27392:14 27400:21	27372:6,9,14,19	27417:24 27424:2	asking 27343:21	27424:21 27426:4
27417:24 27432:25	27373:15,21 27374:2	27427:6,9,10	27346:6,10 27347:18	27436:1,17 27457:12
27433:3	27374:3,24 27375:1,3	27428:15,18	27349:3,6,9 27361:20	27457:13,13
	27375:5 27376:14	27429:11	27371:14 27372:18	backs 27454:13
absent 27394:8	27377:19 27378:13	answered 27384:9	27385:5 27389:19,23	bad 27408:4 27443:15
absolutely 27402:25				
accept 27348:3 27365:4	27378:15,19,20,23	answering 27373:7	27390:24 27395:23	badly 27409:11
27367:13 27377:9,15	27379:3,8,9,11	anybody 27401:20	27396:6 27416:5	ball 27357:14
27377:17 27386:7	27381:3,16 27383:20	27406:6	27424:15 27431:3	ban 27389:12,13,17
	27384:1,14 27385:18	anyway 27340:21	27449:3 27450:4	banned 27390:21
27389:2 27400:5	27386:21,21	27364:11	aspects 27394:25	barbed 27368:19
27455:17	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		_	
accepted 27359:25	27387:16,20,21,24	apart 27357:25	assault 27383:2	27394:4 27436:5
accepting 27391:1	27391:11,14,17,22,24	27358:2 27381:11	assertion 27361:23	27438:10 27451:21
access 27457:6	27391:25 27392:1,17	apartheid 27386:8	27391:10	bargaining 27379:14
	27393:1,9,12,17	apologise 27406:5	assertions 27361:18	27379:25 27380:3,10
accommodates	27395:13,16 27406:9	appear 27359:16	assess 27400:19	27380:11 27381:23
27408:17	•			
account 27425:9,10,16	27406:11 27410:25	27365:13 27371:10	assist 27354:9 27395:6	27382:4,24 27383:7
27440:23 27442:11	27412:8 27416:23	27422:16 27454:9	27395:8 27418:3	based 27360:17
	27417:3,5 27418:4,6	appeared 27365:11	27424:15 27431:5,21	27394:5
accounts 27441:6	27418:10,11,12	27369:17,20	27440:10 27452:5	basis 27366:2 27376:19
accuracy 27348:1		•		
accurate 27394:10	27419:25 27456:11	27375:14	assistance 27343:5	27392:22 27393:2,6
accurately 27392:4	agreed 27341:20	appears 27359:21	27394:19 27419:15	27401:12 27402:24
act 27398:3 27436:13	27342:8 27366:22	27454:11	27431:16 27451:9	27403:1 27405:9
	27371:2 27381:5,10	applicable 27366:8	assume 27362:12	27425:2
27438:2	27384:5 27386:20	applied 27452:25	27384:9 27385:18	bear 27422:5
action 27436:13				
27438:2	27414:24 27418:6	appointed 27432:4	attach 27425:22	beg 27435:11
activities 27402:8	agreeing 27381:12	appropriate 27400:19	attack 27425:11,19	begging 27387:3
27441:2	agrees 27374:14	27450:7	27430:18,18 27435:3	beginning 27410:12
	27385:7 27392:8,13	APRIL 27340:1	27442:12	behalf 27428:1
actual 27389:17	· ·		attacked 27425:25	behaviour 27395:14
27452:15	aim 27348:9	area 27390:12,13,16,19		
add 27433:18	air 27419:14,17	27440:1	27434:15 27438:13	27403:21
addition 27444:8	Ali 27369:4	areas 27390:15	attacks 27426:20	behavioural 27396:23
additional 27443:1,8	allegation 27393:12	27425:8	attend 27402:13	belabour 27412:7
*	allegedly 27382:25	aren't 27375:24	attendance 27457:11	believe 27354:22
address 27368:8				
27434:20 27444:9	27456:18,19	27400:20	attended 27399:23	27393:20 27401:3
27449:2,5,13	allow 27403:16,17,18	argue 27357:10	27400:23,24,25	27433:23
addressed 27381:25	27449:15 27456:9	27370:9 27371:7,8	attending 27402:8	belongs 27383:8
	allowed 27340:15	27396:5 27415:11	27406:7	best 27377:11,12
27443:7 27445:4	27395:4 27434:21	argument 27371:11	attention 27361:9	better 27340:17,18
27449:19,21				,
addressing 27447:19	27436:1	27376:4,19 27409:19	attorney 27346:7	27341:4 27376:14,17
27447:20,24	aloud 27373:9	arising 27446:6	attorneys 27450:2	27417:21
adjourn 27404:25	alright 27340:16	27448:21 27455:9	August 27344:14,15,17	Beyleveld 27440:14
-	27354:17 27368:13	armoured 27437:7	27418:25 27421:17	27446:12,14
27457:10	27370:5 27372:4	arranging 27402:8	27421:20,23	beyond 27361:8
ADJOURNED			•	
27457:21	27374:22 27375:20	arrived 27410:17	27424:13 27446:25	big 27387:6
adjourning 27405:6	27377:24 27387:23	27411:23 27417:13	27447:2 27450:17,19	bigger 27367:14
ADJOURNS 27405:13	27392:21 27395:11	arrives 27419:3,6	27450:23	bit 27378:3 27412:12
	27396:8 27409:1,18	arson 27383:3	available 27347:6	27439:24
administrative	27415:16 27457:9,9	asked 27357:3	27438:7 27450:21	Bizos 27340:9,14
27405:20				
adopt 27395:4	alternative 27418:7,7	27358:21,23 27359:3	aware 27388:9,10	27421:14 27430:11
Adv 27340:9,14	ambiguity 27410:2,10	27362:17 27364:23	27396:10 27402:3	black 27395:15,25
advisable 27386:18	27411:11	27368:18 27369:22	27405:5 27417:7,9	block 27457:3
	amendment 27452:12	27371:3 27374:11	27426:22 27430:20	blocked 27457:5
27387:5,15 27417:19	Annandale 27363:4			
27418:14	Almanuale 2/303:4	27376:1 27377:8	27430:21 27431:2,4,7	Blou 27376:1
	07410 0 10	27388:25 27391:19	27431:11,12,13,16,17	body 27450:11
advised 27417:1	27413:9,13		1 07421.10.24	Bophuthatswana
advised 27417:1	27413:9,13 announce 27405:15	27391:23 27392:6,10	27431:19,24	Dopinamaiswana
advised 27417:1 27418:5	announce 27405:15	27391:23 27392:6,10		27389:7
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24	27433:22 27448:4,5	27389:7
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14	27389:7 brackets 27423:11
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17	27433:22 27448:4,5	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16 27358:24 27369:22	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17 27409:15 27412:16	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14 27457:17	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8 break 27404:11,13
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9 27434:15	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9 27434:15 African 27399:24	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16 27358:24 27369:22 27370:22 27372:21	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17 27409:15 27412:16 27414:13 27429:10	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14 27457:17 B	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8 break 27404:11,13 27405:7,10
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9 27434:15 African 27399:24 aggressive 27437:6	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16 27358:24 27369:22 27370:22 27372:21 27373:1,4,23	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17 27409:15 27412:16 27414:13 27429:10 27437:23 27448:22	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14 27457:17 B B 27428:23 27429:1,2	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8 break 27404:11,13 27405:7,10 bridge 27385:13
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9 27434:15 African 27399:24	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16 27358:24 27369:22 27370:22 27372:21 27373:1,4,23 27374:13 27376:14	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17 27409:15 27412:16 27414:13 27429:10 27437:23 27448:22 27448:22 27449:5,11	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14 27457:17 B B 27428:23 27429:1,2 back 27356:15	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8 break 27404:11,13 27405:7,10 bridge 27385:13 brief 27428:9,13,22
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9 27434:15 African 27399:24 aggressive 27437:6 ago 27356:19 27412:17	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16 27358:24 27369:22 27370:22 27372:21 27373:1,4,23 27374:13 27376:14 27377:12 27384:9,16	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17 27409:15 27412:16 27414:13 27429:10 27437:23 27448:22	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14 27457:17 B B 27428:23 27429:1,2	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8 break 27404:11,13 27405:7,10 bridge 27385:13
advised 27417:1 27418:5 advocate 27341:2 27379:24 27437:2,2 afraid 27346:4 27360:9 27434:15 African 27399:24 aggressive 27437:6	announce 27405:15 answer 27344:11 27346:13 27349:12 27356:7,8,9,10,14,16 27358:24 27369:22 27370:22 27372:21 27373:1,4,23 27374:13 27376:14	27391:23 27392:6,10 27392:17,24,24 27393:7 27394:25 27396:9 27401:16,17 27409:15 27412:16 27414:13 27429:10 27437:23 27448:22 27448:22 27449:5,11	27433:22 27448:4,5 27452:11,14 27457:17 B B 27428:23 27429:1,2 back 27356:15	27389:7 brackets 27423:11 brains 27358:8 break 27404:11,13 27405:7,10 bridge 27385:13 brief 27428:9,13,22

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

briefed 27428:2	27427:13,21
Briefly 27400:6	Centre 27425:2
Brigadier 27349:18	certain 27345:17
27364:22 27369:13	27346:17,24 27347:2
27381:16 27387:24	27347:16 27453:17
27433:19	certainly 27347:14
bring 27344:9	27363:3,3 27365:24
27352:12 27361:8	·
	27375:13 27384:5
broader 27368:20	chair 27340:8 27341:11
brought 27343:18	27345:10 27348:7
27370:16 27434:19	27349:4 27352:18
brutal 27399:19	27362:2 27368:22
Budlender 27446:4,5	27380:19 27383:6
27447:17,22	27384:20 27385:10
27448:11,18,20	27385:15 27402:10
27451:9	27404:10 27405:12
burned 27388:6	27410:4 27411:24
bury 27402:12,16	27414:9 27419:16
bushes 27356:6	27420:1,23 27421:18
business 27346:12	27422:4,4,10
27383:23	27424:10,11
busy 27381:9 27392:19	27425:20 27427:9
27394:18 27406:3	27428:4,11 27429:9
27416:14	27429:13,17 27432:5
	27435:23 27436:11
C	27436:16 27439:14
calendar 27354:15	27441:14 27442:20
Calitz 27433:19	27444:5,13 27446:5
call 27367:19 27421:9	27446:10 27447:3,6,9
27421:10	27447:16,19,20
called 27342:7	27448:11,13,17,20
27344:22 27348:20	27449:25 27450:9
27364:6,7 27370:1,2	27451:16
27389:7 27423:8	chairing 27447:20
27439:18	Chairman 27451:6
27439.10	Chan man 27 131.0
calling 27413:9,13	Chairperson's
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15	Chairperson's 27408:25
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1 chief 27418:24
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1 chief 27418:24 choice 27377:14
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1 chief 27418:24 choire 27377:14 choir 27412:11,12
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1 chief 27418:24 choice 27377:14 choir 27412:11,12 27414:19,19,20
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1 chief 27418:24 choire 27377:14 choir 27412:11,12
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25 27392:17 27396:7	Chairperson's 27408:25 challenges 27374:8 27442:17,21,24 27444:10,17,18,20 27445:1,3 change 27353:2,5 changes 27378:18 27453:3 chaos 27410:10 charge 27357:17 27358:1 27386:9 27388:14 27389:25 chase 27442:12 check 27349:22 27350:11 27351:12 27391:9 27435:19 27449:4 checking 27399:13,14 27436:1 chief 27418:24 choice 27377:14 choir 27412:11,12 27414:19,19,20 chose 27447:15
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25 27392:17 27396:7 27444:16	Chairperson's
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25 27392:17 27396:7 27444:16 categories 27392:12	Chairperson's
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25 27392:17 27396:7 27444:16 categories 27392:12 caused 27378:19	Chairperson's
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25 27392:17 27396:7 27444:16 categories 27392:12 caused 27378:19 27382:25 27434:20	Chairperson's
calling 27413:9,13 canister 27454:8,11,15 27454:18 27456:4 canvassed 27413:16 can't 27353:5 27358:7 27358:9,22 27360:21 27363:5 27388:3 27389:4 27392:18 27397:5 27398:4,14 27413:17,25 27414:19 capability 27450:22 capable 27409:6 capacity 27378:14,16 capture 27422:17 car 27454:24 27455:1 care 27354:10 carefully 27350:19 27386:7 carry 27356:1 27392:21 27393:3,6 27447:24 27450:8 case 27362:14,21 27363:3,3 27388:25 27392:17 27396:7 27444:16 categories 27392:12 caused 27378:19	Chairperson's

```
clarify 27450:1
  27451:6
clarifying 27452:6
clarity 27409:22
clause 27419:2 27423:1
  27423:2 27424:4,13
  27428:7 27436:8,8
  27437:24 27438:15
cleaning 27370:13
clear 27367:12
  27379:18,25
  27382:14 27384:22
  27413:6,8 27424:2
  27428:18 27429:1,11
  27445:13
clearly 27352:8
  27428:25,25 27429:6
coincidence 27340:14
colleague 27449:7
colleagues 27341:8
  27399:20
collective 27379:14
  27381:22 27382:4,24
come 27346:17
  27377:21 27394:19
  27436:1 27439:15,16
  27453:14 27457:12
  27457:13,13
comfort 27404:12,15
  27405:6,10
coming 27403:4
command 27402:11
  27428:9,22,23
  27429:2,7,8,20
commander 27354:6
  27354:23 27390:9
  27401:8,9 27407:24
  27408:2,3,3,5,12
  27409:23,23 27410:6
  27410:8,11,14,21,22
  27410:23,23 27411:3
  27411:9,10,16,17
  27412:17,25 27413:3
  27413:5 27414:15
  27428:8,13,21
  27433:18 27436:25
  27437:15 27447:1
  27450:18
commanders 27399:14
  27429:2,3,21,23
  27430:6,9 27452:19
commands 27411:19
commendably
  27372:24
comment 27360:17
  27370:7 27382:23
  27392:18 27434:6
comments 27356:2
Commission 27340:2
  27343:1,7,15,18
  27344:3 27345:12,15
  27345:25 27346:13
  27348:21,25
  27349:16 27350:25
  27352:13 27364:2,3
```

```
27384:23 27403:18
  27405:13.13.14
  27411:8 27415:7
  27439:16 27447:21
  27449:10 27455:10
  27457:21
Commissioner
  27349:19 27360:14
  27362:10 27370:10
  27383:17 27406:14
  27410:13 27421:3,8
  27433:8 27435:4,8,10
  27435:20 27436:17
  27437:11 27451:3,5
  27451:15,25 27452:4
  27452:13,22 27453:5
  27453:10,12,15
  27454:2
Commissioners
  27343:21 27437:23
committed 27383:10
  27383:11,12
common 27395:16
  27396:1,16,25
  27397:1,3,7,20,25
communicate 27377:22
  27412:2 27428:24
  27429:3
communicated 27364:1
  27375:15 27405:10
  27412:5
communication
  27375:10,18 27433:9
comparatively
  27362:15
compared 27443:3
compile 27350:13
  27422:22
completely 27361:21
compliance 27345:8
  27352:5,17 27353:4
  27359:22 27361:19
  27361:23 27386:4
  27388:5
complicating 27376:20
complied 27348:11
  27360:20 27362:15
  27363:5 27366:9
comply 27362:21
components 27367:24
  27421:12
comprehensive
  27421:16 27423:10
  27423:23 27424:5,14
  27441:12.13.22
conceded 27341:9
concentrate 27439:23
Concept 27422:7,11
concern 27381:24
  27382:15 27383:4,18
  27389:21 27444:21
  27445:1,21
concerned 27345:12,21
  27373:16 27376:21
  27385:3,4 27403:20
  27414:2,6 27444:21
```

```
27445:10
concerns 27342:3.8
  27353:15 27379:16
  27380:12,17 27382:4
  27382:11 27444:2,16
  27444:17,25 27445:7
  27445:24 27446:10
conclusions 27417:2
concocting 27401:11
conduct 27360:22
  27364:23
conducted 27424:24
  27432:7 27433:15
  27446:18
conducting 27414:20
conductors 27412:12
confining 27377:4
confused 27414:18,18
  27451:17
confusing 27412:9
confusion 27412:24
  27413:20 27414:7,10
  27414:16,25
consider 27439:11
consideration 27397:16
considerations
  27380:21
considered 27381:14
  27382:15 27417:10
consult 27395:12
consultation 27439:19
  27439:23 27441:8
  27446:12,13,20
  27448:23,25 27449:1
  27449:11,18
consultations 27346:23
  27448:4.5
consulted 27345:19
  27351:17 27440:7,8
  27440:13
consulting 27345:15,17
  27345:24
contain 27370:17
  27371:25 27441:24
contained 27347:5
  27372:1 27379:15
  27384:2 27385:18
  27396:24 27423:11
  27439:1 27455:16
contains 27382:10
CONTD 27406:1
contemplate 27420:20
contemplates 27438:15
contend 27371:25
content 27347:15
contents 27346:19
  27370:6 27372:7
  27452:11
contingency 27421:20
  27422:24
continue 27385:14
  27455:25
continued 27454:9
continues 27437:4
contradict 27353:6
contradictions
```

CCTV 27426:2,5,10,19

clarification 27415:14

27364:11,22

27425.16
27435:16
contradictory
27437:20
contravened 27389:18
control 27357:2
controversial 27449:12
conversation 27425:11
27428:3 27442:14
conversations 27346:6
27346:7 27433:4
copy 27372:22 27450:2
core 27345:7,13,13
27346:12
corner 27421:24
corrected 27453:8
correction 27347:23
correctly 27346:20
27360:2
couldn't 27353:22
27407:24 27408:8
27409:11 27454:23
counsel 27346:7
27371:8 27381:17
27387:9 27403:3,14
27403:21 27449:23
counselling 27400:18
country 27375:4
couple 27416:16
course 27415:12
27435:19 27437:13
27444:24
court 27403:17
27440:4
cover 27341:4 27363:6
covered 27340:15
27360:23 27381:18
27388:20,23 27390:5
covering 27367:3
covers 27423:23
27449:17
created 27381:23
crime 27383:10,11,13
27383:19 27419:23
crisply 27408:23
critical 27360:22
criticise 27348:10,14
27380:22
criticised 27352:22
27382:11
criticises 27436:4
criticises 27430.4 criticising 27348:9
criticism 27353:3
27354:24 27355:1,2,5
27355:7 27357:4,6,11
27357:20 27361:7
27378:7 27421:15,15
27425:9 27430:10
27432:10 27436:3
criticisms 27341:15,19
27341:21,25
27347:21,23
27347:21 27352:4,16 27354:14 27356:20
27354:14 27356:20
27356:22 27357:11
27357:21,23 27358:3
27358:5 27359:3,13
27359:15 27361:24
ARCHIVE FO

27362:5 27363:23 27370:15.17 27371:5 27371:6.14 27378:1 27378:11 27388:3,4 27388:11 27391:4 cross 27360:23 27375:23 27390:5 27404:6 27447:13 **crossing** 27377:18 27410:17 cross-examination 27340:25 27341:7 27372:18 27394:24 27406:1 27418:24 27435:15 27437:18 27438:23 27441:24 cross-examine 27340:6 27340:10 27389:1 27448:9 cross-examined 27448:2 27450:6 cross-examining 27449:4 crowd 27344:22 27354:23 27357:2 27358:1 27366:8 27368:15 27411:2 27420:21,25 27423:12 **crying** 27406:23 cut 27359:11 27372:24 D daily 27424:24 27425:2 damage 27383:3 27422:12 27451:11

Danie 27440:14 date 27354:10,14 dates 27344:18 day 27364:11 27370:2 27377:20 27394:3 27413:11 27431:7 27434:18 27437:13 27439:24 27452:21 days 27343:12 27363:12 27399:20 deadly 27420:14 deal 27348:6 27363:13 27370:5.6 27371:17 27375:22 27381:9,18 27418:15 27425:5 27429:3 27430:5 27446:22 27450:12 27450:14,22,24 dealing 27346:18 27350:1 27354:2 27363:22 27367:16 27368:11 27369:11 27416:14 27446:24 27450:16 deals 27343:1 dealt 27351:11 27367:8 27381:8,14 death 27407:1,3,5 deaths 27407:8 decide 27371:24

27441:5 27445:22 decided 27410:17 decision 27402:2.3 27437:4 decisions 27402:3 deeply 27340:21 defend 27438:12 defensive 27436:9,14 27437:25 27438:3,5,8 27438:16 **defining** 27371:13 **Definitely** 27453:18 deliberate 27371:18 deliberately 27371:15 **denied** 27377:13 27389:25 depends 27405:18 deploy 27378:17 27397:5,21 27398:11 27398:18 27399:10 27399:15 deployed 27397:24 27402:7 27407:18 27428:25 27447:1 27450:19 **deploying** 27399:18 **deployment** 27368:19 despite 27352:4,6 27361:23 detail 27346:23 27424:16 detailed 27446:23 27450:16 details 27389:17 detection 27397:6 **determine** 27364:18 27387:12 develop 27423:10 27424:14 27425:4 development 27425:16 developments 27425:17 deviated 27395:21 **deviation** 27352:25 27354:1 27391:5 27396:1 deviations 27341:9 27342:24 27343:16 27351:11,13 27354:19 27361:24 27363:24,24 27370:15,15 27390:18 27395:21 27395:23 **diagnosis** 27416:25 27418:4 dictate 27397:20 didn't 27354:20 27363:6 27367:12,12 27371:25 27378:17 27381:6,7,8 27384:13 27384:14 27393:4 27403:7,13,17 27409:7,13 27412:18 27457:4

differ 27368:4 **difference** 27368:10 27443:11.20.21 27444:15,19,24 27445:4,21 differences 27367:15 27439:1,5,10 27441:10 27443:18 different 27361:16,21 27377:7 27383:1 27385:8 27417:12 27443:12,23 differently 27404:3 **Diole** 27412:1 direct 27352:9 27401:8 **directed** 27402:7 **direction** 27454:13 27456:13 **directly** 27363:13 27397:20 27402:11 27405:9 27430:5 **disagree** 27373:25 27377:24 27378:22 27379:2,6 27385:21 27392:7,14 disagreed 27392:7 disagreement 27385:2 disagrees 27374:13 27385:4 disallow 27394:21 27396:18 27397:16 27399:7 27394:24 27395:9 27412:9 27414:22 27347:15 27357:13 27357:15 27367:2 27370:8 27382:3 27416:19,21 27418:23 27421:14 27425:7 27431:9 27432:2 27436:2 27452:2 27433:2 27436:23 27438:21 27452:21 27431:20 27432:25 27452:14

disallowed 27389:6 disaster 27410:3,24 disclose 27364:22 discredit 27449:8 discuss 27342:6 **discussed** 27346:19 discussion 27393:8 discussions 27341:14 **dispersal** 27417:1,19 27418:5 **disperse** 27418:14 dispersion 27384:2 27385:19,24 27386:19 27387:15 27416:20 27417:1 dispute 27378:21 distinction 27427:7 **document** 27422:2 27448:12 documents 27396:24

doesn't 27356:8 27386:20 27392:10 27396:13 27397:7 27410:20 27411:1,8 27416:11 27423:18 27430:5,5 27456:1 doing 27346:9 27372:12,13 27382:17 27387:11 27409:12 27416:16 27420:25 dominance 27383:2 **doubt** 27361:6 draft 27446:22 drafting 27345:25 draw 27451:23 drawing 27427:7 driven 27423:24 driving 27454:23 drunk 27396:15 due 27415:12 27435:19 27443:5 duplication 27366:13 27366:14 duration 27422:12 duties 27406:20 \mathbf{E}

earlier 27354:19 27356:21 27384:17 27391:23 27417:22 27427:15 27431:6 27439:25 27440:2 early 27451:22 economy 27380:16 27383:23 edited 27370:16 **effecting** 27416:20 effectively 27344:22 27402:7 27443:7 27457:5 either 27341:20 27366:1 27370:10 27381:22 27388:24 27396:24 27440:17 elected 27448:7 eliminated 27371:6.15 email 27405:22 27447:5.8 27448:23 27449:16,17,23 27450:2,11,15 emails 27447:12 emanate 27395:16 27396:25 emotional 27407:5 27408:11 emotionally 27398:23 27406:9,17,22 27407:6,10,15 **emotions** 27406:13 27408:1 employee 27383:7,9 employees 27382:2

die 27437:8

employer 27383:7,9 encapsulates 27361:17

encircled 27417:10

encircling 27417:3 27418:8
endeavour 27361:11 ended 27439:17
27452:23 enforce 27386:4,13
27387:13 English 27444:22,22
ensure 27381:23 27443:6 27457:3
ensures 27428:23 entire 27394:24
entirely 27389:12 entitled 27358:14,14 27448:7,9
entries 27451:11
entry 27451:16 27452:1
environment 27351:22 27375:4,6 27399:12 27399:12
episode 27387:25 equal 27395:23
equally 27361:25 27407:8,11
escorted 27429:20 especially 27448:10
establish 27448:8 established 27389:16
27441:23 evaluation 27345:8
27380:24 evening 27394:11
27430:19 event 27340:12
27364:16 27428:25 events 27344:7,14
27345:12 27409:5 27450:23
eventually 27364:10 27452:6
everybody 27401:18 27405:22
evidence 27346:21 27353:2,5 27360:11
27360:12,15 27362:9 27368:24 27370:22
27371:24 27375:21 27383:16 27384:23
27384:24 27394:1,8 27394:11,12 27395:5
27398:17,20 27399:21 27401:11 27401:21,24,24
27401:21,24,24 27402:17 27414:4 27417:13 27418:23
27417:13 27418:23 27419:21 27426:3,6 27427:4 27430:17
27427.4 27430.17 27431:3 27432:14 27435:13,17,21,25
27437:12,19,20 27439:19 27440:7,8
27449:10 27450:4,5 27449:10 27450:4,5
27457:16 evidence-in-chief
ARCHIVE FO

N	/lai
27441:23	
exactly 27349:25 27351:23 27363:6	
27364:17 27372:12	
27383:16 27392:25	
27393:15 27395:20 27396:22 27410:19	
27413:19 27416:15	
27446:21	
examination 27360:24 27404:7 27448:22	
examine 27390:6	
examined 27447:14	
examining 27375:24 27427:25	
example 27368:17	
27370:13 27396:13	
27396:13 27442:3 excellence 27395:8	
exceptional 27420:16	
exclude 27396:15	
27402:4 excluded 27400:8,9,9	
27400:10 27401:20	
27401:22	
excused 27402:17 27406:7 27457:11,16	5
27457:20	,
exercise 27438:24	
exhibit 27352:1,5 27359:16 27360:11	
27360:22 27362:3	
27370:10,16 27374:5	5
27422:9 27424:8,12 27436:18,21 27454:5	5
27454:6 27455:16	,
27456:12	
exist 27378:17 existed 27378:17	
experience 27423:17	
experienced 27433:24	
expert 27368:14,15 experts 27442:7,8	
explain 27362:20	
27412:14 27439:16	
explained 27407:20 27411:15 27412:19	
27412:20,21	
explanation 27349:18 27448:10	
explosion 27387:6	
express 27342:12,24	
27346:1	`
expressed 27341:15,19 27341:20,24,24	,
27342:8,13 27345:16	5
27346:2,13 expression 27441:17	
extension 27405:17,19	
extensively 27413:16	
extent 27342:22,23	
27345:17,18 27346:17,19,21,24,2 27346:25 27347:2,16	4
27346:25 27347:2,16	5
27347:20 27350:5,19 27350:20,21,23)
27350:20,21,23	

27351:2.11 27363:21 27366:12.13.21 27367:15,21 27370:11 27371:6,24 27382:10 27383:3 27385:7 27399:9 27406:19 27408:7 27417:8 27443:6 F fact 27352:4,6 27371:4 27377:1 27379:7 27382:16 27385:17 27387:11 27388:5 27389:11,13 27394:2 27407:17 27419:1,5 27420:2 27422:21 27431:8 27434:17 27441:16,24 27443:13 27448:4 27457:2 factor 27375:10,18 27376:9,21 27377:2,7 27379:7 **factors** 27381:13 facts 27366:14 27446:25 27450:18 fail 27436:14 27438:3 **failed** 27425:9,18 **failure** 27425:8 **faintly** 27384:24 **fair** 27361:3,5,13 27373:18 27382:16 27400:2 27413:14 fairly 27408:22 fairness 27383:15 fallen 27427:5 Fanagalo 27375:1 27376:1,8,24 27377:1 27377:8,12,14,20,21 27379:7 27381:11 27391:25 27392:25 27393:8 far 27345:21 27369:12 27370:8 27384:23 27388:4 27403:20 27414:1.6 27435:16 27444:21 27454:15 27457:16 fast 27361:14 fateful 27343:12 Father 27343:24 feared 27402:5 feeling 27340:16,18 27341:3 feels 27371:9 felt 27409:6,10 field 27386:11 **fight** 27383:2 27406:4 **figment** 27356:22 **final** 27364:6 27420:3

27373:19.20 27375:23 27377:23 27379:5 finish 27422:24 finished 27392:25 27447:24 27448:15 fired 27454:8,18 first 27365:8,9 27374:7 27374:16,17 27377:13,13 27386:12 27401:19 27408:18,18 27415:12,20 27419:3 27419:5,6,6,7,10 27438:13,17 27442:16 27446:9 27451:8,16 firstly 27393:25 27422:11 **five** 27386:8 27433:5 **flat** 27386:17 27387:12 **floor** 27411:25 flow 27395:25 flying 27454:22 focus 27422:7,12 **focusing** 27373:7 **follow** 27427:1 **followed** 27411:21 27414:11 **following** 27437:13 27444:10,18 27449:2 27450:20 football 27344:5,10 27412:10 force 27420:14 27444:3 27444:11 forced 27385:24 27387:16 forces 27420:13 27421:4 forget 27345:1 27347:17 27415:10 Former 27369:4 forms 27384:17 forth 27366:8 27383:14 forward 27343:18 27412:2 27414:8 forwarded 27437:3 **found** 27352:6 four 27414:14 Friday 27450:2 Fridays 27405:17 front 27454:7,17 full 27345:18 27370:11 fully 27379:23 **function** 27387:10 functioning 27409:6 funeral 27400:9 27401:1 27402:9 27407:17 27409:7 further 27340:11 27362:7,10 27368:11 27371:21 27372:2 27400:20 27402:4 27418:19 27427:13

27368:7 27372:3

27372:9,16,23 27373:6,24 27378:4 27379:24 27381:20 27395:4 27401:4,9 27402:12,16 27409:7 27412:3 27414:8

27457:11.20 furthermore 27422:20 future 27342:4 \mathbf{G} gain 27419:1 gap 27393:4 **gathered** 27386:10 27431:15 **gathering** 27348:19 27418:16 27419:4 **Gauteng** 27369:2 general 27363:4 27375:7,11 27376:1,4 27376:5 27377:8,18 27401:19 27410:13 27410:22 27411:9,14 27411:16 27412:4,14 27412:22 27413:1,8,9 27413:12,12 27414:5 27414:8,11,17 27423:21 27428:1 27429:19,22 27430:4 27430:8 27457:3 Generally 27375:4 **genesis** 27448:8 **GGG15** 27438:23 27441:11 27443:4,4 27443:14 27444:7,7 27444:17 27445:14 27445:19,23 27446:11 **give** 27346:23 27353:22 27356:8 27366:6 27369:21 27386:8 27394:19 27396:12 27400:18 27436:4 27447:24 27450:4,5 given 27340:5,10 27370:8,9,22 27390:5 27395:18 27398:15 27398:16 27411:15 27418:4,5 27422:21 27429:22 27430:3 27438:16 gives 27413:4 27429:20 giving 27349:21 27357:8 27362:3 27408:10 27411:21 27413:3 glad 27341:3 **go** 27342:10 27347:19 27347:20 27356:4,4,6 27356:6 27358:17 27363:11 27365:14

find 27343:11 27415:15

27415:22 27441:25

27352:11 27355:25

finally 27416:16

fine 27347:13,17

27457:4

27424:21 27429:24

27439:20 27440:3

27444:7 27449:16

27451:23 27455:14

goes 27361:7 27362:7 27362:10 going 27340:10 27341:4,6 27342:5 27347:11 27353:10 27353:11 27363:12 27370:6,9 27373:19 27385:15 27399:25 27409:3,5,20 27412:4 27412:7 27415:25 27416:16 27423:22 27423:24,25 27425:3 27427:21 27446:23 27447:2 27449:1 27450:10,14 27454:12 27455:18 27456:13,15,17 **good** 27340:14 27341:1 27355:14 27359:20 27398:8,9,10 granted 27402:14 27405:11 grateful 27360:19 27384:12 great 27359:21 greatest 27413:19 **ground** 27341:9 27347:9 27387:12 27391:11 27393:12 27393:18 27394:2,3,5 27394:14 27413:5 27437:9 **group** 27340:7 27364:8 27365:12,14 27385:7 27417:17 27427:14 27427:20 27454:14 groups 27383:9 guidelines 27423:11,16 27423:16 27424:6,18 Gumbi 27427:24 H hand 27421:24 27447:3

handed 27447:13 27448:13 handle 27401:3 happen 27356:22 27411:11 27425:4 27437:16 **happened** 27342:6 27343:1,25 27344:6 27344:14 27348:8,18 27353:15,23 27361:2 27362:4 27367:17 27370:12 27376:21 27388:23 27398:23 27402:6 27414:1 27436:21 27440:24 27447:6 27451:17 **happening** 27350:13 27362:5 27367:4 happens 27440:2 27451:20,20,22 happy 27359:4 27406:25 27407:2

hard-drive 27421:25

ARCHIVE

27422:1 haven't 27358:23 27416:3.10 27448:13 27449:20 heading 27422:7,11 27424:23 Health 27398:2 hear 27354:16 27356:12 27375:8 27376:6,18 27397:5 27403:7 27416:12 27432:25 27433:3,6 27433:10 27446:8 heard 27354:22 27362:23 27371:23 27430:17 27450:24 **hearing** 27377:19 heartbroken 27340:20 held 27350:11 27444:2 27444:9 help 27342:4 27346:21 27364:16 27373:1,3 27386:20 27413:17 27414:1 27422:22 27435:22 helped 27433:24 **helpful** 27373:1 Hemraj 27421:3,8 27433:8 27435:4,8,10 27435:20 27436:17 27451:3,5,15,25 27452:4,13,22 27453:5,10,12,15 27454:2 Hendrickx 27420:3,5 27420:20 27421:15 27430:12 27436:3 he'd 27384:16 he'll 27379:21 he's 27346:6 27371:1 27389:25 27392:13 27408:10,11 27417:18 27448:9 27449:1 high 27406:13 highlighted 27354:14 27354:19 highlighting 27354:1 highly 27447:16 **Hippos** 27437:7 hold 27404:17 holy 27391:11,21 27393:12,18 27394:2 27394:3,4,13 home 27394:3 27401:4 **homelands** 27437:16 **honestly** 27389:3 hope 27395:5 27405:17 human 27401:9 hybrid 27362:19,19 27363:7 I

idea 27405:10 27408:4

27447:11 27448:13

identify 27431:5,21

imagination 27356:23 imagine 27378:13 immediately 27425:4 27448:24 **impact** 27380:16 27383:22 **important** 27397:6 27456:5 **imposed** 27385:25 **improper** 27402:20 27447:16 inaccurate 27435:18 inadvisability 27416:19 inappropriate 27399:4 inappropriately 27432:7 **inaudible** 27343:22 27385:1 27395:17 27447:4,18 **incident** 27342:2 27344:10 27350:13 27390:20,20 27391:2 27400:17 27429:19 27431:22 27439:25 27440:2,3 27446:25 27450:17 incidents 27443:6 **include** 27341:25 27342:14,16 27441:6 27450:20 **included** 27342:21 27401:5 27440:22 **includes** 27400:7 **including** 27376:6 27382:11 27401:19 27414:11 inclusion 27380:20,23 **incorrect** 27385:25 27388:16 27456:11 **indebted** 27437:11,23 independent 27435:24 **indicates** 27389:11 inform 27405:21 informal 27455:18 27456:16 27457:4,6 **information** 27352:13 27366:6 27422:21 27423:22,24 27425:3 27431:14 **informed** 27343:15 **inhibiting** 27375:10,18 27376:9 27377:1,7 27379:7 input 27353:22 inquiry 27366:7 inside 27432:8 27434:1 27434:9,13,21 27454:24 27455:1 insight 27452:9 insignificant 27439:11 insist 27344:19 insisted 27409:12 insofar 27384:23 27402:3 **instance** 27357:15

27453:17 instructed 27457:3 **instruction** 27349:22 27414:11 27429:22 27430:3 instructions 27411:21 27440:13 27441:8 insufficient 27444:10 intelligence 27430:13 **intended** 27365:24 interactions 27342:17 27342:21,25 **interested** 27369:14 27388:22 27389:4 interim 27364:7 internal 27341:14 interpretation 27368:9 interpreted 27356:9 27376:25 interpreter 27355:16 27355:25 27376:2,25 27377:9,10,14 27404:23 27405:2,5 27405:12 **interrupt** 27369:6 27384:21 27394:18 **intervene** 27443:8,19 intervention 27442:25 interventions 27443:19 **interview** 27446:17 interviewed 27400:16 **introduced** 27370:14 investigation 27342:17 27346:15 27348:24 27349:15 27353:5 27364:23 investigators 27440:16 27440:18,21 27448:5 involuntarily 27418:14 involuntary 27385:24 27386:18 27387:16 27416:20,25 27418:5 **involved** 27341:15 27366:12 27367:3 27377:3,5 27400:1,1 27401:18 27408:4 27413:21 27426:20 27431:22 27433:2 **involvement** 27364:17 27452:23 in-depth 27372:23 irregular 27448:1 **irrelevant** 27394:21 27427:11 isn't 27355:14 27388:19 27410:24 27415:1 27428:16 27445:4,14 issue 27356:25 27375:1 27388:25 27395:7,21 27411:19 27448:3 27451:20 issued 27405:23 issues 27347:3 27367:16 27368:21 27379:14 27380:10

27380:16 27381:24 27382:3 27383:19 27409:20 **issuing** 27414:6 item 27436:8 it's 27341:6 27342:7 27343:23,24 27344:6 27347:23 27351:2 27352:11 27353:1 27385:2,7,12,13 27386:9 27388:23,25 27389:7,11,16 27395:20 27396:2,16 27396:17 27405:20 27406:5,6 27408:18 27409:20 27412:8 27413:8,12 27415:7 27415:23 27416:18 27418:9,13 27447:5 27449:3,4,12,22 27450:11 27454:5 27455:13 27456:4 **I'd** 27342:3 27373:5 27454:4 I'll 27346:17 27352:11 27360:19 27381:10 27396:12 27404:12 27404:17 27412:10 27418:3 27449:15 27450:15 I've 27340:5 27359:3 27361:8 27371:3 27374:11,17,21 27381:15 27386:22 27394:25 27395:4,6,9 27401:16,17 27402:10 27403:13 27417:14 **ia** 27342:22 27343:20

27343:23 27344:4,18 27345:1 27347:14 27348:2 27350:4,15 27354:7,9,17 27358:16 27359:11 27363:17.18 27364:21 27369:25 27371:22 27372:12 27373:5 27374:25 27377:4 27378:15 27387:10 27388:8 27389:2,9 27390:24 27393:7 27396:12 27399:8 27400:7 27401:10,16 27410:9 27413:8 27430:8 27431:8 27434:14 27438:18,18 27440:15 27445:15 27450:3 27452:17 27454:20 27456:6,9 27456:21 **job** 27407:21 27419:23 **JOC** 27424:24 27425:2 27426:3,4 27432:14

instances 27386:1

27437:3 **JOCCOM** 27453:22 Joint 27425:2 **JOSEPH** 27340:4 27405:24 judge 27403:17 jurisdiction 27390:19 iustice 27343:19 27344:12 justification 27394:5 27398:17 27420:16 justify 27389:3 K

keep 27347:12 27372:24 kept 27365:25 kill 27412:4 **killed** 27389:5,6 27407:3 **killing** 27383:14 27407:1 **killings** 27399:19 27406:18 kind 27356:2 27368:14 27411:10 27412:23 27438:6 27451:9 kinds 27368:21 27380:21 knowledge 27353:23 27364:3 27368:20,24 27369:16 27400:8,12

27452:8 known 27370:3 27391:1,2,3 27431:13 knows 27411:5,7 koppie 27384:3 27385:19 27391:11 27393:17 27394:12 27417:11 27418:9

27412:25 27423:15

27427:14,21 27431:15 27432:15 27432:21 27434:20 27454:13

L

L 27352:1.5 27359:16 27360:3.11.17.22.24 27361:15.20 27362:3 27370:10.16 27371:23,25 27436:18,21 27455:16 27456:12 labour 27381:24 27383:19 language 27375:1,10 27375:14 27376:15 27399:25 27403:1 languages 27377:7 late 27353:1 27364:11 27366:1 27401:1,2 **launching** 27384:17 law 27386:5,13

27387:13 27397:23

27398:1,3 ARCHIVE laws 27452:24 lawvers 27348:5 Le 27425:7.12 leader 27396:18 27413:20 27440:18 leaders 27435:22 27439:20 27440:7,8 27448:24 **leadership** 27409:13,14 **leading** 27349:15 27363:14,16 learnt 27387:25 leave 27365:12 27393:4 27393:22 27394:11 27407:24 27409:14 27409:18 27437:8 27440:12 27447:3 **leaving** 27394:3 led 27382:1 27383:1 27384:23 left 27345:21 27394:4 27454:12,16,24 27455:19 27456:5,13 27456:14,20,22 27457:1 legal 27342:21,25,25 27343:4 27345:17,20 27345:24 27346:15 27347:6,17 27448:24 Lepaaku 27399:24 27401:2,6,8 lessons 27387:24 letter 27395:22 let's 27347:17,19 27355:21,24 27356:5 27356:7 27359:9 27373:23 27374:19 27378:2.9 27382:20 27387:4,23 27412:11 27416:24 27417:17 27446:8 27450:8 levels 27342:9

lie 27345:8 27354:21 27402:18 27403:25

27406:5 **Lieutenant** 27376:23 27428:1 27433:20 Lieutenant-Colonel 27341:1 27359:12 life 27398:7 light 27454:19 likes 27411:14 limited 27420:15 line 27427:15.19 27429:19 27442:16 27443:25 lines 27382:17 list 27444:10,18

listed 27451:22 listen 27350:18 27353:1 27358:20 27367:12 27386:6 27387:3 **literally** 27366:20 little 27373:24

27439:24

LLL11 27374:5.6 LLL12 27420:6 logical 27417:2 27418:15 logically 27396:1 27418:12 **logistical** 27450:20 **long** 27374:16 27416:2 27416:7 27452:22 longer 27404:6 Lonmin 27344:25 27426:4 27430:19

27431:1,5,9 look 27349:19 27351:1 27363:5 27372:22 27373:11,24 27376:12 27418:12 27419:1,2 27420:2,8 27421:19 27423:2 27424:3,9,16,22 27428:6 27436:7 27437:24 27443:15 27447:7 27451:10 looked 27374:1

27384:6,8 **looking** 27348:4 27350:20 27365:20 27366:23 27367:17 27412:8 27415:16,21 27422:2,5,8 27423:17 27424:8

looks 27436:22 lost 27402:10 lot 27361:17 27432:9 27441:25 loudhailer 27433:9 loved 27402:16,25

lying 27403:4,8 L47 27455:13

M **Macintosh** 27376:24

27433:1,15,21 Madibeng 27390:12,13 27390:16 Mahlangu 27405:4 main 27351:12.14 27417:8 27454:14 major 27452:24 majority 27375:12 27394:11 **Major-General** 27410:11 making 27348:18 27360:10 27410:20 man 27351:5,8 27363:20,20 27367:17 27398:4

management 27344:23 27354:23 27357:2 27358:1 27366:9 27368:15 27380:7,11 27398:2 27411:2 27420:21,25 27423:12,12 27430:19 27441:1

27442:17.22.24 27443:8 27444:2.16 27444:25 27445:2.5.6 27445:7,9,11,19,20 27445:24 mandated 27349:19 manpower 27450:21 marchers 27454:7,8 marching 27455:17

27456:14 **Marikana** 27342:2 27344:6,10 27350:14 27352:20 27367:3,5 27367:25 27389:5 27390:20 27391:2 27402:5 27440:24

massacre 27342:6 27343:2,25 27344:7 masters 27414:19 material 27440:23

27441:25 **Mathunjwa** 27437:13 27437:18

Mathunjwa's 27437:17 matter 27354:13 27357:10 27360:23 27371:25 27372:2 27385:8 27389:20 27400:4 27405:9 27448:21 27449:3,6,7 27450:20

matters 27340:7 27369:21 27381:7 27383:4,4 27396:4 27401:1 27445:1 27449:2,5,17 27450:14.22 mean 27347:16

27360:11 27365:23 27370:12 27385:23 27393:1,15 27395:2 27395:23 27422:17 27422:18 27424:25 meaning 27444:23

means 27354:3 27370:13 27391:25 27392:8 27393:9.20 27410:9,20 27419:10 27422:23 27425:1 meant 27350:19

27352:12 27357:4 27366:3.19 27387:14 measure 27438:16 measures 27436:9,14 27437:25 27438:3,6,8 meet 27423:18

meeting 27350:11 27367:1,23,24 27426:4 27431:4 27442:7 27453:19,21 27453:22

meetings 27341:14 27430:24 27431:1,3 27441:1 27444:2,9 member 27354:5,24

27356:25 27369:13

27402:11 27419:3.5.6 27419:6.7.8.10.22 members 27369:12 27395:14 27399:23 27399:24 27401:3 27402:12 27407:24 27411:20 27415:1 27419:19 27428:2,9 27428:13,22,23,25 27429:1,4,18,23,25 27430:5,5,7 27454:14 27455:9 memorial 27399:24

27435:18 mention 27348:17 27420:24 27445:20 27446:11

memory 27373:20

mentioned 27344:13 27369:12 27371:10 27372:11 27381:11 27383:9 27412:1 27419:14

mentions 27445:16 Mere 27433:19 merry 27356:4,6 met 27430:19

Microphone 27343:22 27395:17 27447:4,17 mind 27354:18

mine 27440:3 miners 27375:7 27376:5,5

mineworkers 27411:24 mining 27375:4,6 minute 27386:9 minutes 27386:8 27412:17 27454:1

miraculously 27399:18 missed 27365:7 missing 27424:17,20

mistake 27360:10 27392:24 27393:5 27454:18

mistaken 27435:10 27455:5,6

misunderstanding 27411:20

mix 27370:14 Mkhari 27369:1 Mkhwanazi 27340:7 27342:17 27346:2,15 27348:23 27349:14 27349:18 27350:11 27351:5,10,17 27353:4 27363:12,18 27363:20,21 27364:1 27364:7,22 27365:8 27365:19 27367:1,7 27367:16,18,19 27368:25 27387:24

> 27390:25 27391:5,10 27409:20 27417:17 27418:4

Mkhwanazi's 27364:17 **mobilise** 27378:17

27402:19.23 27408:6

Page 7

```
Module 27423:12.13
                          27377:3 27432:2.7.25
Mokotedi 27440:10
                          27433:13.15.22
  27446:18 27449:1
                        never 27352:21
moment 27361:9
                        new 27402:21 27448:20
  27422:2 27424:8
                          27449:6
Monday 27422:13
                        Nguni 27375:13
Monene 27401:3
                        nice 27387:12
morning 27340:17,22
                        nicely 27386:11,23
  27340:24 27341:1,2
                        night 27431:1
  27356:21 27370:8
                        NIU 27419:13
  27451:22 27452:18
                        Nkwanazi 27369:13
  27452:19 27453:20
                          27370:7 27372:4
                          27380:25 27381:16
  27453:23 27457:10
Mothotlung 27388:14
                          27381:18 27442:7
  27388:23 27390:20
                        Nodding 27386:20
mountain 27391:21
                        noise 27397:6
                        non 27352:4,16
mouth 27353:9,12
  27382:19
                          27353:3 27388:4
move 27359:6,9
                        noncompliance
  27374:19 27378:3,8,9
                          27360:4
  27385:15 27387:23
                        nonsensical 27394:6
  27393:19,24
                        non-compliance
                          27341:16,21 27342:9
  27394:21 27395:10
  27397:17 27408:17
                          27345:9 27346:3
moved 27340:21
                          27347:21 27348:14
  27394:1,2 27457:5
                        non-compliances
                          27452:\overline{2}4
moving 27361:14
  27425:6
                        normalised 27422:14
                          27422:20
Mpembe 27375:7,11
  27376:1,4,5 27377:8
                        normally 27405:17
  27377:8,18 27401:19
                        North 27389:9 27390:9
  27410:11,14,22
                          27445:7,10
  27411:9 27412:1
                        note 27457:10
  27413:1,8,12 27414:5
                        notebook 27451:8
  27414:8,11,17
                        noted 27397:2
  27428:1 27429:19,22
                        notes 27340:11,12
  27430:4 27457:3
                          27358:12,14,15,15,16
mulberry 27356:6
                          27359:7 27373:24
murder 27383:2
                          27391:9 27395:12
                          27415:22
          N
                        noting 27451:23
national 27349:19
                        November 27446:15
  27360:14 27362:10
                        Ntate 27398:14
  27369:3 27383:16
                        NTSONKOTA
  27442:25 27443:8,18
                          27384:20 27385:9
  27445:11,17
                        NUM 27384:24
nature 27450:22
                          27385:3
                        number 27357:13
necessarily 27392:8
                          27365:23 27378:13
  27401:8
necessary 27345:20
                          27421:24 27422:1
  27348:14,16 27364:5
                          27423:7 27435:14,18
  27422:21 27449:22
                          27436:25
need 27347:10 27366:5
                        numbers 27421:25
  27366:16 27373:22
                        Nyala 27432:8 27434:1
  27381:18 27419:2
                          27434:10,13,16,22
  27420:5 27428:15
                          27435:7 27437:8
  27449:25
                        Nvalas 27432:8
                          27433:5 27434:21
needed 27347:4
  27422:20
                          27457:5
negotiate 27432:4
                                  020
negotiated 27433:20
                        oath 27340:3 27353:7,8
negotiating 27432:8
  27434:1,1,9,13
                          27353:10 27405:23
  27435:6
                        objecting 27427:8
negotiation 27433:2
                        objection 27347:8
                          27385:2,12 27394:9
negotiations 27376:23
```

```
27408:17 27427:11
  27448:1
objectives 27428:24
  27429:3
observations 27446:24
  27450:17
observed 27399:20
  27400:11
obvious 27380:9
  27422:16
obviously 27361:8
  27369:18 27372:23
  27387:23 27395:23
  27405:18
occasion 27453:13,16
occurred 27342:2
  27366:24
office 27369:2
officer 27406:20
  27411:1 27433:19
officers 27411:25
officials 27431:1
oh 27349:5 27394:13
  27405:8 27418:3
  27442:19 27455:21
okay 27340:23
  27343:20 27344:18
  27345:1 27353:11,25
  27354:12 27355:19
  27356:3,18 27359:6
  27359:19 27365:10
  27370:24 27371:2,19
  27372:3 27373:10,13
  27374:4,15 27377:23
  27378:4,11 27379:5
  27380:8 27381:20
  27386:11,12 27387:5
  27387:17 27388:8,13
  27388:17 27390:2,8
  27392:5 27393:3,16
  27395:11 27396:12
  27397:4,18,18,19
  27398:1 27399:8,8
  27402:21 27403:6,9
  27406:2,12 27408:24
  27409:18 27411:7
  27412:10 27413:7,8
  27414:3 27418:11,18
  27434:5 27450:3
  27452:4 27456:6,7
  27457:9
old 27408:21
OMPHILE 27340:4
  27405:24
once 27383:11
  27392:25 27418:12
  27418:13
opening 27360:10
  27362:9
openly 27381:22
operate 27407:24
  27422:23
operation 27344:22,23
  27344:25 27345:2,2,3
  27345:8,13,14
```

```
27362:20.22
  27380:25 27388:14
  27389:25 27390:17
  27395:14 27396:15
  27400:1,16 27401:19
  27406:7 27410:18
  27411:11 27417:19
  27421:9,10,11,16
  27422:18,24
  27423:10 27428:24
  27432:18 27437:1
  27440:24,25
operational 27354:6,23
  27409:23 27410:5,8
  27410:11,21,22,23
  27411:3,9,10
  27412:17 27413:5
  27414:15 27424:5,15
  27425:2 27428:8,13
  27428:21
operations 27366:8,9
  27400:20,25 27402:5
  27418:24 27419:12
opinion 27369:18
  27372:1 27394:21
opportunity 27346:11
  27447:13 27448:3,6
  27452:19 27453:16
  27453:16
opposite 27359:23
options 27438:7
  27452:1
order 27341:10
  27347:24,25
  27348:10,10
  27352:21 27357:1,16
  27362:22 27363:25
  27369:2 27377:22
  27383:13,13 27411:6
  27411:15 27412:20
  27419:1,9 27420:15
  27423:1 27424:14
  27425:5 27428:6
  27429:12 27436:8
  27437:24 27438:19
  27444:9
orders 27396:19.20.21
  27411:19 27414:6
ordinary 27362:20
origin 27391:9,14
  27392:2 27393:13,15
  27446:10
original 27417:3,21
  27418:8 27423:10
  27443:16 27451:10
originated 27391:16
origins 27391:18
outnumber 27420:24
outside 27412:8
overall 27409:23
  27410:14,23
  27412:25 27413:2,20
overlooked 27360:19
o'clock 27457:11
          P
```

```
pad 27384:17
page 27373:12,12,24,24
  27374:16,18,20,23,23
  27378:2,2,3,5,7,8,8
  27378:10,12,12,22,24
  27378:25 27379:1
  27421:25 27422:1,5,9
  27442:19
panel 27369:13,17,21
  27369:22
par 27395:8
paragraph 27374:8
  27379:9 27382:3,14
  27382:23 27383:4
  27384:21 27420:3,8
  27420:10 27421:21
  27422:6 27423:7
  27424:4,22 27428:7
  27437:24 27442:15
  27442:19 27443:4,5
  27443:24,25 27444:6
  27444:7,8 27445:14
  27445:19,23
  27450:11 27454:5
paragraphs 27440:23
  27441:6
paraphrase 27361:11
pardon 27384:20
  27435:11
part 27371:18 27380:1
  27406:7 27410:18
  27411:20 27419:23
  27419:23 27430:23
  27430:25 27435:19
  27435:24 27445:2
  27453:19
partial 27361:1
participants 27436:13
  27438:1
participate 27369:16
participated 27363:21
  27368:24 27400:16
participation 27402:4
particular 27393:20
  27395:7 27413:21
  27425:15 27442:1
parts 27432:3
patient 27395:7
pellets 27388:6,9,15
  27389:5,12,13
  27390:21 27391:2
people 27341:19
  27351:14.17
  27355:13 27363:4
  27368:23 27369:11
  27369:16,20 27370:2
  27370:18 27371:4
  27376:13 27377:6,17
  27377:21,22
  27383:14 27384:3
  27386:2,10 27389:5
  27391:5 27393:19
  27397:21 27399:9,10
  27399:12,16,18
  27400:15 27401:20
  27402:4 27407:1,3,12
```

RCHIVE

27409:14 27412:3,9
27412:11 27417:3,10
27418:8,13 27420:25
27426:11 27427:2,3,4
27427:14 27437:7
27438:12 27455:17
perfectly 27358:13,14
perform 27406:20
period 27376:22
permission 27363:13
27388:20,25 27390:5
27395:18 27402:14
permitted 27403:22
perpetuated 27412:24
persisted 27389:13
person 27351:12
27354:5 27357:1,1,25
27370:3 27395:13
27396:14 27397:23
27398:3 27399:13,14
27399:15 27402:16
27402:25 27407:1,5
27409:16 27432:4
personally 27428:2,9
27428:22 27431:13
personnel 27443:1
27444:11
pertaining 27354:11
27425:3
petrol 27387:4
photographs 27431:6
phrase 27360:3
phrased 27360:1
Pick 27373:14
Pienaar 27440:15
Piet 27440:14,15
place 27386:24
27393:20,21 27433:23 27436:9
27 100120 27 10017
27437:25 27438:9,10
27438:17 27440:1
places 27341:23 27342:11,13
plan 27417:3,22,22
27418:8 27421:14,16
27418:8 27421:14,16 27421:20 27422:21
27421:20 27422:21 27422:224
27422:22,24 27423:10,17,21,23
27423:10,17,21,23
27425:4,8,10
27423:4,6,10
27452:16,21
planner 27417:9
planners 27417:8
planning 27424:23,24
27425:7
platform 27381:24
Platinum 27344:22,25
27345:3,3,8,13,14
play 27429:23
played 27349:20
27352:19
please 27386:6 27387:2
27387:3,3 27394:21
25205 0 25205 15
27395:9 27397:17
27395:9 27397:17 27402:22 27416:13

27421:20 27427:11
27439:16 27447:20
27449:2 27451:6 27452:5
pleases 27450:9
point 27347:23 27348:1
27348:14 27354:13
27356:20 27359:10 27364:19 27365:18
27366:22 27367:20
27368:4 27369:11
27373:16 27381:11 27385:11 27391:24
27392:19 27394:18
27394:22 27397:17
27406:3 27408:18,18 27408:21 27409:19
27410:20 27412:7
27413:15,19
27415:11,24,24,25
27416:3,4,6,8,14,17 27425:23 27427:22
27436:17 27437:5
27438:25 27441:10
27445:13 27449:8,18
pointed 27363:24,25 27438:24
pointing 27361:24
27445:22
points 27347:11 27357:15 27361:6
27372:10,13,19
27373:14 27377:24
27378:13 27404:18 27404:21,22
27405:25 27406:4
27415:12,19
police 27350:14
27352:13 27359:21 27360:22 27361:22
27362:4,8 27363:3
27366:8 27379:16
27380:1,12,13,17,19 27380:25 27382:5,8
27382:11,15 27383:5
27383:8,10,12,17,18
27383:24 27386:2,8 27386:23,24 27388:6
27389:6,7,9 27393:23
27396:20 27399:12
27406:20 27407:1,3
27415:2 27421:25 27422:1 27423:25
27425:9,11,19,22,25
27431:9,21 27432:9,9
27434:14,21 27436:4 27437:6 27442:17,22
27442:24 27454:6
27455:14
policeman 27397:5 2740 7 :20 27419:11
policemen 27407:9,9
policies 27366:7
nolicing 27420:15

```
27350:12 27351:5.8
  27351:19 27354:5.24
  27356:25 27357:25
  27362:20 27363:20
  27363:20 27364:19
  27366:22 27367:16
  27367:17,20
  27368:14,24 27369:5
  27369:9,16,20
  27370:3 27390:9
  27395:13 27396:14
  27411:16 27419:7,10
  27419:10,18 27421:1
  27433:24 27447:1
  27450:18
POPS 27367:2,9,10,23
  27411:1,16 27433:18
POP's 27365:18
  27421:4,10,11
position 27371:24
  27409:13 27433:13
  27433:14,17 27434:2
  27437:21 27447:1
  27450:18 27452:25
  27453:3
positive 27360:20
  27421:6 27457:7
positively 27360:6,7
possibility 27398:11
  27435:3
possible 27388:3
  27405:20
Potchefstroom
  27366:20 27367:14
power 27382:1,25
powers 27371:8
precepts 27366:7
preface 27341:5
prefacing 27384:12
prefer 27372:21
  27373:3,6
preferable 27376:16
preparation 27349:15
  27401:1
prepare 27348:24
  27439:20 27446:22
  27446:23 27449:1
prepared 27340:12
  27415:21 27439:13
  27441:19
preparedness 27450:21
preparing 27348:20
  27439:17
prescribes 27419:4
prescript 27398:16,18
prescripts 27388:5
  27390:19 27391:5
  27395:24 27396:24
  27452:25 27453:7
presence 27432:9
  27437:17 27446:18
present 27413:11
  27434:24
presentation 27365:24
  27371:10
presented 27362:9
```

27363:4 27364:3 27452:6.16 **pretend** 27386:8 pretty 27444:18 **prevent** 27383:13 27418:15 **prevented** 27455:18 27456:4,13,16,18 prevention 27383:20 27419:23 **previous** 27455:15 previously 27378:17 27403:3 **pre-empt** 27398:14 **primarily** 27353:15 27420:25 **primary** 27343:10 prior 27452:8,8,15 **priority** 27436:10 27438:1 privileged 27346:6 27347:9 27454:21 **problem** 27376:10 27377:21 27378:19 27380:14 27382:8 27383:8,10 27412:12 27416:3,10 27449:20 **problems** 27445:10 procedure 27448:1 27450:7 **proceed** 27340:22 27353:14 27378:5 27384:18 27427:11 **proceeded** 27412:2 **PROCEEDINGS** 27340:1 process 27346:2 27348:24 27349:15 27351:10 27352:12 27352:15 27363:21 27364:1 27365:8,19 27367:19,19 27368:25 27381:25 27382:24 27384:25 27448:1 processes 27350:4,20 27366:21 27368:14 27379:15,25 27380:4 27380:11 27381:23 27382:4 27383:7 product 27352:1 27359:16 **promise** 27455:13 **proper** 27346:8 27422:20,22 properly 27385:12 27397:5 27409:6,12 27433:16 **property** 27383:3 **propose** 27395:3 **proposing** 27403:18

proposition 27377:6

27437:1 27443:8

provided 27381:23

protesters 27387:4

provide 27425:18

provides 27419:3 **providing** 27442:25 **province** 27442:17,24 **provinces** 27442:22 provincial 27369:2 27406:13 27410:13 27443:7,18 27445:16 27445:17 psychologically 27397:21,24 27398:12,19 27400:11 27401:21 27402:18 27406:8,17 27406:22 27407:6,11 27407:16 27408:3 public 27369:2 27405:22 27420:15 pull 27355:18 purpose 27343:11 27347:10 27362:11 27364:18 27374:7 **purposes** 27348:20 27400:10 **put** 27345:23 27353:9 27353:11 27360:4 27361:10,10 27365:24 27373:2,9 27374:9 27382:19 27388:10,17 27389:11,24 27393:16 27394:10 27397:20 27398:4,6 27401:10 27402:24 27406:14,25 27414:16 27428:1 27436:9 27437:25 27438:9,9,17 27441:11 27447:2.14 27449:23 27452:19 27455:15 27456:15 puts 27362:8 putting 27351:24 27365:23 27368:5 27377:5 27392:4 27402:23 27406:6 27417:18 Q

OOO1 27442:1 27454:5,6 **QQQ2** 27438:22 27439:12,17 27441:11,12,15,24 27442:15 27443:16 27443:24 27444:25 27445:6,15 27447:14 **QQQ5** 27451:7 qualify 27366:2 query 27451:8 question 27344:11 27346:18 27349:3,12 27349:13 27356:7 27357:20 27358:22 27358:24,24

policing 27420:15

27440:1

POP 27349:20

27359:13 27360:2

27361:19 27362:12

R
27441:25
27362:11 27385:12
quickly 27385:16 quite 27349:8 27357:13
question's 27379:18
27455:9,9 27457:20
27446:2 27451:4
27416:1,5,5,17
27404:19 27414:14
27395:5,19 27401:18
27382:16 27384:13
27355:5 27356:19
questions 27341:6
27456:2,8,9,10
27455:12,16,24
27450:5,8,13 27454:5
27449:22,24 27450:4
27446:6,9 27449:16
27427:9 27429:11
27415:24,25 27416:2 27416:8,13 27418:2
27410:2 27414:14,16
27408:14,25 27409:3
27404:3 27406:24
27399:5 27401:16
27397:12,15,17
27395:9 27396:7,9,9
27393:8 27394:20
27387:3 27392:11,25
27384:12,18 27385:2
27379:23 27381:10
27373:23 27374:12
27372:18 27373:1,4
27368:2 27371:21
27362:16 27367:13

racking 27358:8 railway 27377:18 27410:17 27427:15 27429:19 raise 27343:4 27346:22 27354:25 27355:1,5 27356:19 27357:10 27357:11,20,20 27359:3 27448:3,6 raised 27342:3 27347:3 27347:8 27352:4.6.15 27353:3 27356:21.25 27357:3,4,6,22 27358:4,6 27359:15 27362:6 27383:4 27388:4 27391:4 27405:8 27430:11 27444:2,16,25 27445:2,6,11,19,20 27445:24 27449:7,18 27449:18 27453:11 raises 27397:16 raising 27347:4 27348:8 27381:17 27385:9 27445:16 27447:25

rapidly 27378:14,16

27362:19 27364:6

ARCHIVE

read 27343:21

27373:8 27381:21 27417:14.14 27429:1 27443:5 27450:10.14 27450:15 reading 27372:15 27382:14 27386:19 reads 27420:13 27444:1 27454:6 ready 27418:21 real 27363:2 27413:2 really 27381:9 27385:2 27385:12 27395:2 reason 27343:4 27347:18 27368:18 27398:19 27401:17 27405:19 27425:21 27425:24 27434:13 27435:2 reasons 27405:20 27412:21 27435:1 recall 27435:17 27438:23 27439:10 **received** 27349:18 recipe 27410:2,24 27412:8 27414:22 **recollection** 27435:9,21 27435:24 reconciliation 27344:12 record 27356:17 recorded 27344:2 27437:14 refer 27358:11,14,15 27403:3 27448:25 **reference** 27368:12 27384:21 27388:24 27394:20 27395:6 27436:18.20 referred 27423:16 27438:6 27445:3,5 referring 27359:7 27422:3 27423:6 27425:16 27430:12 27437:7 **refinery** 27387:5 **reflected** 27346:16 reflecting 27348:17 27350:13 reflection 27347:8 **refuse** 27393:19,22 regard 27350:14 27391:20 27417:19 27427:6 regarded 27391:11 27393:17 **regarding** 27376:19 27395:14 27444:3

27344:7 27446:25 27450:18 27451:8 relates 27416:3.8 27438:22 27454:5 relating 27413:19,22 27447:15 27448:3 27452:15 **relation** 27341:21 27344:13 27364:2 27370:22 27390:18 27416:18 27420:15 27420:21 relationship 27364:15 **relevance** 27390:25 27417:17 **relevant** 27343:15 27381:13 27389:3 27397:16 27415:1 27416:14 reliable 27441:16,18 **reluctant** 27394:17 **remain** 27394:12 remark 27355:23 remarks 27348:18 **remember** 27356:9 27357:19,24 27358:2 27358:3,7,9,9,22 27360:18,20,21,21 27371:4 27373:20 27388:3 27393:7 27414:21 27416:20 27416:22 27421:17 27421:18 27425:11 27425:13,19,20 27428:2,4 27430:14 27430:15 27432:4,5 27432:10,11 27435:5 27435:12 27436:5,6 27436:18 27439:1,2,6 27439:7 27440:7,10 27441:2,12,14,19,20 27456:14 reminded 27356:20 27360:19 remove 27386:24,25 27387:1 27399:16

renders 27427:11 repeat 27356:7 27386:23 **repeated** 27367:18 **repeatedly** 27360:23 **repeating** 27356:17 repetition 27366:24,25 27367:21,23,25 27384:16 **rephrase** 27404:2 replaced 27409:16 report 27350:14 27352:10 27364:7 27370:7 27372:4,13 27372:22 27373:2,21 27374:10,12,16 27377:25 27379:6,8,9 27379:12,15 27381:6 27381:12,14,16,21 27382:10 27384:2,6

27384:22 27385:4.5.7 27385:19 27386:16 27390:25 27391:10 27391:20 27394:20 27395:9 27409:20 27420:3,5 27430:12 reports 27385:3 representatives 27346:16 27347:18 27430:20 27433:1 27434:19 27436:24 27436:24 27437:5 reprimanded 27403:14 request 27386:4,23 27404:15,24 27405:6 27437:3 requested 27402:12,13 27431:5,20 27446:21 27450:16 **require** 27420:16 **required** 27400:18 27419:7,24 requirements 27395:13 27409:21 27423:19 reservations 27342:12 27342:14,24 27343:4 27345:16 27346:1,1 27346:13,22 **resolution** 27368:10 resources 27443:1,9 27450:21 respect 27341:16 27371:20 27393:12 27413:19 27423:18 27429:23 respond 27380:2 27381:19 27418:2 27448:11.19 responded 27375:8 **responds** 27419:8 response 27357:12 27447:23 responsibility 27411:2 rest 27393:1,9 restoration 27343:19 restructuring 27378:18 resulted 27382:1 resulting 27383:2 resume 27405:18 27411:2 Safety 27398:3 resumes 27340:2 27405:13.14 **returned** 27426:3 reverse 27412:3 re-examination 27418:21,22 27446:7 27448:21 27449:7,19 re-examined 27448:7 re-traverse 27341:8

right 27343:11

27344:21 27349:8,22

27350:2,21 27351:1

27353:16 27357:1,17

27364:18 27365:20

27366:23 27367:18

27362:11,12,24

27367:20 27369:23 27371:11.13.15 27375:21 27376:8 27399:23 27409:8 27414:8 27421:24 27429:14 27449:20 27451:12 27454:7,17 27454:23,24 27456:5 27456:17,20,22,23,25 risk 27398:4,6,7 27425:19 risky 27398:11,20 27399:10 ritual 27426:11 27431:15 rivalry 27382:2,25 road 27457:5 **role** 27349:20 27350:12 27352:19 27429:21 27429:22 roles 27409:22 27412:10 27429:25 roll 27381:21 rolled 27394:4 27436:5 **Roots** 27341:25 27342:1,3,14 27346:2 27346:14 27348:13 27348:17,19 27350:1 27350:12 27352:1,7 27352:12,18,25 27353:4 27354:1,13 27357:3 27359:16 27364:17,24 27365:8 27365:9,12,13,14,15 27365:16,19,23 27366:1,2,12,13,19 27366:24 27367:1,2,3 27367:17,24 27370:12 27442:4 round 27356:4 27406:3 27408:22 27436:22 rounding 27408:20 Roux 27425:7,12 rules 27366:7 rulings 27403:3 Rustenburg 27390:11 27439:19

Sangoma 27431:16 sanitisation 27370:13 sanitised 27370:11,15 27371:5 SAPS 27360:11 27361:18 27395:14 27410:20 27411:1,5,7 27419:22 27423:12 27430:12,19 27431:3 27431:4,14,20 27443:15 27448:24 27450:2 sarcastic 27355:23 **satellite** 27390:14 saw 27348:13 27372:5

27451:21

27361:19

27452:1

relate 27451:11

related 27340:7

register 27402:23

regulation 27345:9,14

27347:21 27348:15

27352:5,17 27354:1

27391:12,16,19,21

-				i age
27396:14 27426:1,2,5	27356:7 27358:8	27350:10,17	27375:7 27376:5,6,15	27447:14,15 27448:2
27426:9,10,18	27359:1 27362:8	27383:22	27373.7 27370.3,0,13	27447:14,13 27448:2
27427:13,15,20,21	27363:5 27370:3	simple 27374:12	speaks 27377:11	27449:6,14 27450:13
27442:11 27452:10	27372:8 27373:25	27377:5 27414:14	27430:8	27450:16,19
27454:22	27394:13 27399:15	27418:9	special 27420:16,20,22	27454:16,21
saying 27342:7,11,12	27406:4 27410:9	simply 27345:23	specialised 27420:24	statements 27345:25
27350:1 27351:14,24	27420:17,18	27359:14 27377:13	specific 27348:20	27347:5,19,20
27354:17,20 27355:6	27421:24 27422:7,11	27385:5 27390:25	27357:14 27361:7	27348:6,7 27438:22
27357:7 27358:25	27422:14,15 27423:9	single 27367:23	27372:9 27374:9	27438:25 27441:10
27361:16 27362:23	27423:11,13,14	Sir 27340:19 27342:15	27393:8 27419:5	27442:1,15
				,
27363:19 27366:5	27424:4 27428:10,11	27343:9,13 27345:6	specifically 27367:8	State's 27363:3
27367:13,15 27371:8	27436:10,11,15,16	27348:22 27350:6	27420:14 27421:21	stay 27412:10
27371:13 27377:6	27438:3,4 27443:1,2	27351:24 27352:2	27443:5 27450:1	stayed 27432:14
27383:6,19 27385:16	27443:9,10 27444:4,5	27354:16 27355:16	specifying 27439:10	steadfast 27383:16
27386:7,9 27387:4	27444:12,13	27356:11 27357:12	spectrum 27367:4	step 27356:15 27423:8
27390:8,16 27391:14	27454:10,15,19,21	27364:9,13 27371:8	spent 27441:9	27436:8 27437:25
27391:16 27395:24	27455:3	27381:2 27383:21,25	spirit 27395:22	stepped 27412:18,21
27396:23 27397:19	seek 27445:22,23	27390:11 27393:15	spoke 27344:10	steps 27419:4 27438:7
27403:13,14 27406:5	· ·		_	stick 27417:2
*	seen 27368:14 27371:1	27406:25 27407:20	27345:20 27361:14	
27408:2 27409:3	27371:23 27372:4	27417:6 27445:8	27375:11	stood 27412:1 27414:7
27412:6 27413:25	27374:16,17,22	sit 27405:20	spontaneous 27419:3	stop 27383:13
27415:24 27416:11	27391:13 27431:15	sitting 27383:17,18	squatted 27411:24	story 27348:11
27416:17 27418:4	27448:13	27405:15,18,21	SS1 27424:7	27359:12
27424:11 27427:2	senior 27354:5,24	27412:7	SS2 27424:8,9	strike 27380:16
27428:12 27441:13	27356:25 27357:25	situation 27354:23	SS3 27421:20 27422:9	27383:23
27441:21 27443:18	27390:8 27395:12	27357:2 27358:1	27423:18 27424:3,3,8	strikers 27391:10,20
				•
27448:25 27456:10	27396:14,17 27411:1	27362:19 27363:6,7	27424:12,16,22	27393:17 27425:10
says 27368:5 27381:22	27411:16,16	27380:25 27397:6	stadium 27386:18	27425:22 27426:2,5,9
27386:16 27387:24	sense 27366:20	27413:21 27416:24	27387:12	27426:10,19,19
27398:3 27401:20	27369:16 27395:16	27416:25 27418:15	stage 27366:1 27388:9	27427:13,20
27402:24 27410:11	27396:1,16,25	27422:13,19	27391:3 27405:15	27429:20 27430:13
27410:22 27413:17	27397:1,3,7,20,25	27423:25 27425:5	27417:9 27422:23	27431:6,14,22
27420:22 27422:11	sensitive 27411:12	situations 27420:22	27433:9 27452:8,15	27433:2,3 27434:20
27422:12,13	sent 27448:23,25	27444:3	stand 27352:20	27436:24 27442:12
27423:10,11 27424:4	sentence 27420:12	slide 27436:18,23	27400:24	27454:8,12,12,16,17
The state of the s		-		
27424:14,23,23	27444:1	27437:4	standing 27341:10	27456:12
27427:1 27428:8	separate 27364:23	slight 27445:4	27347:24,25 27348:9	strikes 27440:1
27429:2 27436:9,12	27366:4,7	slightly 27417:12	27348:10 27352:21	structure 27428:9,23
27438:19 27443:12	service 27399:24	slip 27415:20	27357:1,16 27362:22	27428:24 27429:2,7,8
27443:13 27444:8,22	27415:2	slowly 27352:12	27363:25 27411:6,14	structured 27381:24
SC 27446:5 27447:17	session 27442:4	small 27404:8	27412:20 27419:1,9	struggle 27382:1
27448:11,20	Setswana 27376:6	soccer 27386:11,17	27423:1 27424:14	27383:1
scene 27354:6 27358:1	settlement 27455:19	social 27400:17	27428:6 27429:12	stuck 27417:21
27411:2,18,24	27456:16 27457:4,6	solely 27420:14	27436:8 27437:24	sub 27428:19 27436:8
scope 27411:19	Shapiro 27437:2	solution 27376:15	27438:19	subject 27371:2
27414:7	sharp 27352:16	27377:11	stands 27354:25	27408:24 27437:17
score 27449:8	she's 27447:24	sooner 27425:3	27450:15	27437:18 27449:21
screen 27372:22	shoot 27387:6	sorry 27347:25	start 27439:24	27453:25
27373:2,9,23 27374:1	short 27359:12	27349:5 27353:13	started 27440:4	submitted 27438:22
27379:1 27420:11	27372:24,25	27360:16 27363:3	27451:23	subparagraph 27423:5
27421:23 27423:3	27404:11,18,21	27369:6 27372:20	starts 27443:25	27423:19 27428:7,8
27442:18	27405:25 27408:18	27384:20 27399:8	state 27346:11	subsequent 27389:25
second 27374:8,19,23	27408:18 27415:12	27413:7 27415:15	27408:11	subsequently 27376:22
	27408.18 27413.12			27388:23
27374:23 27377:11		27421:3 27424:8	stated 27437:6	
27377:12 27415:13	shortcut 27372:13	27455:20,22	statement 27346:16	substance 27347:8
27415:20,21,22	shortcuts 27372:16	sort 27346:10 27401:4	27347:2 27348:4,12	successful 27389:12
27420:12 27432:6	shortly 27417:18	27405:9	27351:25 27360:10	sufficient 27373:9
27442:19 27443:25	shot 27413:5	sought 27438:25	27360:20 27361:1	sufficiently 27379:18
27444:1,8 27452:5	shots 27413:3,6,9,13	so-called 27340:6	27362:9 27370:10	27443:7
secondly 27355:17	shouldn't 27403:21	27394:2	27401:24 27405:22	suggest 27347:11
27402:12	side 27362:4 27456:14	speak 27376:13	27420:13 27437:15	27384:24 27395:4
section 27348:5	significant 27439:5,11	27377:21 27393:14	27439:13,13,20	27456:11
sectional 27429:21,23	silently 27381:22	27430:7 27442:3,6,10		suggested 27456:12
			27440:5,23,25	
27430:6	similar 27350:5,22	27444:17 27447:23	27441:2,12,13,18	suggesting 27427:3
sections 27404:8	27351:2	speakers 27375:13,13	27443:16 27445:6	suggestion 27360:3
see 27340:21 27343:4	similarly 27349:14	speaking 27362:5	27446:11,23,24	27375:9 27376:25
ARCHIVE FO	R JUSTICE		<u> </u>	

Page 11

				Page ²
suggestions 27435:15	27412:9 27413:8	27447:23	27362:18 27365:16	27355:4,11 27356:19
suitable 27418:7	27433:20,21 27434:1	they're 27427:4	27370:16 27375:6	27368:11 27377:6
summarise 27346:20	27442:7,7 27448:24	27445:3	27376:2,4 27382:1	27383:8 27392:12
Sunday 27426:11,13	teargas 27454:8,9,11	thing 27344:22 27350:1	27386:25 27400:20	27399:20 27403:1
superman 27399:3	27454:15,18	27357:3 27361:16,21	27401:20 27409:16	27404:8,9,18,19,20
support 27372:25	telepathic 27405:9	27365:20 27374:1	27412:15 27422:19	27404:21,22
27421:4,12	telephone 27436:25	27376:13,17	27432:15 27441:9	27405:25 27406:4
suppose 27381:10	27437:2	27377:12 27379:6	times 27386:3	27407:9 27408:19
supposed 27345:4	tell 27365:6 27372:17	27381:17 27386:10	Tlhabane 27440:3	27412:9,11 27414:19
27352:10,21	27372:21 27373:14	27390:3 27391:24,25	today 27341:4	27415:19 27429:6
sure 27346:8 27347:10	27374:2 27379:25	27433:6 27443:13,13	told 27350:10 27358:2	27432:3 27436:12
27350:6,8,9 27359:24	27380:2 27430:5,6	27444:19,22 27450:1	27386:25 27392:7	27438:1,25 27441:10
27360:1,4 27362:11	telling 27348:8,11	27452:5	27412:3 27437:3	27442:15 27444:21
27368:10 27369:7,10	27365:2,3,5	things 27343:15,16	27439:20,23	27444:22
27371:17 27372:1	term 27398:14	27345:4 27352:16	27446:22	
27379:17 27382:15	terms 27357:1	27353:9 27357:13	Tonder 27440:14	U
27392:8 27399:14,22	27368:12 27388:24	27361:18 27364:15	27446:13,14	unable 27357:17
27400:13 27401:23	27392:17 27394:20	27365:23 27371:9	top 27421:24	27418:1
27401:24 27417:16	27395:6 27412:20	27372:10 27381:4,17	topic 27340:6,14	unacceptable 27403:2
27422:2 27424:1	27423:24 27424:17	27382:10,12	27341:4 27363:12,19	27403:4,21
27426:25	terrain 27384:4	27384:14 27386:2	27388:20 27395:18	undergoing 27431:15
surely 27341:18	27385:20 27386:16	27392:13,13,18	27425:7 27432:1	undermined 27384:25
surfaced 27364:10	27386:17 27387:11	27397:3 27402:23	27435:25 27436:2	undermining 27379:14
surprised 27352:3	27387:12,14,15	27427:25 27440:4	topics 27390:5	27380:10 27381:25
27359:14,14,19,20	27417:20 27418:13	27451:21,24	27404:20 27449:21	27382:4,24
27361:16,20,22,25	27418:16	think 27347:7,9	totally 27377:24	understand 27340:9
27362:1,16	test 27348:3	27349:1 27356:8	27400:14	27344:5,8,9,12
surrounding 27452:14	testified 27342:10	27360:2 27362:12,24	tragedy 27342:6	27352:9 27362:2
27452:21	27353:3 27354:18	27364:4,5 27365:17	trained 27420:14	27363:1,14,16
suspect 27425:22,25	27370:18 27419:13	27366:1,5,11,14	27450:21	27364:15 27368:1,4,5
sworn 27450:6	27419:22 27434:18	27368:1,3,5 27369:19	training 27369:5,9,9	27375:14 27376:16
s.u.o 27340:4 27405:24	27439:12	27370:21 27372:9	27444:11	27376:18 27379:18
	testify 27370:25	27373:22 27375:12	transcribers 27355:15	27379:22 27380:2
T	testing 27346:10	27375:12,25	transcript 27415:16	27387:7,8,18,19
tactical 27420:13	27347:16	27376:12,22,24	transcripts 27365:7	27396:16 27397:8,10
27421:3,9	thank 27340:8,25	27378:2,25 27379:13	trauma 27400:18	27397:13 27413:23
take 27340:11	27347:14 27350:25	27379:20 27380:3,9	traumatic 27399:19	27414:5,18 27420:20
27356:15 27357:2	27355:16 27366:18	27380:15 27382:18	traumatised 27397:22	27424:3,16 27427:6
27363:11,11	27371:12 27373:17	27382:20,21	27397:24 27399:15	27443:20,21
27368:11 27371:4,21	27375:25 27379:5,13	27384:16 27392:3	27402:6	27449:11,18
27372:2 27379:8	27387:22,22 27391:8	27397:11,15 27411:8	treated 27405:16	27451:25 27454:25
27384:9 27404:11	27393:11 27398:22	27422:5 27424:9	trespassing 27347:9	27456:2
27410:17 27419:4,23	27401:17 27403:19	27426:2 27427:5	tried 27372:24	understanding
27425:9,10	27403:23 27404:19	27430:11 27437:14	troops 27396:14	27360:18 27376:7
taken 27431:6	27405:12 27406:2,12	27441:16 27449:16	TRT 27419:14,17	27377:18 27438:15
27436:14 27438:2	27408:15 27409:19	27449:22 27450:7	true 27390:7 27394:1	27443:17 27444:15
talk 27348:9 27351:19	27418:18,20,22	27455:13,15	27403:11 27406:6	27444:19 27457:12
27352:19,24	27422:10 27426:14	thinking 27411:14	27407:4 27408:1	understands 27379:19
27353:10 27378:14	27427:12 27429:9,13	27414:20	27409:21	27379:21
27380:5 27416:24	27429:17 27435:23	thinks 27411:10	truth 27343:18,24,24	understood 27369:14
27421:14 27438:21	27437:10,22 27446:3	third 27357:7,9	27344:5,6,12 27345:4	27381:5
27439:12 27440:24	27448:17 27449:25	27415:20 27443:25	27345:21 27354:20	underwent 27426:11
27441:1	27451:2 27452:4	thought 27381:8	27404:1	unfortunately
talking 27344:24	27454:2 27455:8,8	27409:2,4 27412:11	try 27417:19	27364:21
27345:2 27354:10	27456:24 27457:14	27454:22	trying 27358:9	union 27380:6,11
27355:3,14 27357:16	27457:18,19	threat 27435:4,6,13,13	27362:20 27396:23	27381:25 27431:20
27361:15 27367:23	thanks 27363:23	27435:17	27415:19 27424:2	27434:19
27390:16,17,18	theoretically 27416:24 thereof 27420:9	threats 27435:14 27437:19	27443:14,14,15	unions 27383:1
27412:15 27427:24			27449:8,9 Teilogno 27412:1	unique 27374:8
27428:5 27429:18	27442:16 27452:11	three 27356:19 27407:9	Tsiloane 27412:1	unit 27365:16 27390:14
27433:11 27453:21	thereto 27340:7	27407:9 27414:14 throw 27387:5	Tswana 27376:14	27420:24 27421:5
talks 27382:24 27423:1 27437:25 27445:15	there's 27345:21 27347:8 27373:15	throw 27387:5 thrust 27363:2	Tuesday 27405:16 27457:10	27447:1 27450:18 units 27367:2 27420:21
team 27342:21,25,25	27376:20 27384:24	Thursday 27417:20	Twala 27369:2	27421:9
27343:5,5 27345:18	27376:20 27384:24 27396:1 27410:1	tiers 27429:7	two 27341:5 27350:4	unit's 27450:20
27345:20,24 27347:6	27437:15,19	time 27355:9,18,21	27350:10 27351:2	unit's 27450:20 unnecessary 27356:2
27343.20,24 27347.0	27437.13,19	VIII 21 333.7,10,21	21330.10 21331.2	umiceessai y 27550.2

unrest 27444:3 **unsigned** 27439:13 untrue 27403:6 **update** 27425:4,8,10 **updated** 27452:10 uprising 27444:11 use 27375:9 27389:13 27403:7,13,13 27420:14 27425:5 27444:3,11 uses 27403:1 27420:13 usual 27457:12

V

Van 27440:14 27446:12,14 various 27341:13 27342:9 27435:16 **vehicles** 27432:9 27437:8 verify 27454:23 Vermaak 27419:15 27442:11 27455:15 version 27357:7,9 27359:21 27361:15 27361:17,22 27362:8 27370:9,11 27455:14 27455:16 video 27454:11,15,19 27454:21 view 27364:19 27365:19 27366:23 27367:21 27381:13 views 27369:21 VISPOL 27419:14,18 voiced 27371:5 voluntarily 27386:2 27400:24

27385:20 27387:15 W

voluntary 27384:3

wait 27415:21 walking 27454:7,10,14 want 27341:5 27342:10 27346:5 27353:6 27358:17.24 27359:2 27359:5.12 27360:8 27364:14 27370:7 27371:7 27372:8 27373:6 27374:9 27379:24 27384:13 27384:22 27405:15 27406:2,4 27409:14 27415:14 27421:22 27422:1 27437:1 27446:21 27450:5,10 27450:11 27456:10 wanted 27343:5 27402:16 27440:3 27452:20 wanting 27436:24,25 wants 27369:19 warn 27436:12 27438:1 warning 27436:4 27438:16

Warrant 27433:19 Warrant-Officer 27401:2,2 wasn't 27344:1 27348:9 27353:20 27366:1,13,13 27375:17 27377:3 27390:4 27405:5 27417:19 waste 27355:8,21 27456:10 wastes 27355:17 wasting 27376:2,4 water 27385:13 way 27365:22 27371:9 27373:1 27387:13 27388:17 27393:16 27408:16 27418:15 27437:20 27447:2 27448:7 27456:15 **Wednesday** 27405:16 27405:16 week 27405:16 weight 27396:3 went 27343:11 27346:12 27349:22 27349:23 27350:2,2 27350:21,21 27351:1 27351:1 27352:18 27364:18,18 27365:20,20 27366:23,23 27367:4 27367:18,18,20,20 27369:20 27394:3 27400:9 27401:4,6,7 27402:25 27412:14 27426:4 27431:9 27434:15 27453:3 weren't 27353:18 27415:1 27452:7 Wesley 27438:21,24 27439:9 27441:9 27443:3,12 27446:6 27446:10,17,20 27447:5,13 27448:2 27449:23,25 27450:3 27450:9 27451:2 West 27389:9 27390:9 27445:7,10 we'll 27356:3 27405:21 27405:22 27409:18 27435:19 we're 27344:24 27363:12 27368:6 27371:24 27373:19 27378:12 27385:3,4 27393:25 27422:2,8 27423:17 27424:7

27435:25 27449:3,8,9

27378:2,25 27392:25

27420:7 27430:17

whatsoever 27354:15

27383:18 27402:24

we've 27371:23,23

27451:10

what's 27362:4

27364:6.7 27368:4 27381:12 27396:9 27415:13 27423:8 27455:12 white 27395:15,25 who's 27413:20 wild 27373:6 wing 27419:14,18 wire 27368:19 27394:4 27436:5 27438:10 27451:21 wish 27405:4 27448:18 wished 27405:3 wishes 27451:3 withdraw 27400:19 withdrawn 27400:25 27408:5 withdrew 27402:7 withhold 27445:23,23 witness 27346:6,11 27349:9,10 27361:9 27361:10 27363:20 27364:25 27366:5,17 27368:5 27374:10 27377:2 27379:19,20 27382:16,20 27385:6 27389:1,24 27394:10 27403:2 27404:24 27405:3,6 27408:7 27413:17 27429:11 27447:14 27448:2,6 27448:22 27449:4,8 27449:10,13 27455:15 27457:11 27457:20 witnesses 27369:15,15 27370:11,22 27385:6 27403:3 27413:16 27431:22 27382:19 27446:11 27361:11 27396:7

witness's 27372:1 won't 27347:14 27397:10,14,18 27455:14 word 27369:15 27403:8

27444:16 27449:20 wording 27419:5 27429:12

words 27353:11 27361:11 27370:12 27382:19 27444:22 27444:22

work 27340:7 27396:20 27397:3 27408:8 27409:11 27417:17 27423:24 worked 27343:6

27402:11 27417:22 workers 27400:17 27411:24 27412:2 27440:3

working 27364:7 27365:12,13 27385:6 27393:2 27402:13 worse 27359:22

worthy 27355:23 wouldn't 27369:18 27393:5 27397:5 write 27394:19 27395:9 written 27347:3 27395:15,25 27396:17 27397:7 27424:5,14 wrong 27343:11 27346:12 27349:23 27350:2,21 27351:1 27357:18 27361:12 27364:18 27365:21 27366:23 27367:18 27367:20 27369:15 27371:15 27377:22 27377:23,24 27385:25 27432:3

X

27441:17 27453:4

Xhosa 27375:13

27376:13 year 27439:25 **yesterday** 27340:21 27406:22,25 27407:5 27417:13 27421:14 27425:7 27451:7,16 you'll 27379:9 27457:13 you're 27340:3,22 27341:3 27347:11 27349:8 27350:7 27351:14 27354:10 27358:8,13 27359:19 27360:10 27362:24 27365:4 27366:4 27368:5 27369:23 27375:23 27381:11 27389:4 27392:3,19 27394:18 27399:3 27401:11 27405:23 27415:19,21 27416:11,14 27427:7 27447:20 27450:4 27453:21 27457:15 you've 27342:10.11 27344:13 27353:2 27354:18 27358:21

\mathbf{Z}

27363:9 27364:6

27369:12 27372:4

27385:11 27396:9

27422:25 27450:23

27374:1,16,22

27398:15,16

Zokwana 27431:21 Zulu 27375:11 27377:11

0

006 27437:14 **009** 27437:15 **09:08** 27340:2 09:28 27353:15 09:48 27369:4

1 27423:7,7,19 27436:8 27436:9 10 27428:7 27447:2 27450:19 10th 27344:16 27421:23 27425:17 10.2B 27428:19 10:07 27383:13 10:15 27436:22 **10:27** 27397:19 **11** 27374:6 27436:8,8 27437:24 11th 27425:17 27426:12,20 27455:18

11.2.1 27438:15 **11:08** 27405:14 **11:28** 27418:22 **11:48** 27431:11 **118** 27436:20,23 27437:4 12th 27425:17 27426:13,14,21 **12:07** 27443:17 **13** 27422:13 27446:25 27450:17

11.2 27437:24

13th 27352:19 27353:16 27354:2,11 27376:22 27398:23 27400:1,16,17 27402:6 27406:9 27409:6 27410:6 27411:19 27414:1,7 27415:6 27418:25 27421:20,22 27423:18 27424:13 27426:1 27428:6 27429:19 27430:18 27431:12,12,13,23 27439:24 27442:11 27451:8,11,16 27455:22 13:30 27452:6.16 14 27419:2

14th 27432:14 27434:2 27434:3 27451:20,22 27452:18 **15th** 27353:16 27354:2 27376:22 27432:21 27432:22 27434:8,19 27435:5,14,17 27436:21 27451:12 27451:18 27452:10 27452:18,18,23 27453:6,22

16th 27344:15,17 27353:19,21,23 27368:19 27393:24 27399:18 27400:1 27406:8 27407:18

Page 13

Email: realtime@mweb.co.za

			 Page 13
27408:4 27409:7,12	9 27457:10		l L
	9th 27344:14		
27412:24,25 27414:1			
27421:16 27432:17	9.2 27423:1,2,3,5		
27435:14,18 27452:7	9.2.1 27424:4,13		l l
27452:15,16			
2			
2 27365:19,23 27366:2			
27366:19 27423:12			
27428:7,7,18 27436:8			
2.1 27424:4 27438:6			
2.2 27381:20,21,22			
27382:14 27384:21			
20 27415:25 27416:4			
20/12/08 27422:13			
2012 27418:25			
27446:15 27447:2			
27450:23			
2014 27340:1			
22 27440:2			
22nd 27418:24			
27419:13 27440:25			
25 27340:1			
262 27341:10,16,21			
27342:9,24 27343:16			
27345:9,14 27346:3			
27347:22 27348:10			
27348:10,15			
27351:12 27352:5,17			
27352:21 27354:1,5,8			
27354:14 27356:20			
27357:1 27359:22			
27360:11,21			
27361:19,23			
27362:16,22 27363:5			
27363:5,6,22,25			
27395:15,22			
27396:13,17,20			
27409:20,21 27411:6			
27411:15 27412:20			
27419:1,2 27423:1			
27428:7 27436:8			
27437:24 27438:19			
29th 27446:14			
3			
3 27421:21			
3.1 27422:6,11,12,17			
5			
5 27442:15 27443:25			
5.1.1 27424:22,23			
5.18 27454:6,6			
7			
7 27422:5			
8			
8 27422:9 27443:4,5			
27444:6,7 27445:14	64		
27445:19,23	2013		
8th 27405:18,21	all hand		l l
	Tites listly		
88 27420:3,8,10			
89 27422:9	or to have		
Company of the	Cl your off		
9			
ARCHIVE FO	R JUSTICE	l .	