

DISCIPLINE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

'Public to help' root out unfit policemen

WYNDHAM HARTLEY

Parliamentary Editor

CAPE TOWN — Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa yesterday gave Parliament assurances that communities would be enlisted to ensure that people who were unfit to serve as police officers were not recruited.

Mr Mthethwa was briefing Parliament's police committee on police brutality following a spate of recent incidents and a flood of media reports on poor police behaviour. MPs across all parties expressed serious concern about the apparent rise in police brutality.

Their concerns included allegations of wide-scale torture at a number of police stations in the Western Cape; the way in which police behaved in Ficksburg when activist Andries Tatane was killed; the killing of 34 miners at the Marikana mine; and the dragging to death of Mozambican taxi driver Mido Macia.

Mr Mthethwa began his briefing by re-emphasising the mantra that the majority of police officers were dedicated to the fight against crime. He acknowledged there had been serious problems at some of the South African Police Service (SAPS)

recruitment offices, where recruits with criminal records were accepted into the service. He also acknowledged that some individuals, while not having criminal records, were

accepted into the SAPS when they were unsuitable candidates.

He explained that at a meeting in January with all the station commanders in the country, it was decided to

go to communities to check the background of potential recruits. "We will publish the names of individuals being considered for recruitment ... so they can comment on the indi-

viduals," Mr Mthethwa said, adding that communities would know who the unsavoury characters were.

"If there are no adverse comments from communities to the published names, then those people will be considered for recruitment."

Mr Mthethwa acknowledged there had been some lapses in command and control at station level, with senior officers shielding those who were guilty of bad behaviour.

Freedom Front Plus MP Pieter Groenewald took Mr Mthethwa to task over discipline in the SAPS, and questioned how senior officers could be found guilty of crimes and still remain in their jobs.

Mr Mthethwa responded that "if I am honest, the disciplinary regime leaves much to be desired". He acknowledged there were SAPS members who should not be in the service at all. He also agreed with Congress of the People MP Mluleki George that there was a public perception that the police had reverted to pre-1994 behaviour.

He said while the perception was not true, it could not be ignored and "the only way to correct the perception is to correct the things that were wrong in the SAPS".

hartleyw@bdfm.co.za

Marikana 'murder' placards confiscated by police

FRANNY RABKIN

Law and Constitution Writer

PLACARDS reading "Don't let the police get away with murder" were confiscated by police officers outside the Marikana Commission of Inquiry yesterday as police commissioner Riah Phiyega spent her third day giving evidence.

The incident came after an extended back-and-forth between Gen Phiyega and evidence leader Mbuyiseli Madlanga SC about the success of the police operation at Marikana and an accusation, made at different points during the day, that the commissioner was being evasive in her answers.

After the lunch break, counsel for the families of those killed on August

16, Dumisa Ntsebeza SC, said he had been involved in a "mild altercation with a police captain" just outside the entrance of the Rustenburg Civic Centre after a pamphlet entitled Socialism from Below was "snatched" out of his hand.

He said picketers with placards that were "not complimentary to the police" had also had their placards confiscated and torn up.

"To the extent that they (the protesters) are expressing their democratic right, they should be free to do so," said Mr Ntsebeza, adding that the picket had been peaceful.

Counsel for the police, Ishmael Semanya SC, agreed that the picketers had a constitutional right to protest and said the matter would be investigated.

Earlier during the hearing, Gen Phiyega would not be pinned down on whether she regarded the police operation on August 16 — the day 34 people were killed and more than 70 injured — as a success.

First, she asked Mr Madlanga to define what he meant by success.

He replied that this referred to what the police set out to do, how they intended to go about doing it, and what ultimately happened — both the intended and unintended consequences.

Mr Madlanga also referred to the police's standing order (general 262), which measures the success of a public order police operation by a number of factors including loss of life, injury and damage to property.

Gen Phiyega then said: "The plan

was good. The plan was interrupted. The outcome was unintended.

"So you cannot have a very clean, purified definition of success."

But Judge Ian Farlam, the commission's chairman, suggested it could not be said the operation was a success, considering the loss of life and injuries.

"But you would, of course, wish to add that, in so far as it fell short of a success, this was due to factors beyond the control of the police," he suggested. Gen Phiyega agreed, saying that the "disruption" of the plan "bothers me".

She was also questioned about the success of the police operation on August 13 to disarm a group of armed striking workers who were making their way to a nearby koppie.

After the police could not persuade the strikers to hand over their weapons, five people were killed, including two police officers.

Mr Madlanga asked Gen Phiyega whether she had been briefed on what "exactly" triggered the skirmish that preceded the killings.

She said she had been briefed on what happened later that day and was told that after the negotiations between the police and the workers failed, there was "some turnaround" and people were then killed.

George Bizos SC, representing the Bench Marks Foundation, a non-governmental organisation, and two families of workers who died, suggested that Gen Phiyega refused to admit to any police weaknesses.

rabkinf@bdfm.co.za

Phiyega prodded on police demilitarisation

NATIONAL police chief Riah Phiyega says there are plans for the demilitarisation of the police.

She said this in Rustenburg yesterday while being cross-examined at the Farlam Commission of Inquiry into the killing of strikers by police at Marikana platinum mine.

Evidence leader Mbuyiseli Madlanga asked her what she had done to bring the police into conformity with recommendations made in the government's National Development Plan.

Reading extracts from the plan, Madlanga said it called for "an urgent demilitarisation" of the police service.

"The remilitarisation of the police in recent years has not garnered greater community respect, nor has it secured high conviction rates," he read.

"Certainly, a paramilitary

police force does not augur well for a capable developmental state."

"The commission believes that the police should be demilitarised," Madlanga said. "Do you see that?"

Phiyega said that she did.

She said that the police were "engaging the National Development Plan, looking at how we can implement those recommendations."

Asked if she agreed with the NDP recommendations, the police chief said: "You are asking me a binding and difficult question. I have said that the SAPS has noted the recommendations and is looking at implementing them."

The chairman of the three-member commission, retired judge Ian Farlam, urged Phiyega

to answer the question.

She said: "It is difficult to say I agree or I don't agree. With certain reservations and discussions we will embrace the recommendations."

Farlam urged Phiyega to answer the question

Madlanga asked: "Does that mean the SAPS is still studying the recommendation?"

Phiyega responded: "We are in the process of looking at the plan. In our main national management forum they have received letters from me saying we will have a session to discuss this [implementation of the NDP recommendations]."

● A sangoma who performed ritual invocations on Marikana mineworkers was shot dead in Bizana at the weekend, Eastern Cape police said yesterday.

Alton Joja, 69, was at home on

Sunday when several armed men confronted him, Colonel Sibongile Soci said.

"It is alleged that five unknown men armed with pistols and rifles entered the deceased's homestead. He went out to inquire what they were looking for."

When he approached their car they shot at him.

They fled and the car was found abandoned.

Joja died on his arrival at hospital.

The Farlam Commission heard on Monday that the police had wanted Joja to testify before the commission.

— Sapa

Phiyega beskerm polisie, hoor Farlam-kommissie

Maryna Lamprecht

Rustenburg. – Genl. Riah Phiyega, nasionale polisiehoof, beskerm die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisiediens (SAPD) ten alle koste en weier om hulle te kritiseer.

Só het adv. George Bizos SC, veteraanstryder vir menseregte en verteenwoordiger van die Legal Resources Centre en die Bench Marks Foundation, gister aan die Farlam-kommissie van

ondersoek na die Marikana-slagting gesê.

“Jy is absoluut gemoeid daarmee om nie een enkele woord te sê wat beledigend is teenoor die SAPD nie. Jy klop hulle op die skouer. Jy het dit gedoen op die 17de (Augustus), op die 20ste (Augustus) en jy doen dit ook nou in die getuiebank.”

Phiyega het op 'n mediakonferensie 'n dag ná die dood van 34 mynwerkers by die Lonmin-pla-

tinummyn gesê die polisie het uit selfverdediging opgetree toe gewapende mynwerkers op hulle afgestorm het.

Op 20 Augustus het sy tydens 'n parade aan polisielede wat betrokke was by die Marikana-gebeure gesê: “Wat ook al gebeur het, verteenwoordig die beste van verantwoordelike polisiëring.”

Sedert Phiyega in die getuiebank is, het sy telkens ontwy-

kend geantwoord en geweier om enigiets te sê wat die polisie kan inkrimineer.

Bizos het gesê hy gaan haar as “kommissaris” aanspreek en nie “generaal” nie “om redes wat later duidelik sal word”.

Adv. Mbuyiseli Madlanga, wat die getuie lei, wou by Phiyega weet watter ervaring sy het om besluite oor skarebeheer te kan neem. Phiyega het gesê sy beskou haarself as 'n “strategie-

se hoofbestuurder”.

“Ek kon die besluite neem wat ek het omdat ek ervare mense gehad het wat in beheer was van Marikana. Ek word gelei deur baie ervare mense en ek neem strategiese besluite op grond daarvan. Gegrand daarop is ek strategies in 'n goeie posisie om die organisasie te lei.”

Madlanga het gesê die polisieoperasie by Marikana was “chaoties” en dit was onverantwoor-

delik van Phiyega om die polisie se optrede “verantwoordelike polisiëring” te noem.

Madlanga wou weet of “wat ook al gebeur het” die dood van die 34 mynwerkers insluit.

Phiyega het gesê haar woorde moet binne die konteks van haar hele toespraak op 20 Augustus beskou word, waarin sy sê die polisie is in rou oor die sterftes. Met “verantwoordelike polisiëring” het sy verwys na

die polisie se navolging van die regte “voorskrifte en prosedures”, het sy gesê.

“Ek het nie feesgevier oor die sterftes nie.”

Phiyega het gesê daar was nie fout met die polisie se plan nie, sake het eenvoudig skeefgeloop.

Sy het geweier om te erken die operasie was onsuksesvol en gesê die betekenis van “sukses” is relatief.

Sy getuig vandag weer.

Top lawyer savages police chief

Phiyega derogating constitution – Bizos

POLOKO TAU and SAPA

NATIONAL police commissioner General Riah Phiyega made derogatory comments about the constitution during a radio interview, George Bizos SC claimed at the Farlam Commission of Inquiry yesterday.

Bizos questioned Phiyega about comments she had made during an interview with radio presenter Redi Tlhabi.

In the interview, Phiyega said criminals in South Africa were “absolutely brazen because we have a beautiful constitution that allows rights”.

Bizos said: “You were asked why criminals behave in the manner in which they behave. You were not asked whether the constitution was blue or white. Why did you say they are brazen? Because our constitution allows rights?”

Phiyega replied: “What I said was that our country has a good constitution.”

Bizos: “No, you didn’t say that, national commissioner. Whose rights were you referring to, that of the criminals?”

Phiyega replied: “I thought you asked me what I said.”

The senior counsel went on: “This is not a classroom in which we play with words. Please answer the question...”

“Did you ever believe that the constitution... coddles criminals? Have any of your members expressed regret that the liberal constitution that we have is responsible for the criminality we have?”

Phiyega said she had not. Bizos said many people were of the view that the rights afforded to criminals contributed to rampant crime. Phiyega replied she had heard those remarks but did not agree with that line of thought.

Bizos said Phiyega’s statement about the constitution was “derogatory in relation to our constitution and the rights it guarantees to the people of South Africa”.

The police chief disputed this. Bizos said there were many reasons Phiyega could have listed for criminality in the country.

Citing former police commissioners Jackie Selebi and Bheki Cele, Bizos said the criminality within high-ranking police officer ranks and police brutality could be the reasons for the rise in hard-core criminality.

“Couldn’t the criminality be a result of the inefficiency of the

police force? Couldn’t it be that they are brazen (the criminals) because of the number of complaints received about police torture and ill-treatment of arrested persons?”

Phiyega disagreed. Bizos then asked the police chief how many people had been killed by the police in the past year. “I can get those statistics,” said Phiyega.

Bizos, whose cross-examination of Phiyega continues today, is representing the Bench Marks Foundation and the families of two victims of the Marikana shootings.

Meanwhile, Phiyega revealed that plans were in place for the demilitarisation of the police under the National Development Plan (NDP). She said this while being cross-examined at the commission by evidence leader Mbuyiseli Madlanga SC.

He asked her about efforts she had taken to bring the SAPS in line with recommendations in the NDP.

Reading several extracts of the plan, Madlanga said it called for an urgent demilitarisation of the police service.

“The remilitarisation of the police in recent years has not garnered greater community respect, nor has it secured high conviction rates,” he read.

“A paramilitary police force does not augur well for a capable developmental state. The commission believes that the police should be demilitarised. Do you see that?”

Phiyega agreed. Madlanga continued reading: “Demilitarisation requires changes in the police insignia, military ranks and force orders to create a civil police service as a first stage of community policing.”

He then asked Phiyega to explain what steps she had taken to employ the NDP’s short-term proposals. “We have noted the recommendations. We are looking at how we can implement those recommendations,” she said.

Asked whether she agreed with the NDP recommendations, the police chief said: “I think you are asking me a binding and difficult question. I have said that the SAPS, like other sectors, have noted the recommendations and are looking at implementing them.”

The chairman of the three-member commission, retired Judge Ian Farlam, urged Phiyega to answer the question. She said: “It is difficult for me to say I agree or I don’t agree. With certain reservations and discussions we will embrace the recommendations...”

Earlier, a lunch break at the commission was marked by a bitter confrontation between picketers and the police. Some lawyers were also caught up in the argument outside the Rustenburg Civic Centre, the commission’s venue.

A group of people wearing black T-shirts emblazoned with the words “Remember the slain of Marikana” and “Marikana Support Campaign” were protesting against police brutality, holding placards marked “Don’t let police get away with murder”. They were surrounded by police officers, who tried to confiscate their placards, and later ordered to stand across the road, away from the venue.

A member of the dead miners’ legal team, Teboho Mosikili, and his colleague, advocate Dumfries Ntsebeza SC, were caught up in the argument. Ntsebeza later told the commission of the “mild altercation with a police captain”.

He said he had been holding a pamphlet titled “Socialism”, which an officer grabbed from him. He said the police objected to picketers’ placards that were making “uncomplimentary remarks about the police”.

Judge Farlam asked the parties to engage and resolve the matter.

SAPS TO BE DEMILITARISED, PHIYEGA TELLS INQUIRY

National police chief Riah Phiyega said yesterday that plans were in place for the demilitarisation of the police under the National Development Plan.

She said this while being cross-examined at the Farlam Commission of Inquiry in Rustenburg by evidence leader Mbuyiseli Madlanga, SC.

He asked her about efforts she had taken to bring the SAPS in line with recommendations contained in the NDP.

Reading several extracts of the plan, Madlanga said it called for "an urgent demilitarisation" of the police service.

"The re-militarisation of the police in recent years has not garnered greater community respect, nor has it secured high conviction rates," he read.

"Certainly, a paramilitary police force does not augur well for a capable developmental state. The commission believes that the police should be demilitarised. Do you see that?" he asked Phiyega. Phiyega agreed.

Madlanga continued reading: "Demilitarisation requires changes in the police insignia,

military ranks and force orders, to create a civil police service as a first stage of community policing."

He then asked Phiyega to explain what steps she had taken to employ the NDP's

short-term recommendations.

"We have noted the recommendations. We are engaging the NDP, looking at how we can implement those

recommendations," she replied.

Asked whether she agreed with the NDP recommendations, the police chief said: "I think you are asking me a binding and difficult question. I have said that the SAPS, like other sectors, have noted the recommendations and are looking at implementing them."

Chairperson of the three-member commission, retired judge Ian Farlam, urged Phiyega to answer the question.

She said: "It is difficult for me to say I agree or I don't agree. With certain reservations and discussions we will embrace the recommendations."

Madlanga asked: "Does that mean the SAPS is still studying the recommendation? Do you have a committee looking at the



Earlier, Phiyega said the police intervention plan for the Marikana mines was good, but got disrupted during implementation. Because of this disruption the outcome included the shooting deaths of 34 striking mineworkers, which was unintended, she told the commission.

Madlanga asked the police commissioner whether the police intervention at Marikana could be described as a success.

"Taking into account all the factors you have referred to, would you say that the operation was a success?" he asked.

"On August 16 we do know that 34 people were killed and more than 70 were injured. I want you to make a judgment and tell this commission, whether based on the SAPS's own tests, you can say the (Marikana) operation was a success?"

Phiyega said: "I think I need to be responsible when answering. I have said the plan was good, and it was disrupted. It is important for me to take all those issues into context.

"The outcome was intended. The plan was good, it was disrupted and we had an unintended outcome. We cannot have a simplified definition of success. It would be a broad definition of success." - Sapa

recommendation?"

Phiyega responded: "We are in the process of looking at the plan. In our main national management forum they have received letters from me, saying we will have a session to discuss this (NDP).

"This is work in progress. I am leading a team that is working on the matter."

Madlanga requested a copy of the letters.

Clash erupts at Marikana hearing

A SCUFFLE broke out between police officers and a group of protesters outside the Rustenburg Civic Centre where the Farlam commission is holding public hearings.

Police officers seized a stack of placards from a group of protesters during the lunch break and took them to a car parked nearby.

The protesters shouted at the police officers, accusing them of murdering the Marikana mineworkers.

"Shoot us all, that is what you are used to," one woman shouted at the large contingent of police officers.

"You have murdered our brothers. [Police commissioner Riah Phiyega must tell the truth," shouted another protester.

Most of the placards read: "Do not let [the] police get away with murder."

A spokesman for the Marikana Support Campaign, Rehad Desai, said the protesters

had been angered by Phiyega's "evasiveness" during her testimony at the Farlam commission.

"The people are very angry. These people are demanding justice. We have every right to protest in this country," he said.

"The police seized our placards, we don't know why. The placards are demanding that the police should be brought to book and we also want Phiyega fired."

He said a number of activities would be held on August 16 annually to commemorate the death of the 34 mineworkers. – *Sapa*

● See page 6

How deep does Marikana go?

and injury of miners, police and security guards in Marikana last August was set up to search for the truth as to what led to the tragic events and the role of the mining company, the South African Police Service and the two dominant unions at the mine

It was supposed to enlighten the nation as to what each role player did, or failed to do, and help us find healing. It was put in place to ensure that such a tragedy, in which 44 human beings died, is never repeated.

It is worrying to hear of potential witnesses being killed one after the other, although there is no proof that any of the four deaths are linked to the commission.

The latest murder of traditional healer Alton Joja, who allegedly played a significant role in the conflict, has robbed us of a vital witness.

There is clearly a need for greater security for witnesses. It may also help the commission if everyone involved assisted in expediting the proceedings.

SA needs to safeguard Africa's interests at summit

THE significance of the Brics partnership is that it is a gathering of the regional powers of the developing world. It is a potential shift in global power at a time when the West is at its weakest. In many respects, it is a manifestation of the historical calls by the developing world for the creation of a new international economic order.

This does not, however, mean that there is a guarantee that the Brics partnership will work out well for Africa.

In the 1970s, the "third world", comprising the developing countries, put forward proposals through the UN for the creation of a new international economic order. The purpose of this order was to improve their terms of trade, increase development assistance, and build cooperation over the global political economy. It was meant to be a revision of the international economic system in favour of third world countries, away from the dominance of the Western and former colonial

State of Development

RAVI NAIDOO

powers. This lobby to get a better deal for the developing world was brushed aside by the developed world, and soon crumbled as Africa and many parts of the developed world were engulfed in the structural adjustments arising from the global oil crises of the times.

Today, the world is again engulfed in economic crisis, but this time the West is the epicentre of the economic meltdown. Burdened by slow growth and the crippling costs of bailouts for the private sector, the West cannot afford to do things as they had before. And while the developed world remains linked to Western economies, they are also experiencing more domestic-generated growth. Indeed, the Brics countries could well afford to buy out large

chunks of the West if they were allowed to, and indeed China holds the largest share of US treasury bonds. The opportunity for changing the economic world order has arrived, in much the same manner as the Second World War ended the colonial order.

It is common cause however that Bric was conceptualised without South Africa in mind. It was the grouping of the rising giants of Asia, China and India, along with a resurgent Russia and a remodelled and vibrant Brazil. Based on economic growth and population sizes, these four countries are the primary pivots on which a new economic order will turn. There are more significant developing economies than South Africa, including Mexico, Indonesia, Turkey, and even strategic eastern European countries such as Poland.

The truth is that the fifth Brics "country" is really Africa, which has all the economic and population characteristics of Bric countries. South Africa is there as representative of

Africa. Politically, the rhetoric of a new international economic order needs Africa to join with China, India, Russia and Brazil. Economically, Africa is the commodity supplier that the Bric countries need to exploit.

There is thus no guarantee that Bric countries will offer Africa a better deal than the West. Brics countries are actually pursuing their own self-interests. And if Bric countries drive a wedge between South Africa and the rest of Africa, South Africa will be the loser.

Our representative role within Brics means that we must speak for Africa. Our proposals for Brics and a new economic order must consciously and deliberately take into account Africa's agenda and serve to promote it. Hence in reaching any Brics agreements, South Africa must ensure we are acting in the best interests of Africa.

Ravi Naidoo is CEO of Infrastructure & Development Advisory Practice, focusing on public sector development

Bizos prepares to grill Phiyega at Marikana hearing

POLOKO TAU

poloko.tau@inl.co.za

HUMAN rights advocate George Bizos kicked off his cross-examination of police boss General Riah Phiyega with a stern warning in what hinted at another round of an intense grilling.

Phiyega had earlier been accused of being "deliberately evasive" by evidence leader advocate Mbuyiseli Madlanga after he had received responses that he was obviously not happy with from the police boss over three days.

The police commissioner is answering to the police's conduct at the Farlam Commission of Inquiry which is investigating the killings of 44 people during the violent Lonmin strike last year. The deaths include 34 striking miners who were shot dead by the police last August.

Phiyega declined to respond to a number of questions by Madlanga, saying that she was a strategic manager of the police service and that her commanders were more suitable to answer to specific questions about operational matters and what happened on the ground.

She also said she stood by her statement that police had shot the miners in self defence, even after it had emerged that the police have said in their opening statement to the commission that some people could have been killed when officers returned fire in a direction

they believed they were being shot from, and that it could have been their colleagues who were shooting from there.

Bizos is representing the Bench Marks Foundation and families of two victims.

He accused Phiyega of making derogatory remarks about the country's constitution in a radio interview.

Bizos said in an interview with Talk Radio 702 Phiyega had said that criminals were "absolutely brazen because we have a beautiful constitution that allows rights".

He asked Phiyega why she used the word "beautiful" which is normally associated with beauty and cosmetics" to which she said she meant "we have a good constitution".

Bizos said she had made a "derogatory remark in regard to the constitution" but Phiyega disagreed.

At one point he told Phiyega: "This is not a classroom where we play with words. Please answer the question."

Bizos further put it to Phiyega that she was "actually concerned not to say a single word which may seem uncomplimentary to the (police)".

"You are patting them on the back. You did so on August 16 and 20 and you are doing it in the witness stand," he said.

Bizos was referring to Phiyega's statements in which she the officers had shot protesters in self defence and that "whatever happened represents the best of responsible policing".

Phiyega said: "I don't agree but I can't change your assertion."

Meanwhile, a lunch break at the commission was marked by a bitter confrontation between picketers and the police.

Some lawyers were also caught up in the argument out-

side the Rustenburg Civic Centre, the commission's venue.

A group of people wearing black T-shirts emblazoned with the words "Remember the slain of Marikana" and "Marikana Support Campaign" were protesting against police brutality, holding placards marked

"Don't let police get away with murder".

They were surrounded by the police who tried to confiscate their placards and later ordered them to stand across the road, away from the venue.

A member of the deceased miners' legal team Teboho

Mosikili and colleague advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza SC were caught up in the argument.

Ntsebeza later told the commission of what he called a "mild altercation with a police captain". He said he had been holding a pamphlet titled "Socialism" which an officer

grabbed from him. He explained that police objected to picketers' placards that were making "uncomplimentary remarks about the police".

Chairperson of the commission and retired Judge Ian Farlam asked the parties to resolve the matter.

Marikana: I was well informed — Phiyega

By **SIMON NARE**

"I DO not have operational knowledge and I said so in my opening statement," National Police Commissioner Riah Phiyega told the Marikana Commission.

She also admitted that she had no operational knowledge about the SAPS when the Marikana massacre occurred two months after she started her job.

"But I could make decisions because I had people in Marikana. I was very well informed. I take all the strategic decisions required of me," she told the commission.

Evidence leader Advocate Mbuyiseli Madlanga steered clear of whose decision it was to disperse the striking miners, a move that led to the death of 34 workers.

Phiyega in her opening statement said provincial commissioner Lieutenant-General Zukiswa Mbombo phoned her and told her that a decision had been taken to disperse the strikers and that he would take full responsibility.

Phiyega frustrated Madlanga as he tried to get her to retract her

statement that police had shown responsible policing before and during the massacre.

Addressing cops the morning after the massacre, Phiyega had said: "You did what you did because you are responsible."

She said her statement on best policing didn't include the killing of people.

"I do not celebrate death," she told commission chairman Judge Ian Farlam. "I'm not changing what I said. I can't give any better than what I have said."