

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 18 22 NOVEMBER 2012 PAGES 1877 TO 2007

HELD AT

CIVIC CENTRE, RUSTENBURG, NORTH WEST PROVINCE



© REALTIME TRANSCRIPTIONS

64 10th Avenue, Highlands North, Johannesburg
P O Box 721, Highlands North, 2037
Tel: 011-440-3647 Fax: 011-440-9119 Cell: 083 273-5335
E-mail: realtime@pixie.co.za
Web Address: <http://mysite.mweb.co.za/residents/pak06278>



Page 1877

1 [PROCEEDINGS ON 22 NOVEMBER 2012]
 2 [09:36] CHAIRPERSON: Good morning. The
 3 Commission resumes. Good morning, Bishop. We have Bishop
 4 Seoka back, I see. He's still under cross-examination.
 5 Bishop, I must remind you - it shouldn't be necessary, but
 6 I have to do it - that you're still under oath. Mr Burger,
 7 I believe you have some more questions for the bishop?
 8 MR BURGER SC: Yes, thank you, Chair.
 9 Morning, Bishop. I have asked my attorney to place before
 10 you some of the documents I want to discuss with you today.
 11 The one is your statement, which you know, that's exhibit
 12 M. The second one is the SAPS presentation, that's the
 13 bound volume, which is exhibit L. We've also placed before
 14 you the transcript of your evidence on the 14th of November,
 15 and since that day we've received a statement from General
 16 Naidoo, which I want to refer to briefly with you, and
 17 there's also a minute of a special JOCOM meeting of the 16th
 18 of August at half past 1 that day, which we have placed
 19 before you, and then I'll refer to some photographs on the
 20 screen.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: Forgive me for
 22 interrupting, it always makes it easier to follow later.
 23 May I suggest that we, those documents which have not yet
 24 been given exhibit letters, should be given exhibit letters
 25 so that you can then refer to them by means of the

Page 1878

1 appropriate letter. Now according to my notes we've got to
 2 CC, which is the video clips which were handed in, relating
 3 to the 16th of August, were handed in by the evidence
 4 leaders yesterday. So how many of the documents do you
 5 have there which have not already got exhibit letters?
 6 MR BURGER SC: Three, Chair. The one is
 7 the transcript of the 14th of November –
 8 CHAIRPERSON: Well, I take it the
 9 transcript doesn't have to be an exhibit.
 10 MR BURGER SC: Then the next document is
 11 the Naidoo statement.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: So DD will then be the
 13 Naidoo statement. Yes?
 14 MR BURGER SC: And the JOCOM minute of
 15 the 16th –
 16 CHAIRPERSON: And EE, JOCOM minute of the
 17 16th of August?
 18 MR BURGER SC: Of the 16th of August.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: So let me just repeat that.
 20 DD, we already allocate the exhibit letters, will be what
 21 we can call the Naidoo statement, statement of General
 22 Naidoo, which he will presumably confirm when he gives
 23 evidence, or not, as the case may be, and EE is the JOCOM
 24 minute of the 16th of August.
 25 MR BURGER SC: Thank you, Chair.

Page 1879

1 CHAIRPERSON: Do you have copies? Do you
 2 propose giving us copies of those documents, or I suppose
 3 they will be put before us eventually in due course. It's
 4 just important at this stage for –
 5 MR BURGER SC: We will place them before
 6 you in due course, probably –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: - for the witness to see
 8 it, yes.
 9 MR BURGER SC: For the convenience of the
 10 witness we made him a little parcel that he can follow the
 11 process.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, yes, I understand it.
 13 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, there's some
 14 unanswered questions from last time that I would like to
 15 revisit with you. You may remember, I put the proposition
 16 to you that it was reasonable for Lonmin not to go to the
 17 strikers to negotiate on the 16th of August this year. Do
 18 you remember that proposition I put to you?
 19 RT REV SEOKA: I remember that, Sir.
 20 MR BURGER SC: And I gave you eight
 21 reasons for that proposition. If you have a look at the
 22 transcript of your evidence, I'm not going to read it to
 23 you, but the eight reasons you will find starting at page
 24 1418. There are four pages to a page and you'll find the
 25 page numbering in the top right-hand corner. Now if you

Page 1880

1 turn to page 1418, and what I put from there were the
 2 killings on the 12th, the killings on the 13th, the
 3 burnings, all these things in order to lead up to the
 4 proposition which I've put to you, that it was reasonable
 5 for Lonmin not to go back to the strikers to negotiate on
 6 the 16th of August. Your answer to that we find at 1423,
 7 and that's why I have to pick it up again with you, because
 8 you answer that proposition by not answering it. At the
 9 top of page 1423 you start with a long answer and you say
 10 inter alia, lines 2 to 4, "My comment is simply that Lonmin
 11 managers missed a golden opportunity despite what had
 12 happened to them." Then at line 11 you say, "As a clergy
 13 person you are always in the midst of thousands of people
 14 who recognise you and you cannot recognise all of them,"
 15 and then you say opposite line 20, "That is for the reason
 16 I would have thought that they recognise me and accepted me
 17 as a spiritual leader of a traditional church. I'm not a
 18 leader of a fly-by-night church." Now that was an answer
 19 unbecoming a bishop, and I want to ask you now to deal with
 20 the proposition I've put to you, Bishop. I put to you that
 21 it was reasonable for Lonmin –
 22 CHAIRPERSON: - unbecoming a bishop.
 23 That is possibly a point you may argue at the end of the
 24 case, if it's relevant to what we have to consider, but I
 25 don't think it's necessary to make statements like that and

Page 1881

1 I expect you to withdraw it.
 2 MR BURGER SC: I will do so, Chair. Can
 3 I put the proposition to you seriously, Bishop, it was
 4 reasonable for Lonmin not to go to the strikers to
 5 negotiate on the 16th of August in the light of these facts?
 6 CHAIRPERSON: I think we must give the
 7 interpreter a chance to interpret.
 8 MR MAHLANGU: Thank you, Mr Chairperson.
 9 RT REV SEOKA: I hear what you say –
 10 through you, Chair – but I don't think I understand what
 11 you're saying. The fact that I met with Lonmin officials,
 12 explained why I was there, ought to have given them a sense
 13 of urgency to meet with those people and probably to find
 14 out as to why suddenly they're interested in meeting with
 15 them if they had refused to meet with them before, and I'm
 16 not aware that they did refuse to meet with them.
 17 MR BURGER SC: No, I put that proposition
 18 to you because we've since your previous evidence obtained
 19 a statement from General Naidoo, that is, Bishop, DD which
 20 is before you, exhibit DD, and you'll read on page 2 of
 21 that statement, this is what the General will come and say,
 22 we're told, and assume for present purposes that he will
 23 say this. Right at the foot of that page 2 there's an
 24 unnumbered paragraph. It starts with, "On Tuesday, the 14th
 25 of August." Do you have that?

Page 1882

1 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 2 MR BURGER SC: Let me read that with you,
 3 and I want to put to you that there was really no
 4 opportunity to go back to the koppie for Lonmin on the 16th.
 5 The General says, "On Tuesday, the 14th of August, 2012, the
 6 additional resources arrived from the various units
 7 nationally to support the operation. The approach that was
 8 decided upon was the negotiated approach with the striking
 9 approach to lay down their weapons disperse, and conduct
 10 their labour dispute through established structures. If
 11 the negotiated approach failed, then consideration would
 12 have been given to disperse and disarm the strikers as they
 13 were armed and posed a threat to public safety and
 14 security." Now you were not aware of these facts when you
 15 spoke to the Lonmin management on the 16th of August, were
 16 you?
 17 RT REV SEOKA: I was not aware.
 18 MR BURGER SC: This was another reason
 19 why they couldn't go back to the koppie that afternoon.
 20 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know that. If
 21 they knew that I would have expected them to inform me that
 22 there was a process that was proposed in place.
 23 MR BURGER SC: What they did tell you was
 24 the following, Bishop. They said Mr Mokoena told you that,
 25 (1), it was unsafe to go and address the crowd in the light

Page 1883

1 of the killings that had occurred. Is that correct?
 2 RT REV SEOKA: I don't remember that.
 3 All I remember is that the company spokesperson said they
 4 are not going to talk to these criminals and murderers,
 5 full stop. That's my knowledge. In fact, Sir, Mr Mokoena
 6 didn't have much words to say. The person that spoke most
 7 was his colleague, Mr Kgotle.
 8 MR BURGER SC: Well, you know that that
 9 is disputed by all three the gentlemen involved, but what I
 10 put to you now is what they will tell the Commission you
 11 were told, and I still want to put this to you, Mr Mokoena
 12 said to you that it was unsafe to go and address the crowd
 13 in the light of the killings that had occurred. Do you
 14 deny that, or do you simply not remember that?
 15 RT REV SEOKA: I actually deny it. I
 16 don't think I'll forget a statement like that from Mr
 17 Mokoena. I can tell you exactly what Mr Mokoena said to
 18 me.
 19 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, he secondly said
 20 to you that the conduct of the crowd was unlawful and
 21 illegal and should not be legitimised. Now do you deny
 22 that or do you not remember that?
 23 RT REV SEOKA: Words like "legitimise," I
 24 don't think I will easily forget that, and therefore it was
 25 never used in my presence on that particular day.

Page 1884

1 MR BURGER SC: Then the third thing he
 2 said to you, Bishop, was that the area had been declared as
 3 a Police area and that no-one was allowed to go to the
 4 koppie. Do you remember that?
 5 RT REV SEOKA: He said that when we were
 6 leaving the command station, after having talked to Ms, to
 7 the lady in charge, and as I said previously, as we were
 8 walking towards the car park an unknown person to me, a
 9 gentleman came and spoke to Mr Mokoena. It's only after he
 10 had been with that particular person who he spoke to him,
 11 that he came and said those words to us.
 12 MR BURGER SC: We have also heard
 13 evidence since you last gave evidence, Bishop, which
 14 relates to a photograph we find in exhibit L, that's the
 15 police dossier, it's slide 168. You see the heading is,
 16 "Protester 6 addresses the crowd."
 17 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I see that.
 18 MR BURGER SC: Now the Police's version -
 19 and let us assume that to be proved in the fullness of time
 20 - is that that person spoke after 1 o'clock on the 16th. In
 21 fact they make it 11 minutes past 1, and he said words in
 22 Xhosa to the effect, "If the Police comes today we will
 23 finish them off." You didn't know that either?
 24 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't know that.
 25 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, I don't want to

Page 1885

1 interrupt my learned colleague's cross-examination. Just
 2 to place on record that that interpretation is not, the
 3 fact that we're not contesting it right now, it might be
 4 contested in what Mr Burger calls the fullness of time, but
 5 that is not the only interpretation of what was said by the
 6 –

7 CHAIRPERSON: Evidence was given, a video
 8 was shown yesterday which showed – by the evidence leaders
 9 of the Protester 6 addressing the crowd. The interpreter
 10 interpreted it - and correctly, I'm informed by the
 11 isiXhosa linguist on my left, and Mr Madlanga with his
 12 isiXhosa linguist who's present. The interpreter
 13 interpreted it and the interpretation was not challenged,
 14 so you can raise the point perhaps later, but I'm not going
 15 to stop Mr Burger. Mr Burger is perfectly entitled to put
 16 what was interpreted yesterday and accepted all round as
 17 correct. If the –

18 MR MPOFU: No, that's exactly what he's
 19 not doing. If he was putting the interpretation that was
 20 given by the interpreter I wouldn't be talking to you,
 21 Chairperson.

22 CHAIRPERSON: What's the difference?
 23 MR MPOFU: The difference is this
 24 suggestion that "We will finish them off," that was not
 25 said by the interpreter.

Page 1886

1 CHAIRPERSON: My recollection I'm afraid
 2 is it was, but we will presumably, when we have yesterday's
 3 transcript – at the moment my recollection is that Mr
 4 Burger is correct and I'm supported by my Commissioners,
 5 fellow Commissioners, and I'll allow Mr Burger to proceed.

6 [09:56] MR BURGER SC: Bishop, and just to finish
 7 off on this proposition, it's for – well I'm speaking
 8 English, it's not Xhosa, so "finishing off" is quite
 9 innocent. Bishop, to conclude on this point, it is for
 10 these reasons and these multitude of facts that I will
 11 argue at the end of this inquiry that it was reasonable for
 12 Lonmin not to go to the strikers to negotiate on the 16th of
 13 August. If you want to add anything, you are welcome to,
 14 but I have to put that to you on this issue.

15 RT REV SEOKA: If I were a responsible
 16 officer of an institution, and somebody who is from a
 17 reputable institution that can be trusted and brought a
 18 message, I will be willing to listen, and probably rethink
 19 my position, alternatively I would have tried to give that
 20 person a chance and probably do some checking, how
 21 authentic the message was and try and find out what the
 22 motivation was all about, and just to give it a chance,
 23 especially if there was knowledge of the statement that you
 24 have alluded to, said in Xhosa, because you would want to
 25 create a language that is peaceful, a language that is

Page 1887

1 engaging constructively so that there could be a solution
 2 to what seems to be a problem. That's why I believe that
 3 the God sent messenger could have listened at the time
 4 because he had not been part to all what had happened
 5 previously, and I didn't know all these things that you are
 6 saying, and I just got there with my companion and we did
 7 what we were asked to do.

8 You see, Mr Chair, it's actually very
 9 interesting, I'd use the word loosely, to observe that the
 10 workers on the koppie on that day in that hour I spoke to
 11 them, didn't show anger, didn't use strong language, they
 12 were wanting to reach out, but when I encountered the
 13 company's representative there was a strong language, anger
 14 and denial. You see, Sir, I didn't know what had happened.
 15 I don't know what discussion had gone on.

16 MR BURGER SC: It's common cause –
 17 RT REV SEOKA: I am talking about what I
 18 experienced on that particular time, and so my engagement
 19 with this company people was really to say to them, there's
 20 an opportunity, these people are willing to listen to you.
 21 Sir, you must remember that I said earlier on, they asked
 22 the employer to come and address them on their needs. They
 23 never said, we want to talk to the company, the Mkashe who
 24 was going to be talked to, but he was being asked to come
 25 and talk to the workers, so I saw that as an opportunity

Page 1888

1 really.

2 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, the second
 3 question, I didn't get an answer to last time, we find at
 4 page 1425, let's read it together and see whether we can
 5 get a response. 1425 opposite line 13.

6 RT REV SEOKA: Which document is that?
 7 MR BURGER SC: That's the inquiry
 8 transcript, your evidence of last time. That's the
 9 document with the four pages on one.

10 MR MAHLANGU: The page number again, Sir?
 11 MR BURGER SC: 1425.
 12 RT REV SEOKA: Okay.
 13 MR BURGER SC: Line 13, "Lonmin couldn't
 14 go there," that's to the koppie, "Lonmin couldn't get there
 15 because the koppie had been cordoned off by the SAPS in the
 16 meantime." "Yes." "How do you blame Lonmin for that,
 17 meaning not going back to the koppie, as the koppie had
 18 been cordoned off, what is your answer to that
 19 proposition?" You'll see, you don't answer it, you say
 20 "give us reasons why you didn't go back?" And in the end
 21 you say, perhaps you didn't go back because it was Lonmin
 22 property. That's not the question, the question is how do
 23 blame Lonmin for not going back to the koppie which had
 24 been cordoned off by the SAPS?
 25 RT REV SEOKA: You remember, Sir, that I

Page 1889

1 had said also there were police all over the place. Having
 2 spoken to the Commissioner, I would have expected that she
 3 or whoever was in charge could have said, well, look, let's
 4 hear what this man has to say, and accompany us back to the
 5 koppie. I wonder why would Mr Mokoena ask us to accompany
 6 him to the commanding station, if it was not the intention
 7 to hear what the police would advise.

8 MR BURGER SC: So was your answer that
 9 you don't blame Lonmin for not going back to the koppie but
 10 you blame Lonmin for not going to the Commissioner and ask
 11 for guidance?

12 RT REV SEOKA: The property belongs to
 13 Lonmin, the police must have been there on somebody's
 14 instruction or invitation, and I would have expected some
 15 collaboration between the two parties, that would help deal
 16 with the situation as it presented itself.

17 MR BURGER SC: Then your evidence is not
 18 a criticism of Lonmin not going back to the koppie, it is
 19 the criticism of Lonmin not trying to broker a deal with
 20 the Commissioner to go back to the koppie. Is that your
 21 evidence?

22 RT REV SEOKA: No, but the Lonmin
 23 officials took me to the Police Commissioner. I don't know
 24 why, but I still believe that as property owners, and
 25 assuming that the police were there at the company's

Page 1890

1 invitation, Lonmin would have made an effort to go and
 2 address the workers, as I put the request to them.

3 MR BURGER SC: I don't understand the
 4 relevance of Lonmin being the owner, the koppie has been
 5 cordoned off by the police. What does it matter that
 6 Lonmin is the owner of the mine?

7 RT REV SEOKA: Well, in the first
 8 instance, I only knew that the place had been cordoned off
 9 by the police on our way back to the koppie. My
 10 transmission of the message, as given by the workers, was
 11 before that knowledge. I didn't know that. So, Chair,
 12 through you, from the company's office, maybe if the police
 13 had nothing to do with it, we could have been taken back to
 14 the mountain. Why do you think the company officials took
 15 us to the command station, why do you think that was the
 16 case? I don't know. I was never told.

17 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, I will at the end
 18 of this inquiry argue that you have not answered this
 19 proposition, so in fairness to, I will put it for the last
 20 time, and see whether we can get a coherent answer, and I
 21 read again to you on page 1425, line 13. I am asking you
 22 this, and I am inviting an answer. "Lonmin couldn't go
 23 there because the koppie had been cordoned off by the SAPS
 24 in the meantime, on your version." You say "yes," and I
 25 say, "How do you blame Lonmin for that?" What is your, may

Page 1891

1 I interpose, short answer to that proposition?

2 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't know that before
 3 I spoke to them. I only knew about that afterwards, after
 4 I had engaged the police, after I had talked to management.
 5 So as far as I am concerned, there was still a window
 6 opened for engagement, that opportunity that I believe was
 7 missed.

8 MR BURGER SC: No, but just remember the
 9 facts, Bishop, when you walked to the parking garage that
 10 day, before the shooting occurred, you knew full well that
 11 the koppie had been cordoned off, you were told that.

12 RT REV SEOKA: In the first instance, I
 13 never went to any parking garage. I went to the parking
 14 lot.

15 MR BURGER SC: That's what I – yes, the
 16 parking lot, did I say "garage?" I am sorry, it's a rugby
 17 field.

18 RT REV SEOKA: And the second thing, what
 19 you are saying is not true.

20 CHAIRPERSON: Bishop, can I ask a
 21 question at this stage? I have the impression that you and
 22 Mr Burger may be talking at cross purposes. If I am
 23 misunderstanding you, please correct me. I understand you
 24 to be telling us this morning that your complaint against
 25 Lonmin on this part of the case, was that they didn't then,

Page 1892

1 having been told that the police had cordoned off the area,
 2 didn't then go back to the police and say, never mind the
 3 fact that you cordoned it off, we have the Bishop here, who
 4 is preparing to act as a kind of a negotiator, and allow
 5 him and us to go back, under your protection as it were, to
 6 speak to the workers. Am I correct? Is that basically
 7 what you are saying?

8 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, Sir.

9 CHAIRPERSON: You see, you were asked a
 10 question at page 426, lines 12 to 14, "I don't understand
 11 why you blame Lonmin for not being willing to breach the
 12 SAPS 'no go' area. That I don't understand," that's what
 13 Mr Burger said, and then you gave the answer. Now, do I
 14 understand you to say, you didn't – or to be saying, you
 15 weren't suggesting that Lonmin should breach the SAPS "no
 16 go" area, you were suggesting that Lonmin "should use their
 17 influence," if one can use that expression, in quotation
 18 marks, with the police –

19 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

20 CHAIRPERSON: - to persuade them to allow
 21 them and you, under police –

22 RT REV SEOKA: Protection.

23 CHAIRPERSON: - protection, to go and
 24 speak to the workers, is that really –

25 RT REV SEOKA: That's what I am trying to

Page 1893

1 say.

2 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.

3 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, but if this is

4 your version, I don't understand your evidence on page

5 1364, on page 1364, opposite the line 12, you tell us what

6 the Commissioner's view is, it's no good to go to her,

7 she's already told you, "look, Bishop, we are concerned

8 about security, you can negotiate whatever you want to

9 negotiate with management but security is not negotiable."

10 She is not going to allow anybody back to the koppie. I

11 put to you, you never considered to go back to the

12 Commissioner and never did you contemplate Lonmin to go

13 back to this, what you call angry, kort af, Commissioner.

14 RT REV SEOKA: Chair, I will change into

15 Nguni language.

16 MR MAHLANGU: And what language would

17 that be, Bishop?

18 RT REV SEOKA: Zulu.

19 MR BURGER SC: I am sure the interpreter

20 will help me, so please do, Bishop.

21 RT REV SEOKA: If you would please ask

22 that questions clearly again.

23 MR BURGER SC: Oh, okay. As I understand

24 your last answer, penultimate answer, you say what you

25 expected Lonmin to do was to go back and try to arrange

Page 1894

1 with the Commissioner to be allowed to go back to the

2 koppie. Did I paraphrase that correctly?

3 [10:16] RT REV SEOKA: I just assumed that.

4 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, but I then asked

5 how could you assume that talking to the commissioner would

6 facilitate a visit to the koppie, because we know she had

7 told shortly before that security was not negotiable and

8 you told us that she was quite curt with you, quite brief,

9 quite nervous.

10 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. If you remember

11 well, we spoke to the leaders of the company there in their

12 offices, and they suggested we go to the commissioner.

13 They did not say to do what.

14 CHAIRPERSON: They did not say?

15 MR MAHLANGU: They did not say for what

16 purpose we're going there.

17 RT REV SEOKA: When we arrived, the

18 commissioner came, and we spoke to her. She did not say we

19 should not go back. It was only after the arrival of the

20 man that I said was not known to us. On our way to the

21 parking lot, to our vehicle, in order to go back to the

22 mountain. He then called Mokwena aside and spoke to him.

23 It was only then that Mokwena came to us and said, "I am

24 told you cannot go there any more, because this place is

25 now under the control of the police." Why was it not so

Page 1895

1 that the commissioner herself told we cannot go back to the

2 mountain.

3 MR BURGER SC: I don't understand your

4 answer. We may have a language problem, but let me go back

5 to page 1364.

6 RT REV SEOKA: I understand what you are

7 saying, Sir, the problem you've had that you want to change

8 what I'm saying to fit that which you want to be conveyed.

9 MR BURGER SC: No, you're unkind to me,

10 Bishop.

11 RT REV SEOKA: I'm so sorry.

12 MR BURGER SC: We both speak in our

13 second languages, let's bear with each other.

14 RT REV SEOKA: I'm so sorry.

15 MR BURGER SC: Can I ask you to look at

16 page 163 and 164 of the record. 1363, 1364.

17 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

18 MR BURGER SC: This is when you first get

19 introduced to the commissioner. That we see at line 24 on

20 page 1363. She introduced herself as Lieutenant-General

21 Mbombo.

22 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

23 MR BURGER SC: Then you tell us in line 4

24 in English, "She is very anxious and unfriendly." And at

25 line 12, she says, "Look, Bishop, we are concerned about

Page 1896

1 security. You can negotiate whatever you want to negotiate

2 with management, but security is not negotiable." Now, I

3 put to you a simple proposition. You couldn't seriously

4 contemplate that Lonmin must go back to this commissioner

5 and get permission to get onto the koppie, despite the

6 cordoning off. Your answer?

7 RT REV SEOKA: I think I've addressed

8 that issue several times now.

9 MR BURGER SC: I want to go back to the

10 timeline, because it's quite important to know when you

11 were where. On your latest version, you arrived back at

12 the JOC at about 1 o'clock and I say that if you have a

13 look at the record of your evidence at page 1394, lines 8

14 to 16. Line 8 at page 1394 says, The Reverend, "No, I did

15 not say I was at the gate at 1 o'clock, I said arrived at

16 the mine by 1 o'clock. I never said I was at the gate by 1

17 o'clock."

18 And I say, "Can I then understand where at the

19 mine did you arrive at 1? And you say, "I arrived at the

20 JOC. I believed it must have been about 1, because it was

21 eating time – people were eating. I was offered food and

22 therefore I concluded it was lunch time." Do you remember

23 that evidence?

24 RT REV SEOKA: That's true, that's true.

25 The commissioner also mentioned that she was going to look

Page 1897

1 for something to eat. She left and never came back.
 2 MR BURGER SC: I'm only interested in the
 3 time now, so bear with me. Did you have lunch there?
 4 RT REV SEOKA: The chaplain gave us
 5 something to drink, cold drink. I mentioned that the first
 6 person we met there was the chaplain, Chaplain Marogwane
 7 and that he gave us something to eat. After talking to the
 8 commissioner, again we were given food, we were given
 9 sandwiches. Everyone who was there was eating. And,
 10 according to me, it was during the day and this was time
 11 that people were having lunch, it was lunch time.
 12 MR BURGER SC: No, I also get the
 13 impression from your evidence that it's reconstruction.
 14 Because lunch was being served, you assumed it was about 1
 15 o'clock, is that correct?
 16 RT REV SEOKA: I have long been saying
 17 that.
 18 MR BURGER SC: Yes, and we know now that
 19 you meet the chaplain at the JOC and the commissioner at
 20 the JOC.
 21 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 22 MR BURGER SC: And the three managers
 23 from Lonmin?
 24 RT REV SEOKA: No, the managers of Lonmin
 25 brought us there. We didn't find them there.

Page 1898

1 MR BURGER SC: All three managers will
 2 tell the Commission that they met you at the JOC and that's
 3 where your discussion with them took place.
 4 RT REV SEOKA: That is what they are
 5 saying, it's not me who's saying that.
 6 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, I want to put to
 7 you that you came to the JOC on this occasion after 13:30,
 8 probably after 2 o'clock that afternoon. Do you accept
 9 that?
 10 RT REV SEOKA: That's what you are
 11 saying.
 12 MR BURGER SC: No, I'm asking for your
 13 comment to that.
 14 RT REV SEOKA: I've told you when I
 15 believe I was at the JOC, and I also said to you I did not
 16 look at the watch, because it wasn't actually the time that
 17 brought me there, the purpose of being there was to bring
 18 about peace. The peace would have been brought about if
 19 the people had met and had discussed. The request that I
 20 had brought there was that the employees, the workers are
 21 asking the employer to come and talk to them about their
 22 grievances.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: If I can interrupt you and
 24 Mr Burger at this stage, the point that's being discussed
 25 at the moment is the time. Now you've conceded that you

Page 1899

1 estimate that it was about 1 o'clock is a reconstruction.
 2 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: Based mainly I think on the
 4 fact that it appeared to be lunch time, everybody was
 5 eating. Now, there has been evidence, you were shown a
 6 slide, 168, of protestor 6 addressing the crowd, now I take
 7 it protestor 6 wasn't addressing the crowd when you were
 8 there. And the police evidence is, and it may or it may
 9 not be an accurate reconstruction, but the police evidence,
 10 as I understand it, is that took place shortly after 1
 11 o'clock. Now, what essentially is being put to you is
 12 this, that if the police reconstruction as to that event,
 13 namely protestor's 6's address to the crowd having taken
 14 place after 1 o'clock, that seems to indicate that your
 15 reconstruction is possibly not correct. It is based
 16 primarily on the fact it was lunch time. If lunch was late
 17 that day and people were having lunch at say 2 o'clock,
 18 then it would be perfectly consistent with your evidence
 19 really, that you were there not at 1 o'clock, but at 2
 20 o'clock. I think that's the question that's being put to
 21 you. How do you comment on that?
 22 RT REV SEOKA: It's possible.
 23 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, what car were you
 24 driving that day?
 25 RT REV SEOKA: I was not driving, but the

Page 1900

1 car in which I was, was an Audi, I think, X5.
 2 MR BURGER SC: IQ5?
 3 RT REV SEOKA: Ja, IQ5 and the car was
 4 black.
 5 MR BURGER SC: Can I show you a few
 6 photographs in order to try to plat the time when you were
 7 at the koppie, because we have a photograph of you there,
 8 and the police - we can work out the time.
 9 RT REV SEOKA: Sure.
 10 MR BURGER SC: Just before we have a look
 11 at the photographs on the screen, can I ask you to
 12 orientate ourselves as to time, to go to Exhibit L, that's
 13 the police dossier, and just have a look at slide 161.
 14 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I can see that.
 15 MR BURGER SC: And 161, second last
 16 bullet, the police tells us that the leaders of AMCU
 17 addressed the protestors round about 12:35. Now keep that
 18 in mind, and I'm going to ask the first photograph to be
 19 shown, it is photograph DSC3655.
 20 CHAIRPERSON: If the photograph is going
 21 to be shown, it will have to become an exhibit, Mr Burger,
 22 it's not part of the - and the next exhibit then will be
 23 FF.
 24 MR BURGER SC: FF, thank you, Chair.
 25 That is Mr Mathunjwa at the koppie, Bishop, and the police,

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1901</p> <p>1 and we'll have to accept their version until they prove it, 2 but accept for my purposes that he's talking there at 3 13:15. But what I want to put to you for comment is, you 4 arrived at the koppie after Mr Mathunjwa had left, do you 5 accept that?</p> <p>6 RT REV SEOKA: Through you, Chair, I 7 never even heard that there was a Mr Mathunjwa at the 8 koppie. I didn't know who had addressed the workers.</p> <p>9 MR BURGER SC: No, Bishop, I'm asking 10 something else. I'm putting to you for comment that when 11 you arrived at the koppie, that man had already left. You 12 met him subsequently, you know him now, he had left by the 13 time you arrived, that's all I'm putting to you.</p> <p>14 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry, Mr Burger, I 15 understood him to say he didn't see him there at all, so 16 can't admit that he'd already left if he didn't know he was 17 there, so I think again you're speaking past each other. I 18 think I know what you want to establish, but I don't think 19 you can get him to agree that Mathunjwa had already left, 20 if, on his version, he didn't know that Mathunjwa had been 21 there. All you can get him to say is, when he got there, 22 Mathunjwa wasn't there, if he had been there earlier, he 23 must have left. That's what it amounts to, surely, and 24 furthermore, if Mathunjwa was there at 1:15, it follows 25 that he, the bishop, was there later. He already conceded</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1903</p> <p>1 the bishop has claimed that he was negotiating with them, 2 he was talking to them, obtaining –</p> <p>3 MR BURGER SC: I didn't mean anything by 4 that.</p> <p>5 CHAIRPERSON: No, I know you didn't, but 6 in order to avoid misunderstanding later, I'm correcting 7 you, if I may be permitted to do so.</p> <p>8 MR BURGER SC: You were interacting with 9 the group of workers.</p> <p>10 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. I was listening to 11 them telling me what their issues were.</p> <p>12 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry I didn't hear 13 you, what time did you say that photo HH was taken, 14 according to the police.</p> <p>15 MR BURGER SC: 13:47, Chair.</p> <p>16 [10:36] CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.</p> <p>17 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, from that it 18 follows that you probably met the chaplain at the JOC after 19 2 o'clock that afternoon.</p> <p>20 RT REV SEOKA: That's possible.</p> <p>21 MR BURGER SC: Yes, because we know you 22 spent between 15 and 30 minutes with the workers at the 23 koppie.</p> <p>24 RT REV SEOKA: That's possible, yes.</p> <p>25 MR BURGER SC: So we know by the time</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1902</p> <p>1 that in the response to my question that he's been 2 reconstructing. If lunch was late, he was obviously there 3 later, he may have been there at 14:00 or thereabouts, but 4 – so I don't want to interrupt you unduly, but I think this 5 point could be brought together more succinctly, with 6 respect, than you're doing at the moment.</p> <p>7 MR BURGER SC: Shall we have a look at 8 photograph GG. That's photograph DSC3666. You'll have to 9 look at the screen, Bishop.</p> <p>10 RT REV SEOKA: Okay.</p> <p>11 MR BURGER SC: Is that the car in which 12 you and your colleague arrived on that day?</p> <p>13 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>14 MR BURGER SC: There's nobody in that 15 car. We've looked at it, it's empty now, but the police 16 places that photograph being taken at 13:43, about quarter 17 to two. Do you accept that?</p> <p>18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>19 MR BURGER SC: Then HH is the next 20 photograph, ESC3672, and that's you negotiating with those 21 group of people you told us about, and the police put that 22 at about 13:47.</p> <p>23 CHAIRPERSON: I don't know that 24 negotiating is the appropriate expression. As one whose 25 first language is English, I would say that I don't think</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1904</p> <p>1 that you arrived at the JOC the koppie had been cordoned 2 off because we know from an exhibit which is EE now, that 3 there was a special JOCOM meeting on that day, EE, if 4 you'll have a look at that. The heading is, "Special JOCOM 5 meeting 16 August, 2012 at 13:30," and the Police's version 6 is that this lasted till 2 o'clock. So by 2 o'clock these 7 decisions had been taken. Do you accept that?</p> <p>8 RT REV SEOKA: I accept that, but I 9 didn't know.</p> <p>10 MR BURGER SC: And it follows that by the 11 time that you arrived at the JOC, the decisions recorded in 12 paragraph 4 of EE had been taken. "Major-General Annandale 13 informed the meeting that the approach will be as follows, 14 communicate with the group on the koppie to again try to 15 negotiate with them to lay down their weapons and leave the 16 koppie. Protesters must be asked to leave their dangerous 17 weapons on the koppie as they were leaving it. After this 18 was done the protesters that refuse to leave will be 19 searched on the koppie and the whole area will be swept for 20 dangerous weapons, and finally if the protesters refuse to 21 voluntarily lay down weapons and leave the koppie, stage 3 22 of the operation will be implemented as a last resort." 23 You didn't know this, and we also know from page 2 of 24 exhibit EE that stage 3 ends off with a phase 3, which is 25 encircle and disarm.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1905</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know that. I 2 didn't know that. 3 MR BURGER SC: You didn't know that. And 4 at page 3 we are told that by 2 o'clock that afternoon 5 Major-General Annandale had instructed Brigadier Pretorius 6 and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott to report back at the JOC at 7 quarter past 3 as he wanted the operation to commence at 8 3:30. You didn't know that either? 9 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't know that either. 10 MR BURGER SC: But what we know is that 11 shortly after you've spoken to the Lonmin management and 12 the Commissioner, there was a commotion and the helicopters 13 were lifting off at strange angles, correct? 14 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 15 MR BURGER SC: Now the Lonmin management 16 says that they met you round about 3 o'clock that afternoon 17 at the koppie – not at the koppie, at the JOC. Do you 18 accept in view of this timeline that that's probably 19 correct? 20 RT REV SEOKA: No, it's not true. We met 21 the officials at their offices and I think that's a 22 different place to where the police were. We together went 23 to the, what I call the commanding station. We didn't find 24 them there. 25 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, the Lonmin people</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1907</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: Exactly. Exactly. 2 MR BURGER SC: But is your version then 3 that from the koppie you first went to the JOC and then to 4 LPD and then back to the JOC? 5 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. You have to recall 6 that I had said when we left the koppie we didn't know 7 where the offices were. We had been pointed at the 8 facilities. So the first place we went was the place where 9 the chaplain was, and it seems to be the same place where 10 we met, subsequently we came back to meet with the 11 Commissioner. 12 MR BURGER SC: The fact remains, we'll 13 lead the evidence on that. I don't think where you met is, 14 for present purposes I can resolve. What we know is that 15 you accept that you might have seen the lady who lost the 16 family member on the Monday and not on the 16th? 17 RT REV SEOKA: That's possible, yes. 18 MR BURGER SC: But that means that your 19 statement is wrong, Bishop. If you have a look at exhibit 20 M, paragraph 10, go to page 3. It's part of paragraph 10, 21 second line. 22 RT REV SEOKA: What's the number of the – 23 MR BURGER SC: It is exhibit M, page 3 of 24 your witness statement. 25 RT REV SEOKA: Oh, okay, sorry. Exhibit</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1906</p> <p>1 think you're mistaken on meeting them at what is called 2 LPD. You met them at LPD on the next Monday, the 20th. 3 It's on that occasion that the lady who had lost her family 4 member was pointed out to you, on the 20th, the Monday. Her 5 name is Constance Mgobhozi – M-G-O-B-H-O-Z-I – and it may 6 not be necessary, but if it is necessary she's willing to 7 come tell the Commission that she saw you on the 20th and 8 not on the 16th. Do you accept that? 9 RT REV SEOKA: That could be true, but 10 I'm saying to you the first time I met these gentlemen was 11 on the 16th at their offices at the reception area, and 12 together we went to the Commissioner's area. 13 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry, Bishop, was that 14 a separate building? 15 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, it was. At the 16 offices of the company there is a reception area and we 17 went inside into that reception area. Where we met the 18 Police there is I think a search facility and we were 19 standing outside. We never went into any building. We 20 were outside. 21 MR BURGER SC: Who took you to these 22 managers, Bishop? 23 RT REV SEOKA: It's the chaplain. 24 MR BURGER SC: You didn't meet the 25 chaplain at LPD, you met the chaplain at the JOC.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1908</p> <p>1 M. 2 MR BURGER SC: Sorry, there are so many 3 papers, Bishop. 4 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 5 MR BURGER SC: Second line you say, "Mr 6 Kgotle said that the mine management would not meet the 7 workers because they were criminals and murderers." Now 8 they reject that version, and we've been there. You go on, 9 "When we asked why he called them murderers, Mr Kgotle said 10 that they had killed their people, including security 11 personnel. By "their people" I understood him to be 12 referring to some of the 10 people who were killed on the 13 13th of August. Mr Kgotle pointed out a woman at 14 reception." Now that's not correct. I think we've agreed 15 that that was on Monday the 20th. 16 RT REV SEOKA: No, I said it is possible 17 that it could have been a different date. I never said it 18 was on – on my recollection I believe it was the first time 19 I met Mr Kgotle, because the three gentlemen were there. 20 If they say it's a Monday, it's possible, but my conviction 21 – 22 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, if I read this 23 paragraph you suggest in this statement that you saw the 24 lady on the 16th of August. 25 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p>

Page 1909

1 MR BURGER SC: We've now agreed you
 2 didn't see her on the 16th. You accept that?
 3 CHAIRPERSON: No, I understood him to say
 4 that it is possible that he was mistaken, he thinks it was
 5 the 16th; it could have been the 20th. I don't recall him
 6 saying categorically he was wrong and it was definitely on
 7 the 20th.
 8 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, let's get clarity
 9 on that. You said to me that may be true when I put to you
 10 the lady's statement. Do you accept her statement to be
 11 true that she saw you on the 20th and not the 16th?
 12 RT REV SEOKA: I can't say it's true. I
 13 believe that the truth is what I'm telling you, but it is
 14 possible that she may have seen me on the day she claims to
 15 have seen me. We never spoke to each other. She was
 16 pointed at.
 17 MR BURGER SC: I want on this issue also
 18 to put to you what Mr Kgotle will say he did tell you at
 19 the JOC on the 16th of August. Mr Kgotle will say that this
 20 was his first encounter with you on the 16th and it took
 21 place round about 3 o'clock, outside the JOC.
 22 RT REV SEOKA: Ja, but that's Mr Kgotle's
 23 version.
 24 MR BURGER SC: Yes. He said both Mr
 25 Mokoena and Mr Kwadi knew you, which was the impression he

Page 1910

1 had. He said that you told them that you'd been to the
 2 koppie and that the employees wanted to meet with
 3 management.
 4 RT REV SEOKA: I used the word "Mkashe"
 5 because that's the word used by them.
 6 MR BURGER SC: He then responded that for
 7 safety reasons they were unable to risk their lives; 10
 8 people had already lost their lives. There's an
 9 established procedure and that management is happy to meet
 10 with the workers within the parameters of an established
 11 procedure.
 12 RT REV SEOKA: That would be his words,
 13 not mine.
 14 MR BURGER SC: Yes. Can I deal with
 15 another subject hopefully briefly, and I want to understand
 16 why you didn't go back to the koppie on the second
 17 occasion. We know that your first visit was without leave
 18 of either the Police or Lonmin. Is that correct?
 19 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 20 MR BURGER SC: We know that for the
 21 second visit you did not require the leave of Lonmin.
 22 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 23 MR BURGER SC: But you didn't go back to
 24 the koppie. Why is that?
 25 RT REV SEOKA: Ja, but I did go to the

Page 1911

1 koppie.
 2 MR BURGER SC: No, the second time. The
 3 second time.
 4 RT REV SEOKA: My second time going to
 5 the koppie was on a Monday.
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Bishop, I think what Mr
 7 Burger is concerned with is you didn't return to the koppie
 8 on the 16th.
 9 MR BURGER SC: Yes.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: You deal with that as a
 11 matter of fact in paragraph 14 and following of your
 12 original statement, which is exhibit M, and he wants to
 13 know the full reasons as to why you didn't go back to the
 14 koppie on the 16th of August. Is that correct, Mr Burger?
 15 MR BURGER SC: Yes, indeed, Mr Chair.
 16 Thank you.
 17 RT REV SEOKA: Chair, I must say first of
 18 all that I was being confused by the use of phrase "second
 19 time." Now I understand the way you have put it –
 20 CHAIRPERSON: That is why I intervened to
 21 try to remove the confusion.
 22 RT REV SEOKA: Thank you. Nobody stopped
 23 me from going there initially, but the second time I went,
 24 as I was preparing to go back I was then stopped.
 25 MR BURGER SC: Who stopped you, Bishop?

Page 1912

1 RT REV SEOKA: Mr Mokoena said, "You
 2 cannot go back there."
 3 MR BURGER SC: We've established you
 4 don't need Lonmin's permission. That you've said to us
 5 last time. So Mr Mokoena can't stop you.
 6 RT REV SEOKA: It's true I did not need
 7 permission.
 8 MR BURGER SC: So why didn't you go back
 9 to the koppie on the 16th for the second time?
 10 RT REV SEOKA: It's because he did say
 11 that I cannot go back there, and I saw him talking to this
 12 man and he said to me, "You cannot go back there." He said
 13 it was cordoned off by the Police and it's a security risk,
 14 and I would have been naive actually to go back there when
 15 I saw with my own eyes helicopters taking off and there was
 16 a lot of frantic movement happening there.
 17 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, I accept that. It
 18 would have been a most inappropriate venture by you to try
 19 to go back to the koppie at that time of that fateful
 20 Thursday afternoon. I agree with that. That was because
 21 the koppie had been cordoned off and the Police were moving
 22 in.
 23 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 24 MR BURGER SC: And your position was
 25 exactly the same as that of Lonmin at that point in time.

Page 1913

1 They couldn't simply go back to the koppie. It had been
 2 cordoned off and the Police were moving in.
 3 [10:56] RT REV SEOKA: In my knowledge not before
 4 we were told, because we had been there and if it had been
 5 cordoned off by the police, who were present on our
 6 arrival, they would have stopped us. They did not stop us.
 7 If the Police or anybody had said to us don't go there,
 8 it's dangerous, and indeed you can see it was dangerous and
 9 we are going to be breaking law by going there, we would
 10 not have done that because we were not there to break law.
 11 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, that doesn't
 12 answer my question, but let's go carefully on the timeline.
 13 We know that by the time that you were at the koppie,
 14 quarter to 2, the cordoning off hasn't been announced yet.
 15 That gets announced at 2 o'clock that afternoon, so it's
 16 probably not cordoned off when you were there. Chair, I
 17 have one subject, shortish, to deal with still but I won't
 18 be able to finish it before 11. Is this perhaps a
 19 convenient time?
 20 CHAIRPERSON: It is a convenient time and
 21 the Commission will adjourn for tea.
 22 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
 23 [11:22] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
 24 You are still under oath, Bishop. Mr Burger, you are still
 25 cross-examining.

Page 1914

1 MR BURGER SC: Thank you, Chair. Bishop,
 2 you went to the koppie on the 16th of August as a
 3 peacemaker.
 4 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 5 MR BURGER SC: And a peacemaker should
 6 have many attributes, but can I just put three to you, and
 7 see whether we can agree that firstly, a peacemaker should
 8 be independent.
 9 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 10 MR BURGER SC: A peacemaker should listen
 11 to both sides to the dispute.
 12 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 13 MR BURGER SC: And the peacemaker should
 14 try to understand the background to the dispute.
 15 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 16 MR BURGER SC: Now let me start with the
 17 third one, first, the understanding of the background to
 18 the dispute. We know that when you went there on the 16th,
 19 you really did not know what had gone before in those
 20 fateful days starting on the 9th of August, apart from what
 21 you might have seen on the TV and read in the newspapers.
 22 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 23 MR BURGER SC: You had not even heard of
 24 AMCU, who was one of the main of the protagonists in the
 25 dispute.

Page 1915

1 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. And it's also so
 2 with NUM.
 3 MR BURGER SC: If we look at the second
 4 prerequisite for a peacemaker that I've referred to, that
 5 is to listen to both sides, you tell us how you listened to
 6 the sides in your statement, exhibit M at page 8. This is
 7 how you listened to the striking workers. You say, "We
 8 introduced ourselves in detail, and offered whatever
 9 assistance we could give to resolve the situation."
 10 Bishop, I am wrong, it's page 2, paragraph 8, I am sorry,
 11 paragraph 8, and I read you the first sentence.
 12 MR HANABE: Which one is it? Which
 13 document are you talking about? Is that -
 14 MR BURGER SC: M.
 15 MR HANABE: Is that your statement?
 16 MR BURGER SC: No, your statement exhibit
 17 M.
 18 MR HANABE: Oh, okay. Page 2?
 19 MR BURGER SC: Page 2, paragraph 8, let
 20 me read to you again. I am really dealing with what you
 21 knew of the stances of the two sides to the dispute. I am
 22 now dealing with the striking workers, paragraph 8, let me
 23 read the whole paragraph to you, and then the interpreter
 24 can interpret it back. "We introduced ourselves in detail,
 25 and offered whatever assistance we could give to resolve

Page 1916

1 the situation. The workers' leaders told us about their
 2 experiences of being shot at by the mine security personnel
 3 and NUM officials. We were informed that we should secure
 4 the attendance of Mkhwazi," loosely translated is the
 5 employer or the management, "to come to the koppie and
 6 address the workers. The second request was for food and
 7 water."
 8 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 9 MR BURGER SC: In fact you explain that
 10 more fully in your evidence-in-chief, if you have a look at
 11 the record, the transcription, page 1358 of the transcript,
 12 and you now give us some more detail of your discussion
 13 with the workers at the koppie. 1358, line 6, "We said to
 14 them we had seen in the television and the newspapers that
 15 there was a stand off between them and the company, and as
 16 church representatives, we wanted to know how we can help,
 17 and therefore we were in there specifically to help them
 18 communicate or deal with the issue that has brought them to
 19 the koppie," and you add, "the response was that they were
 20 at the mountain because they went to put their demands
 21 before the company, and they were met and shot at by the
 22 security personnel and some of the officials from the NUM
 23 trade union." That's very briefly what you understand from
 24 their side of the story, the workers' side, is that
 25 correct?

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1917</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: That is correct.</p> <p>2 MR BURGER SC: And Lonmin's stance, you</p> <p>3 explained to us what you knew about that, and that is in</p> <p>4 exhibit M, your statement, in that paragraph 10, that we've</p> <p>5 read before where you spoke with the Lonmin people and you</p> <p>6 told us what they told you. That's really the totality of</p> <p>7 what you had known of Lonmin's stance to the dispute?</p> <p>8 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, Sir.</p> <p>9 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger, I think the</p> <p>10 bishop then did go on in his statement, having said what</p> <p>11 you've referred to in para 10, about the stance of Lonmin.</p> <p>12 He dealt with it further in para 13, where he says that</p> <p>13 after those things had happened, and after they had spoken</p> <p>14 to the Commissioner of Police and so forth, and the</p> <p>15 helicopters had taken off in the air, Mr Mokoena said, "we</p> <p>16 should return to the koppie, tell the striking miners, mine</p> <p>17 management will only talk to them if firstly, they</p> <p>18 surrender their weapons, secondly they elect between five</p> <p>19 or eight to represent them, and thirdly they disperse from</p> <p>20 the koppie." So that I think is necessary for the purposes</p> <p>21 of completeness in regard to what the bishop says Lonmin's</p> <p>22 attitude was.</p> <p>23 MR BURGER SC: Let me put that to him,</p> <p>24 Chair, thank you. You've heard what the Judge has said,</p> <p>25 Bishop.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1919</p> <p>1 paragraph 32, it limits itself to the 16th of August. Why</p> <p>2 is that if you deal with the broader moral dimension of</p> <p>3 this tragedy?</p> <p>4 RT REV SEOKA: It's because as I said, on</p> <p>5 the first day of giving my testimony, I will speak on my</p> <p>6 personal experience what I saw, what I heard and what I</p> <p>7 said. I am trying to limit myself to that experience, but</p> <p>8 broad moral issues extend beyond that, because I am looking</p> <p>9 at how this process taking place here will contribute</p> <p>10 towards harmony, co-operation and peace for the country.</p> <p>11 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger, you will</p> <p>12 remember that when he came to this part of his evidence, I</p> <p>13 wouldn't allow him and nor would I allow Mr Mpofu who was</p> <p>14 leading him, to cover the matter contained in paragraph</p> <p>15 32.3 and following, because I said it wasn't relevant to</p> <p>16 this phase of the proceedings, and I asked him to confine</p> <p>17 himself to the events up to the 16th, so I just mention,</p> <p>18 just remind you of that.</p> <p>19 MR BURGER SC: Chair, I am painfully</p> <p>20 aware of that, and I am only addressing 32.1 and 32.2, if</p> <p>21 you will permit me. Bishop, you are a very senior</p> <p>22 clergyman, you have been involved in this matter and you</p> <p>23 are now expressing what you term the broader moral</p> <p>24 dimension. What I would like to understand from you is why</p> <p>25 you limit this part of your evidence to the 16th of August,</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1918</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>2 MR BURGER SC: That is also a version you</p> <p>3 give, it's disputed by the Lonmin people but that you also</p> <p>4 knew about their willingness or unwillingness to talk to</p> <p>5 the workers, and on what terms.</p> <p>6 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>7 MR BURGER SC: And on the third question</p> <p>8 of the independence of the peacemaker, we see that in your</p> <p>9 statement in M, in paragraph 32, you deal with the broader</p> <p>10 moral dimensions of the crises. Now this statement is made</p> <p>11 on the 12th of November 2012, correct?</p> <p>12 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>13 MR BURGER SC: By then, you knew about</p> <p>14 the events which preceded the 16th of August.</p> <p>15 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>16 MR BURGER SC: You knew that 10 people</p> <p>17 had lost their lives prior to the 16th of August?</p> <p>18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>19 MR BURGER SC: By the time you make your</p> <p>20 statement, you know that of those 10 people were members of</p> <p>21 the Lonmin staff and members of the SAPS.</p> <p>22 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know the members</p> <p>23 of SAPS but am aware that there were members of Lonmin and</p> <p>24 the workers.</p> <p>25 MR BURGER SC: Now if we read your</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1920</p> <p>1 and let me be more direct, why you don't deal with the 10</p> <p>2 people who lost their lives after the 9th of August, as if</p> <p>3 that's not part of the moral challenge we face?</p> <p>4 RT REV SEOKA: I said through you, Chair,</p> <p>5 that other events I did not know except what I had seen on</p> <p>6 television and in newspapers. The experience I am</p> <p>7 presenting here, is that of the 16th.</p> <p>8 MR BURGER SC: That's not correct,</p> <p>9 Bishop, you tell us about the planting of weapons on</p> <p>10 bodies. You don't know anything about that, with the</p> <p>11 greatest of respect, but you write about that in your moral</p> <p>12 dissertation.</p> <p>13 RT REV SEOKA: That's your</p> <p>14 interpretation.</p> <p>15 MR BURGER SC: But then your answer is</p> <p>16 not correct, that you simply limit yourself to events</p> <p>17 you've witnessed. That's not correct.</p> <p>18 RT REV SEOKA: In this instance, yes.</p> <p>19 MR BURGER SC: I beg your pardon?</p> <p>20 RT REV SEOKA: In this instance, yes,</p> <p>21 because the Chairperson had told us to limit ourselves to</p> <p>22 the 16th.</p> <p>23 MR BURGER SC: No, Bishop, this side of</p> <p>24 the inquiry is concerned with the events of the 9th to the</p> <p>25 16th of December – August, the death of 44 people, that's</p>

Page 1921

1 what we are concerned with.

2 RT REV SEOKA: Ja, you are right about

3 that, but my experience and my knowledge which is first-

4 hand, is that of the 16th. But when you address moral

5 issues, you need to be broader in your thinking, because

6 you are trying to point at things that should be avoided if

7 the consequences are going to be negative. And if the

8 consequences are going to be positive, they should also be

9 addressed.

10 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, what is your view

11 on the death of the people, the 10 people from the 9th to

12 the 14th of August, the moral side of that, what is your

13 view on that?

14 RT REV SEOKA: I think I should say first

15 of all that it is regrettable, and morally unacceptable.

16 Nobody has the right to take anybody's life, and for the

17 sanctity of life is a very critical thing in our moral

18 teachings.

19 MR BURGER SC: And when you considered

20 the moral and cultural dimensions of this, at the time that

21 you wrote your statement on the 12th November, you held that

22 view also in respect of those 10 people.

23 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. There I even think

24 about those people who died in the farmlands of the Western

25 Cape. That's what I referred to as broad perspective of

Page 1922

1 looking at moral issues.

2 MR BURGER SC: What I don't understand is

3 that you address these moral and cultural dimensions and

4 you refer to a story you've read somewhere, of the planting

5 of weapons among dead bodies, but you do not express any

6 view on the 10 people who had lost their lives shortly

7 before the 16th which you knew about when you wrote your

8 statement. That's what I don't follow.

9 RT REV SEOKA: No, I didn't know about

10 that, except that which I saw on television and newspapers.

11 I said to you that when I was in the premises of – or in

12 the area of the mine, I never saw any signs of people

13 having killed there. Nobody pointed at any of the signs

14 that somebody was lying there dead. I only saw that when

15 you gave me this book.

16 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, will you read with

17 me your statement M, page 3, please? There you say five

18 lines from the top, you are now talking to the Lonmin

19 people on the 16th of August, exhibit M, page 3, six lines

20 from the top. "By their people, I understood him to be

21 referring to some of the 10 people who were killed on the

22 13th of August." Of course you knew about these people by

23 the 16th.

24 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I've said that

25 repeatedly. I saw it on the television, I read about it on

Page 1923

1 newspapers.

2 MR BURGER SC: Lonmin people told you

3 that 10 people had lost their lives.

4 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

5 MR BURGER SC: Why don't you address that

6 in your moral dissertation in paragraph 32?

7 RT REV SEOKA: It's inclusive.

8 MR BURGER SC: Where is that included?

9 Let us read that, because we would be relieved to find it

10 in paragraph 32. Gives us the passage please.

11 [11:42] RT REV SEOKA: No, the passage I've just

12 given to you that even as I sit here today, prior to what

13 has happened in the Western Cape, that statement is now

14 inclusive of what is going on in our country.

15 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, we will submit at

16 the end of this half of the Commission that your paragraph

17 32 dealing with the morality of the situation is not

18 independent and it should at the least have expressed a

19 view on the moral implications of the people who lost their

20 lives between the 9th and the 14th of August, of which you

21 were aware. Do you have a comment to that?

22 RT REV SEOKA: That's your opinion. I

23 can't comment on what you think and want to say. That's

24 your choice, really.

25 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, we initially

Page 1924

1 understood that you would be called by the Legal Resources

2 Centre, but when you are giving evidence now you give it on

3 behalf of what is termed "the victims." What I would like

4 to understand, those victims, do that include the 10 people

5 who died before the 16th, or do you only speak for the

6 victims of the 16th?

7 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, through you, Chair.

8 I had been given the opportunity, the massacre of the 16th

9 would not have happened if we had cooperated with each

10 other. That would have been prevented.

11 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, but Bishop –

12 RT REV SEOKA: I was not there on the

13 previous days. There was nothing I could do about it. I

14 did not intend doing anything except maybe to address that

15 on a moral basis.

16 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, can I just put the

17 question, while I remember it. The point I think being put

18 to you is that if you'd been given – on the basis of what

19 you say, if you'd been given the opportunity to act as you

20 wanted to act on the 16th, the killings on the 16th might

21 have been avoided. But that wouldn't have detracted from

22 the fact that the 10 killings before that had already

23 happened. I think that's the thrust of what Mr Burger is

24 putting. Is that correct, Mr Burger?

25 MR BURGER SC: Indeed, Chair.

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1925</p> <p>1 CHAIRPERSON: Interpreter, you can have 2 your chance to interpret both what was put earlier and what 3 I've asked. 4 MR BURGER SC: And in order to fill the 5 silence, let me add to that. We have a statement on 6 morality where the only two relevant states that we see is 7 32.1 and 32.2, is pointing at Lonmin and the Police. I 8 don't see anything in this moral statement on the 9 advisability of an unprotected strike, of carrying weapons 10 - which you've taken off dead policemen - onto a koppie, of 11 mutilating security staff. I see nothing of that or the 12 morality of those acts here, and I ask why, Bishop? 13 RT REV SEOKA: Because I did not know in 14 the first instance that the strike was unprotected. I 15 didn't know that. That comes up in the process of our 16 conversation with the three gentlemen from Lonmin. 17 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, I must put to you 18 that your role of peacemaker was badly undermined by your 19 absence of trying to understand the background to the 20 dispute when you walked in on the 16th of August. 21 RT REV SEOKA: That's your opinion. I 22 don't believe that. 23 MR BURGER SC: May I just in conclusion 24 put two short portions from two witnesses who will be 25 called by Lonmin. One is from Mr Barnard Mokoena, and can</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1927</p> <p>1 that. I'm honest about it. I think he's a man of 2 integrity and he's not capable of that kind of untruth. 3 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, I'm putting to you 4 a statement signed by Mr Mokoena. Will you trust me on 5 that and just give me your comments, please? 6 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know. That's what 7 you are telling me, but I'm saying to you having now known 8 Mr Mokoena, having dealt with Mr Mokoena, I don't believe 9 he said that. 10 MR BURGER SC: Thank you, Chair. 11 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya, do you have 12 cross-examination for the Bishop? 13 MR SEMENYA SC: Yes, I do, Chair. 14 RT REV SEOKA: Chair, I must thank Mr 15 Burger because I thought he was finished with me the first 16 day we had countered each other. Thank you very much for – 17 CHAIRPERSON: As we've heard before, the 18 expression "finished with" is ambiguous. 19 RT REV SEOKA: I hope we are done now for 20 good. Sorry, Sir. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Bishop. Can I 22 take you back to the evidence relating to footballers and 23 their use of muti. You recall your evidence there? 24 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I do. 25 MR SEMENYA SC: And I understood your</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1926</p> <p>1 I just put this to you. He will say that while he was at 2 the JOC he received a call from you and you requested to 3 meet with management. He advised you that he was at the 4 JOC. Any comment? 5 RT REV SEOKA: It can't be true. I never 6 knew who Mokoena was. Where would I have gotten his 7 number? Actually I don't even believe that Mokoena could 8 say that under oath, now that I know who he is and I have 9 had some dealings with him. I don't believe he could say 10 that under oath. 11 MR BURGER SC: Bishop, he will also deny 12 that he told you that you should return to the koppie and 13 tell the strikers to elect five to eight representatives, 14 whereafter the management would meet with these 15 representatives. He said he never said that. 16 RT REV SEOKA: That's what he says, but 17 that's what I have said in my statement also. So the two 18 statements need to be tested then. 19 MR BURGER SC: He will also tell the 20 Commission that he knows that you had a discussion with 21 General Mbombo, but he was not part of that discussion and 22 he did not know what was discussed between the two of you. 23 RT REV SEOKA: Chair, I find this really 24 unfair on Mr Mokoena. I think it's not true. I don't 25 believe Mokoena would say that. I really don't believe</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1928</p> <p>1 evidence to be that they would use the muti and still lose 2 some of the games. Is that right? 3 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 4 MR SEMENYA SC: And as if that's not 5 enough, they would go to the following game, still using 6 the muti? 7 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 8 MR SEMENYA SC: And that doesn't point to 9 them being stupid? 10 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 11 MR SEMENYA SC: Can I start with you on 12 the light side of things. I have watched football many 13 times, Bishop. At one point I would see a penalty taker 14 take a cross across the chest and to look in the sky and 15 miss the penalty. Have you observed something like that? 16 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, that's true. The 17 difference is though, Sir, that I've seen players doing 18 that also when they have achieved something. 19 MR SEMENYA SC: I'm going there. 20 RT REV SEOKA: Okay. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: Undeterred, in my 22 example, they would still go the following weekend to take 23 the penalty, still doing the cross sign. Right? 24 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 25 MR SEMENYA SC: And even when they score</p>

Page 1929

1 they really look up the sky and in acknowledgement of that
 2 divine intervention.
 3 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 4 MR SEMENYA SC: But that does not make
 5 them stupid either, correct?
 6 RT REV SEOKA: No.
 7 MR SEMENYA SC: So it is a matter of
 8 faith in whatever the individuals have in what they are
 9 doing. Isn't that correct, Bishop?
 10 RT REV SEOKA: Not really. I think
 11 there's a difference between faith and belief.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: At least in examples of
 13 those who look up into the sky, it is faith, right?
 14 RT REV SEOKA: For those who look up to
 15 the sky it is faith, yes I agree.
 16 MR SEMENYA SC: And those who use
 17 "Ntelezi" is belief?
 18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 19 MR SEMENYA SC: But then one thing common
 20 to both of them is that their conduct is moved by their
 21 belief or their faith.
 22 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 23 MR SEMENYA SC: And to them there is a
 24 deep seated understanding and belief of faith that that
 25 which they do is in furtherance of their own interests.

Page 1930

1 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 2 MR SEMENYA SC: We propose to lead an
 3 expert anthropologist who will tell us what the belief
 4 system is of those who use "Ntelezi."
 5 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 6 MR SEMENYA SC: That's not your area of
 7 expertise to contradict that type of evidence. Am I
 8 correct, Bishop?
 9 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 10 MR SEMENYA SC: And if I'm moved to go
 11 there, I will show you slides of many men on the 16th of
 12 August who were performing their rituals there. You can
 13 accept it?
 14 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. I'm not sure though,
 15 Sir, that people who use "Ntelezi," when they have achieved
 16 their goal, or if they go to war for instance, they come
 17 back and use "Ntelezi." I don't know that, but I know that
 18 Christians will make that cross in the faith of Jesus and
 19 when they have achieved what they have achieved, aimed at,
 20 they'll come back and do the same thing and be thankful to
 21 God. That much I know. So I know the benefits of having
 22 faith in Jesus, who is the Messiah. That I know. That's
 23 why I believe these people who come back and say thank you
 24 God for affording me my desires, do that. I don't know why
 25 is it that the others don't come back and use "ntelezi"

Page 1931

1 after that. I know that there's always celebration,
 2 accompanied by slaughtering of a beast, but that has
 3 nothing to do with "ntelezi." Those are two different
 4 functions. I mean I'm talking now a culture.
 5 MR SEMENYA SC: This Bishop, I defer to
 6 you on matters, faith. I am prodding matters, belief, and
 7 not even culture.
 8 RT REV SEOKA: Okay. Thank you.
 9 MR SEMENYA SC: The expert will tell the
 10 Commission that once they have undergone that type of
 11 ritual they would think themselves invincible. That is not
 12 a matter you are able to contradict, Bishop. Am I correct?
 13 RT REV SEOKA: Basically speaking and in
 14 terms of my faith I can dispute that.
 15 MR SEMENYA SC: No Bishop, I'm very
 16 circumspect. I'm not testing matters faith. I am very
 17 particular that it is the matters of belief on which the
 18 evidence will be tendered. I'm saying once that evidence
 19 is given, we are not going to rely on your opinion to
 20 contradict that. Am I correct?
 21 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 22 [12:02] MR SEMENYA SC: Now can I move to
 23 something a little bit more serious, Bishop. You tell us
 24 that in 40 years as a priest, Police in this country can
 25 never be trusted. That's a very, very harsh and stringent

Page 1932

1 opinion you express there, Bishop, isn't it?
 2 RT REV SEOKA: But I thought it's my
 3 opinion. Maybe we could qualify and say, not all of them.
 4 I know for instance a policeman – alive who – at least that
 5 what he was known for in the community. His argument was
 6 that his job is to correct the wrongs that people were
 7 doing. So not all of them fall under the same category.
 8 MR SEMENYA SC: You see, Bishop, I want
 9 to rely on your moral authority. You told us that you
 10 command that type of respect, given your position.
 11 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: Now the Police have about
 13 70 000 members. You're not referring to these people as
 14 untrustworthy, are you?
 15 RT REV SEOKA: I've just said, not all of
 16 them.
 17 MR SEMENYA SC: But then, Bishop, I'm
 18 going to invite you to retract that statement you said in
 19 your evidence-in-chief, that the 40 years experience you
 20 have has brought you to the conclusion that Police in this
 21 country can never be trusted. Please withdraw that if it
 22 is not completely correct.
 23 RT REV SEOKA: Given the evidence, Sir,
 24 of what, that has been given here, it will be very
 25 difficult to do that. I can say that Police are also human

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1933</p> <p>1 beings and therefore they differ. There are good 2 policemen, respectable, but there are also bad ones that 3 have brought disgrace to the office of a police. 4 MR SEMENYA SC: That, Bishop, is even 5 pretty measured. That is tempered. What I'm putting to 6 you is that what you said in evidence-in-chief is not 7 tempered, is not measured, and I invite you to withdraw it. 8 RT REV SEOKA: I have difficulty with 9 that. 10 MR SEMENYA SC: You do concede, don't 11 you, that there are a whole number of people who will 12 attest to lives saved by these men and women? 13 RT REV SEOKA: That's true, based on what 14 I've said about the Police community, that's true. 15 MR SEMENYA SC: The law in this country 16 posits the responsibility of law enforcement on these men 17 and women. You accept that? 18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I do believe that 19 Police are there to protect people, isn't it? And to guide 20 us, not to break the law. Actually why I said, if the 21 Police had told me not to go back to the koppie, I would 22 not have done that because it would be breaking the law. 23 MR SEMENYA SC: And for that reason it is 24 important that the people repose responsibility and trust 25 in this single entity on which the Constitution rests the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1935</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: Thank you, I'll try. 2 MR SEMENYA SC: Second thing I would like 3 to put to you as a proposition is that by far the majority 4 of men and women in uniform do good work. 5 RT REV SEOKA: Absolutely. 6 MR SEMENYA SC: And at times at risk of 7 life and limb to themselves. 8 RT REV SEOKA: I agree. 9 MR SEMENYA SC: In your evidence-in-chief 10 you go so far as to say you wouldn't even trust them with 11 taking your own statement down. 12 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 13 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, sorry, once again 14 I don't want to interrupt. That proposition is not 15 correct. That statement was made under a cross – 16 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, Mr Mpofu, the 17 passage to which Mr Semenya is referring is at page 1400 – 18 MR MPOFU: Yes. 19 CHAIRPERSON: And the passage I take it 20 that he is specifically referring to is lines 20 to 24. 21 MR MPOFU: Can I just – 22 CHAIRPERSON: I suggest that you look at 23 that passage first and then reconsider whether you wish to 24 object, because it seems to me that what counsel is putting 25 is a fair summary of the passage. Perhaps it would be</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1934</p> <p>1 obligation, Bishop. Wouldn't you agree? 2 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I agree. 3 MR SEMENYA SC: And an opinion of a 4 bishop would be very strong in helping build confidence on 5 an institution that has that as its responsibility. You 6 would agree with that, Bishop? 7 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. Let me give you an 8 example. I go to the police station here at Marikana on a 9 Sunday afternoon and I am told who to find and to put my 10 request. I'm told to sit on a bench and the Police come in 11 with a young lad and he's handcuffed and he's taken into 12 some corner there. So I stood up and I went to the police 13 person who was doing the writing, I said, "Surely he must 14 be under age, isn't it? Why would you put handcuffs on 15 him?" and the answer I got, "He runs away." The age thing 16 was never discussed – he runs away. Now is that a good 17 reason for handcuffing a child? It's not, and so my moral 18 obligation is to say to the policeman, "You can do better 19 than that." So I would want our Police to do better 20 [inaudible] they're breaking the law themselves. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, I don't have any 22 knowledge of the example you are giving us. I would 23 implore you to stay within the focus of my questions so 24 that I don't get myself outside my focus. Can you help me 25 with that?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1936</p> <p>1 convenient if we ask Mr Semenya to read the passage out so 2 we know exactly what was said, and then we can proceed. 3 MR MPOFU: No, that's not the point, 4 Chairman. If I can finish my sentence? The proposition 5 that was put is that what the Chairman is saying now was 6 said in examination-in-chief, which is not correct. That's 7 all I'm pointing out. 8 CHAIRPERSON: Did you lead the witness, 9 Mr Mpofu? Did you? 10 MR MPOFU: Yes. 11 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, now if you look at 12 the page I referred you to, which is page 1400, you will 13 see that the page immediately before it, which is page 14 1399, indicates – no, I beg your pardon, you're quite 15 right. Mr Burger was cross-examining – 16 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson – 17 CHAIRPERSON: And you make comments on 18 page 1399, but that was by way of an objection. So the 19 point you make is that it is not correct to say that was 20 said in examination-in-chief, is correct. So to that 21 extent your objection is upheld. 22 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. 23 CHAIRPERSON: Was that the only basis of 24 the objection? 25 MR MPOFU: It was, Chairperson, thank</p>

Page 1937

1 you.

2 CHAIRPERSON: So we can proceed then, Mr

3 Semenya, on the basis that that's what the witness said in

4 cross-examination. I'm not sure whether it makes a

5 difference whether someone said something in cross-

6 examination or examination-in-chief, but perhaps Mr Mpfu

7 will explain to us later why there is that important

8 distinction, but would you please proceed?

9 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Chair, I'm

10 enlightened. Bishop, can we go back now and deal with

11 that? The proposition I'm putting to you is that – and

12 perhaps the Chair is correct, can I read what appears as

13 your answer on page 1400 of the transcript, and perhaps can

14 I start from line 17 where you say, "Police in this

15 country, and there's enough to say about how they have

16 tried to plant things on people and change statements that

17 you have given. I personally have been to the police

18 station to make a statement. I have to ask the Police can

19 I write it myself so I can easily say to you I was not

20 there when this was written, so I don't know whether it is

21 a fact and I must tell you, I don't trust a police person."

22 I'm inviting, I'm putting it to you, Bishop, that that's

23 too strong a statement to make again from a bishop.

24 RT REV SEOKA: I actually find it very

25 difficult to argue with you, except to say that if you look

Page 1938

1 at the Police in this country, in America, and in England,

2 they behave differently. In England I would stop when I

3 see a bobby and ask whatever the question is. In this

4 country I hesitate, I look for a civilian to ask a

5 question.

6 MR SEMENYA SC: It may very well be how

7 you –

8 RT REV SEOKA: So that's why I say it's

9 my opinion.

10 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, if that was said

11 by Joe Soap, it would not bother me. I'm troubled because

12 it is said by somebody of such moral standing and authority

13 in our civic society. That's why I'm trawling this with

14 you. Do you want to temper that statement?

15 RT REV SEOKA: You know, Chair, I

16 actually do have police who I relate to very well. I do

17 have police in my church who are lay ministers. I do have

18 police that I trust, but I do believe that most of the

19 people in this country, they don't trust the Police, and

20 I'm one of those.

21 CHAIRPERSON: Bishop, it sounds to me as

22 if you really have tempered the statement, or qualified it

23 by implication. What you said was, page 1400, line, starts

24 at line 15, "I can tell you, having been a priest for

25 almost 40 years now, police in this country can never be

Page 1939

1 trusted. Police in this country, there's enough to say

2 about how they've tried to plant things on people, change

3 statements that you've given. I personally have been to

4 the police station to make a statement. I have to ask the

5 police can I write it myself so I can easily say to you I

6 was not there when this was written, so I don't know

7 whether it is a fact, I must tell you, I don't trust a

8 police person." But what you've now said means that your

9 opening statement, "Police in this country can never be

10 trusted," isn't really what you intended to say, as I

11 understand it from what you say now.

12 RT REV SEOKA: That's what I tried to –

13 CHAIRPERSON: Because you now say, I take

14 it that there are police you trust, there are policemen

15 whom you, for whom you have great respect and admiration,

16 and so forth, whom you do trust.

17 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

18 CHAIRPERSON: So you didn't express

19 yourself, if I may so say, with the precision that one

20 expects from someone who holds your high office, and would

21 you like to respond to Mr Semenya's invitation to qualify

22 what you say and make it clear what you actually meant?

23 RT REV SEOKA: I think I did say that I

24 probably would, should have said some of them within the

25 Police family, because as I say now there are good ones and

Page 1940

1 there are bad ones, as in any human being you've got good

2 people and you've got bad people. But it's what we do

3 about those kinds of people when we are dealing with them,

4 and therefore personally when I deal with the Police I

5 start from a position of suspicion, meaning –

6 MR SEMENYA SC: Those are the things that

7 trouble me, Bishop. South Africa has a fair amount of the

8 populace that is illiterate and innumerate, who take the

9 word of a bishop as good as any, as they must, and to say

10 that you can't even trust the Police in taking down a

11 statement, I put it to you and I beseech you, goes a little

12 too far than helpful. Can you temper that as well?

13 RT REV SEOKA: It could be my training,

14 because even the way I read the scriptures, I read the

15 Bible, I start from the perspective of hermeneutics of

16 suspicion in order to extract the truth. And that's an

17 acceptable practice in my discipline. It's not so for

18 other churches. There are bishops, there are clergy

19 persons, who don't approach the Bible that way.

20 [12:22] MR SEMENYA SC: If you are correct about

21 this, then it may go a long way in explaining why it is

22 that police intervention in conflict resolution is

23 frustrated because you sponsor these type of opinions.

24 RT REV SEOKA: To be honest with you, I

25 have little dealings with police except those within my

Page 1941

1 church, and except just greeting them and being nice to
 2 them as human beings. So I don't teach them anything, I've
 3 no experience of teaching police what they need to do. In
 4 actual fact I am very concerned that the clergy who are
 5 chaplains, are probably not doing that [inaudible]. So I
 6 am talking for myself, Sir, I am not talking for another
 7 person, I am talking for myself.

8 MR SEMENYA SC: In fact, Bishop, I have
 9 copies of dockets where you are a complainant yourself.

10 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

11 MR SEMENYA SC: And those copies of
 12 dockets have policemen who took your statement. You didn't
 13 write it yourself.

14 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.

15 MR SEMENYA SC: So I –

16 RT REV SEOKA: I have also written a
 17 statement. I have asked the police, this is not what I
 18 said, can I just write it myself? Some would say yes, some
 19 would say no.

20 MR SEMENYA SC: But that's not what you
 21 said in cross-examination, that's my difficulty, Bishop.
 22 It is better to state a balanced opinion so that those who
 23 are minded to have their statements taken by the police,
 24 can feel free to do so, without hanging on your evidence
 25 that that statement may be twisted.

Page 1942

1 RT REV SEOKA: Senior counsel, you know,
 2 deep in your heart and your conscience will tell you, that
 3 you yourself have defended people who have been arrested
 4 unlawfully just because the statement written by the police
 5 was wrong. I believe that, I am a shepherd of the flock.
 6 I have had statements, I've tried to be a friend of the
 7 court because the person believes that it's not what he or
 8 she has written and they're in jail. You know that, it's
 9 not, I am not making up a story. You as senior counsel,
 10 you must have done that in your early days as an attorney
 11 and I still believe you do it right now.

12 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, I seek no
 13 confession higher than saying that there are many men and
 14 women police officers who take honest statements from
 15 complainants and those who are witnesses.

16 RT REV SEOKA: That I do not deny. Some
 17 would actually ask you, do you agree with this statement,
 18 and then he sign it. But there are those who don't really
 19 care, and those are the ones that have given a bad name to
 20 the security forces. I may have to ask you to defend me
 21 one of these days, because already I've been stopped by
 22 police, saying, you are the one that says you can't trust
 23 us.

24 MR SEMENYA SC: That's precisely the
 25 influence you have which bothers me, Bishop. But anyway,

Page 1943

1 let us address a different subject now.

2 CHAIRPERSON: The point has now been
 3 cleared up, hasn't it? He gave you the concession you
 4 asked for, he accepted that the statement that was in
 5 general terms, really refers to some policemen, not all
 6 policemen, I think you've taken the point as far as it can
 7 be taken. You made the point I think you intended to make.
 8 He made the concession which I think he willingly makes, so
 9 I think we can now move onto something else, unless there's
 10 some aspect that I've overlooked you still need to deal
 11 with on this point.

12 MR SEMENYA SC: That's why I was saying,
 13 Chair, that can we move to the next point. Bishop, I want
 14 us to play you some slides, some – and I will play them in
 15 some sequence. If we can have on the screen played to you,
 16 the mood of the crowd on the 16th of August 2010. Bishop, I
 17 want you to confirm what I see.

18 [VIDEO SHOWN]

19 We are talking about a very belligerent group of
 20 people there, aren't we?

21 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

22 MR SEMENYA SC: We are not talking – we
 23 are not watching traditional knobkieries only there, are
 24 we?

25 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

Page 1944

1 MR SEMENYA SC: We are actually
 2 witnessing people armed with seriously dangerous weapons,
 3 aren't we?

4 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

5 MR SEMENYA SC: That must be the type of
 6 people you met on that day, the 16th August 2010 –

7 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

8 MR SEMENYA SC: - 2012, rather.

9 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

10 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman,
 11 Commissioners, may I ask my learned colleague to please
 12 identify the piece of footage.

13 MR SEMENYA SC: I can do with some help,
 14 Chair.

15 CHAIRPERSON: It says video 00021MPS, the
 16 approximate time is 13:13 on 16th August 2012, that's how it
 17 begins. So I take it the reference that I've read 00021MPS
 18 is what you are looking for, Mr Madlanga. I am not sure
 19 whether that is already before the Commission. I don't
 20 remember that precise one, if it is –

21 MR MADLANGA SC: Yesterday, it was part
 22 of what was –

23 CHAIRPERSON: Well, there you are, so
 24 it's already before us, you just testified what it is.

25 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes.

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1945</p> <p>1 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Mr Madlanga. 2 Bishop, I am trying to explore with you that what we have 3 now seen, is not typical labour negotiating methods 4 recognised under the law, is that? 5 RT REV SEOKA: That's true. 6 MR SEMENYA SC: And we are talking about 7 an unrest situation as opposed to the withdrawal of labour 8 power, am I right? 9 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 10 MR SEMENYA SC: What you say in your 11 evidence, Bishop, that your intercession may have averted 12 the fatalities of the 16th, is something I want to test with 13 you. It is an opinion you expressed which is blind to a 14 whole number of factors, I want to explore those with you. 15 It is blind to the fact that there have been several 16 instances where the police were requesting that belligerent 17 group to disarm. Can you accept that? 18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 19 MR SEMENYA SC: It is blind to the fact 20 that even the leader, Mr Mathunjwa, could not get them to 21 disarm. Do you accept that? 22 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know about that, 23 but I know that I could have made them to leave their 24 weapons behind. 25 MR SEMENYA SC: I'll test that with you a</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1947</p> <p>1 but maybe my learned friend knows better. 2 CHAIRPERSON: I think he's putting a 3 summary of what, of the evidence led so far. I must 4 confess, I interpreted it, the question has been based on 5 evidence he proposes to lead, but in view of the fact 6 you've raised the matter pertinently, perhaps he can answer 7 it - 8 MR MPOFU: Yes, thank you. 9 CHAIRPERSON: - before he proceeds. 10 MR BIZOS SC: - really to remind our 11 learned friends, both of them, that before the death of two 12 members of the workers, generally speaking on what we saw 13 yesterday, the group as a whole was unarmed. 14 MR MPOFU: That's exactly the point I am 15 making. 16 CHAIRPERSON: We know that. Anyway the 17 point was raised by Mr Mpofu, you've added a codicil to it, 18 now let's hear what Mr Semenya has to say in reply. 19 MR SEMENYA SC: I will reformulate the 20 question, it really doesn't – your statement is blind to 21 the fact that there were numerous occasions where the 22 militant group was requested to disarm but they did not 23 heed those requests. Am I correct? 24 RT REV SEOKA: I hear you saying that, 25 that's not what I know or experienced but I would believe</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1946</p> <p>1 little later, but what we do know is for 15 to 30 minutes 2 you were on the koppie, you did not say to them, 3 "gentlemen, please disarm, and put these weapons aside, to 4 facilitate a resolution of this impasse," am I correct in 5 saying that? 6 RT REV SEOKA: You are correct in saying 7 that on that particular, but subsequently, I did. And I 8 will give you the words I used. 9 MR SEMENYA SC: In your first contact 10 with the group, you could have said to them, this is not 11 consistent with a peaceful resolution, if we are carrying 12 these dangerous weapons. 13 RT REV SEOKA: I could have said that. 14 MR SEMENYA SC: And I am putting it to 15 you, Bishop, that your belief that your intercession 16 intervention could have averted the tragedy is also blind 17 to the fact that since the 9th up to the 16th, even when you 18 were there, of August, there had been repeated requests for 19 the group to disarm. You don't know how much effort - 20 MR MPOFU: Chair, I am sorry, maybe I 21 should return the favour by asking whether my learned 22 friend is going to led that evidence, or is it just 23 speculation, that since the 9th, I think that was the 24 question, since the 9th there had been repeated requests to 25 disarm. That, as far as I am concerned is not the evidence</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1948</p> <p>1 that what may have happened prior to my encounter with 2 them. 3 MR SEMENYA SC: It is a statement blind 4 to the fact that even Mr Mathunjwa had assured the police 5 that by 9 o'clock of that morning the people will disarm 6 peacefully, and they didn't do it. You can't refute that 7 evidence tendered. 8 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know it, if you 9 show it to me, and you can prove that that's what happened, 10 I will say yes, but as of now, I am not aware that 11 happened. 12 MR SEMENYA SC: It is a statement blind 13 to the reality that the SAPS members had used professional 14 negotiators to try and persuade the group to disarm, 15 correct? 16 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know. 17 MR SEMENYA SC: You have already 18 conceded, you are not even aware that some police members 19 had been killed by some of these protesters, 20 RT REV SEOKA: On the Monday, correct. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: You are already also 22 unaware that they had through their leaders, declared war 23 with the police, you are not aware of that? 24 RT REV SEOKA: No. 25 MR SEMENYA SC: What you also said,</p>

Page 1949

1 Bishop, on the transcript at page 1400 is that I can tell
 2 you under oath against line 6, the man in the green
 3 blanket, the one I spoke to, was one of the most peaceful
 4 people in that whole group. I'm going to ask that we play
 5 you another clip showing Mr Noki.
 6 [12:42] RT REV SEOKA: Okay.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: Okay, Mr Madlanga will ask
 8 you once the clip starts to put on record where exactly it
 9 is to be found amongst the various video clips that we
 10 have.
 11 RT REV SEOKA: Thank you, Chair.
 12 [VIDEO SHOWN]
 13 MR SEMENYA SC: Hold it there. Chair, I
 14 need to find the description of the tape but –
 15 CHAIRPERSON: You don't have to give it
 16 to us now, you can perhaps give it to us after the lunch
 17 adjournment. I don't want to interrupt the flow of your
 18 cross-examination, but as long as we get it, so when we
 19 read the record again we will know what exactly the clip is
 20 that's being shown.
 21 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Chair.
 22 Bishop, I propose to you that is Mr Noki on the 13th of
 23 August 2012. You won't refute that, will you?
 24 RT REV SEOKA: No, I won't.
 25 MR SEMENYA SC: You could see from that

Page 1950

1 clip that he has in his possession a very dangerous weapon.
 2 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 3 MR SEMENYA SC: And what we see there, it
 4 is a group of men hunched in [indistinct] formation, did
 5 you see that?
 6 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 7 MR SEMENYA SC: And if I played the clip
 8 further to you, they disobey an instruction to disarm. You
 9 can accept that?
 10 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know, I have not
 11 seen it yet.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, this would appear
 13 as Slide 50 of Exhibit L for Limo, but I will invite the
 14 clip to be played forward so that the bishop can be with me
 15 about these questions.
 16 [VIDEO SHOWN]
 17 MR HANABE: Even I couldn't get exactly
 18 what he was saying, but I could hear the police, because it
 19 was more louder, he said that, "All we want from you are
 20 the spears and weapons." He said [African language] which
 21 is the spears. "If I can only get the spears from you,
 22 then I will release you, I will let you go."
 23 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, I'm quite sorry,
 24 I hear that the interpreter didn't hear it properly, if I
 25 could just request that the part that is said by, what he

Page 1951

1 calls the gentleman, in other words one of protestors, just
 2 be replayed for the benefit of the interpreter, or the
 3 other interpreter who has seen it so many times, can just –
 4 MR SEMENYA SC: No, Chair, Mr Mpofu will
 5 redirect –
 6 MR MPOFU: It was just to save time –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: As far as I remember, it
 8 was part of Exhibit Z that we saw the day before yesterday.
 9 It's one of the clips of the 13th, isn't it? It was then
 10 interpreted to us, but, in fairness, I think your request
 11 should be complied with.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: No, no, Chair –
 13 MR MPOFU: The bishop was not here.
 14 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair - I think, Chair,
 15 with all due respect, Mr Mpofu will have his opportunity to
 16 re-examine his witness. I don't want to things that I
 17 don't want in my cross-examination, I want to remain
 18 focused with my cross, I want to point to things that are
 19 important for my case and if Mr Mpofu thinks there are
 20 elements which would balance that picture, he should know
 21 better than I do, that he will do it.
 22 CHAIRPERSON: Okay, carry on. You could
 23 have the opportunity to correct any misapprehension that
 24 maybe created in re-examination.
 25 MR MPOFU: I know Chair, but –

Page 1952

1 CHAIRPERSON: I've given my ruling, Mr
 2 Mpofu, let's –
 3 MR MPOFU: Can I just explain what I was
 4 doing? I'm not objecting or anything, all I'm saying it's
 5 not Mr Semenya who said to the interpreter please don't
 6 interpret that part, the interpreter simply said I couldn't
 7 hear properly a particular part. So it's not as if it was
 8 by design.
 9 CHAIRPERSON: If it's an important point,
 10 you can raise it again in re-examination. Let's proceed,
 11 Mr Semenya.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Chair. Can we
 13 play that video to the end?
 14 [VIDEO SHOWN]
 15 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, what we saw there
 16 is a very, very militant group of people, do you agree?
 17 You do?
 18 RT REV SEOKA: No, I don't agree they
 19 were militant. I never saw them attacking anybody.
 20 Actually what I saw, it's people being respectful of the
 21 officer. When he spoke to them, they sat down. That's a
 22 symbol of surrendering, and then subsequent to that they
 23 tried to avoid confrontation with him. They took a detour
 24 in order to get to where they were going. So I never saw
 25 any violence there. I did see people carrying weapons,

Page 1953

1 violence, I did not see.
 2 MR SEMENYA SC: I didn't talk about any
 3 violence, Bishop. I said they were militant.
 4 RT REV SEOKA: Militancy, I didn't see
 5 it. I saw people carrying and sitting and walking. They
 6 never charged once at the police.
 7 MR SEMENYA SC: They are being addressed
 8 by General Mpmembe, who is the deputy commissioner of police
 9 in the province. It is - who requests them please put your
 10 weapons down. Did you hear that request?
 11 RT REV SEOKA: I heard that.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: And he says to the group,
 13 I won't even arrest you if you leave these weapons where
 14 you are and you move on. Do you accept that?
 15 RT REV SEOKA: I heard something to that effect. I
 16 don't know whether he said that, but he said something to
 17 that effect that I will let you pass or something like
 18 that.
 19 MR SEMENYA SC: The fact is also that
 20 they disobeyed that instruction and went past the police
 21 formation that was around them. You can accept that?
 22 RT REV SEOKA: I think they avoided
 23 confrontation. They then decided they would not do what
 24 the police is asking, but they will continue journeying to
 25 wherever they were going. I didn't hear them saying,

Page 1954

1 "We're not going to do what you're asking us, I didn't hear
 2 that. I saw them taking a detour rather.
 3 MR SEMENYA SC: Excuse my dismay, stated
 4 very - at the very lowest. The proposition I'm putting to
 5 you is that a law enforcement officer is requesting them to
 6 put their weapons down and proceed where they choose. That
 7 lawful instruction was disobeyed. Do you want to debate
 8 that with me?
 9 RT REV SEOKA: No, I can't debate it,
 10 because obviously, even though I did not hear them saying
 11 they're not going to do what they've been asked to do, they
 12 proceeded on their journey.
 13 MR SEMENYA SC: I could say they did not
 14 cooperate with the police. I could say that, but I'm
 15 sponsoring a much further proposition, that for them to
 16 avoid confrontation, the easiest would have been to put
 17 those weapons down and move away.
 18 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Excuse me, Chair, I
 19 don't intend to disrupt my learned friend's cross-
 20 examination. I think the fairest thing for any questions
 21 on that clip to have been put to this witness, for any
 22 inferences to be drawn there from -
 23 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Ntsebeza, don't make a
 24 speech, if you're objecting to a particular question -
 25 MR NTSEBEZA SC: I am objecting,

Page 1955

1 Chairman, to the questions that are put to the witness on
 2 the basis that what is in the clip is the entire thing.
 3 For instance, those -
 4 CHAIRPERSON: I hear the objection, you
 5 don't have to make a speech.
 6 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya, what do you say
 8 about the objection? Please can you reformulate the
 9 question in a way which avoids the objection?
 10 MR SEMENYA SC: No, that's what the
 11 witness said. He said there were avoiding confrontation
 12 when they did not obey the instruction, and the proposition
 13 I'm saying to the bishop, surely one of the easiest things
 14 to do to avert confrontation, would be to put -
 15 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, I heard what you
 16 said. The objection is that you should put to the witness
 17 that this is not necessarily a complete depiction of what
 18 happened, because we see part of what happened, but there
 19 may be other parts we don't see. That's the basis of the
 20 objection. I would have thought that the question can be
 21 reformulated without particular prejudice to your side, in
 22 a way that does away with the objection so we can carry on.
 23 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, thank you. On
 24 what we see, the easiest thing for this group of people to
 25 avert confrontation would be leave their weapons on the

Page 1956

1 ground. Can you live with that as a proposition?
 2 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Mr Chairman, with great
 3 respect, may I continue to object?
 4 CHAIRPERSON: - ruled your objection.
 5 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Can I object from
 6 another basis, Mr Chairman?
 7 CHAIRPERSON: - objection.
 8 MR NTSEBEZA SC: On the other basis is
 9 that, Mr Chairman, I've got another objection. Please,
 10 with great respect. Mr Chairman, when it is put to a
 11 witness who does not know - who heard everything that had
 12 been said at that clip, and it is put on the basis that
 13 there easiest thing that those people could have done,
 14 would simply to put their weapons - it's unfair when we
 15 know, you and I know that there were counterproposals that
 16 they made that could have avoided the confrontation.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: The question that was put
 18 was on what we see, do you agree? And I haven't got a
 19 problem with that. That was deliberately inserted to meet
 20 the objection that you've raised earlier, which, by
 21 implication, was upheld. Mr Semenya, please proceed.
 22 MR SEMENYA SC: What would be your
 23 answer, Bishop?
 24 RT REV SEOKA: Just repeat the question
 25 please.

Page 1957

1 MR SEMENYA SC: On what we see, the
2 easiest way in which further confrontation could have been
3 avoided, would have been by the group placing their weapons
4 on the ground and moving.

5 RT REV SEOKA: You see, if I know what
6 the conversation was all about, I'll probably agree with
7 you. I don't know the context. I see people being asked
8 to do that. In actual fact I see only one image of a
9 policeman facing a group of people. Now if they meant to
10 be militant and violent, I'm sure they would have charged
11 at him. They're not charging at him, so I cannot speak on
12 something I do not know. If you show me a picture, I have
13 to know the context in which it was taken. I cannot just
14 say, yes, this man was at the Durban beach or he was at Sun
15 City, where they have got the waves. I can't say that.

16 MR SEMENYA SC: Would it be a convenient
17 stage to go to beach, Chair, to take the lunch adjournment?
18 I'm being flippant.

19 CHAIRPERSON: We'll stay in Rustenburg,
20 but we'll take the lunch adjournment.

21 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
22 [14:01] CHAIRPERSON: Yes, Mr Semenya. Bishop,
23 it's not necessary of course to remind you, but I have to,
24 you're still under oath. Yes, Mr Semenya.

25 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Chair,

Page 1958

1 Commissioners. Bishop, we were at a point where you were
2 saying that context is everything. I just asked that they
3 play the video so that we can capture the context for my
4 further questions.

5 CHAIRPERSON: It's also to address Mr
6 Ntsebeza's objection really.

7 MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed, Chair.

8 CHAIRPERSON: And Mr Mpofu's objection
9 too, I suppose. I didn't leave you out on purpose, Mr
10 Mpofu.

11 [VIDEO SHOWN]
12 MR HANABE: The gentleman lifting up his
13 hands, now he's talking, saying [African language], "Please
14 listen to me, can you please give me an ear," in other
15 words.

16 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, before we carry on,
17 I don't know if it's necessary for this material to be
18 interpreted into English, because we did watch the video
19 before and what was said was interpreted – which I know he
20 can, because he's an Nguni speaker and I imagine the people
21 in the auditorium can also understand it. So unless anyone
22 disagrees I would suggest we tell the interpreter he
23 doesn't have to interpret this into English, as long as
24 it's clear for the people in the auditorium to hear, and
25 also for the Bishop.

Page 1959

1 MR SEMENYA SC: Okay, Bishop, what I do
2 see from what has been played, it is some members of the
3 SAPS on the side of this group in the middle of the street.
4 You share that observation with me?

5 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

6 MR SEMENYA SC: And the General saying,
7 "All I ask of you is just to lay these weapons down."
8 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

9 MR SEMENYA SC: And the last clip really
10 shows the group – before that perhaps, the promise that is
11 being made to the General by one of the leaders there is,
12 "Just permit us to go to the koppie." Did you hear that
13 part?

14 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

15 MR SEMENYA SC: And the second promise
16 they may is that, "Once we are at the koppie we are going
17 to give you these weapons back." Did you hear that part as
18 well?

19 RT REV SEOKA: No, I didn't.

20 MR SEMENYA SC: Okay. And at one point
21 he says, "We only ask of you to escort us to the main
22 koppie, or to guard us," I think he uses the word.

23 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.

24 MR SEMENYA SC: What General Mpembe will
25 tell the Commission is that he acceded to this demand,

Page 1960

1 cautious that stopping them would lead to great violence.
2 You can't debate that with him if he said so, Bishop, would
3 you?

4 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't hear that.

5 MR SEMENYA SC: I know, and what we do
6 know is that part of this group just moments later killed
7 two police officers brutally. So you can accept that they
8 wouldn't be even true to their own undertaking that all
9 they required really was to be escorted to the koppie.

10 RT REV SEOKA: What I heard the man say
11 is that [African language], "We're not fighting. Escort us
12 back to the koppie."

13 MR SEMENYA SC: And the proposition –
14 RT REV SEOKA: And then they request the
15 management to come and, to hear from the management. I
16 think that's something like that. What I don't understand
17 is why would they ask the Police to escort them back when
18 they intended to commit a crime? I don't understand that.

19 MR SEMENYA SC: The point, Bishop, I'm
20 making is that they can't even be trusted on their word
21 because whereas they say they have no issue with the
22 Police, moments thereafter they kill two of them very
23 brutally.

24 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya, is that a fair
25 statement in the light of material before us? If you look

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1961</p> <p>1 at exhibit L, slide 47, this is –</p> <p>2 RT REV SEOKA: Slide?</p> <p>3 CHAIRPERSON: Slide 47. This is the</p> <p>4 Police version of what happened. Perhaps I should read</p> <p>5 first at the foot of 46. “Major-General Mpmembe, realising</p> <p>6 that a violent” – have you got that, Bishop? It’s slide</p> <p>7 46.</p> <p>8 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I do.</p> <p>9 CHAIRPERSON: I’m referring to the</p> <p>10 second-last paragraph there. “Major-General Mpmembe,</p> <p>11 realising that a violent confrontation would take place if</p> <p>12 Police attempted to disarm the protesters, allowed them to</p> <p>13 proceed under Police escort.” That’s what we see on the</p> <p>14 video. “The Police were to follow the armed protesters,</p> <p>15 preventing them from entering an informal settlement to the</p> <p>16 left of their route to prevent possible incidents of</p> <p>17 looting and to safeguard innocent lives. On their way to</p> <p>18 the koppies some of the protesters changed direction</p> <p>19 towards the village. To prevent them from entering the</p> <p>20 village, the Police used teargas and stun grenades,</p> <p>21 grenades that produce two large explosive sounds, to</p> <p>22 disperse the protesters, discouraging from their intended</p> <p>23 path. With their dangerous weapons a group of protesters</p> <p>24 turned around, charge the members behind. Two of the</p> <p>25 members of the Police who died at the scene were retreating</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1963</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: I couldn’t agree with you,</p> <p>2 because I didn’t see anybody attacking anybody. From the</p> <p>3 slide that you’ve shown me they are asking the Police</p> <p>4 Commissioner, “Please escort us back to the koppie.” So I</p> <p>5 can’t answer the question.</p> <p>6 MR SEMENYA SC: Can I invite you to have</p> <p>7 a look at exhibit L, slide 51, I mean slide 52, 53, 54, 55,</p> <p>8 up to slide 56. The evidence, Bishop, will be that what</p> <p>9 you’re looking at is a consequence of this group of people</p> <p>10 moments after the videos that we saw, and I’m saying this</p> <p>11 cannot be conduct of a peaceful protest. Do you agree,</p> <p>12 Bishop?</p> <p>13 RT REV SEOKA: Well, if they are the ones</p> <p>14 that assaulted these people, I agree. Also you must</p> <p>15 remember that I said that one of the things that made me to</p> <p>16 go to the koppie the first day is what I learned from the</p> <p>17 media.</p> <p>18 MR SEMENYA SC: No, I accept that,</p> <p>19 Bishop.</p> <p>20 RT REV SEOKA: The death of those people,</p> <p>21 but my experience is with the people on the 16th. So if</p> <p>22 these died before then, I didn’t see them on the</p> <p>23 television. I heard that people were killed and I see now</p> <p>24 that these are the men that were murdered. But you see,</p> <p>25 when you look at slide number 50 and contrast that slide</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1962</p> <p>1 and firing at the protesters with shotgun rubber bullets</p> <p>2 until they were overpowered and hacked to death.” So that</p> <p>3 is the full accounts, as I understand it, according to the</p> <p>4 Police of what happened. So I think that the way you put</p> <p>5 it, obviously you were trying to be as brief as you could,</p> <p>6 but I think that what you put may have been not entirely</p> <p>7 fair reflection of what your own case is in that regard,</p> <p>8 and I think in fairness to the Bishop he’s entitled to know</p> <p>9 that’s effectively the Police allegation in respect of the</p> <p>10 beginnings of that engagement between the protesters and</p> <p>11 the Police on the 13th of August. I take it you accept</p> <p>12 that?</p> <p>13 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, I do. Now Bishop,</p> <p>14 that we have that fuller picture, the point I’m making is</p> <p>15 the undertaking by them at its very least that they would</p> <p>16 go to the koppie to go and disarm there, they have no</p> <p>17 quibble with the Police, is contradicted by their</p> <p>18 subsequent conduct later. You can accept that.</p> <p>19 RT REV SEOKA: I have no evidence for</p> <p>20 that. I hear you, but I don’t know the facts and therefore</p> <p>21 I cannot support something that I don’t know.</p> <p>22 MR SEMENYA SC: What I seek to achieve,</p> <p>23 Bishop, is that this is not a peaceful protest as the law</p> <p>24 understands it. Do you accept that? That’s the thrust of</p> <p>25 my proposition.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1964</p> <p>1 with the following slides, they don’t really speak to each</p> <p>2 other, do they?</p> <p>3 MR SEMENYA SC: Can I, Bishop, take</p> <p>4 refuge behind the power of your opinion. If the evidence</p> <p>5 is what I have shown you, you would condemn in the most</p> <p>6 strongest this type of behaviour by the protesters?</p> <p>7 RT REV SEOKA: No, I don’t do that. I’m</p> <p>8 saying that my experience of the 16th, as I said on the</p> <p>9 first day, was of people on the koppie there and there was</p> <p>10 no violence.</p> <p>11 MR SEMENYA SC: I accept that, Bishop.</p> <p>12 I’m putting this is a hypothesis.</p> <p>13 RT REV SEOKA: Okay.</p> <p>14 MR SEMENYA SC: Should evidence reveal</p> <p>15 this to be the conduct of the group of protesters, it would</p> <p>16 meet with your strongest condemnation? That’s what I’m</p> <p>17 asking.</p> <p>18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p> <p>19 MR SEMENYA SC: The one thing screaming</p> <p>20 about your statement, Bishop, is that it is not critical of</p> <p>21 the conduct of the protesters. Is that a fair reading of</p> <p>22 your statement?</p> <p>23 RT REV SEOKA: It could be said it says</p> <p>24 that because I had not experienced any negative behaviour</p> <p>25 then. What you’re saying to me is what happened prior to</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1965</p> <p>1 my visitation. I learned from television people had died 2 and in order to prevent further deaths, further 3 confrontation, we felt the church must intervene. I need 4 to say though, that subsequent to the 16th when we learned 5 that the workers were being accused of violence, I 6 personally went to the veld there and I said to them, 7 "Gentlemen, you are being accused for, of violence and I'm 8 asking you, those of you who have weapons that are life- 9 threatening should refrain from doing that," and I was 10 assured by that community that their objective of being 11 there is to negotiate a salary and therefore they would not 12 allow themselves to be blamed of violent behaviour. That 13 much I know because I did address it when it came to my 14 notice. 15 [14:21] That's why I say, through you Chair, I believe 16 that if I were given the chance to go with management or 17 the Police and engage the men at the koppie, that day of 18 the 16th would have been different to what it became at the 19 end. I believe that, because of the respect and the 20 behaviour they showed to me when I engaged with them. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: I'll test with you a 22 little later, but for now can I move to a different point? 23 RT REV SEOKA: Thank you. 24 MR SEMENYA SC: That your assessment of 25 the Provincial Commissioner and her conduct/behaviour on</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1967</p> <p>1 command had to be taken that by 15:30 the people had to be 2 forcefully disarmed, using a continuum. Do you have that 3 background? 4 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I've heard about it 5 now. Nobody ever explained that to me before. 6 MR SEMENYA SC: The disarming was to 7 happen at 13:30, which was later deferred because Mr 8 Mathunjwa was addressing the people. I'm just adding that 9 dimension to the set of facts, Bishop. Are you with me? 10 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, I'm listening. 11 MR SEMENYA SC: There is also inside you, 12 Bishop, around 14:47, addressing the group, long beyond the 13 time which was thought by the Police prudent to disarm the 14 crowd. 15 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't know that, but I 16 was there at the time that you indicate. 17 MR SEMENYA SC: Because of the fluid 18 nature of the situation, even the decided time of 15:30 to 19 disarm, the Police also relaxed that as well. 20 RT REV SEOKA: I appreciate that. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: And by the time you were 22 in the JOC, that was closer to 4 o'clock now. 23 RT REV SEOKA: Maybe. 24 MR SEMENYA SC: The anxiety with the 25 Police is that now sunset is going to be closing in on an</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1966</p> <p>1 the day is unflattering. Did I hear correctly about, on 2 that point? 3 RT REV SEOKA: Say that again? 4 MR SEMENYA SC: I say your assessment of 5 the conduct of the Provincial Commissioner is somewhat 6 unflattering. You're not impressed by her? 7 RT REV SEOKA: I think it was unbecoming. 8 I thought that for a senior person like that to leave us 9 standing when we had been brought to her, was unbecoming. 10 As I said earlier on, I would have expected some kind of 11 respect for civilians that had come as messengers. 12 MR SEMENYA SC: Well, you use even much 13 stronger words like "unbecoming, disrespectful." When the 14 Police Commissioner testifies, she will tell the Commission 15 she could never have meant any disrespect to you, Bishop. 16 RT REV SEOKA: I'll appreciate that. 17 MR SEMENYA SC: I want to share with you 18 what was in her plate, and maybe you would be a little 19 forgiving if you know those facts, Bishop. 20 RT REV SEOKA: Ja. 21 MR SEMENYA SC: After very protracted 22 attempts at dissuading the people from the arms they had, 23 after loss of life of 10 people, after the undertaking that 24 the 16th by 9 o'clock the group will be disarmed, after the 25 deployment of a whole contingent of various units, the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1968</p> <p>1 operation this big. Will you factor that as well, Bishop? 2 RT REV SEOKA: You would say that, but 3 it's, it was summertime. By that time it was still broad 4 daylight. I believe there was still an opportunity to be 5 seized to engage with the workers before dark fell on us. 6 MR SEMENYA SC: I appreciate your view. 7 I just want to give you the other side of the picture, 8 Bishop. That at the very least time was an important 9 factor in the operation, according to the police. 10 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, but I don't think we 11 should be driven by time; I think we should be driven by 12 reason. There was a reason for us to consider the request 13 of the people who were desperate to hear a person who 14 employs them, speaking to them about their plight. Time, 15 it could have been midnight, really, if you are requested 16 to come and – as a priest I get called any time of the day, 17 of the night, there is a person here who has been beaten, 18 could you come and say some prayers for her. I don't 19 hesitate to do that, so long as I'm assured that my 20 security is guaranteed. The fact that people had died 21 already previously on the 13th, it's all the reason why we 22 should have reasoned together as to how we can prevent 23 further conflict and death of people. 24 MR SEMENYA SC: All, Bishop, I'm inviting 25 you to do, is to say that you can concede to have no</p>

Page 1969

1 knowledge in policing and to defer to the expertise of
 2 those involved in a multi-disciplinary unit, as was the
 3 case on the day. That's all I ask of you.
 4 RT REV SEOKA: That's true. I do.
 5 MR HANABE: I didn't get that one. Can
 6 you, please Mr Semenya, repeat?
 7 MR SEMENYA SC: That to be fair, Bishop,
 8 that you don't have police expertise to interrogate the
 9 appropriateness or otherwise of the police conduct when it
 10 happened the way it did.
 11 RT REV SEOKA: But I also know that being
 12 patient with each other and talking together can bring
 13 about a solution to a problem.
 14 MR SEMENYA SC: Can I then invite you to
 15 deal with your communication with the Provincial
 16 Commissioner. She has no recollection of the conversation
 17 you testified about being civil and whether she is by
 18 affinity an [African word], etcetera. You recall that
 19 evidence?
 20 RT REV SEOKA: I can believe that,
 21 because she was a very troubled person.
 22 MR SEMENYA SC: Yes.
 23 RT REV SEOKA: I can believe that, but a
 24 person of statute and responsibility should be trained to
 25 be calm in a situation of that nature, and in fact where

Page 1970

1 she was there was nothing threatening there. The threat
 2 would have been on the koppie, not where she was.
 3 MR SEMENYA SC: No but, Bishop, seriously
 4 now, the threat was of the most acute form to law and
 5 order, that had been building up from the 9th and
 6 culminating at that time with the death of 10 people. So
 7 it is not a light matter, I want to suggest to you.
 8 RT REV SEOKA: No. No, it's not light,
 9 Chair, and I'm not making it light and I would never do.
 10 The fact is, my experience at the koppie, right down to the
 11 command station, there was nothing reported that indicated
 12 there was violence. Talking to the Commissioner, she
 13 didn't say people are attacking. All I observed was just
 14 frantic movement of various people there, and she was then
 15 standing with me and then she went back, then people
 16 started even moving much faster up and down and helicopters
 17 took off. So there was no indication up to that moment in
 18 my knowledge that there was an attack, that there was
 19 violence. The picture I had is of the men at the koppie,
 20 some sitting down, some standing and singing.
 21 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, can I put this to
 22 you, and please correct me if I'm wrong because it's a
 23 little important for me. At no stage do you say to the
 24 Provincial Commissioner, I am here to defuse this impasse?
 25 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't use those words,

Page 1971

1 but words that alluded to that will be true, that I am here
 2 as a messenger of the men at the koppie, who request that
 3 they should be addressed by "Mkashe." So my appeal to the
 4 Commissioner would have indicated that there is no violence
 5 up there, but people were sitting down as I saw them on the
 6 slides. When the policeman was addressing them, they
 7 showed some respect, they sat on the ground. They listened
 8 to what he was saying and asked that they be escorted back
 9 to the koppie. I think the same attitude would have
 10 prevailed if we had gone back to the koppie.
 11 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, I'm saying this
 12 is the first time since you were giving evidence that you
 13 say you conveyed that to the Provincial Commissioner.
 14 RT REV SEOKA: Because I'm answering a
 15 question that was asked to me. But all along I've been
 16 saying exactly why I went there, all along. I've not
 17 changed my statement at all.
 18 MR SEMENYA SC: No, I'm not accusing you
 19 of that. I'm saying that is what you said you said to the
 20 Lonmin people.
 21 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 22 MR SEMENYA SC: Not what you said to the
 23 Provincial Commissioner.
 24 RT REV SEOKA: Just say that again.
 25 MR SEMENYA SC: You testified about

Page 1972

1 conveying that message to the Lonmin people. I'm saying as
 2 best as I recall it is the first time only now that you say
 3 you conveyed that request to the Provincial Commissioner.
 4 [14:41] RT REV SEOKA: Why would the Commissioner
 5 say to me you can negotiate anything with the management,
 6 but security non-negotiable because I'd put my case, I
 7 explained as to why we were there, and that was her
 8 response. You must recall that I also said, when she
 9 looked troubled to me, very anxious in a panic state, I
 10 tried to calm her down by introducing a conversation that
 11 was unrelated to our mission.
 12 MR SEMENYA SC: Lastly, Bishop, well,
 13 maybe before that, I was getting to, almost say thank you,
 14 obviously you would know that the South Africa Police
 15 Service will seek to persuade the Commission and will argue
 16 that it had come to a point where disarming the men on the
 17 koppie, it had come to a point when negotiation persuasion
 18 had failed to invoke what is called a stage 3.
 19 RT REV SEOKA: Through you, Chairperson,
 20 you see, senior counsel, I was not negotiating there, all I
 21 was appealing for is a space for the two parties to end it,
 22 to create, so that they can interact with each other.
 23 That's all I was trying to provide, that there's an
 24 opportunity to engage each other on the issue that has
 25 caused this stalemate. And I believe if the opportunity

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1973</p> <p>1 had been taken, the day would have ended differently. 2 MR SEMENYA SC: Okay, I take it that's 3 your opinion. At page 1368 of the transcript against line 4 10, this is you speaking. 5 MR HANABE: What page is that? 6 MR SEMENYA SC: 1368. 7 MR HANABE: Yes, thank you. 8 MR SEMENYA SC: "As soon after entering 9 the highway, the telephone, the cell phone rang and I 10 answered it, because the general secretary was driving, and 11 I was a passenger in the car, and upon answering the cell 12 phone the voice on the other side in Xhosa language, he was 13 saying, this is the translation, "Bishop, where are you? 14 We are being killed by the police." This was in isiXhosa 15 language, words to that effect. But it was clear, we are 16 being killed and where are you? This was before four, a 17 little after four to half-past four and we could hear on 18 the – I could hear on the cell phone that there was some 19 shooting going on there. There was some noise, whether 20 from the helicopter and the screams of people and of course 21 the phone went dead." Now the evidence is going to be that 22 if this is reference to scene 1, the shooting occurred in 23 approximately eight seconds, Reverend, you can't contest 24 that, can you? 25 RT REV SEOKA: Just say that again?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1975</p> <p>1 cross-examination from the side of NUM? 2 MR TIP SC: Very briefly, Mr Chair, thank 3 you, Bishop, I would like to get some clarification from 4 you, on just one aspect of the statement that you've made, 5 and that concerns paragraph 29 of it, your statement of 6 course being exhibit M. 7 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 8 MR TIP SC: It may be convenient if I 9 just read it out and then everybody knows what I am dealing 10 with. It reads as follows, "It was their firmly held view 11 that the element of violence was sparked by the alleged 12 shooting of protesters by NUM officials on 11 August 2012 13 when they had marched to voice their dissatisfaction with 14 the performance of that union." That's the end of the 15 passage. 16 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 17 MR TIP SC: Now, Bishop, it is of course 18 very clear, as you've told us a few times, you were not 19 there before 16 August 2012 and you've no personal 20 knowledge of any of the preceding events including those on 21 11 August. 22 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 23 MR TIP SC: And the few questions that I 24 am going to put to you now, have nothing to do with the 25 truth or otherwise of what might have been conveyed to you</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1974</p> <p>1 MR SEMENYA SC: The evidence will be that 2 if you are referring to scene 1, that shooting occurred in 3 eight seconds, that is I have asked the question longer 4 than the shooting occurred. 5 RT REV SEOKA: I don't know, all I know 6 is that I received the call, and the voice on the other 7 side spoke to me, and it went dead. That much I know. 8 MR SEMENYA SC: Had you looked at the 9 time, that you heard them screaming? 10 RT REV SEOKA: I didn't hear singing, I 11 heard some screaming. 12 MR SEMENYA SC: I said screaming. 13 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, screaming and sounds 14 of like ka, ka, ka, something like that. So I don't know. 15 MR SEMENYA SC: Bishop, this account, if 16 it really relates to scene 1, I would argue does not square 17 with the objective evidence. 18 RT REV SEOKA: I would reply by saying, I 19 don't know whether it was scene 1 or scene 2 or scene 3, I 20 was not aware of the scenes, I only now what happened that 21 particular time. 22 MR SEMENYA SC: Those are all the 23 questions I have Bishop, thank you, Chair. I thank you 24 too. 25 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mr Semenya. Any</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1976</p> <p>1 on the 16th of August. 2 RT REV SEOKA: Okay. 3 MR TIP SC: I am merely concerned to be 4 certain that we have the, as far as you can, your evidence 5 in full of what was conveyed to you. Firstly, will you say 6 it was their firmly held view, that would be a reference 7 would it to the 6, 7 or 8 persons to whom you spoke, the 8 leadership group, as you've described them. 9 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 10 MR TIP SC: Then perhaps I should ask 11 you, to give us any fuller description of what they had 12 said to you, if you can, or I can put a few questions about 13 the format of your statement in this regard. 14 RT REV SEOKA: Two things, one, the music 15 that was being sung there was showing some resentment and 16 hostile behaviour towards NUM. The second thing, when they 17 said that they were returning from the company unarmed, and 18 that NUM shot them, I said to them, I don't believe that, 19 because I would not expect a union to shoot at its people, 20 as much as I would not expect parents to kill their 21 children. And so, but they were very firm about that and 22 as I said that they said NUM started it all. They were 23 unarmed at the time. 24 MR TIP SC: Bishop, the singing to which 25 you have just referred us or the anti-NUM songs that you've</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1977</p> <p>1 described, were those coming from the crowd as a whole, not 2 from the leadership persons to whom you were speaking? 3 RT REV SEOKA: You will recall that I 4 said some men were singing, some were seated down, and the 5 leadership was sitting just over the road there. So the 6 music was coming from the crowd. 7 MR TIP SC: And that singing was 8 independent of your discussion with the leadership group? 9 RT REV SEOKA: It had nothing to do with 10 the leadership. 11 MR TIP SC: Now, Bishop, you have 12 referred specifically in this paragraph it 11 August 2012, 13 do you recall that that was the date that was mentioned by 14 the group to you, as the one on which the shooting incident 15 had taken place? 16 RT REV SEOKA: The paragraph in my 17 statement? 18 MR TIP SC: Yes, I beg your pardon? 19 RT REV SEOKA: Just repeat your question. 20 MR TIP SC: Yes, I will certainly. In 21 paragraph 29 of your statement, the one that I've read out, 22 you refer specifically to the date 11 August 2012, do you 23 see that? 24 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 25 MR TIP SC: And the question is merely</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1979</p> <p>1 performance of that union." 2 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 3 MR TIP SC: Now that, I am sure that that 4 was not the language that they used to you, that's 5 presumably a précis or your own words. Can you tell us 6 quite how they put that across to you, what was it that 7 they were dissatisfied with? 8 RT REV SEOKA: They said they had gone to 9 the company, because NUM failed to speak on their behalf to 10 their employers, and also to have their demands met. If I 11 recall well they had been told that the union represents 12 them. If I remember very well then when they got there, 13 they were told that they were represented by the NUM or the 14 Union or that the company wanted to talk to NUM, but I 15 cannot say who said that. 16 MR TIP SC: But it was clear to you that 17 that they felt that NUM had not advanced their demands with 18 the vigour that they had expected. 19 RT REV SEOKA: That's what they informed 20 me. 21 MR TIP SC: Thank you, Chair. 22 CHAIRPERSON: Any cross-examination from 23 the side of AMCU? 24 MR GUMBI: Yes, Chairperson. On behalf 25 of POPCRU we would like to have some few questions.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1978</p> <p>1 this, do you recall that that date was mentioned to you by 2 the leadership group to whom you were speaking? 3 RT REV SEOKA: I recall that. 4 MR TIP SC: You say when they had 5 marched, was a march to the employer's office, to Lonmin's 6 office, or a March to the NUM office? 7 RT REV SEOKA: From the employer's 8 offices. 9 MR TIP SC: Did you understand that they 10 were saying to you that they had left Lonmin's office and 11 had then proceeded on a march towards the NUM office? 12 RT REV SEOKA: Yes. 13 MR TIP SC: Right, I'll continue, I was 14 giving the interpreter an opportunity but – 15 MR HANABE: Yes, can you repeat that one, 16 with all due respects, sorry very much, Mr Tip. 17 MR TIP SC: Yes, my pleasure. I just put 18 to the Bishop the question whether he had understood that 19 the march of the strikers or protesters, however they may 20 be called, had proceeded from the Lonmin office towards the 21 NUM office, and that was the occasion at which this 22 incident of alleged shooting had taken place. Your 23 statement then proceeds with this description, evidently 24 intended by you to set out their intention, and I refer to 25 these words, "to voice their dissatisfaction with the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1980</p> <p>1 CHAIRPERSON: Any cross-examination on 2 the side of AMCU. 3 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you, Chairman, I 4 am standing in for Mr Bruinders, and I will put a few 5 questions, and of course for – 6 CHAIRPERSON: Proceed. 7 MR NTSEBEZA SC: - the families. Thank 8 you, Mr Chair. 9 CHAIRPERSON: You are going to cross- 10 examine for AMCU on Mr Bruinders' behalf and also for – 11 MR NTSEBEZA SC: For the families. 12 CHAIRPERSON: For the families, yes. 13 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes, Mr Chairman. 14 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, please proceed. 15 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you. Archbishop, 16 it has been – I say Archbishop, maybe you should have been 17 one, I have been told that I am wearing purple in 18 identification with you, because you are also wearing 19 purple, but I really need to put a couple of questions to 20 you because there are sections that I really want to clear 21 insofar as it relates to your evidence, and what you say 22 you went there to do. Chair, am I allowed to take my 23 jacket off? Okay, thank you very much. 24 RT REV SEOKA: He wants the purple to 25 show.</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1981</p> <p>1 [15:01] MR NTSEBEZA SC: Bishop I understand your 2 evidence essentially to be that you came on the 16th of 3 August there because you had seen either, in the media and 4 you had become acquainted with what had happened at 5 Marikana and you thought because of your experience in 6 conflict resolution you might assist at finding a solution, 7 is that a fair summary of why you went there? 8 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, it is a fair summary 9 why I went there, if I may just put a preamble to it. Last 10 night at about 10, I was already in bed because I had been 11 advised that if you are going to testify you need to sleep 12 early. My cell phone rang and the person on the other side 13 says to me, Bishop, I'm very troubled about what is going 14 on in the world. I say well there are many things 15 happening now, what really troubles you. He said it's the 16 issue of the Israelites and the Palestines and I'm calling 17 you to find out if we shouldn't be having a public rally of 18 solidarity and I said it's difficult if you talk about 19 solidarity because there are two factions there, which side 20 are we going to be standing with. And he said no, we need 21 to think about that and I said well it's a difficult one 22 but I'm committed to it. We will talk about it and so it's 23 not like it's something that does not happen in one's life 24 to be asked to intervene and to do something about a 25 situation that presents itself at a particular time and</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1983</p> <p>1 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And in view of what you 2 had seen on television and heard about deaths that had 3 occurred to that point, and when you came to the mountain 4 according to your statement, there was a heavy police 5 presence, you must have realised that this situation was 6 tense and needed skill to deal with? 7 RT REV SEOKA: Indeed. But my faith 8 persuaded me to seek this opportunity and to use it to 9 protect further loss of life. 10 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes and we have already 11 heard you went to the mountain for the first time, 12 unescorted, I will not get into the detail of whether it 13 was 1 o'clock or 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock, but you went there 14 for the first unescorted? 15 RT REV SEOKA: That's true. 16 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And you state in your 17 statement that one of the reasons for that was that you 18 wanted to be sure that you get the trust of the protestors 19 and that your independence as the potential mediator would 20 not be compromised. 21 RT REV SEOKA: My experience has taught 22 me in such situations that you should not be understood or 23 be confused as having taken sides and so independence is 24 very crucial in developing trust. That's why we avoided 25 contact with anybody in that context until we engaged with</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1982</p> <p>1 that's exactly what I have been trying to say, motivated me 2 to come to Marikana. We have seen what is happening in 3 Israel right now on the television and the newspapers and 4 there are people talking about it and I think it's a 5 similar situation really to me. So you're absolutely right 6 there. 7 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes, in fact that leads 8 me to my next observation and that would be as I understand 9 your evidence, you were not there at the invitation of 10 anybody, certainly not at the invitation of the union that 11 my colleague represents AMCU, you had not been invited by 12 AMCU? 13 RT REV SEOKA: I was not invited by 14 anybody and nobody asked me to do that. I had had these 15 sleepless nights the night before, thinking about what I 16 had seen and read about and concern about the deaths and 17 wanting to prevent further deaths. Rather I invited people 18 to come with me and that's how the General-Secretary 19 accompanied me. 20 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Indeed when you came to 21 the mountain, you found a group of people mainly workers 22 who, I think it is incontestable now, belonged to NUM and 23 AMCU and probably others who did not belong to any union at 24 all. It was just a group of workers. 25 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1984</p> <p>1 the workers, which actually leads to me say to you, Sir, 2 that the fact that the police who were present there, did 3 not stop us, it tells me that the place had not at that 4 time been cordoned off by the police. 5 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes, I don't want to be 6 bogged down about when exactly the cordoning off of the 7 place took place. The situation a is understand it, is 8 that you come there as a man of God and you see that there 9 is a window of opportunity to avoid further spilling of 10 blood, is that a correct assessment of your attitude? 11 RT REV SEOKA: That's true. 12 MR NTSEBEZA SC: As a person who is 13 experienced in conflict management, will you agree with you 14 and you will correct me if I'm putting a wrong position, 15 that patience is one of the ingredients that any would be 16 negotiator should have in trying to resolve, particularly a 17 potentially explosive situation? 18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes Sir, that's exactly 19 what I said to you senior counsel Semenya, that, it is just 20 like I said to Adv Semenya that patience and talking or 21 cooperation it has enough power to resolve the 22 misunderstanding, to defuse conflict. 23 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And your evidence is 24 that notwithstanding whatever plans could have been made by 25 the SAPS at resolving the dispute, notwithstanding whatever</p>

Page 1985

1 could have been done by Lonmin to resolve the dispute,
 2 having come to the scene on the 16th, you were proposing
 3 that you be given an opportunity to see if your
 4 intervention could not bear fruit?
 5 RT REV SEOKA: Yes, you must recall that
 6 up to that point the church had not been involved and
 7 therefore it should have been seen as a neutral institution
 8 coming to do that which it does best, that is creating a
 9 peaceful atmosphere.
 10 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And is it your evidence
 11 based on an impression that you had that firstly management
 12 at Lonmin had apparently reached a stage where they did not
 13 want to negotiate with the workers at the koppie?
 14 RT REV SEOKA: Honestly and I must repeat
 15 it again, there was hostility. There was anger. There was
 16 strong language that was used and it was not necessary,
 17 especially because we had come and declared our intention.
 18 We had come as messengers to relay the message that
 19 Mantashe must go and engage with the workers and, so what
 20 we had then experienced is not what one would expect from a
 21 person who is in pain and who is seeking a solution to ease
 22 that pain or to end that pain.
 23 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Was it your firm
 24 impression, again you can correct me if I'm wrong, that
 25 when you got there, the management at Lonmin seemed to have

Page 1986

1 made up their minds that they will not deal with whom they
 2 considered to be criminals and people who break the law?
 3 RT REV SEOKA: That was not my
 4 impression. That's what they told me and that was my
 5 experience of the management at that particular time.
 6 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Now in some of the
 7 questions that were put to you on behalf of Lonmin, there
 8 was, what I understood to be an attempt to put something
 9 else which was not as strong as you put what was said to
 10 you, that there never was stated to you that they will not
 11 deal with the people there because they are criminals. Do
 12 you still maintain your view that you were told that those
 13 people were engaged in criminal activity and therefore they
 14 could not be dealt with?
 15 RT REV SEOKA: I do.
 16 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Now Mr Chairman, I don't
 17 know where this statement is but I have been told. It has
 18 been discovered, it is a statement which purports to be by
 19 Mr Peter Fanyana Kwadi, the copy I have is unsigned and
 20 it's a witness statement and I don't know whether the
 21 evidence leaders can find this statement.
 22 CHAIRPERSON: I suggest you proceed with
 23 it in the meanwhile and when we resume tomorrow morning
 24 perhaps you want to give us more detail so that we can
 25 identify it more precisely. But let's not waste time.

Page 1987

1 Just carry on with it -
 2 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: To save time.
 4 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman,
 5 apparently there is a copy that is available that, Mr
 6 Kwadi, Peter Fanyana Kwadi in paragraph 9.7 of his
 7 statement says the following, I thereafter went to the JOC.
 8 I saw Bishop Seoka and other church leaders who came to the
 9 JOC requesting that management should go and address the
 10 crowd at the koppie. Mokoena, I suppose Mr Mokoena, dealt
 11 with this issue. I heard him telling the Bishop Seoka that
 12 1, it was unsafe to go and address the crowd in the light
 13 of the killings that has occurred, 2, the conduct of the
 14 crowd was unlawful and illegal and should not legitimised,
 15 3, the area had been declared as a police area and that no
 16 one was allowed to go to the koppie. Now is there anything
 17 else which you would like to add to what Mr Kwadi says was
 18 said by Mr Mokoena?
 19 MR BURGER SC: Chair, I don't know what
 20 the purpose of this questioning is. I put this statement
 21 in some many words to the Bishop this morning and he dealt
 22 with it, so my learned friend is reputing that and I'm
 23 really not sure why, where this leads to.
 24 CHAIRPERSON: He said is there anything
 25 else you want to add, which I take it means any

Page 1988

1 qualification or extra information that you haven't given
 2 us before which is relevant to the context of that
 3 statement. Ja, I will disallow the objection and the
 4 witness may, the counsel may proceed.
 5 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thanks, Chairman.
 6 Anything that you would like to add to what you said was
 7 said to you in that context?
 8 RT REV SEOKA: No, I can only say that
 9 the statement is a pure lie. The only thing that makes
 10 sense in that statement is the last statement that the
 11 place was cordoned off by the police.
 12 [15:21] MR NTSEBEZA SC: Now more tellingly is a
 13 document that has been discovered by AMCU, it is item 27 of
 14 AMCU's index, as amended - I'm told by my juniors, is a
 15 recording of the South African FM, called SAFM Forum at 8
 16 with Xolani Gwala, and it is relevant to the extent that
 17 your evidence which was contested by my learned friend from
 18 Lonmin, was that there was an unpreparedness on the part of
 19 Lonmin to further engage the workers for reasons that they
 20 stated. Now on page 8 of that statement, and I'm told it's
 21 been discovered, Mr Gwala says the following, "He is also,"
 22 and he refers to Mr Mathunjwa, "but what is important will
 23 be Mr Mokoena's response about the engagement," and this
 24 was on the 15th -
 25 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, Mr Ntsebeza, just to

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1989</p> <p>1 get clarity. I take it, I think you said this is a 2 transcript of the Forum at 8 on SAFM at some stage after 3 the 16th of August. 4 MR NTSEBEZA SC: No, it was on the 15th of 5 August. 6 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, on the 15th of 7 August, and who were the participants? Mr Xolani Gwala is 8 the presenter of the programme. 9 MR NTSEBEZA SC: He was with – 10 CHAIRPERSON: Who were his guests on the 11 programme – 12 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman. 13 Thank you. These guests were Mr Senzeni Zokwana, who is 14 the President of NUM, Mr Joseph Mathunjwa - not Mathunjwa 15 as we have been calling him – AMCU President, and Mr 16 Barnard Mokoena, Lonmin mine representative. 17 CHAIRPERSON: - to put extracts from that 18 transcript to the Bishop for his comments? 19 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Indeed. Indeed, Chair. 20 CHAIRPERSON: Please proceed. 21 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you. Thank you, 22 very much. 23 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, if I may, in case 24 there's more than one question from this, maybe request the 25 evidence leaders, should it be at hand, to supply a copy to</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1991</p> <p>1 CHAIRPERSON: Let's, first thing tomorrow 2 morning let's do the housekeeping and get this part of the 3 matter in order, but let's not delay now. Let Mr Ntsebeza 4 proceed with the cross-examination. 5 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman. 6 I must confess to have been spoilt by a more competent 7 Houdini in the form of Ms Pillay, but that being so – on 8 page 8 of this document, Mr Gwala seems to be putting it to 9 Mr Mokoena that two weeks before that date they had heard 10 rumours that there would be a march and this is how he 11 responds, "No, no, no, he's twisting the truth at the 12 expense of 10 lives," saying the reference to the people 13 who had died up to that point. "There are no engagements. 14 We have not engaged these groups of people and it is still 15 our position; we will not engage people who engage in 16 criminal activity outside the union structures." Now as I 17 said this was on the 15th, the day before all of this. 18 Already at that stage according to, Mr Mokoena had taken a 19 legalistic view and that view was that we will not engage 20 with people who engage in criminal activities. He also 21 refers to 10 bodies. On page 23 he again says the 22 following, "I must express my horror at the amount of 23 allegations when we have 10 people dead, Xolani, and it's 24 very said, we are not giving South Africans hope. We are 25 fuelling more tensions and more violence as we sit here and</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1990</p> <p>1 the Bishop of this? It is what Ms Pillay has been doing 2 throughout, but apparently things have changed here. 3 CHAIRPERSON: Surely the cross-examiner, 4 as Mr Burger did, has copies ready to hand to the witness. 5 But anyway, this didn't happen on this occasions. Ms 6 Pillay is not here today, which – so if there aren't copies 7 they can't be provided, but it obviously would be fair if 8 the Bishop could be given a copy, but if it can't be done, 9 let's not waste time, let's carry on, and if the Bishop 10 needs a passage to be repeated, he'll ask. 11 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman, may I just 12 raise the question of marking of exhibits. I do not know 13 that the statement of Mr Fanyana Peter that Mr Ntsebeza 14 referred to is already an exhibit, or is it? 15 CHAIRPERSON: No, it isn't. I understood 16 they were going to give us the reference tomorrow morning 17 and we can then mark it. 18 MR MADLANGA SC: Okay. Okay. 19 CHAIRPERSON: And presumably the same 20 will apply to this transcript from SAFM. 21 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, yes, and may I ask 22 colleagues there that if colleagues know beforehand that 23 they will be referring to documents, they should alert us 24 to that. With all the attributes of Houdini, even Houdini 25 may fail sometimes.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1992</p> <p>1 throw allegations at one another." Now was it also your 2 impression that Mr Mokoena seems to have had a view that 3 because there had been people who had died to that point, 4 10 of them, there was no need anymore to engage what he 5 considered were people who were engaged in criminal 6 activity? 7 RT REV SEOKA: That is correct. That is 8 why I said there was a lot of anger as they spoke to us. 9 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And objectively by now 10 you will know, not only were Lonmin security people being 11 killed in skirmishes that had taken place a few days before 12 this programme; two police officers had also been killed, 13 and Mr Semenya referred you to those. That now you know as 14 you sit there. 15 RT REV SEOKA: That much I know yes, 16 thank you. 17 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And in an endeavour to 18 put to you what he referred to as the belligerence of the 19 workers at the railway line, Mr Semenya indicated to you 20 that very soon after that clip where they were being told 21 by General Mpembe that they should give up their arms, two 22 police officers were brutally killed. You remember that? 23 RT REV SEOKA: I remember it yes, thank 24 you. 25 MR NTSEBEZA SC: What the clip however</p>

Page 1993

1 shows, is that after there was clearly no agreement to hand
 2 over the weapons on the basis that has been indicated, that
 3 they should be escorted to the mountain and all of that,
 4 the clip shows police officers appearing to be aiming
 5 rifles at the workers as they are going. Did you see that?
 6 RT REV SEOKA: I did, Sir. Thank you.
 7 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And one gets the
 8 impression, and I'm sure I can tell you all of us got the
 9 impression, that we are going to get visuals on a second-
 10 by-second basis that show us what happened from that point
 11 on.
 12 RT REV SEOKA: I'm looking forward to
 13 that also to see that.
 14 MR NTSEBEZA SC: I'm afraid so far we
 15 have not had any footage that shows on a second-by-second
 16 basis what happens as the marchers, or the workers are
 17 being escorted, and you didn't see that in the clip that
 18 was shown to you.
 19 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 20 MR NTSEBEZA SC: So what was put to you
 21 did not tell you, nor did it in fact relate to any footage
 22 that you have seen to show how the conflict had come about,
 23 given that there seems to have been an agreement, whether
 24 on General Mpmembe's version or on what we see, that they
 25 would be escorted to the mountain. We don't know how those

Page 1994

1 two police officers were brutally murdered.
 2 RT REV SEOKA: That's true.
 3 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Because that video
 4 footage simply cuts off.
 5 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 6 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And in the context of it
 7 being put to you that two police officers were brutally
 8 killed, it was not put to you, just for your information,
 9 that out of that skirmish – and it seemed now to be
 10 uncontested – three workers got killed out of that
 11 skirmish. One of them is actually reflected in slide
 12 number 55, I think, of exhibit – all three of them are
 13 depicted in slide 56 of exhibit L. Do you see that?
 14 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 15 MR NTSEBEZA SC: So it's not as though,
 16 however it arose, and this is the point that I seek to
 17 make, people died as a consequence of that skirmish.
 18 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.
 19 MR NTSEBEZA SC: You appreciate it. And
 20 on the Police version, just on their version, the death was
 21 occasioned because the workers – and I am putting their
 22 version as they put it in slide 47 – the workers decided to
 23 go to where they live in the informal settlements and the
 24 Police took it upon themselves to use teargas, stun
 25 grenades, which produced two large explosive sounds on

Page 1995

1 their version, this being an effort to disperse the
 2 protesters, not to escort them wherever, and on their
 3 version to discourage from entering their path.
 4 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair -
 5 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Now I'm asking you as –
 6 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, I was going to
 7 note an objection. Our version is not that they were going
 8 to where they live; it was to protect the informal
 9 settlement from possible risk.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: No, there are two points.
 11 The first is your version is not that they were going to
 12 where they lived; your version according to 47 is they
 13 changed direction towards the village. Whether they lived
 14 there or not, isn't clear from 47.
 15 MR SEMENYA SC: That's what Mr Ntsebeza
 16 said.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: What you also say on 46 is
 18 you wanted to prevent them from entering the informal
 19 settlement to prevent possible incidents of looting and/or
 20 safeguard innocent lives. So that's necessary, which has
 21 now been cleared up. But in the light, I think Mr
 22 Ntsebeza, to put it slightly, he went beyond what your case
 23 was because he said they were going to where they live, and
 24 that's not part of what appears on 47. But now that
 25 point's been taken, has been removed, perhaps Mr Ntsebeza

Page 1996

1 can carry on.
 2 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman.
 3 I am simply putting to you, Bishop, that it would appear on
 4 the Police version the skirmish occurred because the
 5 workers decided, or some of them decided to change
 6 direction towards the village. Did you get that?
 7 RT REV SEOKA: I got that, yes.
 8 CHAIRPERSON: And Mr Ntsebeza, that isn't
 9 even necessary, right. I mean if you look at 49, slide 49,
 10 the workers were, I take it in the vicinity of that brown
 11 triangle above the words "Mine headquarters," and if they
 12 were going from there to the koppies, which we see, in
 13 other words they were going in a north-easterly direction
 14 towards the koppies, they were going to the koppie, right.
 15 Now if they were going more or less in a straight line,
 16 they might well have gone through the informal village. So
 17 they weren't necessarily even changing direction. They may
 18 have been going from the shortest route from where they
 19 started to the koppie. So those are the two aspects that
 20 the witness has to consider, aren't they?
 21 [15:41] MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes. Thank you very
 22 much, Chairman, and of course, Bishop, you've heard that,
 23 but so far, and in view of what was being put to you as
 24 suggestive of a belligerent group of people who were
 25 disobeying a command to hand up their weapons. We have not

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1997</p> <p>1 been told either on the basis of this reason or unhappily 2 because we don't have footage that shows what happened. We 3 don't seem to be able to get to know whether there was an 4 engagement by the police to say, why are you now changing 5 directions? Is that right? 6 RT REV SEOKA: That's right, and also to 7 say that it puzzles one that asked to be escorted, and 8 subsequently there's a skirmish and one does not know when 9 it actually happened, and how it happened. 10 MR NTSEBEZA SC: So the only and simple 11 proposition that I want to put to you, is that we do not 12 seem to have sufficient basis on – sufficient grounds on 13 the evidence that you were referred to, as you were being 14 cross-examined by SAPS, to conclude that one, that skirmish 15 was as a consequence of a belligerent disposition on the 16 part of the workers, even on whether in fact they had 17 changed direction. What we know, is that the police 18 started to use tear gas, stun grenades to disperse 19 protesters and to discourage them from their intended path, 20 would you have a comment on that? 21 RT REV SEOKA: That's what we know from 22 the records provided to us by the police. 23 MR NTSEBEZA SC: And these are people who 24 had volunteered to be escorted. 25 RT REV SEOKA: Yes.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1999</p> <p>1 three weeks before this event. Ms Pillay may have been – 2 it's exhibit S, I think. You may not have it before you. 3 This is what it says as a directive, from the National 4 Commissioner, sent to all provincial commissioners, all 5 divisional commissioners – 6 CHAIRPERSON: I am sorry to interrupt 7 you, this is exhibit S, letter from the National 8 Commissioner to Provincial Commissioner, the 20th of July 9 2012, exhibit S. 10 MR NTSEBEZA SC: That's the one, 11 Chairman. "All deputy National Commissioners, Chief of 12 Staff, Secretary of Police." You don't have it before you, 13 but I can tell you the Commission has it in front of them. 14 3.3 says the following which is why I asking for your 15 comment on the absence of critical video footage. "POP 16 stands for public order police. Operational Commanders 17 must ensure that video footage is taken of the crowd 18 throughout the phases and including during the use of 19 minimum force. The record keeper must also record 20 everything on the operational diary. The member who gives 21 the command for action must not take part in the action." 22 Now, let's assume that this is all we have, what we saw, is 23 all we have, and we do not have, not include the critical 24 aspect, I will ask the question that I put to you, wouldn't 25 that be remarkable in the light of an injunction that</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 1998</p> <p>1 MR NTSEBEZA SC: In fact from the slides, 2 it is clear that the police were standing in a position of 3 readiness to fire. When you look at the spokesperson of 4 the workers he had his hands up, which is a sign of 5 surrender. Now in these days of cell phone footages and 6 everything else that records what happens, and given the 7 fact that we now know that this belligerent group of 8 workers on the railway line were recorded throughout what 9 they said, what they did, my learned friend even referred 10 to them sabre rattling, iron upon iron, singing, one day in 11 private company, I will even tell you what the lyrics are 12 saying. Now, I'll ask the question that I asked from 13 Colonel Botha in similar circumstances, don't you find it 14 remarkable that we don't have police or Lonmin footage from 15 the time that these people appear to be escorted, that 16 reflects on a point by point basis, how the conflict arose 17 that took away five lives. 18 RT REV SEOKA: That is what one would 19 have expected if the belief was that the situation was 20 volatile and that was potential violence, and the fact that 21 it is not there, it's puzzling and very surprising 22 actually. 23 MR NTSEBEZA SC: In fact, Bishop, there 24 is, I don't know whether it has been given an exhibit 25 number, but it is the letter of the 20th of July 2012 about</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2000</p> <p>1 please make sure is given only two weeks, two to three 2 weeks before that. 3 RT REV SEOKA: It is indeed remarkable 4 that that happened. 5 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Bishop, I share your 6 passion as a mediator alternative dispute resolution 7 mechanism, convert and a negotiator, it's my latest 8 passion. On the clip that you were shown, that clip 9 records an incident on the 13th of August, General Mpembe 10 apparently has a mandate to disarm and disperse that group 11 of people, because that's what he says. They reach the 12 point in that footage where one of the workers unarmed, you 13 can talk, you can say something about Mambush or the man 14 [African language] having gone there with still with his 15 weapons, the last person who goes to General Mpembe, he is 16 unarmed, his is young, from what I can see, [African 17 language] and he goes there, and he says, Tata, Tata. We 18 have no destroyed anybody's thing, we have not taken 19 anybody [African language] we have not, you know, all we 20 want you to do, is to escort us and when we get up there, 21 we will then hand your weapons over to you. We will never 22 know whether that would have happened. But what we see and 23 you will correct me if I am wrong, is a very impatient 24 General Mpembe, who then says, [African language] I don't 25 have a problem with you, my problem [African language].</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2001</p> <p>1 Now as a negotiator, and as a conflict resolution person, 2 how would you view that as a tactic? 3 MR BURGER SC: I object to that question, 4 Chair, this witness has disavowed any reliance on being a 5 negotiator. In fact I was taken to task this morning in an 6 unguarded moment, of referring to negotiation between him 7 and the group. 8 MR NTSEBEZA SC: He has not, excuse me 9 Chairman, he had not disavowed himself of being a 10 negotiator, what he did was to say he was not negotiating 11 in the circumstances of that case in the 16th. If anything, 12 he has in fact extolled himself as a person who has been 13 involved and trained in conflict management negotiations. 14 CHAIRPERSON: It's not necessary to hear 15 you further, Mr Ntsebeza. Mr Burger, if you look at 16 paragraph 2 and 3 of exhibit M, you will see that the 17 Bishop says that he was frequently called on to avert to 18 de-escalate violent confrontations and he goes on to say, 19 "I have specialised knowledge of and experience in conflict 20 management in the mining industry." And I understood him 21 to qualify himself as an expert in this area. So in my 22 opinion, the questions he's being asked, admittedly would 23 be, the answers would be of an opinion nature, he is 24 qualified in terms of what he said to express an opinion. 25 So the objection is disallowed, you may proceed, Mr</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2003</p> <p>1 number, and have not done what I've asked of you, I will do 2 something. That's my assumption. 3 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Mr Chairman, if you 4 could give me five more minutes, just five. 5 CHAIRPERSON: I'll give you six. 6 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Now, when times were put 7 to you, as to when you came there, and what you were doing 8 with whom you were, I think part of the endeavour was to – 9 in fact I think it was put to you by SAPS that at the time 10 that you sought an intervention it was time already for 11 phase 3 to kick in, because the police had done all the 12 negotiation that could have been done, they had asked for 13 the workers to disarm themselves, but the time had now come 14 because those attempts had failed for another phase to kick 15 in, the last phase. 16 RT REV SEOKA: I think that could be true 17 because the attitude of Commissioner just walking away and 18 pretends to go and get food, and never come back would 19 indicate that she only had no time to talk to us. 20 MR NTSEBEZA SC: But is it fair to say 21 that even if that may well have been so, your coming to 22 Lonmin or Marikana on that day was by way of saying, can we 23 try another method? I am coming here as a man of God, as a 24 person experiences in conflict management, I think there is 25 a possible way in which you can deal with this.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2002</p> <p>1 Ntsebeza but I don't know how much longer you are going to 2 be with this point, so if you could perhaps round it off at 3 the time when we normally adjourn, it might be helpful. 4 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Not very long, Mr 5 Chairman. You know, I keep my promises. Now in fact, as 6 it is just for the record, the witness has said in 7 paragraph 3 of his statement, he has specialised knowledge 8 of and experience in conflict in the mining industry. Now, 9 I was asking you for your views on, given the volatile 10 nature of that situation as you see it on the video, what 11 do you think of General Mpenbe's reaction to what seems to 12 be a proposition in a tense situation? 13 RT REV SEOKA: I think it was a desperate 14 unprofessional way of handling a situation that could 15 explode at any time, as he assumed. If I were him, I would 16 have handled it differently. 17 MR NTSEBEZA SC: Yes, I will not go into 18 how you would have dealt with it. If I heard him correctly 19 or clearly he began to count even as Xolani or the worker 20 was beginning to talk to him. He says, "I am now 21 counting," like listen, you hand over, it's my way or the 22 highway, did you observe that? When he said, I am 23 counting. 24 RT REV SEOKA: That's an indication of 25 being impatient and threatening really, if I count to this</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2004</p> <p>1 [16:01] RT REV SEOKA: That is exactly our 2 attitude and why I was there, but we also say that we had 3 experience in the mining environment, we have worked there. 4 We have trained in that context, and we have some 5 understanding and experience of the behaviour of miners. 6 MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed, as you yourself 7 say, or as it is universally accepted, you became the 8 broker of the peace deal in Marikana after all these 9 tragedies, is it not? 10 RT REV SEOKA: I believe that if the 11 church had not moved in, there would have been worse 12 situation than what we experienced. 13 MR SEMENYA SC: If I'm correct, even 14 after the events of the 16th, the workers continued to 15 assemble there, continued to carry their traditional 16 weapons, and the situation became volatile, and if I 17 understood you well, it was precisely for that reason that 18 when you intervened, you said one the bases on which any 19 agreement will be reached is when you decide to disarm 20 yourselves, is that correct? 21 RT REV SEOKA: That's correct. 22 MR SEMENYA SC: That is why in fact you 23 say you do not think that those who were seeking a solution 24 should have been driven by time, but by reason. Is that 25 what you sought to convey?</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2005</p> <p>1 RT REV SEOKA: That's exactly what I was 2 trying to convey to those people there. 3 MR SEMENYA SC: And finally – 4 RT REV SEOKA: That's the nature of 5 negotiations, that's the nature of managing conflict 6 situations. You appeal for space rather than time. 7 MR SEMENYA SC: And finally, you'll 8 correct me if I'm wrong, in paragraph 31 of your statement, 9 I know that you still regret that there was that kind of 10 operation, because it resulted in what you say, injuries 11 and what have you, but talking about alternatives to 12 disarming protestors, it doesn't appear that there was no 13 alternative to do so in the manner in which it was done on 14 this date in September, would you agree? 15 RT REV SEOKA: I'll agree. 16 MR SEMENYA SC: In fact, after that raid 17 every television programme carried large amounts of spears, 18 pangas and assegais which had been taken from the workers. 19 RT REV SEOKA: That is correct. 20 CHAIRPERSON: Sir, you could have six 21 minutes, you had, and you did say finally, I take it this 22 is going to be the last question which is going to be 23 preceded by the words finally, in conclusion? 24 MR SEMENYA SC: It's the last question, 25 Chair. I won't finish him off, but I will finish. Bishop,</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2007</p> <p>1 to clarify some of the things that the bishop has said, 2 we'll wait for more involved witnesses in the affair to put 3 our questions. We will not cross-examine the witness. 4 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, we've also got the 5 evidence leaders as well I think. I wonder if the best 6 thing to do is not simply to adjourn now, I won't excuse 7 the bishop, we won't expect him back tomorrow, and by 8 negotiation with the evidence leaders, arrangements can be 9 made for him to return on a date that suits everybody. I 10 think that's the sensible way to do it, okay. So thank you 11 bishop for your attendance today. I'm sorry we weren't 12 able to, to use an unfortunate expression, finish you off, 13 but you'll come back on a date in future which will be 14 arranged with the evidence leaders and the representatives 15 of parties. 16 RT REV SEOKA: Thank you very much for 17 the opportunity. 18 CHAIRPERSON: On that basis, the 19 Commission will adjourn until 09:30 tomorrow morning. 20 [COMMISSION ADJOURNED] 21 . 22 . 23 . 24 . 25 .</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 2006</p> <p>1 I have lost my track. 2 CHAIRPERSON: Your cross-examination? 3 MR SEMENYA SC: The bishop will be away – 4 CHAIRPERSON: No, that's the next 5 question I want to raise with Mr Mpofu, whose witness he 6 is. We're not finished, we're going to have to adjourn 7 now. 8 MR SEMENYA SC: Alright. 9 CHAIRPERSON: We're not finished. Is the 10 bishop available? I suppose I should ask the bishop. Are 11 you available tomorrow, Bishop? 12 RT REV SEOKA: I can be available in the 13 afternoon, but I'm sure to be available on Monday. 14 CHAIRPERSON: The difficulty, we normally 15 end reasonably early in the afternoon, because people have 16 to catch aeroplanes and things – 17 MR MPOFU: Chair, if I may, I know we are 18 supposed to adjourn now, could – assuming that there's not 19 much longer cross-examination, can't we just finish – 20 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, but Mr Bizos has 21 still got to cross-examine him. 22 MR MPOFU: Oh okay. 23 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Gumbi has got to cross- 24 examine. Yes? 25 MR BIZOS SC: Although we don't – we want</p>	

<p>A able 1913:18 1931:12 1997:3 2007:12 absence 1925:19 1999:15 absolutely 1935:5 1982:5 acceded 1959:25 accept 1898:8 1901:1,2 1901:5 1902:17 1904:7,8 1905:18 1906:8 1907:15 1909:2,10 1912:17 1930:13 1933:17 1945:17,21 1950:9 1953:14,21 1960:7 1962:11,18,24 1963:18 1964:11 acceptable 1940:17 accepted 1880:16 1885:16 1943:4 2004:7 accompanied 1931:2 1982:19 accompany 1889:4,5 account 1974:15 accounts 1962:3 accurate 1899:9 accused 1965:5,7 accusing 1971:18 achieve 1962:22 achieved 1928:18 1930:15,19,19 acknowledgement 1929:1 acquainted 1981:4 act 1892:4 1924:19,20 action 1999:21,21 activities 1991:20 activity 1986:13 1991:16 1992:6 acts 1925:12 actual 1941:4 1957:8 acute 1970:4 add 1886:13 1916:19 1925:5 1987:17,25 1988:6 added 1947:17 adding 1967:8 additional 1882:6 address 1882:25 1883:12 1887:22 1890:2 1899:13 1916:6 1921:4 1922:3 1923:5 1924:14 1943:1 1958:5 1965:13 1987:9,12 addressed 1896:7 1900:17 1901:8 1921:9 1953:7 1971:3 addresses 1884:16 addressing 1885:9 1899:6,7 1919:20 1967:8,12 1971:6 adjourn 1913:21</p>	<p>2002:3 2006:6,18 2007:6,19 ADJOURNED 2007:20 adjournment 1949:17 1957:17,20 ADJOURNS 1913:22 1957:21 admiration 1939:15 admit 1901:16 admittedly 2001:22 Adv 1984:20 advanced 1979:17 advisability 1925:9 advise 1889:7 advised 1926:3 1981:11 aeroplanes 2006:16 af 1893:13 affair 2007:2 affinity 1969:18 affording 1930:24 afraid 1886:1 1993:14 Africa 1940:7 1972:14 African 1950:20 1958:13 1960:11 1969:18 1988:15 2000:14,16,19,24,25 Africans 1991:24 afternoon 1882:19 1898:8 1903:19 1905:4,16 1912:20 1913:15 1934:9 2006:13,15 age 1934:14,15 agree 1901:19 1912:20 1914:7 1929:15 1934:1,2,6 1935:8 1942:17 1952:16,18 1956:18 1957:6 1963:1,11,14 1984:13 2005:14,15 agreed 1908:14 1909:1 agreement 1993:1,23 2004:19 aimed 1930:19 aiming 1993:4 air 1917:15 alert 1990:23 alia 1880:10 alive 1932:4 allegation 1962:9 allegations 1991:23 1992:1 alleged 1975:11 1978:22 allocate 1878:20 allow 1886:5 1892:4,20 1893:10 1919:13,13 1965:12 allowed 1884:3 1894:1 1961:12 1980:22 1987:16 alluded 1886:24 1971:1 Alright 1936:11 1980:14 2006:8 alternative 2000:6 2005:13</p>	<p>alternatively 1886:19 alternatives 2005:11 ambiguous 1927:18 AMCU 1900:16 1914:24 1979:23 1980:2,10 1982:11,12 1982:23 1988:13 1989:15 AMCU's 1988:14 amended 1988:14 America 1938:1 amount 1940:7 1991:22 amounts 1901:23 2005:17 and/or 1995:19 anger 1887:11,13 1985:15 1992:8 angles 1905:13 angry 1893:13 Annandale 1904:12 1905:5 announced 1913:14,15 answer 1880:6,8,9,18 1888:3,18,19 1889:8 1890:20,22 1891:1 1892:13 1893:24,24 1895:4 1896:6 1913:12 1920:15 1934:15 1937:13 1947:6 1956:23 1963:5 answered 1890:18 1973:10 answering 1880:8 1971:14 1973:11 answers 2001:23 anthropologist 1930:3 anti-NUM 1976:25 anxiety 1967:24 anxious 1895:24 1972:9 anybody 1893:10 1913:7 1952:19 1963:2,2 1982:10,14 1983:25 2000:19 anybody's 1921:16 2000:18 anymore 1992:4 anyway 1942:25 1947:16 1990:5 apart 1914:20 apparently 1985:12 1987:5 1990:2 2000:10 appeal 1971:3 2005:6 appealing 1972:21 appear 1950:12 1996:3 1998:15 2005:12 appeared 1899:4 appearing 1993:4 appears 1937:12 1995:24 apply 1990:20 appreciate 1966:16 1967:20 1968:6</p>	<p>1994:19 approach 1882:7,8,9 1882:11 1904:13 1940:19 appropriate 1878:1 1902:24 appropriateness 1969:9 approximate 1944:16 approximately 1973:23 Archbishop 1980:15,16 area 1884:2,3 1892:1 1892:12,16 1904:19 1906:11,12,16,17 1922:12 1930:6 1987:15,15 2001:21 aren't 1943:20 1944:3 1990:6 1996:20 argue 1880:23 1886:11 1890:18 1937:25 1972:15 1974:16 argument 1932:5 armed 1882:13 1944:2 1961:14 arms 1966:22 1992:21 arose 1994:16 1998:16 arrange 1893:25 arranged 2007:14 arrangements 2007:8 arrest 1953:13 arrested 1942:3 arrival 1894:19 1913:6 arrive 1896:19 arrived 1882:6 1894:17 1896:11,15,19 1901:4 1901:11,13 1902:12 1904:1,11 aside 1894:22 1946:3 asked 1877:9 1887:7,21 1887:24 1892:9 1894:4 1904:16 1908:9 1919:16 1925:3 1941:17 1943:4 1954:11 1957:7 1958:2 1971:8 1971:15 1974:3 1981:24 1982:14 1997:7 1998:12 2001:22 2003:1,12 asking 1890:21 1898:12,21 1901:9 1946:21 1953:24 1954:1 1963:3 1964:17 1965:8 1995:5 1999:14 2002:9 aspect 1943:10 1975:4 1999:24 aspects 1996:19 assaulted 1963:14 assegais 2005:18 assemble 2004:15 assessment 1965:24 1966:4 1984:10 assist 1981:6 assistance 1915:9,25</p>	<p>assume 1881:22 1884:19 1894:5 1999:22 assumed 1894:3 1897:14 2002:15 assuming 1889:25 2006:18 assumption 2003:2 assured 1948:4 1965:10 1968:19 atmosphere 1985:9 attack 1970:18 attacking 1952:19 1963:2 1970:13 attempt 1986:8 attempted 1961:12 attempts 1966:22 2003:14 attendance 1916:4 2007:11 attest 1933:12 attitude 1917:22 1971:9 1984:10 2003:17 2004:2 attorney 1877:9 1942:10 attributes 1914:6 1990:24 Audi 1900:1 auditorium 1958:21,24 August 1877:18 1878:3 1878:17,18,24 1879:17 1880:6 1881:5,25 1882:5,15 1886:13 1904:5 1908:13,24 1909:19 1911:14 1914:2,20 1918:14,17 1919:1,25 1920:2,25 1921:12 1922:19,22 1923:20 1925:20 1930:12 1943:16 1944:6,16 1946:18 1949:23 1962:11 1975:12,19 1975:21 1976:1 1977:12,22 1981:3 1989:3,5,7 2000:9 authentic 1886:21 authority 1932:9 1938:12 available 1987:5 2006:10,11,12,13 avert 1955:14,25 2001:17 averted 1945:11 1946:16 avoid 1903:6 1952:23 1954:16 1984:9 avoided 1921:6 1924:21 1953:22 1956:16 1957:3 1983:24 avoiding 1955:11 avoids 1955:9 aware 1881:16 1882:14 1882:17 1918:23</p>
---	--	--	---	---

1919:20 1923:21 1948:10,18,23 1974:20	belief 1929:11,17,21,24 1930:3 1931:6,17 1946:15 1998:19 believe 1877:7 1887:2 1889:24 1891:6 1898:15 1908:18 1909:13 1925:22 1926:7,9,25,25 1927:8 1930:23 1933:18 1938:18 1942:5,11 1947:25 1965:15,19 1968:4 1969:20,23 1972:25 1976:18 2004:10 believed 1896:20 believes 1942:7 belligerence 1992:18 belligerent 1943:19 1945:16 1996:24 1997:15 1998:7 belong 1982:23 belonged 1982:22 belongs 1889:12 bench 1934:10 benefit 1951:2 benefits 1930:21 beseech 1940:11 best 1972:2 1985:8 2007:5 better 1934:18,19 1941:22 1947:1 1951:21 beyond 1919:8 1967:12 1995:22 Bible 1940:15,19 big 1968:1 bishops 1940:18 bit 1931:23 Bizos 1947:10 2006:20 2006:25 black 1900:4 blame 1888:16,23 1889:9,10 1890:25 1892:11 blamed 1965:12 blanket 1949:3 blind 1945:13,15,19 1946:16 1947:20 1948:3,12 blood 1984:10 bobby 1938:3 bodies 1920:10 1922:5 1991:21 bogged 1984:6 book 1922:15 Botha 1998:13 bother 1938:11 bothers 1942:25 bound 1877:13 breach 1892:11,15 break 1913:10 1933:20 1986:2 breaking 1913:9 1933:22 1934:20 brief 1894:8 1962:5 briefly 1877:16	1910:15 1916:23 1975:2 Brigadier 1905:5 bring 1898:17 1969:12 broad 1919:8 1921:25 1968:3 broader 1918:9 1919:2 1919:23 1921:5 broker 1889:19 2004:8 brought 1886:17 1897:25 1898:17,18 1898:20 1902:5 1916:18 1932:20 1933:3 1966:9 brown 1996:10 Bruinders 1980:4,10 brutally 1960:7,23 1992:22 1994:1,7 build 1934:4 building 1906:14,19 1970:5 bullet 1900:16 bullets 1962:1 burnings 1880:3 by-second 1993:10	1969:3 1972:6 1989:23 1995:22 2001:11 catch 2006:16 categorically 1909:6 category 1932:7 cause 1887:16 caused 1972:25 cautious 1960:1 CC 1878:2 celebration 1931:1 cell 1973:9,11,18 1981:12 1998:5 Centre 1924:2 certain 1976:4 certainly 1977:20 1982:10 Chair 1877:8 1878:6,25 1881:2,10 1887:8 1890:11 1893:14 1900:24 1901:6 1903:15 1911:15,17 1913:16 1914:1 1917:24 1919:19 1920:4 1924:7,25 1926:23 1927:10,13 1927:14 1937:9,12 1938:15 1943:13 1944:14 1946:20 1949:11,13,21 1950:12 1951:4,12,14 1951:14,25 1952:12 1954:18 1955:23 1957:17,25 1958:7 1962:13 1965:15 1970:9 1974:23 1975:2 1979:21 1980:8,22 1987:19 1989:19 1995:4,6 2001:4 2005:25 2006:17 Chairman 1936:4,5 1944:10 1955:1 1956:2,6,9,10 1980:3 1980:13 1986:16 1987:2,4 1988:5 1989:12 1990:11 1991:5 1996:2,22 1999:11 2001:9 2002:5 2003:3 challenge 1920:3 challenged 1885:13 chance 1881:7 1886:20 1886:22 1925:2 1965:16 change 1893:14 1895:7 1937:16 1939:2 1996:5 changed 1961:18 1971:17 1990:2 1995:13 1997:17 changing 1996:17 1997:4 chaplain 1897:4,6,6,19 1903:18 1906:23,25 1906:25 1907:9	chaplains 1941:5 charge 1884:7 1889:3 1961:24 charged 1953:6 1957:10 charging 1957:11 checking 1886:20 chest 1928:14 Chief 1999:11 child 1934:17 children 1976:21 choice 1923:24 choose 1954:6 Christians 1930:18 church 1880:17,18 1916:16 1938:17 1941:1 1965:3 1985:6 1987:8 2004:11 churches 1940:18 circumspect 1931:16 circumstances 1998:13 2001:11 City 1957:15 civic 1938:13 civil 1969:17 civilian 1938:4 civilians 1966:11 claimed 1903:1 claims 1909:14 clarification 1975:3 clarify 2007:1 clarity 1909:8 1989:1 clear 1939:22 1958:24 1973:15 1975:18 1979:16 1980:20 1995:14 1998:2 cleared 1943:3 1995:21 clearly 1893:22 1993:1 2002:19 clergy 1880:12 1940:18 1941:4 clergyman 1919:22 clip 1949:5,8,19 1950:1 1950:7,14 1954:21 1955:2 1956:12 1959:9 1992:20,25 1993:4,17 2000:8,8 clips 1878:2 1949:9 1951:9 closer 1967:22 closing 1967:25 codicil 1947:17 coherent 1890:20 cold 1897:5 collaboration 1889:15 colleague 1883:7 1902:12 1944:11 1982:11 colleagues 1990:22,22 colleague's 1885:1 Colonel 1998:13 come 1881:21 1887:22 1887:24 1898:21 1906:7 1916:5 1930:16,20,23,25 1934:10 1960:15
B		C		

1966:11 1968:16,18 1972:16,17 1982:2,18 1984:8 1985:2,17,18 1993:22 2003:13,18 2007:13 comes 1884:22 1925:15 coming 1977:1,6 1985:8 2003:21,23 command 1884:6 1890:15 1932:10 1967:1 1970:11 1996:25 1999:21 Commanders 1999:16 commanding 1889:6 1905:23 commence 1905:7 comment 1880:10 1898:13 1899:21 1901:3,10 1923:21,23 1926:4 1997:20 1999:15 comments 1927:5 1936:17 1989:18 Commission 1877:3 1883:10 1898:2 1906:7 1913:21,22,22 1913:23 1923:16 1926:20 1931:10 1944:19 1957:21,21 1959:25 1966:14 1972:15 1999:13 2007:19,20 commissioner 1889:2 1889:10,20,23 1893:12,13 1894:1,5 1894:12,18 1895:1,19 1896:4,25 1897:8,19 1905:12 1907:11 1917:14 1953:8 1963:4 1965:25 1966:5,14 1969:16 1970:12,24 1971:4,13 1971:23 1972:3,4 1999:4,8,8 2003:17 commissioners 1886:4 1886:5 1944:11 1958:1 1999:4,5,11 Commissioner's 1893:6 1906:12 commit 1960:18 committed 1981:22 common 1887:16 1929:19 commotion 1905:12 communicate 1904:14 1916:18 communication 1969:15 community 1932:5 1933:14 1965:10 companion 1887:6 company 1883:3 1887:19,23 1890:14 1894:11 1906:16 1916:15,21 1976:17 1979:9,14 1998:11	company's 1887:13 1889:25 1890:12 competent 1991:6 complainant 1941:9 complainants 1942:15 complaint 1891:24 complete 1955:17 completely 1932:22 completeness 1917:21 complied 1951:11 compromised 1983:20 concede 1933:10 1968:25 conceded 1898:25 1901:25 1948:18 concern 1982:16 concerned 1891:5 1893:7 1895:25 1911:7 1920:24 1921:1 1941:4 1946:25 1976:3 concerns 1975:5 concession 1943:3,8 conclude 1886:9 1997:14 concluded 1896:22 conclusion 1925:23 1932:20 2005:23 condemn 1964:5 condemnation 1964:16 conduct 1882:9 1883:20 1929:20 1962:18 1963:11 1964:15,21 1966:5 1969:9 1987:13 conduct/behaviour 1965:25 confess 1947:4 1991:6 confession 1942:13 confidence 1934:4 confine 1919:16 confirm 1878:22 1943:17 conflict 1940:22 1968:23 1981:6 1984:13,22 1993:22 1998:16 2001:1,13,19 2002:8 2003:24 2005:5 confrontation 1952:23 1953:23 1954:16 1955:11,14,25 1956:16 1957:2 1961:11 1965:3 confrontations 2001:18 confused 1911:18 1983:23 confusion 1911:21 conscience 1942:2 consequence 1963:9 1994:17 1997:15 consequences 1921:7,8 consider 1880:24 1968:12 1996:20 consideration 1882:11 considered 1893:11	1921:19 1986:2 1992:5 consistent 1899:18 1946:11 Constance 1906:5 Constitution 1933:25 constructively 1887:1 contact 1946:9 1983:25 contained 1919:14 contemplate 1893:12 1896:4 contest 1973:23 contested 1885:4 1988:17 contesting 1885:3 context 1957:7,13 1958:2,3 1983:25 1988:2,7 1994:6 2004:4 contingent 1966:25 continue 1953:24 1956:3 1978:13 continued 2004:14,15 continuum 1967:2 contradict 1930:7 1931:12,20 contradicted 1962:17 contrast 1963:25 contribute 1919:9 control 1894:25 convenience 1879:9 convenient 1913:19,20 1936:1 1957:16 1975:8 conversation 1925:16 1957:6 1969:16 1972:10 convert 2000:7 convey 2004:25 2005:2 conveyed 1895:8 1971:13 1972:3 1975:25 1976:5 conveying 1972:1 conviction 1908:20 cooperate 1954:14 cooperated 1924:9 cooperation 1984:21 copies 1879:1,2 1941:9 1941:11 1990:4,6 copy 1986:19 1987:5 1989:25 1990:8 cordoned 1888:15,18 1888:24 1890:5,8,23 1891:11 1892:1,3 1904:1 1912:13,21 1913:2,5,16 1984:4 1988:11 cordoning 1896:6 1913:14 1984:6 corner 1879:25 1934:12 correct 1883:1 1885:17 1886:4 1891:23 1892:6 1897:15 1899:15 1905:13,19 1908:14 1910:18	1911:14 1916:25 1917:1 1918:11 1920:8,16,17 1924:24 1929:5,9 1930:8 1931:12,20 1932:6,22 1935:15 1936:6,19,20 1937:12 1940:20 1946:4,6 1947:23 1948:15,20 1951:23 1970:22 1984:10,14 1985:24 1992:7 2000:23 2004:13,20 2004:21 2005:8,19 correcting 1903:6 correctly 1885:10 1894:2 1966:1 2002:18 couldn't 1882:19 1888:13,14 1890:22 1896:3 1913:1 1950:17 1952:6 1963:1 counsel 1935:24 1942:1 1942:9 1972:20 1984:19 1988:4 count 2002:19,25 countered 1927:16 counterproposals 1956:15 counting 2002:21,23 country 1919:10 1923:14 1931:24 1932:21 1933:15 1937:15 1938:1,4,19 1938:25 1939:1,9 couple 1980:19 course 1879:3,6 1922:22 1957:23 1973:20 1975:6,17 1980:5 1996:22 court 1942:7 cover 1919:14 co-operation 1919:10 create 1886:25 1972:22 created 1951:24 creating 1985:8 crime 1960:18 criminal 1986:13 1991:16,20 1992:5 criminals 1883:4 1908:7 1986:2,11 crises 1918:10 critical 1921:17 1964:20 1999:15,23 criticism 1889:18,19 cross 1891:22 1928:14 1928:23 1930:18 1935:15 1937:5 1951:18 1954:19 1980:9 2006:23 cross-examination 1877:4 1885:1 1927:12 1937:4 1941:21 1949:18 1951:17 1975:1 1979:22 1980:1	1991:4 2006:2,19 cross-examine 2006:21 2007:3 cross-examined 1997:14 cross-examiner 1990:3 cross-examining 1913:25 1936:15 crowd 1882:25 1883:12 1883:20 1884:16 1885:9 1899:6,7,13 1943:16 1967:14 1977:1,6 1987:10,12 1987:14 1999:17 crucial 1983:24 culminating 1970:6 cultural 1921:20 1922:3 culture 1931:4,7 curt 1894:8 cuts 1994:4
D				
dangerous 1904:16,20 1913:8,8 1944:2 1946:12 1950:1 1961:23 dark 1968:5 date 1908:17 1977:13 1977:22 1978:1 1991:9 2005:14 2007:9,13 day 1877:15,18 1883:25 1887:10 1891:10 1897:10 1899:17,24 1902:12 1904:3 1909:14 1919:5 1927:16 1944:6 1951:8 1963:16 1964:9 1965:17 1966:1 1968:16 1969:3 1973:1 1991:17 1998:10 2003:22 daylight 1968:4 days 1914:20 1924:13 1942:10,21 1992:11 1998:5 DD 1878:12,20 1881:19 1881:20 dead 1922:5,14 1925:10 1973:21 1974:7 1991:23 deal 1880:19 1889:15 1889:19 1910:14 1911:10 1913:17 1916:18 1918:9 1919:2 1920:1 1937:10 1940:4 1943:10 1969:15 1983:6 1986:1,11 2003:25 2004:8 dealing 1915:20,22 1923:17 1940:3 1975:9 dealings 1926:9				

<p>1940:25 dealt 1917:12 1927:8 1986:14 1987:10,21 2002:18 death 1920:25 1921:11 1947:11 1962:2 1963:20 1968:23 1970:6 1994:20 deaths 1965:2 1982:16 1982:17 1983:2 debate 1954:7,9 1960:2 December 1920:25 decide 2004:19 decided 1882:8 1953:23 1967:18 1994:22 1996:5,5 decisions 1904:7,11 declared 1884:2 1948:22 1985:17 1987:15 deep 1929:24 1942:2 defend 1942:20 defended 1942:3 defer 1931:5 1969:1 deferred 1967:7 definitely 1909:6 defuse 1970:24 1984:22 delay 1991:3 deliberately 1956:19 demand 1959:25 demands 1916:20 1979:10,17 denial 1887:14 deny 1883:14,15,21 1926:11 1942:16 depicted 1994:13 depiction 1955:17 deployment 1966:25 deputy 1953:8 1999:11 described 1976:8 1977:1 description 1949:14 1976:11 1978:23 design 1952:8 desires 1930:24 desperate 1968:13 2002:13 despite 1880:11 1896:5 destroyed 2000:18 detail 1915:8,24 1916:12 1983:12 1986:24 detour 1952:23 1954:2 detracted 1924:21 developing 1983:24 de-escalate 2001:18 diary 1999:20 didn't 1883:6 1884:23 1884:24 1887:5,11,11 1887:14 1888:3,20,21 1890:11 1891:2,25 1892:2,14 1897:25 1901:8,15,16,20 1903:3,5,12 1904:9 1904:23 1905:2,3,8,9 1905:23 1906:24</p>	<p>1907:6 1909:2 1910:16,23 1911:7,13 1912:8 1922:9 1925:15 1939:18 1941:12 1948:6 1950:24 1953:2,4,25 1954:1 1958:9 1959:19 1960:4 1963:2,22 1967:15 1969:5 1970:13,25 1974:10 1990:5 1993:17 died 1921:24 1924:5 1961:25 1963:22 1965:1 1968:20 1991:13 1992:3 1994:17 differ 1933:1 difference 1885:22,23 1928:17 1929:11 1937:5 different 1905:22 1908:17 1931:3 1943:1 1965:18,22 differently 1938:2 1973:1 2002:16 difficult 1932:25 1937:25 1981:18,21 difficulty 1933:8 1941:21 2006:14 dimension 1919:2,24 1967:9 dimensions 1918:10 1921:20 1922:3 direct 1920:1 direction 1961:18 1995:13 1996:6,13,17 1997:17 directions 1997:5 directive 1999:3 disagrees 1958:22 disallow 1988:3 disallowed 2001:25 disarm 1882:12 1904:25 1945:17,21 1946:3,19,25 1947:22 1948:5,14 1950:8 1961:12 1962:16 1967:13,19 2000:10 2003:13 2004:19 disarmed 1966:24 1967:2 disarming 1967:6 1972:16 2005:12 disavowed 2001:4,9 discipline 1940:17 discourage 1995:3 1997:19 discouraging 1961:22 discovered 1986:18 1988:13,21 discuss 1877:10 discussed 1898:19,24 1926:22 1934:16 discussion 1887:15 1898:3 1916:12</p>	<p>1926:20,21 1977:8 disgrace 1933:3 dismay 1954:3 disobey 1950:8 disobeyed 1953:20 1954:7 disobeying 1996:25 disperse 1882:9,12 1917:19 1961:22 1995:1 1997:18 2000:10 disposition 1997:15 dispute 1882:10 1914:11,14,18,25 1915:21 1917:7 1925:20 1931:14 1984:25 1985:1 2000:6 disputed 1883:9 1918:3 disrespect 1966:15 disrespectful 1966:13 disrupt 1954:19 dissatisfaction 1975:13 1978:25 dissatisfied 1979:7 dissertation 1920:12 1923:6 dissuading 1966:22 distinction 1937:8 divine 1929:2 divisional 1999:5 dockets 1941:9,12 document 1878:10 1888:6,9 1915:13 1988:13 1991:8 documents 1877:10,23 1878:4 1879:2 1990:23 doesn't 1878:9 1913:11 1928:8 1947:20 1958:23 2005:12 doing 1885:19 1902:6 1924:14 1928:17,23 1929:9 1932:7 1934:13 1941:5 1952:4 1965:9 1990:1 2003:7 dossier 1884:15 1900:13 drawn 1954:22 drink 1897:5,5 driven 1968:11,11 2004:24 driving 1899:24,25 1973:10 DSC3655 1900:19 DSC3666 1902:8 due 1879:3,6 1951:15 1978:16 Durban 1957:14</p>	<p>early 1942:10 1981:12 2006:15 ease 1985:21 easier 1877:22 easiest 1954:16 1955:13,24 1956:13 1957:2 easily 1883:24 1937:19 1939:5 eat 1897:1,7 eating 1896:21,21 1897:9 1899:5 EE 1878:16,23 1904:2 1904:3,12,24 effect 1884:22 1953:15 1953:17 1973:15 effectively 1962:9 effort 1890:1 1946:19 1995:1 eight 1879:20,23 1917:19 1926:13 1973:23 1974:3 either 1884:23 1905:8,9 1910:18 1929:5 1981:3 1997:1 elect 1917:18 1926:13 element 1975:11 elements 1951:20 employees 1898:20 1910:2 employer 1887:22 1898:21 1916:5 employers 1979:10 employer's 1978:5,7 employs 1968:14 empty 1902:15 encircle 1904:25 encounter 1909:20 1948:1 encountered 1887:12 endeavour 1992:17 2003:8 ended 1973:1 ends 1904:24 enforcement 1933:16 1954:5 engage 1965:17 1968:5 1972:24 1985:19 1988:19 1991:15,15 1991:19,20 1992:4 engaged 1891:4 1965:20 1983:25 1986:13 1991:14 1992:5 engagement 1887:18 1891:6 1962:10 1988:23 1997:4 engagements 1991:13 engaging 1887:1 England 1938:1,2 English 1886:8 1895:24 1902:25 1958:18,23 enlightened 1937:10 ensure 1999:17 entering 1961:15,19 1973:8 1995:3,18</p>	<p>entire 1955:2 entirely 1962:6 entitled 1885:15 1962:8 entity 1933:25 environment 2004:3 escort 1959:21 1960:11 1960:17 1961:13 1963:4 1995:2 2000:20 escorted 1960:9 1971:8 1993:3,17,25 1997:7 1997:24 1998:15 ESC3672 1902:20 especially 1886:23 1985:17 essentially 1899:11 1981:2 establish 1901:18 established 1882:10 1910:9,10 1912:3 estimate 1899:1 etcetera 1969:18 event 1899:12 1999:1 events 1918:14 1919:17 1920:5,16,24 1975:20 2004:14 eventually 1879:3 everybody 1899:4 1975:9 2007:9 evidence 1877:14 1878:3,23 1879:22 1881:18 1884:13,13 1885:7,8 1888:8 1889:17,21 1893:4 1896:13,23 1897:13 1899:5,8,9,18 1907:13 1919:12,25 1924:2 1927:22,23 1928:1 1930:7 1931:18,18 1932:23 1941:24 1945:11 1946:22,25 1947:3,5 1948:7 1962:19 1963:8 1964:4,14 1969:19 1971:12 1973:21 1974:1,17 1976:4 1980:21 1981:2 1982:9 1984:23 1985:10 1986:21 1988:17 1989:25 1997:13 2007:5,8,14 evidence-in-chief 1916:10 1932:19 1933:6 1935:9 evidently 1978:23 exactly 1883:17 1885:18 1907:1,1 1912:25 1936:2 1947:14 1949:8,19 1950:17 1971:16 1982:1 1984:6,18 2004:1 2005:1 examination 1937:6 1954:20 examination-in-chief</p>
E				
<p>ear 1958:14 earlier 1887:21 1901:22 1925:2 1956:20 1966:10</p>				

<p>1936:6,20 1937:6 examine 1980:10 2006:24 example 1928:22 1934:8,22 examples 1929:12 excuse 1954:3,18 2001:8 2007:6 exhibit 1877:11,13,24 1877:24 1878:5,9,20 1881:20 1884:14 1900:12,21,22 1904:2 1904:24 1907:19,23 1907:25 1911:12 1915:6,16 1917:4 1922:19 1950:13 1951:8 1961:1 1963:7 1975:6 1990:14 1994:12,13 1998:24 1999:2,7,9 2001:16 exhibits 1990:12 expect 1881:1 1976:19 1976:20 1985:20 2007:7 expected 1882:21 1889:2,14 1893:25 1966:10 1979:18 1998:19 expects 1939:20 expense 1991:12 experience 1919:6,7 1920:6 1921:3 1932:19 1941:3 1963:21 1964:8 1970:10 1981:5 1983:21 1986:5 2001:19 2002:8 2004:3,5 experienced 1887:18 1947:25 1964:24 1984:13 1985:20 2004:12 experiences 1916:2 2003:24 expert 1930:3 1931:9 2001:21 expertise 1930:7 1969:1,8 explain 1916:9 1937:7 1952:3 explained 1881:12 1917:3 1967:5 1972:7 explaining 1940:21 explode 2002:15 explore 1945:2,14 explosive 1961:21 1984:17 1994:25 express 1922:5 1932:1 1939:18 1991:22 2001:24 expressed 1923:18 1945:13 expressing 1919:23 expression 1892:17 1902:24 1927:18 2007:12</p>	<p>extend 1919:8 extent 1936:21 1988:16 extolled 2001:12 extra 1988:1 extract 1940:16 extracts 1989:17 eyes 1912:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">F</p> <hr/> <p>face 1920:3 facilitate 1894:6 1946:4 facilities 1907:8 facility 1906:18 facing 1957:9 fact 1881:11 1883:5 1884:21 1885:3 1892:3 1899:4,16 1907:12 1911:11 1916:9 1924:22 1937:21 1939:7 1941:4,8 1945:15,19 1946:17 1947:5,21 1948:4 1953:19 1957:8 1968:20 1969:25 1970:10 1982:7 1984:2 1993:21 1997:16 1998:1,7,20,23 2001:5,12 2002:5 2003:9 2004:22 2005:16 facts 1981:19 factor 1968:1,9 factors 1945:14 facts 1881:5 1882:14 1886:10 1891:9 1962:20 1966:19 1967:9 fail 1990:25 failed 1882:11 1972:18 1979:9 2003:14 fair 1935:25 1940:7 1960:24 1962:7 1964:21 1969:7 1981:7,8 1990:7 2003:20 fairest 1954:20 fairness 1890:19 1951:10 1962:8 faith 1929:8,11,13,15 1929:21,24 1930:18 1930:22 1931:6,14,16 1983:7 fall 1932:7 families 1980:7,11,12 family 1906:3 1907:16 1939:25 Fanyana 1986:19 1987:6 1990:13 far 1891:5 1935:3,10 1940:12 1943:6 1946:25 1947:3 1951:7 1976:4 1993:14 1996:23 farmlands 1921:24 faster 1970:16</p>	<p>fatalities 1945:12 fateful 1912:19 1914:20 favour 1946:21 feel 1941:24 fell 1968:5 fellow 1886:5 felt 1965:3 1979:17 FF 1900:23,24 field 1891:17 fighting 1960:11 fill 1925:4 finally 1904:20 2005:3 2005:7,21,23 find 1879:23,24 1880:6 1881:13 1884:14 1886:21 1888:3 1897:25 1905:23 1923:9 1926:23 1934:9 1937:24 1949:14 1981:17 1986:21 1998:13 finding 1981:6 finish 1884:23 1885:24 1886:6 1913:18 1936:4 2005:25,25 2006:19 2007:12 finished 1927:15,18 2006:6,9 finishing 1886:8 fire 1998:3 firing 1962:1 firm 1976:21 1985:23 firmly 1975:10 1976:6 first 1890:7 1891:12 1895:18 1897:5 1900:18 1902:25 1906:10 1907:3,8 1908:18 1909:20 1910:17 1911:17 1914:17 1915:11 1919:5 1921:3,14 1925:14 1927:15 1935:23 1946:9 1961:5 1963:16 1964:9 1971:12 1972:2 1983:11,14 1991:1 1995:11 firstly 1914:7 1917:17 1976:5 1985:11 fit 1895:8 five 1917:18 1922:17 1926:13 1998:17 2003:4,4 flippant 1957:18 flock 1942:5 flow 1949:17 fluid 1967:17 fly-by-night 1880:18 FM 1988:15 focus 1934:23,24 focused 1951:18 follow 1877:22 1879:10 1922:8 1961:14 following 1882:24 1911:11 1919:15</p>	<p>1928:5,22 1964:1 1987:7 1988:21 1991:22 1999:14 follows 1901:24 1903:18 1904:10,13 1975:10 food 1896:21 1897:8 1916:6 2003:18 foot 1881:23 1961:5 footage 1944:12 1993:15,21 1994:4 1997:2 1998:14 1999:15,17 2000:12 footages 1998:5 football 1928:12 footballers 1927:22 force 1999:19 forcefully 1967:2 forces 1942:20 forget 1883:16,24 Forgive 1877:21 forgiving 1966:19 form 1970:4 1991:7 format 1976:13 formation 1950:4 1953:21 forth 1917:14 1939:16 Forum 1988:15 1989:2 forward 1950:14 1993:12 found 1949:9 1982:21 four 1879:24 1888:9 1973:16,17,17 frantic 1912:16 1970:14 free 1941:24 frequently 2001:17 friend 1942:6 1946:22 1947:1 1987:22 1988:17 1998:9 friends 1947:11 friend's 1954:19 front 1999:13 fruit 1985:4 frustrated 1940:23 fuelling 1991:25 full 1883:5 1891:10 1911:13 1962:3 1976:5 fuller 1962:14 1976:11 fullness 1884:19 1885:4 fully 1916:10 functions 1931:4 further 1917:12 1950:8 1954:15 1957:2 1958:4 1965:2,2 1968:23 1982:17 1983:9 1984:9 1988:19 2001:15 furtherance 1929:25 furthermore 1901:24 future 2007:13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">G</p> <hr/> <p>game 1928:5 games 1928:2</p>	<p>garage 1891:9,13,16 gas 1997:18 gate 1896:15,16 general 1877:15 1878:21 1881:19,21 1882:5 1926:21 1943:5 1953:8 1959:6 1959:11,24 1973:10 1992:21 1993:24 2000:9,15,24 2002:11 generally 1947:12 General-Secretary 1982:18 gentleman 1884:9 1951:1 1958:12 gentlemen 1883:9 1906:10 1908:19 1925:16 1946:3 1965:7 getting 1972:13 GG 1902:8 give 1881:6 1886:19,22 1888:20 1915:9,25 1916:12 1918:3 1924:2 1927:5 1934:7 1946:8 1949:15,16 1958:14 1959:17 1968:7 1976:11 1986:24 1990:16 1992:21 2003:4,5 given 1877:24,24 1881:12 1882:12 1885:7,20 1890:10 1897:8,8 1923:12 1924:8,18,19 1931:19 1932:10,23,24 1937:17 1939:3 1942:19 1952:1 1965:16 1985:3 1988:1 1990:8 1993:23 1998:6,24 2000:1 2002:9 gives 1878:22 1923:10 1999:20 giving 1879:2 1919:5 1924:2 1934:22 1971:12 1978:14 1991:24 go 1879:16 1880:5 1881:4 1882:4,19,25 1883:12 1884:3 1886:12 1888:14,20 1888:21 1889:20 1890:1,22 1892:2,5 1892:12,16,23 1893:6 1893:11,12,25 1894:1 1894:12,19,21,24 1895:1,4 1896:4,9 1900:12 1907:20 1908:8 1910:16,23,25 1911:13,24 1912:2,8 1912:11,12,14,19 1913:1,7,12 1917:10 1928:5,22 1930:10,16 1933:21 1934:8 1935:10 1937:10</p>
--	---	---	--	---

<p>1957:17 1959:12 1962:16,16 1963:16 1965:16 1985:19 1987:9,12,16 1994:23 2002:17 2003:18 goal 1930:16 God 1887:3 1930:21,24 1984:8 2003:23 goes 1940:11 2000:15 2000:17 2001:18 going 1879:22 1883:4 1885:14 1887:24 1888:17,23 1889:9,10 1889:18 1893:10 1894:16 1896:25 1900:18,20 1911:4,23 1913:9,9 1921:7,8 1923:14 1928:19 1931:19 1932:18 1946:22 1949:4 1952:24 1953:25 1954:1,11 1959:16 1967:25 1973:19,21 1975:24 1980:9 1981:11,13,20 1990:16 1993:5,9 1995:6,7,11,23 1996:12,13,14,15,18 2002:1 2005:22,22 2006:6 golden 1880:11 good 1877:2,3 1893:6 1927:20 1933:1 1934:16 1935:4 1939:25 1940:1,9 gotten 1926:6 great 1939:15 1956:2 1956:10 1960:1 greatest 1920:11 green 1949:2 greeting 1941:1 grenades 1961:20,21 1994:25 1997:18 grievances 1898:22 ground 1956:1 1957:4 1971:7 grounds 1997:12 group 1902:21 1903:9 1904:14 1943:19 1945:17 1946:10,19 1947:13,22 1948:14 1949:4 1950:4 1952:16 1953:12 1955:24 1957:3,9 1959:3,10 1960:6 1961:23 1963:9 1964:15 1966:24 1967:12 1976:8 1977:8,14 1978:2 1982:21,24 1996:24 1998:7 2000:10 2001:7 groups 1991:14 guaranteed 1968:20 guard 1959:22 guests 1989:10,13</p>	<p>guidance 1889:11 guide 1933:19 Gumbi 1979:24 2006:23 Gwala 1988:16,21 1989:7 1991:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">H</p> <hr/> <p>hacked 1962:2 half 1877:18 1923:16 half-past 1973:17 HANABE 1915:12,15 1915:18 1950:17 1958:12 1969:5 1973:5,7 1978:15 hand 1921:4 1989:25 1990:4 1993:1 1996:25 2000:21 2002:21 handcuffed 1934:11 handcuffing 1934:17 handcuffs 1934:14 handed 1878:2,3 handled 2002:16 handling 2002:14 hands 1958:13 1998:4 hanging 1941:24 happen 1967:7 1981:23 1990:5 happened 1880:12 1887:4,14 1917:13 1923:13 1924:9,23 1948:1,9,11 1955:18 1955:18 1961:4 1962:4 1964:25 1969:10 1974:20 1981:4 1993:10 1997:2,9,9 2000:4,22 happening 1912:16 1981:15 1982:2 happens 1993:16 1998:6 happy 1910:9 harmony 1919:10 harsh 1931:25 hasn't 1913:14 1943:3 haven't 1956:18 heating 1884:15 1904:4 headquarters 1996:11 hear 1881:9 1889:4,7 1903:12 1947:18,24 1950:18,24,24 1952:7 1953:10,25 1954:1,10 1955:4 1958:24 1959:12,17 1960:4,15 1962:20 1966:1 1968:13 1973:17,18 1974:10 2001:14 heard 1884:12 1901:7 1914:23 1917:24 1919:6 1927:17 1953:11,15 1955:15 1956:11 1960:10 1963:23 1967:4 1974:9,11 1983:2,11</p>	<p>1987:11 1991:9 1996:22 2002:18 heart 1942:2 heavy 1983:4 heed 1947:23 held 1921:21 1975:10 1976:6 helicopter 1973:20 helicopters 1905:12 1912:15 1917:15 1970:16 help 1889:15 1893:20 1916:16,17 1934:24 1944:13 helpful 1940:12 2002:3 helping 1934:4 hermeneutics 1940:15 hesitate 1938:4 1968:19 he'd 1901:16 he'll 1990:10 he's 1877:4 1885:18 1901:2 1902:1 1927:1 1927:2 1934:11,11 1947:2 1958:13,20 1962:8 1991:11 2001:22 HH 1902:19 1903:13 high 1939:20 higher 1942:13 highway 1973:9 2002:22 Hold 1949:13 holds 1939:20 honest 1927:1 1940:24 1942:14 Honestly 1985:14 hope 1927:19 1991:24 hopefully 1910:15 horror 1991:22 hostile 1976:16 hostility 1985:15 Houdini 1990:24,24 1991:7 hour 1887:10 housekeeping 1991:2 human 1932:25 1940:1 1941:2 hunched 1950:4 hypothesis 1964:12</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">I</p> <hr/> <p>identification 1980:18 identify 1944:12 1986:25 illegal 1883:21 1987:14 illiterate 1940:8 image 1957:8 imagine 1958:20 immediately 1936:13 impasse 1946:4 1970:24 impatient 2000:23 2002:25 implemented 1904:22 implication 1938:23</p>	<p>1956:21 implications 1923:19 implore 1934:23 important 1879:4 1896:10 1933:24 1937:7 1951:19 1952:9 1968:8 1970:23 1988:22 impressed 1966:6 impression 1891:21 1897:13 1909:25 1985:11,24 1986:4 1992:2 1993:8,9 inappropriate 1912:18 inaudible 1934:20 1941:5 incident 1977:14 1978:22 2000:9 incidents 1961:16 1995:19 include 1924:4 1999:23 included 1923:8 including 1908:10 1975:20 1999:18 inclusive 1923:7,14 incontestable 1982:22 independence 1918:8 1983:19,23 independent 1914:8 1923:18 1977:8 index 1988:14 indicate 1899:14 1967:16 2003:19 indicated 1970:11 1971:4 1992:19 1993:2 indicates 1936:14 indication 1970:17 2002:24 indistinct 1950:4 individuals 1929:8 industry 2001:20 2002:8 inferences 1954:22 influence 1892:17 1942:25 inform 1882:21 informal 1961:15 1994:23 1995:8,18 1996:16 information 1988:1 1994:8 informed 1885:10 1904:13 1916:3 1979:19 ingredients 1984:15 initially 1911:23 1923:25 injunction 1999:25 injuries 2005:10 innocent 1886:9 1961:17 1995:20 innumerate 1940:8 inquiry 1886:11 1888:7 1890:18 1920:24 inserted 1956:19</p>	<p>inside 1906:17 1967:11 insofar 1980:21 instance 1890:8 1891:12 1920:18,20 1925:14 1930:16 1932:4 1955:3 instances 1945:16 institution 1886:16,17 1934:5 1985:7 instructed 1905:5 instruction 1889:14 1950:8 1953:20 1954:7 1955:12 integrity 1927:2 intend 1924:14 1954:19 intended 1939:10 1943:7 1960:18 1961:22 1978:24 1997:19 intention 1889:6 1978:24 1985:17 inter 1880:10 interact 1972:22 interacting 1903:8 intercession 1945:11 1946:15 interested 1881:14 1897:2 interesting 1887:9 interests 1929:25 interpose 1891:1 interpret 1881:7 1915:24 1925:2 1952:6 1958:23 interpretation 1885:2,5 1885:13,19 1920:14 interpreted 1885:10,13 1885:16 1947:4 1951:10 1958:18,19 interpreter 1881:7 1885:9,12,20,25 1893:19 1915:23 1925:1 1950:24 1951:2,3 1952:5,6 1958:22 1978:14 interrogate 1969:8 interrupt 1885:1 1898:23 1902:4 1935:14 1949:17 1999:6 interrupting 1877:22 intervene 1965:3 1981:24 intervened 1911:20 2004:18 intervention 1929:2 1940:22 1946:16 1985:4 2003:10 introduced 1895:19,20 1915:8,24 introducing 1972:10 invincible 1931:11 invitation 1889:14 1890:1 1939:21 1982:9,10 invite 1932:18 1933:7</p>
---	--	---	--	---

<p>1950:13 1963:6 1969:14 invited 1982:11,13,17 inviting 1890:22 1937:22 1968:24 invoke 1972:18 involved 1883:9 1919:22 1969:2 1985:6 2001:13 2007:2 IQ5 1900:2,3 iron 1998:10,10 isiXhosa 1885:11,12 1973:14 isn't 1929:9 1932:1 1933:19 1934:14 1939:10 1951:9 1990:15 1995:14 1996:8 Israel 1982:3 Israelites 1981:16 issue 1886:14 1896:8 1909:17 1916:18 1960:21 1972:24 1981:16 1987:11 issues 1903:11 1919:8 1921:5 1922:1 item 1988:13 it's 1879:3 1880:24,25 1884:9,15 1886:7,8 1887:8,16 1891:16 1893:6 1896:10 1897:13 1898:5 1899:22 1900:22 1902:15 1905:20 1906:3,23 1907:20 1908:20,20 1909:12 1912:6,10,13 1913:8 1913:15 1915:1,10 1918:3 1919:4 1923:7 1926:24 1932:2 1934:17 1938:8 1940:2,17 1942:7,8 1944:24 1951:9 1952:4,7,9,20 1956:14 1957:23 1958:5,17,24 1961:6 1968:3,21 1970:8,22 1988:20 1991:23 1994:15 1998:21 1999:2 2000:7 2001:14 2002:21 2005:24 I'd 1887:9 1972:6 I'll 1877:19 1883:16 1886:5 1935:1 1945:25 1957:6 1965:21 1966:16 1978:13 1998:12 2003:5 2005:15 I've 1880:4,20 1896:7 1898:14 1915:4 1922:24 1923:11 1925:3 1928:17 1932:15 1933:14 1941:2 1942:6,21</p>	<p>1943:10 1944:17 1952:1 1956:9 1967:4 1971:15,16 1977:21 2003:1</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">J</p> <hr/> <p>Ja 1900:3 1909:22 1910:25 1921:2 1966:20 1988:3 jacket 1980:23 jail 1942:8 Jesus 1930:18,22 job 1932:6 JOC 1896:12,20 1897:19,20 1898:2,7 1898:15 1903:18 1904:1,11 1905:6,17 1906:25 1907:3,4 1909:19,21 1926:2,4 1967:22 1987:7,9 JOCOM 1877:17 1878:14,16,23 1904:3 1904:4 Joe 1938:11 Joseph 1989:14 journey 1954:12 journeying 1953:24 Judge 1917:24 July 1998:25 1999:8 juniors 1988:14</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">K</p> <hr/> <p>ka 1974:14,14,14 keep 1900:17 2002:5 keeper 1999:19 Kgotle 1883:7 1908:6,9 1908:13,19 1909:18 1909:19 Kgotle's 1909:22 kick 2003:11,14 kill 1960:22 1976:20 killed 1908:10,12 1922:13,21 1948:19 1960:6 1963:23 1973:14,16 1992:11 1992:12,22 1994:8,10 killings 1880:2,2 1883:1,13 1924:20,22 1987:13 kind 1892:4 1927:2 1966:10 2005:9 kinds 1940:3 knew 1882:21 1890:8 1891:3,10 1909:25 1915:21 1917:3 1918:4,13,16 1922:7 1922:22 1926:6 knobkieries 1943:23 knowledge 1883:5 1886:23 1890:11 1913:3 1921:3 1934:22 1969:1 1970:18 1975:20 2001:19 2002:7 known 1894:20 1917:7 1927:7 1932:5</p>	<p>knows 1926:20 1947:1 1975:9 koppies 1961:18 1996:12,14 kort 1893:13 Kwadi 1909:25 1986:19 1987:6,6,17</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <hr/> <p>L 1877:13 1884:14 1900:12 1950:13 1961:1 1963:7 1994:13 labour 1882:10 1945:3 1945:7 lad 1934:11 lady 1884:7 1906:3 1907:15 1908:24 lady's 1909:10 language 1886:25,25 1887:11,13 1893:15 1893:16 1895:4 1902:25 1950:20 1958:13 1960:11 1973:12,15 1979:4 1985:16 2000:14,17 2000:19,24,25 languages 1895:13 large 1961:21 1994:25 2005:17 lasted 1904:6 Lastly 1972:12 late 1899:16 1902:2 latest 1896:11 2000:7 law 1913:9,10 1933:15 1933:16,20,22 1934:20 1945:4 1954:5 1962:23 1970:4 1986:2 lawful 1954:7 lay 1882:9 1904:15,21 1938:17 1959:7 lead 1880:3 1907:13 1930:2 1936:8 1947:5 1960:1 leader 1880:17,18 1945:20 leaders 1878:4 1885:8 1894:11 1900:16 1916:1 1948:22 1959:11 1986:21 1987:8 1989:25 2007:5,8,14 leadership 1976:8 1977:2,5,8,10 1978:2 leading 1919:14 leads 1982:7 1984:1 1987:23 learned 1885:1 1944:11 1946:21 1947:1,11 1954:19 1963:16 1965:1,4 1987:22 1988:17 1998:9 leave 1904:15,16,18,21 1910:17,21 1945:23 1953:13 1955:25</p>	<p>1958:9 1966:8 leaving 1884:6 1904:17 led 1946:22 1947:3 left 1885:11 1897:1 1901:4,11,12,16,19 1901:23 1907:6 1961:16 1978:10 Legal 1924:1 legalistic 1991:19 legitimise 1883:23 legitimised 1883:21 1987:14 letter 1878:1 1998:25 1999:7 letters 1877:24,24 1878:5,20 let's 1888:4 1889:3 1895:13 1909:8 1913:12 1947:18 1952:2,10 1990:9,9 1991:1,2,3 1999:22 let's 1986:25 lie 1988:9 Lieutenant-Colonel 1905:6 Lieutenant-General 1895:20 life 1921:16,17 1935:7 1965:8 1966:23 1981:23 1983:9 lifting 1905:13 1958:12 light 1881:5 1882:25 1883:13 1928:12 1960:25 1970:7,8,9 1987:12 1995:21 1999:25 limb 1935:7 limit 1919:7,25 1920:16 1920:21 limits 1919:1 Limo 1950:13 line 1880:12,15 1888:5 1888:13 1890:21 1893:5 1895:19,23,25 1896:14 1907:21 1908:5 1916:13 1937:14 1938:23,24 1949:2 1973:3 1992:19 1996:15 1998:8 lines 1880:10 1892:10 1896:13 1922:18,19 1935:20 linguist 1885:11,12 listen 1886:18 1887:20 1914:10 1915:5 1958:14 2002:21 listened 1887:3 1915:5 1915:7 1971:7 listening 1903:10 1967:10 little 1879:10 1931:23 1940:11,25 1946:1 1965:22 1966:18 1970:23 1973:17 live 1956:1 1994:23</p>	<p>1995:8,23 lived 1995:12,13 lives 1910:7,8 1918:17 1920:2 1922:6 1923:3 1923:20 1933:12 1961:17 1991:12 1995:20 1998:17 long 1880:9 1897:16 1940:21 1949:18 1958:23 1967:12 1968:19 2002:4 longer 1974:3 2002:1 2006:19 Lonmin 1879:16 1880:5,10,21 1881:4 1881:11 1882:4,15 1886:12 1888:13,14 1888:16,21,23 1889:9 1889:10,13,18,19,22 1890:1,4,6,22,25 1891:25 1892:11,15 1892:16 1893:12,25 1896:4 1897:23,24 1905:11,15,25 1910:18,21 1912:25 1917:5,11 1918:3,21 1918:23 1922:18 1923:2 1925:7,16,25 1971:20 1972:1 1978:20 1985:1,12,25 1986:7 1988:18,19 1989:16 1992:10 1998:14 2003:22 Lonmin's 1912:4 1917:2,7,21 1978:5 1978:10 look 1879:21 1889:3 1893:7 1895:15,25 1896:13,25 1898:16 1900:10,13 1902:7,9 1904:4 1907:19 1915:3 1916:10 1928:14 1929:1,13,14 1935:22 1936:11 1937:25 1938:4 1960:25 1963:7,25 1996:9 1998:3 2001:15 looked 1902:15 1972:9 1974:8 looking 1919:8 1922:1 1944:18 1963:9 1993:12 loosely 1887:9 1916:4 looting 1961:17 1995:19 lose 1928:1 loss 1966:23 1983:9 lost 1906:3 1907:15 1910:8 1918:17 1920:2 1922:6 1923:3 1923:19 2006:1 lot 1891:14,16 1894:21 1912:16 1992:8 louder 1950:19 lowest 1954:4</p>
---	--	--	---	---

<p>LPD 1906:2,2,25 1907:4</p> <p>lunch 1896:22 1897:3 1897:11,11,14 1899:4 1899:16,16,17 1902:2 1949:16 1957:17,20</p> <p>lying 1922:14</p> <p>lyrics 1998:11</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <hr/> <p>M 1877:12 1907:20,23 1908:1 1911:12 1915:6,14,17 1917:4 1918:9 1922:17,19 1975:6 2001:16</p> <p>Madlanga 1885:11 1944:10,18,21,25 1945:1 1949:7 1990:11,18,21</p> <p>MAHLANGU 1881:8 1888:10 1893:16 1894:15</p> <p>main 1914:24 1959:21</p> <p>maintain 1986:12</p> <p>majority 1935:3</p> <p>Major-General 1904:12 1905:5 1961:5,10</p> <p>making 1942:9 1947:15 1960:20 1962:14 1970:9</p> <p>Mambush 2000:13</p> <p>man 1889:4 1894:20 1901:11 1912:12 1927:1 1949:2 1957:14 1960:10 1984:8 2000:13 2003:23</p> <p>management 1882:15 1891:4 1893:9 1896:2 1905:11,15 1908:6 1910:3,9 1916:5 1917:17 1926:3,14 1960:15,15 1965:16 1972:5 1984:13 1985:11,25 1986:5 1987:9 2001:13,20 2003:24</p> <p>managers 1880:11 1897:22,24 1898:1 1906:22</p> <p>managing 2005:5</p> <p>mandate 2000:10</p> <p>manner 2005:13</p> <p>Mantashe 1985:19</p> <p>march 1978:5,6,11,19 1991:10</p> <p>marched 1975:13 1978:5</p> <p>marchers 1993:16</p> <p>Marikana 1934:8 1981:5 1982:2 2003:22 2004:8</p> <p>mark 1990:17</p> <p>marking 1990:12</p> <p>marks 1892:18</p>	<p>Marogwane 1897:6</p> <p>massacre 1924:8</p> <p>material 1958:17 1960:25</p> <p>Mathunjwa 1900:25 1901:4,7,19,20,22,24 1945:20 1948:4 1967:8 1988:22 1989:14,14</p> <p>matter 1890:5 1911:11 1919:14,22 1929:7 1931:12 1947:6 1970:7 1991:3</p> <p>matters 1931:6,6,16,17</p> <p>Mbombo 1895:21 1926:21</p> <p>mean 1903:3 1931:4 1963:7 1996:9</p> <p>meaning 1888:17 1940:5</p> <p>means 1877:25 1907:18 1939:8 1987:25</p> <p>meant 1939:22 1957:9 1966:15</p> <p>measured 1933:5,7</p> <p>mechanism 2000:7</p> <p>media 1963:17 1981:3</p> <p>mediator 1983:19 2000:6</p> <p>meet 1881:13,15,16 1897:19 1906:24 1907:10 1908:6 1910:2,9 1926:3,14 1956:19 1964:16</p> <p>meeting 1877:17 1881:14 1904:3,5,13 1906:1</p> <p>member 1906:4 1907:16 1999:20</p> <p>members 1918:20,21 1918:22,23 1932:13 1947:12 1948:13,18 1959:2 1961:24,25</p> <p>men 1930:11 1933:12 1933:16 1935:4 1942:13 1950:4 1963:24 1965:17 1970:19 1971:2 1972:16 1977:4</p> <p>mention 1919:17</p> <p>mentioned 1896:25 1897:5 1977:13 1978:1</p> <p>merely 1976:3 1977:25</p> <p>message 1886:18,21 1890:10 1972:1 1985:18</p> <p>messenger 1887:3 1971:2</p> <p>messengers 1966:11 1985:18</p> <p>Messiah 1930:22</p> <p>met 1881:11 1897:6 1898:2,19 1901:12 1903:18 1905:16,20 1906:2,10,17,25</p>	<p>1907:10,13 1908:19 1916:21 1944:6 1979:10</p> <p>method 2003:23</p> <p>methods 1945:3</p> <p>Mgobhozi 1906:5</p> <p>middle 1959:3</p> <p>midnight 1968:15</p> <p>midst 1880:13</p> <p>Militancy 1953:4</p> <p>militant 1947:22 1952:16,19 1953:3 1957:10</p> <p>mind 1892:2 1900:18</p> <p>minded 1941:23</p> <p>minds 1986:1</p> <p>mine 1890:6 1896:16 1896:19 1908:6 1910:13 1916:2 1917:16 1922:12 1989:16 1996:11</p> <p>miners 1917:16 2004:5</p> <p>minimum 1999:19</p> <p>mining 2001:20 2002:8 2004:3</p> <p>ministers 1938:17</p> <p>minute 1877:17 1878:14,16,24</p> <p>minutes 1884:21 1903:22 1946:1 2003:4 2005:21</p> <p>misapprehension 1951:23</p> <p>missed 1880:11 1891:7</p> <p>mission 1972:11</p> <p>mistaken 1906:1 1909:4</p> <p>misunderstanding 1891:23 1903:6 1984:22</p> <p>Mkashhe 1887:23 1910:4 1971:3</p> <p>Mkhwazi 1916:4</p> <p>Mokoena 1882:24 1883:5,11,17,17 1884:9 1889:5 1909:25 1912:1,5 1917:15 1925:25 1926:6,7,24,25 1927:4,8,8 1987:10 1987:10,18 1989:16 1991:9,18 1992:2</p> <p>Mokoena's 1988:23</p> <p>Mokwena 1894:22,23</p> <p>moment 1886:3 1898:25 1902:6 1970:17 2001:6</p> <p>moments 1960:6,22 1963:10</p> <p>Monday 1906:2,4 1907:16 1908:15,20 1911:5 1948:20 2006:13</p> <p>mood 1943:16</p> <p>moral 1918:10 1919:2 1919:8,23 1920:3,11</p>	<p>1921:4,12,17,20 1922:1,3 1923:6,19 1924:15 1925:8 1932:9 1934:17 1938:12</p> <p>morality 1923:17 1925:6,12</p> <p>morally 1921:15</p> <p>morning 1877:2,3,9 1891:24 1948:5 1986:23 1987:21 1990:16 1991:2 2001:5 2007:19</p> <p>motivated 1982:1</p> <p>motivation 1886:22</p> <p>mountain 1890:14 1894:22 1895:2 1916:20 1982:21 1983:3,11 1993:3,25</p> <p>move 1931:22 1943:9 1943:13 1953:14 1954:17 1965:22</p> <p>moved 1929:20 1930:10 2004:11</p> <p>movement 1912:16 1970:14</p> <p>moving 1912:21 1913:2 1957:4 1970:16</p> <p>Mpembe 1953:8 1959:24 1961:5,10 1992:21 2000:9,15,24</p> <p>Mpembe's 1993:24 2002:11</p> <p>Mpofu 1884:25 1885:18,23 1919:13 1935:13,16,18,21 1936:3,9,10,16,22,25 1937:6 1946:20 1947:8,14,17 1950:23 1951:4,6,13,15,19,25 1952:2,3 1958:10 1989:23 2006:5,17,22</p> <p>Mpofu's 1958:8</p> <p>multitude 1886:10</p> <p>multi-disciplinary 1969:2</p> <p>murdered 1963:24 1994:1</p> <p>murderers 1883:4 1908:7,9</p> <p>music 1976:14 1977:6</p> <p>muti 1927:23 1928:1,6</p> <p>mutilating 1925:11</p> <p>M-G-O-B-H-O-Z-I 1906:5</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <hr/> <p>Naidoo 1877:16 1878:11,13,21,22 1881:19</p> <p>name 1906:5 1942:19</p> <p>National 1999:3,7,11</p> <p>nationally 1882:7</p> <p>nature 1967:18 1969:25 2001:23 2002:10 2005:4,5</p>	<p>naïve 1912:14</p> <p>necessarily 1955:17 1996:17</p> <p>necessary 1877:5 1880:25 1906:6,6 1917:20 1957:23 1958:17 1985:16 1995:20 1996:9 2001:14</p> <p>need 1912:4,6 1921:5 1926:18 1941:3 1943:10 1949:14 1965:3 1980:19 1981:11,20 1992:4</p> <p>needed 1983:6</p> <p>needs 1887:22 1990:10</p> <p>negative 1921:7 1964:24</p> <p>negotiable 1893:9 1894:7 1896:2</p> <p>negotiate 1879:17 1880:5 1881:5 1886:12 1893:8,9 1896:1,1 1904:15 1965:11 1972:5 1985:13</p> <p>negotiated 1882:8,11</p> <p>negotiating 1902:20,24 1903:1 1945:3 1972:20 2001:10</p> <p>negotiation 1972:17 2001:6 2003:12 2007:8</p> <p>negotiations 2001:13 2005:5</p> <p>negotiator 1892:4 1984:16 2000:7 2001:1,5,10</p> <p>negotiators 1948:14</p> <p>nervous 1894:9</p> <p>neutral 1985:7</p> <p>never 1883:25 1887:23 1890:16 1891:13 1892:2 1893:11,12 1896:16 1897:1 1901:7 1906:19 1908:17 1909:15 1922:12 1926:5,15 1931:25 1932:21 1934:16 1938:25 1939:9 1952:19,24 1953:6 1966:15 1970:9 1986:10 2000:21 2003:18</p> <p>newspapers 1914:21 1916:14 1920:6 1922:10 1923:1 1982:3</p> <p>Nguni 1893:15 1958:20</p> <p>nice 1941:1</p> <p>night 1968:17 1981:10 1982:15</p> <p>nights 1982:15</p> <p>noise 1973:19</p> <p>Noki 1949:5,22</p> <p>non-negotiable 1972:6</p>
--	--	---	---	---

<p>normally 2002:3 2006:14</p> <p>north-easterly 1996:13</p> <p>note 1995:7</p> <p>notes 1878:1</p> <p>notice 1965:14</p> <p>notwithstanding 1984:24,25</p> <p>November 1877:1,14 1878:7 1918:11 1921:21</p> <p>no-one 1884:3</p> <p>ntelezi 1929:17 1930:4 1930:15,17,25 1931:3</p> <p>Ntsebeza 1954:18,23 1954:25 1955:6 1956:2,5,8 1980:3,7 1980:11,13,15 1981:1 1982:7,20 1983:1,10 1983:16 1984:5,12,23 1985:10,23 1986:6,16 1987:2,4 1988:5,12 1988:25 1989:4,9,12 1989:19,21 1990:13 1991:3,5 1992:9,17 1992:25 1993:7,14,20 1994:3,6,15,19 1995:5,15,22,25 1996:2,8,21 1997:10 1997:23 1998:1,23 1999:10 2000:5 2001:8,15 2002:1,4 2002:17 2003:3,6,20</p> <p>Ntsebeza's 1958:6</p> <p>NUM 1915:2 1916:3,22 1975:1,12 1976:16,18 1976:22 1978:6,11,21 1979:9,13,14,17 1982:22 1989:14</p> <p>number 1888:10 1907:22 1926:7 1933:11 1945:14 1963:25 1994:12 1998:25 2003:1</p> <p>numbering 1879:25</p> <p>numerous 1947:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p>oath 1877:6 1913:24 1926:8,10 1949:2 1957:24</p> <p>obey 1955:12</p> <p>object 1935:24 1956:3 1956:5 2001:3</p> <p>objecting 1952:4 1954:24,25</p> <p>objection 1936:18,21 1936:24 1955:4,8,9 1955:16,20,22 1956:4 1956:7,9,20 1958:6,8 1988:3 1995:7 2001:25</p> <p>objective 1965:10 1974:17</p> <p>objectively 1992:9</p> <p>obligation 1934:1,18</p>	<p>observation 1959:4 1982:8</p> <p>observe 1887:9 2002:22</p> <p>observed 1928:15 1970:13</p> <p>obtained 1881:18</p> <p>obtaining 1903:2</p> <p>obviously 1902:2 1954:10 1962:5 1972:14 1990:7</p> <p>occasion 1898:7 1906:3 1910:17 1978:21</p> <p>occasioned 1994:21</p> <p>occasions 1947:21 1990:5</p> <p>occurred 1883:1,13 1891:10 1973:22 1974:2,4 1983:3 1987:13 1996:4</p> <p>offered 1896:21 1915:8 1915:25</p> <p>office 1890:12 1933:3 1939:20 1978:5,6,6 1978:10,11,20,21</p> <p>officer 1886:16 1952:21 1954:5</p> <p>officers 1942:14 1960:7 1992:12,22 1993:4 1994:1,7</p> <p>offices 1894:12 1905:21 1906:11,16 1907:7 1978:8</p> <p>officials 1881:11 1889:23 1890:14 1905:21 1916:3,22 1975:12</p> <p>Oh 1893:23 1907:25 1915:18 2006:22</p> <p>okay 1888:12 1893:23 1902:10 1907:25 1915:18 1928:20 1931:8 1949:6,7 1951:22 1959:1,20 1964:13 1973:2 1976:2 1980:23 1990:18,18 2006:22 2007:10</p> <p>once 1931:10,18 1935:13 1949:8 1953:6 1959:16</p> <p>ones 1933:2 1939:25 1940:1 1942:19 1963:13</p> <p>one's 1981:23</p> <p>opened 1891:6</p> <p>opening 1939:9</p> <p>operation 1882:7 1904:22 1905:7 1968:1,9 2005:10</p> <p>operational 1999:16,20</p> <p>opinion 1923:22 1925:21 1931:19 1932:1,3 1934:3 1938:9 1941:22 1945:13 1964:4</p>	<p>1973:3 2001:22,23,24</p> <p>opinions 1940:23</p> <p>opportunity 1880:11 1882:4 1887:20,25 1891:6 1924:8,19 1951:15,23 1968:4 1972:24,25 1978:14 1983:8 1984:9 1985:3 2007:17</p> <p>opposed 1945:7</p> <p>opposite 1880:15 1888:5 1893:5</p> <p>order 1880:3 1894:21 1900:6 1903:6 1925:4 1940:16 1952:24 1965:2 1970:5 1991:3 1999:16</p> <p>orientate 1900:12</p> <p>original 1911:12</p> <p>ought 1881:12</p> <p>outside 1906:19,20 1909:21 1934:24 1991:16</p> <p>overlooked 1943:10</p> <p>overpowered 1962:2</p> <p>owner 1890:4,6</p> <p>owners 1889:24</p> <p>o'clock 1884:20 1896:12,15,16,17 1897:15 1898:8 1899:1,11,14,17,19 1899:20 1903:19 1904:6,6 1905:4,16 1909:21 1913:15 1948:5 1966:24 1967:22</p> <p>o'clock 1983:13,13,13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p>page 1879:23,24,25 1880:1,9 1881:20,23 1888:4,10 1890:21 1892:10 1893:4,5 1895:5,16,20 1896:13 1896:14 1904:23 1905:4 1907:20,23 1915:6,10,18,19 1916:11 1922:17,19 1935:17 1936:12,12 1936:13,13,18 1937:13 1938:23 1949:1 1973:3,5 1988:20 1991:8,21</p> <p>pages 1879:24 1888:9</p> <p>pain 1985:21,22,22</p> <p>painfully 1919:19</p> <p>Palestines 1981:16</p> <p>pangas 2005:18</p> <p>panic 1972:9</p> <p>papers 1908:3</p> <p>para 1917:11,12</p> <p>paragraph 1881:24 1904:12 1907:20,20 1908:23 1911:11 1915:10,11,19,22,23 1917:4 1918:9 1919:1</p>	<p>1919:14 1923:6,10,16 1961:10 1975:5 1977:12,16,21 1987:6 2001:16 2002:7 2005:8</p> <p>parameters 1910:10</p> <p>paraphrase 1894:2</p> <p>parcel 1879:10</p> <p>pardon 1920:19 1936:14 1977:18</p> <p>parents 1976:20</p> <p>park 1884:8</p> <p>parking 1891:9,13,13 1891:16 1894:21</p> <p>part 1887:4 1891:25 1900:22 1907:20 1919:12,25 1920:3 1926:21 1944:21 1950:25 1951:8 1952:6,7 1955:18 1959:13,17 1960:6 1988:18 1991:2 1995:24 1997:16 1999:21 2003:8</p> <p>participants 1989:7</p> <p>particular 1883:25 1884:10 1887:18 1931:17 1946:7 1952:7 1954:24 1955:21 1974:21 1981:25 1986:5</p> <p>particularly 1984:16</p> <p>parties 1889:15 1972:21 2007:15</p> <p>parts 1955:19</p> <p>pass 1953:17</p> <p>passage 1923:10,11 1935:17,19,23,25 1936:1 1975:15 1990:10</p> <p>passenger 1973:11</p> <p>passion 2000:6,8</p> <p>path 1961:23 1995:3 1997:19</p> <p>patience 1984:15,20</p> <p>patient 1969:12</p> <p>peace 1898:18,18 1919:10 2004:8</p> <p>peaceful 1886:25 1946:11 1949:3 1962:23 1963:11 1985:9</p> <p>peacefully 1948:6</p> <p>peacemaker 1914:3,5,7 1914:10,13 1915:4 1918:8 1925:18</p> <p>penalty 1928:13,15,23</p> <p>penultimate 1893:24</p> <p>perfectly 1885:15 1899:18</p> <p>performance 1975:14 1979:1</p> <p>performing 1930:12</p> <p>permission 1896:5 1912:4,7</p> <p>permit 1919:21</p>	<p>1959:12</p> <p>permitted 1903:7</p> <p>person 1880:13 1883:6 1884:8,10,20 1886:20 1897:6 1934:13 1937:21 1939:8 1941:7 1942:7 1966:8 1968:13,17 1969:21 1969:24 1981:12 1984:12 1985:21 2000:15 2001:1,12 2003:24</p> <p>personal 1919:6 1975:19</p> <p>personally 1937:17 1939:3 1940:4 1965:6</p> <p>personnel 1908:11 1916:2,22</p> <p>persons 1940:19 1976:7 1977:2</p> <p>perspective 1921:25 1940:15</p> <p>persuade 1892:20 1948:14 1972:15</p> <p>persuaded 1983:8</p> <p>persuasion 1972:17</p> <p>pertinently 1947:6</p> <p>Peter 1986:19 1987:6 1990:13</p> <p>phase 1904:24 1919:16 2003:11,14,15</p> <p>phases 1999:18</p> <p>phone 1973:9,12,18,21 1981:12 1998:5</p> <p>photo 1903:13</p> <p>photograph 1884:14 1900:7,18,19,20 1902:8,8,16,20</p> <p>photographs 1877:19 1900:6,11</p> <p>phrase 1911:18</p> <p>pick 1880:7</p> <p>picture 1951:20 1957:12 1962:14 1968:7 1970:19</p> <p>piece 1944:12</p> <p>Pillay 1990:1,6 1991:7 1999:1</p> <p>place 1877:9 1879:5 1882:22 1885:2 1889:1 1890:8 1894:24 1898:3 1899:10,14 1905:22 1907:8,8,9 1909:21 1919:9 1961:11 1977:15 1978:22 1984:3,7,7 1988:11 1992:11</p> <p>placed 1877:13,18</p> <p>places 1902:16</p> <p>placing 1957:3</p> <p>plans 1984:24</p> <p>plant 1937:16 1939:2</p> <p>planting 1920:9 1922:4</p> <p>plat 1900:6</p> <p>plate 1966:18</p>
---	--	---	---	---

<p>play 1943:14,14 1949:4 1952:13 1958:3 played 1943:15 1950:7 1950:14 1959:2 players 1928:17 please 1891:23 1893:20 1893:21 1922:17 1923:10 1927:5 1932:21 1937:8 1944:11 1946:3 1952:5 1953:9 1955:8 1956:9,21,25 1958:13 1958:14 1963:4 1969:6 1970:22 1980:14 1989:20 2000:1 pleasure 1978:17 plight 1968:14 point 1880:23 1885:14 1886:9 1898:24 1902:5 1912:25 1921:6 1924:17 1928:8,13 1936:3,19 1943:2,6,7,11,13 1947:14,17 1951:18 1952:9 1958:1 1959:20 1960:19 1962:14 1965:22 1966:2 1972:16,17 1983:3 1985:6 1991:13 1992:3 1993:10 1994:16 1998:16,16 2000:12 2002:2 pointed 1906:4 1907:7 1908:13 1909:16 1922:13 pointing 1925:7 1936:7 points 1995:10 point's 1995:25 policeman 1932:4 1934:18 1957:9 1971:6 policemen 1925:10 1933:2 1939:14 1941:12 1943:5,6 Police's 1884:18 1904:5 policing 1969:1 POP 1999:15 POPCRU 1979:25 populace 1940:8 portions 1925:24 posed 1882:13 position 1886:19 1912:24 1932:10 1940:5 1984:14 1991:15 1998:2 positive 1921:8 posits 1933:16 possession 1950:1 possible 1899:22 1903:20,24 1907:17 1908:16,20 1909:4,14 1961:16 1995:9,19 2003:25</p>	<p>possibly 1880:23 1899:15 potential 1983:19 1998:20 potentially 1984:17 power 1945:8 1964:4 1984:21 practice 1940:17 prayers 1968:18 preamble 1981:9 preceded 1918:14 2005:23 preceding 1975:20 precise 1944:20 precisely 1942:24 1986:25 2004:17 precision 1939:19 prejudice 1955:21 premises 1922:11 preparing 1892:4 1911:24 prerequisite 1915:4 presence 1883:25 1983:5 present 1881:22 1885:12 1907:14 1913:5 1984:2 presentation 1877:12 presented 1889:16 presenter 1989:8 presenting 1920:7 presents 1981:25 President 1989:14,15 presumable 1886:2 presumably 1878:22 1979:5 1990:19 pretends 2003:18 Pretorius 1905:5 pretty 1933:5 prevailed 1971:10 prevent 1961:16,19 1965:2 1968:22 1982:17 1995:18,19 prevented 1924:10 preventing 1961:15 previous 1881:18 1924:13 previously 1884:7 1887:5 1968:21 priest 1931:24 1938:24 1968:16 primarily 1899:16 prior 1918:17 1923:12 1948:1 1964:25 private 1998:11 probably 1879:6 1881:13 1886:18,20 1898:8 1903:18 1905:18 1913:16 1939:24 1941:5 1957:6 1982:23 problem 1887:2 1895:4 1895:7 1956:19 1969:13 2000:25,25 procedure 1910:9,11 proceed 1886:5 1936:2</p>	<p>1937:2,8 1952:10 1954:6 1956:21 1961:13 1980:6,14 1986:22 1988:4 1989:20 1991:4 2001:25 proceeded 1954:12 1978:11,20 proceedings 1877:1 1919:16 proceeds 1947:9 1978:23 process 1879:11 1882:22 1919:9 1925:15 prodding 1931:6 produce 1961:21 produced 1994:25 professional 1948:13 programme 1989:8,11 1992:12 2005:17 promise 1959:10,15 promises 2002:5 properly 1950:24 1952:7 property 1888:22 1889:12,24 propose 1879:2 1930:2 1949:22 proposed 1882:22 proposes 1947:5 proposing 1985:2 proposition 1879:15,18 1879:21 1880:4,8,20 1881:3,17 1886:7 1888:19 1890:19 1891:1 1896:3 1935:5 1935:14 1936:4 1937:11 1954:4,15 1955:12 1956:1 1960:13 1962:25 1997:11 2002:12 protagonists 1914:24 protect 1933:19 1983:9 1995:8 protection 1892:5,22 1892:23 protest 1962:23 1963:11 Protester 1884:16 1885:9 protesters 1904:16,18 1904:20 1948:19 1961:12,14,18,22,23 1962:1,10 1964:6,15 1964:21 1975:12 1978:19 1995:2 1997:19 protestor 1899:6,7 protestors 1900:17 1951:1 1983:18 2005:12 protestor's 1899:13 protracted 1966:21 prove 1901:1 1948:9 proved 1884:19</p>	<p>provide 1972:23 provided 1990:7 1997:22 province 1953:9 provincial 1965:25 1966:5 1969:15 1970:24 1971:13,23 1972:3 1999:4,8 prudent 1967:13 précis 1979:5 public 1882:13 1981:17 1999:16 pure 1988:9 purple 1980:17,19,24 purports 1986:18 purpose 1894:16 1898:17 1958:9 1987:20 purposes 1881:22 1891:22 1901:2 1907:14 1917:20 putting 1885:19 1901:10,13 1924:24 1927:3 1933:5 1935:24 1937:11,22 1946:14 1947:2 1954:4 1964:12 1984:14 1991:8 1994:21 1996:3 puzzles 1997:7 puzzling 1998:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Q</p> <p>qualification 1988:1 qualified 1938:22 2001:24 qualify 1932:3 1939:21 2001:21 quarter 1902:16 1905:7 1913:14 question 1888:3,22,22 1891:21 1892:10 1899:20 1902:1 1913:12 1918:7 1924:17 1938:3,5 1946:24 1947:4,20 1954:24 1955:9,20 1956:17,24 1963:5 1971:15 1974:3 1977:19,25 1978:18 1989:24 1990:12 1998:12 1999:24 2001:3 2005:22,24 2006:5 questioning 1987:20 questions 1877:7 1879:14 1893:22 1934:23 1950:15 1954:20 1955:1 1958:4 1974:23 1975:23 1976:12 1979:25 1980:5,19 1986:7 2001:22 2007:3 quibble 1962:17 quite 1886:8 1894:8,8,9</p>	<p>1896:10 1936:14 1950:23 1979:6 quotation 1892:17</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">R</p> <p>raid 2005:16 railway 1992:19 1998:8 raise 1885:14 1952:10 1990:12 2006:5 raised 1947:6,17 1956:20 rally 1981:17 rang 1973:9 1981:12 rattling 1998:10 reach 1887:12 2000:11 reached 1985:12 2004:19 reaction 2002:11 read 1879:22 1881:20 1882:2 1888:4 1890:21 1908:22 1914:21 1915:11,20 1915:23 1917:5 1918:25 1922:4,16,25 1923:9 1936:1 1937:12 1940:14,14 1944:17 1949:19 1961:4 1975:9 1977:21 1982:16 readiness 1998:3 reading 1964:21 reads 1975:10 ready 1990:4 realised 1983:5 realising 1961:5,11 reality 1948:13 really 1882:3 1887:19 1888:1 1892:24 1899:19 1914:19 1915:20 1917:6 1923:24 1926:23,25 1929:1,10 1938:22 1939:10 1942:18 1943:5 1947:10,20 1958:6 1959:9 1960:9 1964:1 1968:15 1974:16 1980:19,20 1981:15 1982:5 1987:23 2002:25 reason 1880:15 1882:18 1933:23 1934:17 1968:12,12 1968:21 1997:1 2004:17,24 reasonable 1879:16 1880:4,21 1881:4 1886:11 reasonably 2006:15 reasoned 1968:22 reasons 1879:21,23 1886:10 1888:20 1910:7 1911:13 1983:17 1988:19 recall 1907:5 1909:5 1927:23 1969:18 1972:2,8 1977:3,13</p>
---	--	--	--	--

1978:1,3 1979:11 1985:5 received 1877:15 1926:2 1974:6 reception 1906:11,16 1906:17 1908:14 recognise 1880:14,14 1880:16 recognised 1945:4 recollection 1886:1,3 1908:18 1969:16 reconsider 1935:23 reconstructing 1902:2 reconstruction 1897:13 1899:1,9,12,15 record 1885:2 1895:16 1896:13 1916:11 1949:8,19 1999:19,19 2002:6 recorded 1904:11 1998:8 recording 1988:15 records 1997:22 1998:6 2000:9 redirect 1951:5 refer 1877:16,19,25 1922:4 1977:22 1978:24 reference 1944:17 1973:22 1976:6 1990:16 1991:12 referred 1915:4 1917:11 1921:25 1936:12 1976:25 1977:12 1990:14 1992:13,18 1997:13 1998:9 referring 1908:12 1922:21 1932:13 1935:17,20 1961:9 1974:2 1990:23 2001:6 refers 1943:5 1988:22 1991:21 reflected 1994:11 reflection 1962:7 reflects 1998:16 reformulate 1947:19 1955:8 reformulated 1955:21 refrain 1965:9 refuge 1964:4 refuse 1881:16 1904:18 1904:20 refused 1881:15 refute 1948:6 1949:23 regard 1917:21 1962:7 1976:13 regret 2005:9 regrettable 1921:15 reject 1908:8 relate 1938:16 1993:21 relates 1884:14 1974:16 1980:21 relating 1878:2 1927:22	relaxed 1967:19 relay 1985:18 release 1950:22 relevance 1890:4 relevant 1880:24 1919:15 1925:6 1988:2,16 reliance 2001:4 relieved 1923:9 rely 1931:19 1932:9 remain 1951:17 remains 1907:12 remarkable 1998:14 1999:25 2000:3 remember 1879:15,18 1879:19 1883:2,3,14 1883:22 1884:4 1887:21 1888:25 1891:8 1894:10 1896:22 1919:12 1924:17 1944:20 1951:7 1963:15 1979:12 1992:22,23 remind 1877:5 1919:18 1947:10 1957:23 remove 1911:21 removed 1995:25 repeated 1878:19 1956:24 1969:6 1977:19 1978:15 1985:14 repeatedly 1946:18,24 1990:10 repeatedly 1922:25 replayed 1951:2 reply 1947:18 1974:18 report 1905:6 reported 1970:11 repose 1933:24 represent 1917:19 representative 1887:13 1989:16 representatives 1916:16 1926:13,15 2007:14 represented 1979:13 represents 1979:11 1982:11 reputable 1886:17 reputing 1987:22 request 1890:2 1898:19 1916:6 1934:10 1950:25 1951:10 1953:10 1960:14 1968:12 1971:2 1972:3 1989:24 requested 1926:2 1947:22 1968:15 requesting 1945:16 1954:5 1987:9 requests 1946:18,24 1947:23 1953:9 require 1910:21 required 1960:9 resentment 1976:15 resolution 1940:22 1946:4,11 1981:6	2000:6 2001:1 resolve 1907:14 1915:9 1915:25 1984:16,21 1985:1 resolving 1984:25 resort 1904:22 resources 1882:6 1924:1 respect 1902:6 1920:11 1921:22 1932:10 1939:15 1951:15 1956:3,10 1962:9 1965:19 1966:11 1971:7 respectable 1933:2 respectful 1952:20 respects 1978:16 respond 1939:21 responded 1910:6 responds 1991:11 response 1888:5 1902:1 1916:19 1972:8 1988:23 responsibility 1933:16 1933:24 1934:5 1969:24 responsible 1886:15 rests 1933:25 resulted 2005:10 resume 1986:23 resumes 1877:3 1913:22,23 1957:21 rethink 1886:18 retract 1932:18 retreating 1961:25 return 1911:7 1917:16 1926:12 1946:21 2007:9 returning 1976:17 reveal 1964:14 Reverend 1896:14 1973:23 revisit 1879:15 re-examination 1951:24 1952:10 re-examine 1951:16 rifles 1993:5 right 1881:23 1885:3 1921:2,16 1928:2,23 1929:13 1936:15 1942:11 1945:8 1970:10 1978:13 1982:3,5 1996:9,14 1997:5,6 right-hand 1879:25 risk 1910:7 1912:13 1935:6 1995:9 ritual 1931:11 rituals 1930:12 road 1977:5 role 1925:18 round 1885:16 1900:17 1905:16 1909:21 2002:2 route 1961:16 1996:18 rubber 1962:1	rugby 1891:16 ruled 1956:4 ruling 1952:1 rumours 1991:10 runs 1934:15,16 Rustenburg 1957:19 <hr/> S <hr/> S 1999:2,7,9 sabre 1998:10 safeguard 1961:17 1995:20 safety 1882:13 1910:7 SAFM 1988:15 1989:2 1990:20 salary 1965:11 sanctity 1921:17 sandwiches 1897:9 SAPS 1877:12 1888:15 1888:24 1890:23 1892:12,15 1918:21 1918:23 1948:13 1959:3 1984:25 1997:14 2003:9 sat 1952:21 1971:7 save 1951:6 1987:3 saved 1933:12 saw 1887:25 1906:7 1908:23 1909:11 1912:11,15 1919:6 1922:10,12,14,25 1947:12 1951:8 1952:15,19,20,24 1953:5 1954:2 1963:10 1971:5 1987:8 1999:22 saying 1881:11 1887:6 1891:19 1892:7,14 1895:7,8 1897:16 1898:5,5,11 1906:10 1909:6 1927:7 1931:18 1936:5 1942:13,22 1943:12 1946:5,6 1947:24 1950:18 1952:4 1953:25 1954:10 1955:13 1958:2,13 1959:6 1963:10 1964:8,25 1971:8,11 1971:16,19 1972:1 1973:13 1974:18 1978:10 1991:12 1998:12 2003:22 says 1882:5 1895:25 1896:14 1905:16 1917:12,21 1926:16 1942:22 1944:15 1953:12 1959:21 1964:23 1981:13 1987:7,17 1988:21 1991:21 1999:3,14 2000:11,17,24 2001:17 2002:20 scene 1961:25 1973:22 1974:2,16,19,19,19 1985:2	scenes 1974:20 score 1928:25 Scott 1905:6 screaming 1964:19 1974:9,11,12,13 screams 1973:20 screen 1877:20 1900:11 1902:9 1943:15 scriptures 1940:14 search 1906:18 searched 1904:19 seated 1929:24 1977:4 second 1877:12 1888:2 1891:18 1895:13 1900:15 1907:21 1908:5 1910:16,21 1911:2,3,4,18,23 1912:9 1915:3 1916:6 1935:2 1959:15 1976:16 1993:9 secondly 1883:19 1917:18 seconds 1973:23 1974:3 second-by-second 1993:15 second-last 1961:10 secretary 1973:10 1999:12 sections 1980:20 secure 1916:3 security 1882:14 1893:8,9 1894:7 1896:1,2 1908:10 1912:13 1916:2,22 1925:11 1942:20 1968:20 1972:6 1992:10 see 1877:4 1879:7 1884:15,17 1887:8,14 1888:4,19 1890:20 1892:9 1895:19 1900:14 1901:15 1909:2 1913:8 1914:7 1918:8 1925:6,8,11 1928:13 1932:8 1936:13 1938:3 1943:17 1949:25 1950:3,5 1952:25 1953:1,4 1955:18,19 1955:24 1956:18 1957:1,5,7,8 1959:2 1961:13 1963:2,22,23 1963:24 1972:20 1977:23 1984:8 1985:3 1993:5,13,17 1993:24 1994:13 1996:12 2000:16,22 2001:16 2002:10 seek 1942:12 1962:22 1972:15 1983:8 1994:16 seeking 1985:21 2004:23 seen 1907:15 1909:14 1909:15 1914:21
---	--	---	---	--

1916:14 1920:5 1928:17 1945:3 1950:11 1951:3 1981:3 1982:2,16 1983:2 1985:7 1993:22 seized 1968:5 Semenya's 1939:21 senior 1919:21 1942:1 1942:9 1966:8 1972:20 1984:19 sense 1881:12 1988:10 sensible 2007:10 sent 1887:3 1999:4 sentence 1915:11 1936:4 Senzeni 1989:13 separate 1906:14 September 2005:14 sequence 1943:15 serious 1931:23 seriously 1881:3 1896:3 1944:2 1970:3 served 1897:14 Service 1972:15 set 1967:9 1978:24 settlement 1961:15 1995:9,19 settlements 1994:23 share 1959:4 1966:17 2000:5 shepherd 1942:5 she's 1893:7 1906:6 shoot 1976:19 shooting 1891:10 1973:19,22 1974:2,4 1975:12 1977:14 1978:22 short 1891:1 1925:24 shortest 1996:18 shortish 1913:17 shortly 1894:7 1899:10 1905:11 1922:6 shot 1916:2,21 1976:18 shotgun 1962:1 shouldn't 1877:5 1981:17 show 1887:11 1900:5 1930:11 1948:9 1957:12 1980:25 1993:10,22 showed 1885:8 1965:20 1971:7 showing 1949:5 1976:15 shown 1885:8 1899:5 1900:19,21 1943:18 1949:12,20 1950:16 1952:14 1958:11 1963:3 1964:5 1993:18 2000:8 shows 1959:10 1993:1 1993:4,15 1997:2 side 1916:24,24 1920:23 1921:12 1928:12 1955:21	1959:3 1968:7 1973:12 1974:7 1975:1 1979:23 1980:2 1981:12,19 sides 1914:11 1915:5,6 1915:21 1983:23 sign 1928:23 1942:18 1998:4 signed 1927:4 signs 1922:12,13 silence 1925:5 similar 1982:5 1998:13 simple 1896:3 1997:10 simply 1880:10 1883:14 1913:1 1920:16 1952:6 1956:14 1994:4 1996:3 2007:6 singing 1970:20 1974:10 1976:24 1977:4,7 1998:10 single 1933:25 Sir 1879:19 1883:5 1887:14,21 1888:10 1888:25 1892:8 1895:7 1917:8 1927:20 1928:17 1930:15 1932:23 1941:6 1984:1,18 1993:6 2005:20 sit 1923:12 1934:10 1991:25 1992:14 sitting 1953:5 1970:20 1971:5 1977:5 situation 1889:16 1915:9 1916:1 1923:17 1945:7 1967:18 1969:25 1981:25 1982:5 1983:5 1984:7,17 1998:19 2002:10,12 2002:14 2004:12,16 situations 1983:22 2005:6 six 1922:19 2003:5 2005:20 skill 1983:6 skirmish 1994:9,11,17 1996:4 1997:8,14 skirmishes 1992:11 sky 1928:14 1929:1,13 1929:15 slaughtering 1931:2 sleep 1981:11 sleepless 1982:15 slide 1884:15 1899:6 1900:13 1950:13 1961:1,2,3,6 1963:3,7 1963:7,8,25,25 1994:11,13,22 1996:9 slides 1930:11 1943:14 1964:1 1971:6 1998:1 slightly 1995:22 Soap 1938:11 society 1938:13 solidarity 1981:18,19	solution 1887:1 1969:13 1981:6 1985:21 2004:23 somebody 1886:16 1922:14 1938:12 somebody's 1889:13 somewhat 1966:5 songs 1976:25 soon 1973:8 1992:20 sorry 1891:16 1895:11 1895:14 1901:14 1903:12 1906:13 1907:25 1908:2 1915:10 1924:16 1927:20 1935:13,16 1946:20 1950:23 1958:16 1978:16 1988:25 1999:6 2006:20 2007:11 sought 2003:10 2004:25 sounds 1938:21 1961:21 1974:13 1994:25 South 1940:7 1972:14 1988:15 1991:24 space 1972:21 2005:6 sparked 1975:11 speak 1892:6,24 1895:12 1919:5 1924:5 1957:11 1964:1 1979:9 speaker 1958:20 speaking 1886:7 1901:17 1931:13 1947:12 1968:14 1973:4 1977:2 1978:2 spears 1950:20,21,21 2005:17 special 1877:17 1904:3 1904:4 specialised 2001:19 2002:7 specifically 1916:17 1935:20 1977:12,22 speculation 1946:23 speech 1954:24 1955:5 spent 1903:22 spilling 1984:9 spiritual 1880:17 spoilt 1991:6 spoke 1882:15 1883:6 1884:9,10,20 1887:10 1891:3 1894:11,18,22 1909:15 1917:5 1949:3 1952:21 1974:7 1976:7 1992:8 spoken 1889:2 1905:11 1917:13 spokesperson 1883:3 1998:3 sponsor 1940:23 sponsoring 1954:15 square 1974:16 staff 1918:21 1925:11 1999:12	stage 1879:4 1891:21 1898:24 1904:21,24 1957:17 1970:23 1972:18 1985:12 1989:2 1991:18 stalemate 1972:25 stance 1917:2,7,11 stances 1915:21 stand 1916:15 standing 1906:19 1938:12 1966:9 1970:15,20 1980:4 1981:20 1998:2 stands 1999:16 start 1880:9 1914:16 1928:11 1937:14 1940:5,15 started 1970:16 1976:22 1996:19 1997:18 starting 1879:23 1914:20 starts 1881:24 1938:23 1949:8 state 1941:22 1972:9 1983:16 stated 1954:3 1986:10 1988:20 statements 1880:25 1926:18 1937:16 1939:3 1941:23 1942:6,14 states 1925:6 station 1884:6 1889:6 1890:15 1905:23 1934:8 1937:18 1939:4 1970:11 statute 1969:24 stay 1934:23 1957:19 stood 1934:12 stop 1883:5 1885:15 1912:5 1913:6 1938:2 1984:3 stopped 1911:22,24,25 1913:6 1942:21 stopping 1960:1 story 1916:24 1922:4 1942:9 straight 1996:15 strange 1905:13 street 1959:3 strike 1925:9,14 strikers 1879:17 1880:5 1881:4 1882:12 1886:12 1926:13 1978:19 striking 1882:8 1915:7 1915:22 1917:16 stringent 1931:25 strong 1887:11,13 1934:4 1937:23 1985:16 1986:9 stronger 1966:13 strongest 1964:6,16 structures 1882:10 1991:16	stun 1961:20 1994:24 1997:18 stupid 1928:9 1929:5 subject 1910:15 1913:17 1943:1 submit 1923:15 subsequent 1952:22 1962:18 1965:4 subsequently 1901:12 1907:10 1946:7 1997:8 succinctly 1902:5 suddenly 1881:14 sufficient 1997:12,12 suggest 1877:23 1908:23 1935:22 1958:22 1970:7 1986:22 suggested 1894:12 suggesting 1892:15,16 suggestion 1885:24 suggestive 1996:24 suits 2007:9 summary 1935:25 1947:3 1981:7,8 summertime 1968:3 Sun 1957:14 Sunday 1934:9 sung 1976:15 sunset 1967:25 supply 1989:25 support 1882:7 1962:21 supported 1886:4 suppose 1879:2 1958:9 1987:10 2006:10 supposed 2006:18 sure 1893:19 1900:9 1930:14 1937:4 1944:18 1957:10 1979:3 1983:18 1987:23 1993:8 2000:1 2006:13 surely 1901:23 1934:13 1955:13 1990:3 surprising 1998:21 surrender 1917:18 1998:5 surrendering 1952:22 suspicion 1940:5,16 swept 1904:19 symbol 1952:22 system 1930:4
T				
tactic 2001:2	take 1878:8 1899:6 1921:16 1927:22 1928:14,22 1935:19 1939:13 1940:8 1942:14 1944:17 1957:17,20 1961:11 1962:11 1964:3 1973:2 1980:22 1987:25 1989:1 1996:10 1999:21			

<p>2005:21 taken 1890:13 1899:13 1902:16 1903:13 1904:7,12 1917:15 1925:10 1934:11 1941:23 1943:6,7 1957:13 1967:1 1973:1 1977:15 1978:22 1983:23 1991:18 1992:11 1995:25 1999:17 2000:18 2001:5 2005:18 taker 1928:13 talk 1883:4 1887:23,25 1898:21 1917:17 1918:4 1953:2 1979:14 1981:18,22 2000:13 2002:20 2003:19 talked 1884:6 1887:24 1891:4 talking 1885:20 1887:17 1891:22 1894:5 1897:7 1901:2 1903:2 1912:11 1915:13 1922:18 1931:4 1941:6,6,7 1943:19,22 1945:6 1958:13 1969:12 1970:12 1982:4 1984:20 2005:11 tape 1949:14 task 2001:5 Tata 2000:17,17 taught 1983:21 tea 1913:21 teach 1941:2 teaching 1941:3 teachings 1921:18 tear 1997:18 teargas 1961:20 1994:24 telephone 1973:9 television 1916:14 1920:6 1922:10,25 1963:23 1965:1 1982:3 1983:2 2005:17 tell 1882:23 1883:10,17 1893:5 1895:23 1898:2 1906:7 1909:18 1915:5 1917:16 1920:9 1926:13,19 1930:3 1931:9,23 1937:21 1938:24 1939:7 1942:2 1949:1 1958:22 1959:25 1966:14 1979:5 1993:8,21 1998:11 1999:13 telling 1891:24 1903:11 1909:13 1927:7 1987:11 tellingly 1988:12</p>	<p>tells 1900:16 1984:3 temper 1938:14 1940:12 tempered 1933:5,7 1938:22 tendered 1931:18 1948:7 tense 1983:6 2002:12 tensions 1991:25 term 1919:23 termed 1924:3 terms 1918:5 1931:14 1943:5 2001:24 test 1945:12,25 1965:21 tested 1926:18 testified 1944:24 1969:17 1971:25 testifies 1966:14 testify 1981:11 testimony 1919:5 testing 1931:16 thank 1877:8 1878:25 1881:8 1893:2 1900:24 1903:16 1911:16,22 1914:1 1917:24 1927:10,14 1927:16,21 1930:23 1931:8 1935:1 1936:16,22,25 1937:9 1945:1 1947:8 1949:11,21 1952:12 1955:23 1957:25 1965:23 1972:13 1973:7 1974:23,23,25 1975:2 1979:21 1980:3,7,15,23 1987:2,4 1989:6,12 1989:13,21,21 1991:5 1992:16,23 1993:6 1996:2,21 2007:10,16 thankful 1930:20 Thanks 1988:5 thereabouts 1902:3 there's 1877:17 1879:13 1881:23 1887:19 1902:14 1910:8 1929:11 1931:1 1937:15 1939:1 1943:9 1972:23 1989:24 1997:8 2006:18 they'll 1930:20 they're 1881:14 1934:20 1942:8 1954:11 1957:11 they've 1939:2 1954:11 thing 1884:1 1891:18 1921:17 1929:19 1930:20 1934:15 1935:2 1954:20 1955:2,24 1956:13 1964:19 1976:16 1988:9 1991:1 2000:18 2007:6 things 1880:3 1887:5 1917:13 1921:6</p>	<p>1928:12 1937:16 1939:2 1940:6 1951:16,18 1955:13 1963:15 1976:14 1981:14 1990:2 2006:16 2007:1 think 1880:25 1881:6 1881:10 1883:16,24 1890:14,15 1896:7 1899:3,20 1900:1 1901:17,18,18 1902:4 1902:25 1905:21 1906:1,18 1907:13 1908:14 1911:6 1917:9,20 1921:14,23 1923:23 1924:17,23 1926:24 1927:1 1929:10 1931:11 1939:23 1943:6,7,8,9 1946:23 1947:2 1951:10,14 1953:22 1954:20 1959:22 1960:16 1962:4,6,8 1966:7 1968:10,11 1971:9 1981:21 1982:4,22 1989:1 1994:12 1995:21 1999:2 2002:11,13 2003:8,9,16,24 2004:23 2007:5,10 thinking 1921:5 1982:15 thinks 1909:4 1951:19 third 1884:1 1914:17 1918:7 thirdly 1917:19 thought 1880:16 1927:15 1932:2 1955:20 1966:8 1967:13 1981:5 thousands 1880:13 threat 1882:13 1970:1 1970:4 threatening 1965:9 1970:1 2002:25 three 1878:6 1883:9 1897:22 1898:1 1908:19 1914:6 1925:16 1994:10,12 1999:1 2000:1 throw 1992:1 thrust 1924:23 1962:24 Thursday 1912:20 till 1904:6 time 1879:14 1884:19 1885:4 1887:3,18 1888:3,8 1890:20 1896:21,22 1897:3,10 1897:11 1898:16,25 1899:4,16 1900:6,8 1900:12 1901:13 1903:13,25 1904:11 1906:10 1908:18 1911:2,3,4,19,23 1912:5,9,19,25 1913:13,19,20</p>	<p>1918:19 1921:20 1944:16 1951:6 1967:13,16,18,21 1968:3,8,11,14,16 1970:6 1971:12 1972:2 1974:9,21 1976:23 1981:25 1983:11 1984:4 1986:5,25 1987:3 1990:9 1998:15 2002:3,15 2003:9,10 2003:13,19 2004:24 2005:6 timeline 1896:10 1905:18 1913:12 times 1896:8 1928:13 1935:6 1951:3 1975:18 2003:6 Tip 1975:2,8,17,23 1976:3,10,24 1977:7 1977:11,18,20,25 1978:4,9,13,16,17 1979:3,16,21 today 1877:10 1884:22 1923:12 1990:6 2007:11 told 1881:22 1882:24 1883:11 1890:16 1891:11 1892:1 1893:7 1894:7,8,24 1895:1 1898:14 1902:21 1905:4 1910:1 1913:4 1916:1 1917:6,6 1920:21 1923:2 1926:12 1932:9 1933:21 1934:9,10 1975:18 1979:11,13 1980:17 1986:4,12,17 1988:14 1988:20 1992:20 1997:1 tomorrow 1986:23 1990:16 1991:1 2006:11 2007:7,19 top 1879:25 1880:9 1922:18,20 totality 1917:6 track 2006:1 trade 1916:23 traditional 1880:17 1943:23 2004:15 tragedies 2004:9 tragedy 1919:3 1946:16 trained 1969:24 2001:13 2004:4 training 1940:13 transcript 1877:14 1878:7,9 1879:22 1886:3 1888:8 1916:11 1937:13 1949:1 1973:3 1989:2 1989:18 1990:20 transcription 1916:11 translated 1916:4 translation 1973:13</p>	<p>transmission 1890:10 trawling 1938:13 triangle 1996:11 tried 1886:19 1937:16 1939:2,12 1942:6 1952:23 1972:10 trouble 1940:7 troubled 1938:11 1969:21 1972:9 1981:13 troubles 1981:15 true 1891:19 1896:24 1896:24 1905:20 1906:9 1909:9,11,12 1912:6,23 1914:22 1926:5,24 1928:16 1930:1,9 1931:21 1933:13,14 1941:14 1945:5 1960:8 1969:4 1971:1 1982:25 1983:15 1984:11 1993:19 1994:2 2003:16 trust 1927:4 1933:24 1935:10 1937:21 1938:18,19 1939:7,14 1939:16 1940:10 1942:22 1983:18,24 trusted 1886:17 1931:25 1932:21 1939:1,10 1960:20 truth 1909:13 1940:16 1975:25 1991:11 try 1886:21 1893:25 1900:6 1904:14 1911:21 1912:18 1914:14 1935:1 1948:14 2003:23 trying 1889:19 1892:25 1919:7 1921:6 1925:19 1945:2 1962:5 1972:23 1982:1 1984:16 2005:2 Tuesday 1881:24 1882:5 turn 1880:1 turned 1961:24 TV 1914:21 twisted 1941:25 twisting 1991:11 two 1889:15 1902:17 1915:21 1925:6,24,24 1926:17,22 1931:3 1947:11 1960:7,22 1961:21,24 1972:21 1976:14 1981:19 1991:9 1992:12,21 1994:1,7,25 1995:10 1996:19 2000:1,1 type 1930:7 1931:10 1932:10 1940:23 1944:5 1964:6 typical 1945:3</p>
--	---	---	--	---

<p>unable 1910:7 unacceptable 1921:15 unanswered 1879:14 unarmed 1947:13 1976:17,23 2000:12 2000:16 unaware 1948:22 unbecoming 1880:19 1880:22 1966:7,9,13 uncontested 1994:10 undergone 1931:10 undermined 1925:18 understand 1879:12 1881:10 1890:3 1891:23 1892:10,12 1892:14 1893:4,23 1895:3,6 1896:18 1899:10 1910:15 1911:19 1914:14 1916:23 1919:24 1922:2 1924:4 1925:19 1939:11 1958:21 1960:16,18 1962:3 1978:9 1981:1 1982:8 1984:7 understanding 1914:17 1929:24 2004:5 understands 1962:24 understood 1901:15 1908:11 1909:3 1922:20 1924:1 1927:25 1978:18 1983:22 1986:8 1990:15 2001:20 2004:17 undertaking 1960:8 1962:15 1966:23 Undeterred 1928:21 unduly 1902:4 unescorted 1983:12,14 unfair 1926:24 1956:14 unflattering 1966:1,6 unfortunate 2007:12 unfriendly 1895:24 unguarded 2001:6 unhappily 1997:1 uniform 1935:4 union 1916:23 1975:14 1976:19 1979:1,11,14 1982:10,23 1991:16 unit 1969:2 units 1882:6 1966:25 universally 2004:7 unkind 1895:9 unknown 1884:8 unlawful 1883:20 1987:14 unlawfully 1942:4 unnumbered 1881:24 unpreparedness 1988:18 unprofessional 2002:14 unprotected 1925:9,14 unrelated 1972:11 unrest 1945:7 unsafe 1882:25</p>	<p>1883:12 1987:12 unsigned 1986:19 untrustworthy 1932:14 untruth 1927:2 unwillingness 1918:4 upheld 1936:21 1956:21 urgency 1881:13 use 1887:9,11 1892:16 1892:17 1911:18 1927:23 1928:1 1929:16 1930:4,15,17 1930:25 1966:12 1970:25 1983:8 1994:24 1997:18 1999:18 2007:12 uses 1959:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">V</p> <hr/> <p>various 1882:6 1949:9 1966:25 1970:14 vehicle 1894:21 veld 1965:6 venture 1912:18 version 1884:18 1890:24 1893:4 1896:11 1901:1,20 1904:5 1907:2 1908:8 1909:23 1918:2 1961:4 1993:24 1994:20,20,22 1995:1 1995:3,7,11,12 1996:4 vicinity 1996:10 victims 1924:3,4,6 video 1878:2 1885:7 1943:18 1944:15 1949:9,12 1950:16 1952:13,14 1958:3,11 1958:18 1961:14 1994:3 1999:15,17 2002:10 videos 1963:10 view 1893:6 1905:18 1921:10,13,22 1922:6 1923:19 1947:5 1968:6 1975:10 1976:6 1983:1 1986:12 1991:19,19 1992:2 1996:23 2001:2 views 2002:9 vigour 1979:18 village 1961:19,20 1995:13 1996:6,16 violence 1952:25 1953:1,3 1960:1 1964:10 1965:5,7 1970:12,19 1971:4 1975:11 1991:25 1998:20 violent 1957:10 1961:6 1961:11 1965:12 2001:18 visit 1894:6 1910:17,21 visitation 1965:1</p>	<p>visuals 1993:9 voice 1973:12 1974:6 1975:13 1978:25 volatile 1998:20 2002:9 2004:16 volume 1877:13 voluntarily 1904:21 volunteered 1997:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>wait 2007:2 walked 1891:9 1925:20 walking 1884:8 1953:5 2003:17 want 1877:10,16 1880:19 1882:3 1883:11 1884:25 1886:13,24 1887:23 1893:8 1895:7,8 1896:1,9 1898:6 1901:3,18 1902:4 1909:17 1910:15 1923:23 1932:8 1934:19 1935:14 1938:14 1943:13,17 1945:12,14 1949:17 1950:19 1951:16,17 1951:17,18 1954:7 1966:17 1968:7 1970:7 1980:20 1984:5 1985:13 1986:24 1987:25 1997:11 2000:20 2006:5,25 wanted 1905:7 1910:2 1916:16 1924:20 1979:14 1983:18 1995:18 wanting 1887:12 1982:17 wants 1911:12 1980:24 war 1930:16 1948:22 wasn't 1898:16 1899:7 1901:22 1919:15 waste 1986:25 1990:9 watch 1898:16 1958:18 watched 1928:12 watching 1943:23 water 1916:7 waves 1957:15 way 1890:9 1894:20 1911:19 1936:18 1940:14,19,21 1955:9 1955:22 1957:2 1961:17 1962:4 1969:10 2002:14,21 2003:22,25 2007:10 weapon 1950:1 weapons 1882:9 1904:15,17,20,21 1917:18 1920:9 1922:5 1925:9 1944:2 1945:24 1946:3,12 1950:20 1952:25 1953:10,13 1954:6,17 1955:25 1956:14</p>	<p>1957:3 1959:7,17 1961:23 1965:8 1993:2 1996:25 2000:15,21 2004:16 wearing 1980:17,18 weekend 1928:22 weeks 1991:9 1999:1 2000:1,2 welcome 1886:13 went 1891:13,13 1905:22 1906:12,17 1906:19 1907:3,8 1911:23 1914:2,18 1916:20 1934:12 1953:20 1965:6 1970:15 1971:16 1973:21 1974:7 1980:22 1981:7,9 1983:11,13 1987:7 1995:22 weren't 1892:15 1996:17 2007:11 Western 1921:24 1923:13 we'll 1901:1 1907:12 1957:19,20 2007:2 we're 1881:22 1885:3 1894:16 1954:1 1960:11 2006:6,6,9 we've 1877:13,15 1878:1 1881:18 1902:15 1908:8,14 1909:1 1912:3 1917:4 1927:17 2007:4 What's 1885:22 1907:22 who's 1885:12 1898:5 willing 1886:18 1887:20 1892:11 1906:6 willingly 1943:8 willingness 1918:4 window 1891:5 1984:9 wish 1935:23 withdraw 1881:1 1932:21 1933:7 withdrawal 1945:7 witness 1879:7,10 1907:24 1936:8 1937:3 1951:16 1954:21 1955:1,11,16 1956:11 1986:20 1988:4 1990:4 1996:20 2001:4 2002:6 2006:5 2007:3 witnessed 1920:17 witnesses 1925:24 1942:15 2007:2 witnessing 1944:2 woman 1908:13 women 1933:12,17 1935:4 1942:14 wonder 1889:5 2007:5 won't 1913:17 1949:23 1949:24 1953:13 2005:25 2007:6,7</p>	<p>word 1887:9 1910:4,5 1940:9 1959:22 1960:20 1969:18 words 1883:6,23 1884:11,21 1910:12 1946:8 1951:1 1958:15 1966:13 1970:25 1971:1 1973:15 1978:25 1979:5 1987:21 1996:11,13 2005:23 work 1900:8 1935:4 worked 2004:3 worker 2002:19 workers 1887:10,25 1890:2,10 1892:6,24 1898:20 1901:8 1903:9,22 1908:7 1910:10 1915:7,22 1916:1,6,13,24 1918:5,24 1947:12 1965:5 1968:5 1982:21,24 1984:1 1985:13,19 1988:19 1992:19 1993:5,16 1994:10,21,22 1996:5 1996:10 1997:16 1998:4,8 2000:12 2003:13 2004:14 2005:18 world 1981:14 worse 2004:11 wouldn't 1885:20 1919:13 1924:21 1934:1 1935:10 1960:8 1999:24 write 1920:11 1937:19 1939:5 1941:13,18 writing 1934:13 written 1937:20 1939:6 1941:16 1942:4,8 wrong 1907:19 1909:6 1915:10 1942:5 1970:22 1984:14 1985:24 2000:23 2005:8 wrongs 1932:6 wrote 1921:21 1922:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">X</p> <hr/> <p>Xhosa 1884:22 1886:8 1886:24 1973:12 Xolani 1988:16 1989:7 1991:23 2002:19 X5 1900:1</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>year 1879:17 years 1931:24 1932:19 1938:25 yesterday 1878:4 1885:8,16 1944:21 1947:13 1951:8 yesterday's 1886:2 young 1934:11 2000:16 you'd 1910:1 1924:18</p>
---	---	---	---	---

<p>1924:19 you'll 1879:24 1881:20 1888:19 1902:8 1904:4 2005:7 2007:13 you're 1877:6 1881:11 1895:9 1901:17 1902:6 1906:1 1932:13 1936:14 1954:1,24 1957:24 1963:9 1964:25 1966:6 you've 1895:7 1898:25 1905:11 1912:4 1917:11,24 1920:17 1922:4 1925:10 1939:3,8 1940:1,2 1943:6 1947:6,17 1956:20 1963:3 1975:4,18,19 1976:8 1976:25 1996:22</p>	<p>12:42 1949:6 13 1888:5,13 1890:21 1917:12 13th 1880:2 1908:13 1922:22 1949:22 1951:9 1962:11 1968:21 2000:9 13:13 1944:16 13:15 1901:3 13:30 1898:7 1904:5 1967:7 13:43 1902:16 13:47 1902:22 1903:15 1358 1916:11,13 1363 1895:16,20 1364 1893:5,5 1895:5 1895:16 1368 1973:3,6 1394 1896:13,14 1399 1936:14,18 14 1892:10 1911:11 14th 1877:14 1878:7 1881:24 1882:5 1921:12 1923:20 14:00 1902:3 14:01 1957:22 14:21 1965:15 14:41 1972:4 14:47 1967:12 1400 1935:17 1936:12 1937:13 1938:23 1949:1 1418 1879:24 1880:1 1423 1880:6,9 1425 1888:4,5,11 1890:21 15 1903:22 1938:24 1946:1 15th 1988:24 1989:4,6 1991:17 15:01 1981:1 15:21 1988:12 15:30 1967:1,18 15:41 1996:21 16 1896:14 1904:5 1975:19 16th 1877:17 1878:3,15 1878:17,18,24 1879:17 1880:6 1881:5 1882:4,15 1884:20 1886:12 1906:8,11 1907:16 1908:24 1909:2,5,11 1909:19,20 1911:8,14 1912:9 1914:2,18 1918:14,17 1919:1,17 1919:25 1920:7,22,25 1921:4 1922:7,19,23 1924:5,6,8,20,20 1925:20 1930:11 1943:16 1944:6,16 1945:12 1946:17 1963:21 1964:8 1965:4,18 1966:24 1976:1 1981:2 1985:2 1989:3 2001:11</p>	<p>2004:14 16:01 2004:1 161 1900:13,15 163 1895:16 164 1895:16 168 1884:15 1899:6 17 1937:14</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <hr/> <p>2 1880:10 1881:20,23 1898:8 1899:17,19 1903:19 1904:6,6,23 1905:4 1913:14,15 1915:10,18,19 1974:19 1983:13 1987:13 2001:16 20 1880:15 1935:20 20th 1906:2,4,7 1908:15 1909:5,7,11 1998:25 1999:8 2010 1943:16 1944:6 2012 1877:1 1882:5 1904:5 1918:11 1944:8,16 1949:23 1975:12,19 1977:12 1977:22 1998:25 1999:9 22 1877:1 23 1991:21 24 1895:19 1935:20 27 1988:13 29 1975:5 1977:21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <hr/> <p>3 1904:21,24,24 1905:4 1905:7,16 1907:20,23 1909:21 1922:17,19 1972:18 1974:19 1983:13 1987:15 2001:16 2002:7 2003:11 3.3 1999:14 3:30 1905:8 30 1903:22 1946:1 31 2005:8 32 1918:9 1919:1 1923:6,10,17 32.1 1919:20 1925:7 32.2 1919:20 1925:7 32.3 1919:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <hr/> <p>4 1880:10 1895:23 1904:12 1967:22 40 1931:24 1932:19 1938:25 426 1892:10 44 1920:25 46 1961:5,7 1995:17 47 1961:1,3 1994:22 1995:12,14,24 49 1996:9,9</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <hr/> <p>50 1950:13 1963:25 51 1963:7</p>	<p>52 1963:7 53 1963:7 54 1963:7 55 1963:7 1994:12 56 1963:8 1994:13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <hr/> <p>6 1884:16 1885:9 1899:6,7 1916:13 1949:2 1976:7 6's 1899:13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <hr/> <p>7 1976:7 70 1932:13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">8</p> <hr/> <p>8 1896:13,14 1915:6,10 1915:11,19,22 1976:7 1988:15,20 1989:2 1991:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">9</p> <hr/> <p>9 1948:5 1966:24 9th 1914:20 1920:2,24 1921:11 1923:20 1946:17,23,24 1970:5 9.7 1987:6</p>
<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Z</p> <hr/> <p>Z 1951:8 Zokwana 1989:13 Zulu 1893:18</p>			
<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">0</p> <hr/> <p>000 1932:13 00021MPS 1944:15,17 09:30 2007:19 09:36 1877:2 09:56 1886:6</p>			
<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <hr/> <p>1 1877:18 1882:25 1884:20,21 1896:12 1896:15,16,16,19,20 1897:14 1899:1,10,14 1899:19 1973:22 1974:2,16,19 1983:13 1987:12 1:15 1901:24 10 1907:20,20 1908:12 1910:7 1917:4,11 1918:16,20 1920:1 1921:11,22 1922:6,21 1923:3 1924:4,22 1966:23 1970:6 1973:4 1981:10 1991:12,21,23 1992:4 10:16 1894:3 10:36 1903:16 10:56 1913:3 11 1880:12 1884:21 1913:18 1975:12,21 1977:12,22 11:22 1913:23 11:42 1923:11 12 1892:10 1893:5 1895:25 12th 1880:2 1918:11 1921:21 12:02 1931:22 12:22 1940:20 12:35 1900:17</p>			