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 214 9 APRIL 2014 PAGES 26373 TO 26453

© **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

NCRA
Guardians of the Record

[PROCEEDINGS ON 9 APRIL 2014]
[09:12] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. Lieutenant-Colonel, you're still bound by your affirmation.
SALMON JOHANNES VERMAAK: (affirms further)
CHAIRPERSON: Mr Gotz, you're with us, where were you yesterday afternoon?
MR GOTZ: Good morning, Chairperson. I understand that there was a five minute interlude at the end of Mr Mpofu's –
CHAIRPERSON: Yes, but five minutes were wasted because you weren't here but your excuse was tendered and accepted, but don't let it happen again. Shall we carry on?
MR GOTZ: Thank you, Chairperson. Chair, may we commence by introducing as exhibits two articles which have been provided to the witness and I believer to the Commissioners. The first is an article by Sean Tait and Monique Marks entitled "You strike a gathering, you strike a rock."
CHAIRPERSON: You strike?
MR GOTZ: "You strike a gathering, you strike a rock – current debates in the policing of public order in South Africa."
CHAIRPERSON: "You strike a gathering,

you strike a rock" – I must turn my machine on, "You strike a gathering, you strike a rock" article. What exhibit do you want to make it? Ms Pillay, what is it, OOO31, 32?
MS PILLAY: Chair, it will be OOO32 and OOO33.
CHAIRPERSON: OOO32 is this article "You strike a gathering, you strike a rock," yes? And OOO33, what's that?
MR GOTZ: That's an article by David Bruce which is entitled "The Road to Marikana: Abuses of force during -"
CHAIRPERSON: Okay, just The Road to Marikana.
MR GOTZ: - public order.
CHAIRPERSON: I've got copies here somewhere. Anyway, so – thank you.
MR GOTZ: Chairperson, then later in my cross-examination I'll be referring to a short presentation which we've entitled "The movement of the strikers from the koppie towards the small kraal," that will be exhibit 34.
CHAIRPERSON: No, it won't. It'll be OPENBARE ORDE POLISIEMAN –
MR GOTZ: OOO34.
CHAIRPERSON: What is it? Presentation, what's it called?

MR GOTZ: It's entitled "The movement of the strikers from the koppie towards the small kraal" and that'll be OOO34.
CHAIRPERSON: Ja, alright, got that.
CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR GOTZ: Good morning, Lieutenant-Colonel.
COLONEL VERMAAK: Good morning, sir.
MR GOTZ: My name is Anthony Gotz. I'll be asking you questions on behalf of AMCU. Lieutenant-Colonel, have you had an opportunity to read the two articles that we've referred to as exhibit OOO32 and 33?
COLONEL VERMAAK: I looked through my documents and I couldn't find them.
CHAIRPERSON: [Microphone off, inaudible] – what the article "The Road to Marikana" looks like and this is what the article "You strike a gathering, you strike a rock" looks like. Did you not see those?
COLONEL VERMAAK: No, Chair.
CHAIRPERSON: Well, I suggest you look at my copies and – you can use my copies – Adv Hemraj insists on giving you hers.
COLONEL VERMAAK: Thank you, Chair.
CHAIRPERSON: I suppose you can't say no to a lady in those circumstances. Alright, OOO32 and 33 have been handed to you. We don't want to sit here while

you read them, so we'll adjourn for – how long do you think he needs, Mr Gotz?
MR GOTZ: Chair, they're relatively short so I –
CHAIRPERSON: Can you not carry on with other stuff first, in the meanwhile or is it important – have you worked out, structured your cross-examination?
MR GOTZ: This is the way I've structured it, in fact it's the bulk of my cross-examination, Chairperson.
CHAIRPERSON: This is the launch pad.
MR GOTZ: I would imagine 10, 15 minutes.
CHAIRPERSON: We'll give you – we'll adjourn until you send us a message to the effect that you have read and considered the articles.
COLONEL VERMAAK: Thank you, Chair. Oh yes, are you going to put the whole article to him or is there some particular passage that he should study particularly, to see the context and so on?
MR GOTZ: Chair, there are select passages. I can, I don't necessarily need to do that in open forum now –
CHAIRPERSON: I'll tell you what, let's adjourn now, let's adjourn now. You can go and chat to him.

MR GOTZ: Yes.
CHAIRPERSON: And draw his attention to the specific passages that you think he should study carefully. Obviously he will want to read the whole article so he can see the passages in context but it'll save time if we do that.
MR GOTZ: Indeed.
CHAIRPERSON: You'll help him once we've adjourned?
MR GOTZ: Will do.
CHAIRPERSON: Right, we'll take a short adjournment now. We'll carry on when you're ready.
COLONEL VERMAAK: Thank you, Chair.
[COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
[09:31] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. Lieutenant-Colonel, I reminded you earlier that you're still bound by your affirmation and that reminder stands. Mr Gotz?
MR GOTZ: Thank you, Chair.
CHAIRPERSON: The witness has had an opportunity, I am informed, to study the articles. You drew his attention the particular passages that you regard as relevant and important, is that correct?
MR GOTZ: Yes indeed, Chair.
CHAIRPERSON: Alright.

SALMON JOHANNES VERMAAK: (affirms further)
CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR GOTZ (CONTD.): Lieutenant-Colonel, before we look at the articles, can we highlight some of the things you say in exhibit HHH68, that is the letter that you wrote to the Provincial Commissioner and the Provincial Head of Operational Services on 12 December 2012. First of all, you say in exhibit HHH68 in paragraph 2 at the bottom of the first – sorry, paragraph 2, "I was the commander of the POP Klerksdorp from January 1990 until 2005 whereby I was transferred to the North-West Air Wing as the commander." You also say in paragraph 9 that "The period from 1990 to 1994, the country experienced some of the worst unrest and the members most of the time handled it without loss of life." Do you see that?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
MR GOTZ: And then if we can go back to paragraph 4 you refer to some of the incidents or the unrest situations over which you were let's say commander or in control. One of those is the Boipatong incident, do you see that?
COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes, I was part of the people who had been deployed to Boipatong, not overall in command.
MR GOTZ: I presume you're referring to

the Boipatong massacre which happened in 1992, during that period that you describe as –
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
MR GOTZ: - most of the unrest, significant amounts of unrest occurred. What happened in the Boipatong massacre was that on the night of 17 June 1992 there was an attack on the Boipatong township residents by the occupants of a nearby hostel and some 40 township residents were in fact killed in that massacre and a number of others were injured, is that correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: And shortly after the massacre it was alleged that the SAPS had in fact co-ordinated the massacre with the hostel dwellers who belonged to the Inkatha Freedom party, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: I remember that allegation, yes.
MR GOTZ: I think ultimately it was established that SAPS did not have any role to play in the incident but nevertheless there was a considerable amount of animosity towards the police in the days and weeks following the massacre, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: Your role would have included, I presume, policing the mass funeral which was attended by

thousands of people in the week or so following the massacre, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, I was in the chopper with General Van der Walt.
CHAIRPERSON: You didn't actually attend the funeral on the ground, as it were?
COLONEL VERMAAK: No, I was –
CHAIRPERSON: You were in a helicopter circling above –
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
CHAIRPERSON: - keeping an eye on what was happening, is that right?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.
MR GOTZ: I in fact attended that funeral, Lieutenant-Colonel, and I recall that there was a considerable amount of tension and indeed animosity towards the police on the ground on that day. Do you recall that?
COLONEL VERMAAK: As I said, I was in the air. I cannot really comment on reaction or, of the people on the ground itself but I know there was a lot of policemen being deployed, called from all over the country.
MR GOTZ: And there were probably in excess of 10 000 people that attended that mass funeral, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: And despite the animosity and the tension, that incident was handled by the SAPS without any loss of life, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Can you give us some other examples of the most challenging incidents that POP has had to deal with during the period in which you were the commander of the POP in the North-West?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I think some of the most challenges was the ethical conflict at the mines. There we have a lot of incidents there and just before the election in a small town, Hartbeesfontein –

CHAIRPERSON: You're referring to 1994, I take it? You say just before the election, were you referring to 1994?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair. In Hartbeesfontein the township was Tigani, there was really a lot of big conflict also between ANC and IFP supporters where they, on a weekly basis, killed one of the groups. This week you buried an ANC member, next week you buried an IFP member. So that was a big challenge for me.

MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, you would agree that from your experience, that it is entirely possible to handle protests far bigger than what we saw in Marikana in August of 2012 without loss of life or indeed

injury to persons caused by police action, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: From my experience and where I was deployed and operational commander, we did handle very big groups of people and there was no losses of life through the actions of the police.

MR GOTZ: And as you say, this was done successfully during the tumultuous period in our history from 1990 to 1994. The unit that was responsible for public order policing at the time was the Internal Stability Unit, not POP, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: And after 19 –

CHAIRPERSON: Was it just a name change?

MR GOTZ: Well –

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, yes –

CHAIRPERSON: I understand this unit has gone through various name changes but is it the same animal all the time just with different names or was it – how does it work?

COLONEL VERMAAK: When I joined the public order police it was first the riot unit and then they changed it to internal stability unit, thereafter it was the area crime combating unit and then again public order police.

CHAIRPERSON: The point is it's basically

the same unit –

COLONEL VERMAAK: It's the same unit –

CHAIRPERSON: - under different names or aliases, as it were.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Ja, no Chair, it was the same unit, same members, only a change of names.

MR GOTZ: That's fine, we don't disagree with that, Lieutenant-Colonel. Of course after 1994 and indeed after the Regulation of Gatherings Act was passed, the members were trained in democratic principles in relation to the policing of public order events, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, there were courses and workshops held where it specially concentrated on the commanders and the platoon commanders regarding the Gatherings Act.

MR GOTZ: That training was done largely by the Belgians, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Belgian and France people, the first part of the sessions, yes.

CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry to interrupt, Mr Gotz. You've seen the statement, two statements I think, of Colonel Hendrickx and he describes, he's a Belgian and he describes he was part of that whole exercise. Did you ever encounter him during the course of –

COLONEL VERMAAK: No, no, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: - your attendance at courses during that period?

COLONEL VERMAAK: No, I didn't. There was a Major and a Lieutenant, the Major was from France and the Lieutenant from Belgium.

MR GOTZ: And after that training, public order policing continued to be highly successful and what I mean by that is, it was, public order policing was conducted without any loss of life at the hands of the police and indeed I think the point is made in the Tait and Marks article that for a number of years after the Act was promulgated and this training occurred, violence associated with mass demonstrations was reduced to virtually nil.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: Now let's look at what happened during the 2000s and perhaps we can refer to what David Bruce says about this subject and if you could turn to his article which is exhibit OOO33. On the front page of that article – first of all, do you know David Bruce, Lieutenant-Colonel?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Just repeat?

MR GOTZ: Do you know David Bruce?

COLONEL VERMAAK: No.

MR GOTZ: Approximately, if we can put OOO33 up on the screen, the technicians have got copies of

it –

CHAIRPERSON: The operator is telling us something. Can you not put it up on the screen? You haven't got it? The logistics have failed. It looks as if someone is going with a memory stick to beef up the logistics, is that right? Where is Mr Wesley when we need him?

MR GOTZ: Let me read the article –

CHAIRPERSON: Can an attempt be – I don't know how these things work, it's not a matter of which I have any knowledge but is it possible to put it onto a memory stick and take it to the operator?

MR GOTZ: It is possible and we'll be doing that.

CHAIRPERSON: Alright. Okay, I have every confident in you people to do it, I'm just interested to know how long it will take but in the meanwhile let's carry on, read the passage and –

MR GOTZ: Probably about two or three minutes.

CHAIRPERSON: - Ms Pillay, as Ms Hemraj says, Adv Hemraj says, is to the rescue once again. Thank you, Ms Pillay. I saw, to be fair, Ms Lewis was going to help as well so –

MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, the passage

that I'd like to focus on commences approximately, I think probably three-quarters of the way down the page where Mr Bruce says, "Notwithstanding this dramatic increase in violent demonstrations" – he in fact talks about the increase in violent demonstrations in the passages before that and indicates in those passages that there has been a dramatic increase in violent demonstrations. In this passage he says, "Notwithstanding this dramatic increase in violent demonstrations there was no significant increase in killings by police during demonstrations. Over roughly five years, between the beginning of 2000 and the end of 2004, four people were killed by police during demonstrations. Three of these deaths did take place in 2004 but two of these occurred during an operation by the Ekurhuleni metro police and one of the local sheriff's offices. Two more people were killed in 2006 and one in 2008. Notwithstanding the horrific violence that was involved no people were killed by the SAPS during the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 with police in fact being accused of being deliberately tardy in their response. Two people were also killed during a demonstration in Thandakukhanya township near Piet Retief in Mpumalanga in 2009. One was allegedly shot by a traffic police officer and the other by a private security guard."

Then Mr Bruce says, "There was something of an

escalation in 2010, with three people killed by police in that year. These included a 46 year-old grandmother, Priscilla Sukhai, in Daveyton in May and a schoolgirl, Anna Nokele in Welkom, in September 2010. But then something very dramatic happened." He says "During a period of less than five months, from the middle of February 2011 to the beginning of June 11 people were killed in demonstrations." And then he goes on to describe the people who were killed." These included two young children who were allegedly drowned as they tried to escape from police who were firing at a township demonstration in Boipelo. The other nine deaths appear to have been direct consequences of the adoption by the SAPS of brutal new methods of dealing with public protests. These methods involved the use of live ammunition in some instances. They also involved direct firing of rubber bullets at demonstrators."

Now Lieutenant-Colonel, you don't, I presume, disagree with the assessment that Bruce makes of a period of relative – well, let's say that there were relatively few killings at the hands of police during public order demonstrations and then a dramatic increase in the 2011 period.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, I'll have to accept it. I haven't got that statistics myself but I believe if he published it, it will be the correct

information.

MR GOTZ: On the basis of the assumption that the figures are correct, what they do show is a very low, virtually nil fatalities at the hands of police in crowd management operations during the 1990s, a gradual increase starting in 2000 and then a massive spike in the 2011 –

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Gotz, we've now got the exhibit up on the screen. You're going on reading, don't you think we should wait till the operator has caught up with you and the passage that you're reading is on the screen? Wouldn't it make it easier for us all? Don't you think that's a suggestion you might give consideration to?

MR GOTZ: Yes, certainly, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: Please do so.

MR GOTZ: The passage begins some three-quarters, at the end of the page.

CHAIRPERSON: You've been reading the passage "Notwithstanding" –

MR GOTZ: Yes, "Notwithstanding" –

CHAIRPERSON: - "this dramatic increase" and then you've been reading for some time now. How far have you got in your reading –

MR GOTZ: I'd reached the following page, so that'll be page 2 and it will be –

CHAIRPERSON: Yes, and where were you on the following page?
MR GOTZ: The top paragraph.
CHAIRPERSON: "These methods involved?"
MR GOTZ: Yes.
CHAIRPERSON: Mm?
MR GOTZ: Yes.
CHAIRPERSON: Alright, so that's where you got. So have you now got up to "This pattern of killing?"
MR GOTZ: Yes.
CHAIRPERSON: Alright, okay. Well, maybe the operator who has done this kind of thing before, can arrange it in such a way that we see the last couple of paragraphs on the first page and the first paragraph on the second page. He's doing it now, yes. A little bit – that's it. Now we've got the passage you referred to, everybody can see it and now you are able to carry on with your –
MR GOTZ: Yes, but I have read it reasonably slowly so it should form part of the record and everybody should have had a sense of it. Perhaps I can summarise. Really what Bruce is saying is that what we see from the 2000s is a very gradual increase in the number of killings at the hands of police and then a massive spike in

2011 due to what he refers to in that final paragraph as being the consequence of the adoption by the SAPS of brutal new methods for dealing with public protests, including the use of live ammunition. So what I put to you, Lieutenant-Colonel, is that you don't dis – first of all, you don't disagree with the figures that Bruce gives.
COLONEL VERMAAK: No.
MR GOTZ: In fact, it's a concern that you raise in HHH68, is that not so?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
MR GOTZ: Now some of the reasons that you give in HHH68 for the increase in certain concerns that you raise, you give a number of reasons for the increase in police killings and if I can probably just summarise those for you and see whether you agree, one of the concerns that you raise is inadequate training, which is in fact the key problem that you identify, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
MR GOTZ: You also identify inadequate knowledge of applicable legislation and standing orders, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
MR GOTZ: That would really be a symptom of inadequate training, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: You also identify insufficiently experienced commanders over operations as a problem, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: And the lack of the necessary equipment or possibly the inadequate use of available equipment, correct?
[09:51] COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: And you also identify inadequate information and intelligence gathering systems as a particular concern, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: In your evidence-in-chief you also mentioned a concern relating to a decrease in the number of POP personnel, as we understood your evidence. You suggested that there was a minimising of POP as a consequence of restructuring that occurred during the 1990s.
COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes, Chair, with their new approach they made the decision, some of the members must go to the police stations. What the problem with that was, is that when a member is transferred to the police station, in the beginning the idea was that they will work as a group with the police station and with the members of the police stations but then unfortunately they were used

by VISPOL and they were divided in different shifts, so the groups was not anymore utilised at the stations as one group. They were supposed to handle the level 1 and the level 2 unrest situations and that caused that the public order police decreased a lot and also it put, it made it difficult for them with less people to handle big events, as I pointed it out in my letter in May 2012.
MR GOTZ: And just so that we have an additional reference for this point, perhaps we can have a look at exhibit R which is a document entitled "Police and Guidelines – Policing of public protests, gatherings and major events," if we can put exhibit R up on screen? This is a document that's in fact issued by the Ministry of Police and the relevant passage appears on page 14 of that document under the heading which is at the bottom of what is visible on screen, "Establishment of a dedicated Public Order Policing (POPs) Unit." In this passage the Ministry makes the point that in fact the public order policing unit is something that is required by section 17 of the SAPS Act. It reads, "In terms of the SAPS Act the National Commissioner is obliged to establish a national public order policing unit and maintain the same. Such a unit was indeed established during 1996. During 2002 the POP unit was subject to the SAPS restructuring and aligned to function at policing area level as the Area Crime Combating

Units. As the latter name suggests, the functions also changed to include crime combating." Then the Ministry makes the point, "Unfortunately, this relegated the crowd management function into a secondary function. During the subsequent restructuring process in 2006, the policing areas were disbanded and policing resources 'released' to supplement much needed capacity at station level. Again the ACCUs was affected and the name was changed to Crime Combating Units."

And then on the next page, so it will be the top of page 15, "The restructuring also had the effect that the CCUs were incorporated as a section under the division Operational Response Services. The ACCUs was drastically rationalised and more than half of its members seen deployed to police station level to strengthen the 'local crime combating' initiatives. The remaining half of members found themselves in a situation where they had to cover bigger areas with lesser resources." And then the document on page 16 identifies the depletion of POP personnel as a serious problem and concludes, "The National Commissioner must ensure that sufficient appropriate capacity is created (whether by transferring back previous experienced and skilled members or building capacity through effective and focused training to other members deemed fit) and must ensure that the unit is appropriately

resourced." I presume that you agree that those restructuring decisions which are identified in those passages had an extremely detrimental effect on the unit which we now call POP.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct. I think what he also missed there is, at some stage the POP was put under the Visible Policing Division as well and 2010, if I remember correctly, they were again placed under Operational Response Services.

MR GOTZ: So what we see, I think fairly summarised, is some schizophrenia as to what to do with this particular unit but what's happened over the years has been a significant depletion of both resources and personnel which has had a detrimental effect on the operations of those units.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: You would agree that POP currently has a significant or has a shortage of personnel.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Ja, I agree on that.

MR GOTZ: And you'd agree that this is a serious problem.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's -

MR GOTZ: Did you say that's correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Just a further reference, Tait

and Marks, which is the exhibit OOO32 also identify this issue in similar terms on page 18 of their article, so that'll be OOO32 on page 18 and I'm not sure that it's necessary to read the entire passage into the record but perhaps we can go down to the bottom of the page. It's the passage on the right-hand column or in the right-hand column which starts, "However, even while this unit was being restructured" and if you cast your eye over that passage, Lieutenant-Colonel, you'll see that they essentially make the same point that is made in exhibit R.

CHAIRPERSON: The passage is actually quite important, perhaps we should read it. The authors talk about the restructuring of the unit which is now the POP unit.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: And they say even while this unit was being restructured, "there was a longer term plan in the mind of police leaders to decentralise public order policing. In a second round of 'restructuring' most of the newly retrained POP members were deployed to stations where they were meant to guide local visible police in the policing of public order events. However, the required in-service training did not occur, leaving the stations ill-prepared as first responders to crowd events. In addition, the significantly reduced POP unit itself was

also restructured and renamed the Crime Combating Unit (CCU) in 2006. This unit's primary function was no longer crowd

management, but crime control. Its original core mandate was watered down, while ongoing training in crowd management philosophy and strategy fell away."

And then comes this paragraph, These restructuring processes have proven very disruptive of public order policing capacity. The result has been a loss of capacity, morale and the esprit de corps that once existed. This restructuring process shifted focus away from the specialist skills developed so painstakingly in the mid-1990s and is reason for concern given the increases in (volatile) protest action." Now I take it that the point of Mr Gotz's question is, do you agree with those views?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I do agree with that, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: And then the next paragraph makes a point that appears to be relevant to Marikana. "An additional problem confronting those police responsible for public order policing has been the introduction of additional layers of 'paramilitary' police, such as the Tactical Response Units (TRU), into public order management. Many of the members of these units lack

Page 26397

training and skills in the democratic policing of public order events.30 This has led to problems with co-ordination during public order events. The CCU was mandated to co-ordinate the actions of the stations and the Tactical Response Unit at

protests. Members from the stations who are deployed to public order events are generally not provided with appropriate briefing, equipment or training. The result is that they tend to resort to heavy-handed tactics very rapidly. They do not display commitment to the principles of minimal or proportional use of force, tolerance or

negotiated arrangements. Lines of accountability have also become blurred and it has become difficult to identify which units and individuals have been unnecessarily violent or rough with protesters." Now do you wish to comment at all on – there are a number of statements in that paragraph, if you don't agree with all of them I think you should indicate those with which you don't agree, unless you don't agree with all of them but it does appear, prima facie at least and obviously we're going to hear more evidence on this, that regard being had to your background and experience, you appear to be in a position to make comments which would carry some value. So are you able to –

Page 26398

COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: - respond at all to what is said in this paragraph? Are the authors right or have they got it wrong?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I think most of it is correct, Chair. Referring to TRT, I just want to say that the TRT is functioning on their own. They are falling under their own provincial co-ordinator and also they're falling under the unit commander and those unit commanders is giving feedback to the cluster commander. So that is one of the problems. In the past we did have the capacity of a reaction unit, that is members who did more or less the same as the TRT but they were part of the public order unit, so they get the training of public order policing, they were part of all the exercises with them, they attend the public order policing courses and then they were selected to be part of the reaction groups in the public order police. So it makes it much more controllable to control these people as part of a public order police unit.

Then I must also, one of the problems that I also identified is, in the past the public order or the internal stability unit at that stage, has to go through an evaluation process by psychologists of the police and if you do fail that, they work on a specific battery to establish if you can be used in public order police and

Page 26399

that totally fall away –

CHAIRPERSON: Psychometric testing, in other words.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Ja, ja –

CHAIRPERSON: You had to come satisfactorily through the psychometric testing –

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

CHAIRPERSON: - to be in the POP, is that right?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: And you say that's fallen away now?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair. So this is other topics that is maybe not discussed in this article but I believe that has a big influence on the members as well. And then at one stage all the shotguns was withdrawn from the police stations, they did not leave something alternative for the members on the police station. They withdrew all the shotguns and it was only being used by public order police. I remember it at that stage, I wrote a letter also to the provincial head office, ORE's head, and I was complaining about it because I said to them normally on spontaneous gatherings the stations are first at those gatherings and then they only have R5 and 9 millimetre pistols. So, but they've withdrawn it and I

Page 26400

think up to now there is no shotguns at any police station.

MR GOTZ: You also make the point in exhibit HHH68 that you have a complaint, as it were, about the withdrawal of what you refer to as birdshot shells or birdshot rounds from public order policing, from their armoury, as it were, and I'll get to that point but can we just return to the point that is made by Tait and Marks on page 19 which the Chairperson has read to you and in anticipation of the questions that I am going to raise, has indicated that this is a significant, significant point. The Chairperson put to you, or perhaps not put to you but mentioned that this may be relevant to Marikana. Do you think that the introduction of paramilitary units into the Marikana operation in August 2012 was a problem?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I cannot comment on why they took the decision on deploying the TRT and STF but if, I believe if myself or Brigadier Calitz was in charge of that operation you would have only made use of public order police members.

MR GOTZ: Well, I think the question is – let's take it one step further. Would you think that that would have been sufficient, the use of public order policing personnel on the 16th August?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, if the information that was given to them from the Sunday

regarding experience with mine unrest and also from CIG's side that informed them that these people will not willingly hand over their traditional weapons, there should have been a plan B and myself should not try to approach the people on the koppie with that sort of information, especially also from the experience of the Monday where it was clear at the railway track that they're not going to hand over their weapons. So if you take all that information in consideration, I believe there was another approach that you could do.

MR GOTZ: Yes, I mean you've testified on a number of occasions that with your experience in POP and in fact in crowd management operations, you would have done things differently, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Just at the level of perhaps general solutions to the concerns that we've been looking at, would you agree that the POP unit must be reconstituted as a centralised standalone unit? This is in fact a point that the Ministry makes, if we could look again at exhibit R and look at the foot of page 15 where it is said technically – in effect it says that technically section 17 of the Act, of the SAPS Act, is not being complied with because there's no longer a specialised dedicated POP function and then it says, "the POP unit must be re-

established, maintained and capacitated to execute those functions the Act confers upon it. Would you agree with that as a solution to some of the concerns that have been raised?

[10:11] COLONEL VERMAAK: I do agree with that.

MR GOTZ: Would you agree that significantly more POP members are needed?

COLONEL VERMAAK: With the correct selection, yes.

MR GOTZ: And that training needs to be dramatically improved.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct. I can mention, in the past there was different courses that was continuously, where the people or the members were sent on and they were called the FLOM 1, FLOM 2 and FLOM 3 courses. Now your FLOM 1 course was mainly for your normal members and FLOM 2 was for your section commanders and FLOM 3 was for your platoon commanders and then you've got your operational –

MR GOTZ: I don't want to interrupt you. FLOM, is that F-L-O-M?

COLONEL VERMAAK: F-L-O-M, that's correct.

MR GOTZ: Can you tell us what that stands for?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Now I was sitting here to think exactly the same, what is the meaning but I remember it is also coming from that investigations from the Belgians and the France where this training started.

MR GOTZ: In any event, I interrupted you. You were telling us what also needed to be done in terms of training.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Okay and the last one was an OCT course where your operational commanders and overall commanders were attending those courses. I know now lately they also send station commanders and head of VISPOL at police stations on the operational commanders training.

MR GOTZ: I'm told by my learned friend Mr Budlender that it's F-L-O-M stands for First Line Operational Managers.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Thank you for that. You'd also agree, I suspect, that there's a drastic need for an assessment of the correct equipment that needs to be taken on these operations and that equipment needs to be provided.

COLONEL VERMAAK: I have testified that your public order member is issued with specific ammunition, firearms and other riot, they call it riot gear

and when you deploy as a POP member, they expect you to take that all with you. I know in the North-West they took the initiative to buy a bag where all those equipment could be put in and it was easily, for them to only take his bag and go where he is needed with all his equipment, his bullet-proofs, gas masks, riot helmet, shotgun, the ammunition that they are supposed to have. They also issue him with stun grenades and also per sections there were also shields that was available to the people, depending on the situation they have to go and face. If it is a total peaceful demonstration then it is not always necessary to take for example your shields with you but if you deploy to a place where you knew that there's, you expect serious problems, we can maybe take for example Bloemhof now that we all see there's big problems there, there they will go with full riot gear to handle those situations.

MR GOTZ: Thank you, Lieutenant-Colonel. I take it you will also agree with the proposition that the intelligence function that was previously part of the capacity of POP needs to be restored.

COLONEL VERMAAK: In the past - I have a document here regarding the intelligence capacity in the POP – there was stipulated what is expected from your information manager, what sort of information is needed, what information he was expected to give to his commander,

the information that they are supposed to gather during operations to keep the operational commander up to date so that he can make the necessary decision on it, but if you have that document you will see in it there's a lot of requirements, also for a member to be in the information section, that they put some requirements for him to be part of that group of people.

MR GOTZ: Is that the document which has been handed up as an exhibit entitled "The information note" or is that a different –

COLONEL VERMAAK: It's a different one. If you just give me a minute, I have got it here.

MR GOTZ: I think what we can probably do –

CHAIRPERSON: Handed in as an exhibit, Lieutenant-Colonel?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I don't know, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: I don't remember it but that doesn't mean anything. Have you got it with you?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I've got it, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: Well, produce it and perhaps – I don't know whether there is something, some point you want to make on it or I don't know whether Mr Gotz wants to take the point further.

MR GOTZ: Well, Chair, we have no – I

think it makes the point that we have established but if it's further support for it, we have no objection to it being handed in as an exhibit.

CHAIRPERSON: Well, I imagine you wouldn't object but others might.

MR GOTZ: So we have elicited that during evidence and I think we can make copies available during the –

CHAIRPERSON: I'm going to take the comfort break in 10 minutes so perhaps we can then, the necessary – well, perhaps let's just look at the document to see whether we want, it may – if it simply repeats what we know already then there's no point in burdening the record even further with another document if it makes a point we have already, but if it's got stuff in it which we haven't quite had in the way it's presented – I mean this article for example, OOO32 has got some very valuable, well, prima facie very valuable stuff. It may be that other parties to the Commission may attack some of the points made and say that we shouldn't adopt them and put them in our report but prima facie it addresses the issues which arise in this Commission, particularly the use of paramilitary tactics and that sort of thing, which are clearly matters that have to engage our attention. So if this document is like that then I think we should put it in

but we can't say that until we've seen it, can we?

MR GOTZ: Yes, indeed. Let's have a look at it during the adjournment.

CHAIRPERSON: Is there some material, cross-examination material you can usefully – I don't like the word but I will use it – deploy from now until half past 10 or would you prefer me to take the comfort break now? I'm in your hands.

MR GOTZ: Well, let me – let's take the comfort break now, it does –

CHAIRPERSON: Comfort break. Let's try to be back – sorry, Mr Chaskalson?

MR CHASKALSON SC: Chair, given that we're breaking at 12 today, can I suggest that the comfort break and tea break are rolled into one at this point?

CHAIRPERSON: We will have a comfort, we'll have a hybrid break, to use a word that's been used in this Commission, we'll have a hybrid break, a comfort break and a tea break at the same time. Mr Chaskalson's proposal is adopted. We will now take the break that he has referred to.

MR GOTZ: Thank you, Chair.

[COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]

[10:47] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. Lieutenant-Colonel, I remind you that you're still bound by

your affirmation. Mr Gotz, are you now ready to – what's the story about that document? Do we –

SALMON JOHANNES VERMAAK: (affirms further)

MR GOTZ: Thank you, Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Procedural Manual – Public order police information manual. Oh!

MR GOTZ: Yes, Chair, we actually think it should be introduced as an exhibit.

CHAIRPERSON: Alright.

MR GOTZ: It does have some useful information.

CHAIRPERSON: OOO34.

MS PILLAY: Chair, 35. OOO35.

CHAIRPERSON: Oh sorry, 35. Oh yes, of course, because the presentation has already been numbered in anticipation. Alright, OOO35 will be the Procedural Manual, Public order or just POP information management, 1 Ed 2000, is that right? As far as you know is this still the current edition or is there, have other manuals, other editions appeared since?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, as far as I know there's no other document drawn up.

CHAIRPERSON: Alright, thank you.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR GOTZ (CONTD.):

Page 26409

Lieutenant-Colonel, as we read this document, it was produced in or around 2000, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: And it sets out in quite some detail the information management procedures that should be instituted and kept by POP units, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: Is your point that, despite the fact that we have such information manuals available or rather that the SAPS has such information manuals available, that there has been a departure from the principles that are set out in this document?

COLONEL VERMAAK: As I must look on what was happening in August 2012, that was one of my concerns that there's a lack of information. I did not know any public order police member who made any inputs from the information section during that period.

MR GOTZ: Is your point also that each POP unit or the POP units that are deployed in crowd management operations need to have and apply the principles, need to have in place these information management systems and apply the princi8ples that are set out in this document?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct. Every unit, every public order unit, Chair, must have this

Page 26410

management.

MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, can we invite the witness to give specificity in relation to the criticisms they do. I find the questions are broad and answers are also broad. It does not help us understand where the focus of the criticism lies.

CHAIRPERSON: I hope you'll forgive me, Mr Gotz, if I say that seems to me to have merit because you know at the end of the day we're going to be called upon to make recommendations and, you know, broad recommendations aren't going to help. Specific recommendations focused on particular defects will be necessary and important. So this witness, I think your point is that he is able to assist us in that regard and what Mr Semenya says is obviously important. So would you be kind enough to bear it in mind as you proceed with your cross-examination?

MR GOTZ: Yes, Chair, I think the point has merit but it was a little premature because I was moving from the general proposition to the more specific. I should just say also that we unfortunately have not had the time to study the document in detail and so we'll be relying on –

CHAIRPERSON: We finish as 12 today. You may not be finished with your cross-examination despite the

Page 26411

fact that you said you thought you might, but the way it's going I don't think it will. That'll give you an opportunity to look at the documents overnight, to bring some such specificity as you can command to bear tomorrow.

MR GOTZ: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: And if necessary, if you finish your cross-examination before 12, there's no-one standing ready to take over from you so we might have to adjourn early, it'll give you an opportunity, an even longer time to study this document and come with specific focused, helpful cross-examination – I'm not suggesting your cross-examination is unhelpful, please don't think that but you can come with specific focused cross-examination on the morrow.

MR GOTZ: Yes, Chair. I think what I would like to do now is simply ask the witness to identify for us, with your knowledge of the document, what particular recommendations or principles are established or set out in this document and perhaps if you can identify also which specific paragraphs you think weren't, principles weren't adhered to during the week of August 12th to the 16th August 2012. So perhaps to get it a little bit more focused, Lieutenant-Colonel, perhaps we can start by turning to the content of the document, perhaps we can start on paragraph 5 –

Page 26412

CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry to interrupt you, Mr Gotz, he mentioned the document so obviously it's something that he's been using, I take it, since 2000. He probably stopped using it on the same regular basis as he did before in 2005 but I take it there may well be passages that he wishes to bring to our attention and perhaps that might be a helpful way to go. I don't mean to interrupt you –

MR GOTZ: No –

CHAIRPERSON: That's just a suggestion.

MR GOTZ: Let's, Lieutenant-Colonel, let's give it or hand it over to you, perhaps you can identify the particular paragraphs that you want to highlight for us.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Thank you, Chair, if you can go to paragraph 4.4. It's page 8, it says there, "Information may be gathered from a variety of sources. In the first instance, a notice required in terms of the Regulation Act will provide the operational response services with valuable information regarding some gathering. Other types of gatherings may come to the attention of operational response services through organisers of sporting events, local governments and other police sources." Then if you can go to the next page, 4.7 "The historical and statistical data which includes

information pertaining to events is just as important in a planning of any public gathering."

MR GOTZ: Can I just highlight paragraph 4.5 where you, where this document stresses that all information must be kept and readily obtainable and it gives the example, telephone numbers of leaders of a labour union such as my client AMCU, for example, those should be kept because it is information that is available to the public and which can be obtained from any telephone directory. Would you agree that that sort of information ought to be kept and it's necessary to keep it?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct. There is, later in this document, files that they are referring to that must be kept at each unit.

MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, if you can proceed?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Page 10 –

CHAIRPERSON: Before you go to page 10, who is IRIS and IRIS Bis? They are referred to in 4.7 on page 9. We may have been told this already but if we have, I've forgotten, but who is IRIS or who are IRIS or what is IRIS and what is IRIS Bis?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, IRIS is the system where the public order police – I think I have explained it that all events that happen, it is registered

on the IRIS system then it is immediately available on the whole system. Everybody who is registered on that can draw that sort of information. The IRIS Bis is a system where you share some information on the system where anybody also can go in and have a look at the information that specific units have.

MR GOTZ: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: You were moving on to page 10.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Page 10, paragraph 5.5, "Information obtained during the event is vitally important as in some situations the information gathered would either have evidential value, which would be used to prosecute any transgressors, or used for future operations with that same group of demonstrators." The next page 11 and I think that is also a very critical part, "When unconfirmed information is received it can never be ignored. It must used to prepare for possible actions although all information should always be followed up for confirmation and intelligence. Patrols can be sent out and the various intelligence agencies within the SAPS can be used to confirm information."

In page 12 the four categories of information, "Information can be divided into four categories for operational response service purposes, namely events,

groups, persons and interventions." If we can go to page 14, paragraph 6.5, 6.5.1 "Information on previous operational response service interventions with similar or same group is an important source of information, is vital for operational commanders to study these interventions as it is a vital tool for assessment of an operation. These previous interventions are important for the operational commander in drawing up contingency plans and also with the preparations for an operation. Information on previous interventions are also important for national command to evaluate present strategies, tactics and techniques used for the handling of public order situations. Information of this nature will have an effect on the equipment and training of the personnel of operational response services."

Then on page 16, the post description of information manager, you will see on the top, Chair, it's the unit commander then your operational commander, in the middle is your information manager, on the right-hand side is your operational commander, company commander and you can see how the information is being distributed to all the people. The objective, collecting and analysing, utilisation and dissemination of information to the unit commander, operational commander and the relevant company and platoon commanders.

Then the qualification for an information manager, they say he must have analytical skills, experienced POP officer, proficient in English, none convictions for dishonesty, negotiation skills, good human relations, sound human knowledge, POP information gathering and processing training and he must also have the platoon commanders' training.

CHAIRPERSON: - know Act 205 of '93 and the Constitution, report writing skills, knowledge of IRIS and be computer literate.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair. Then I can go to page 28 –

CHAIRPERSON: Can I ask you, sorry to interrupt you, what exactly is the complaint? Did the, in 2012 did the POP people in the North-West not have an information manager at unit level as is described here in this annexure?

COLONEL VERMAAK: No Chair, they didn't and that is also due to training, a lack of training these days to the members at POP.

MR GOTZ: So would it be fair to say, Lieutenant-Colonel, that if, as we see in annexure A, it's recognised by POP documents that it's important to have an information management system put in place and overseen by an information manager, this capacity as it were has been

lost and had been lost by the time August 2012 came along?

COLONEL VERMAAK: If they really utilised it as it is now, I don't know, but I know that during 2012 at the JOC meetings there were no POP members, information managers specifically, who gave any feedback during the JOC meetings.

CHAIRPERSON: Lieutenant-Colonel, you've been referring us to various paragraphs. If there are other paragraphs in this document you want to refer us to, may I suggest that at the end of the day you just give us a list of the references and we can read them overnight and so on because, you know, it takes times to read them out. Obviously they're important but it would help us if we actually had a chance to look at them first because I don't think that'll affect Mr Gotz's cross-examination because he wasn't expecting this document anyway.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: If that is acceptable to you, I suggest we move forward that way. Mr Gotz?

MR GOTZ: Yes. And Lieutenant-Colonel, I may study the document overnight and have specific questions that I may want to ask in relation to –

COLONEL VERMAAK: I can maybe mention there's only two topics still that I, have been highlighted in this document.

CHAIRPERSON: If you can perhaps then just orally give us the references then Mr Gotz will return to them on the morrow when he resumes his cross-examination.

COLONEL VERMAAK: It is page 28 paragraph 3, 3.1 and 3.2 and 3.2.4 on page 29, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: Are those the only other two passages that you were referring us to?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

CHAIRPERSON: Alright, so if you can take up those topics tomorrow then, Mr Gotz, when you've had an opportunity to study the relevant passages and there may be something else of course in this manual that you'll want to bring to our attention and seek assistance from the witness on.

MR GOTZ: Thank you, Chair. Lieutenant-Colonel, can we go back to your letter that you wrote in December 2012, exhibit HHH68, and return to the paragraph which we referred to briefly in the beginning which is paragraph 9, it's on the second page. We highlighted the first sentence of that paragraph at the outset of my questioning and it's to the second sentence that I want to draw your attention to. You say that after making the point that most of the time members handled unrest situations without loss of lives, you then say, "The

members were permitted to use number 5 shotgun birdshot cartridges and in my 15 years in the POP there were only two protesters killed by number 5 birdshot shotgun rounds." And you make a similar point where you conclude this point in paragraph 12.3 of your letter, if we can go to the next page where you make the point that one of the recommendations that ought to be considered is a reconsideration of the facts, you say to issue the members again with number 5 birdshot shotgun rounds instead of R5. "I'll rather wound a protester with number 5 shotgun birdshot than kill him with an R5 rifle." Now Lieutenant-Colonel, I understand that the point you're making is that live, let's say weapons that shoot live rounds such as the R5 rifle ought not to be used in public order policing operations.

[11:07] COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

CHAIRPERSON: But you know, Mr Gotz, we have covered this point before. I think even when he was giving evidence-in-chief being led by Adv Pillay, this point was dealt with. So I don't want to unduly hamper you in your cross-examination but I think repetition is something to be avoided if possible.

MR GOTZ: With that in mind, Lieutenant-Colonel, the only point that I want to still raise with you is, you are aware that various people, two people in

particular were killed with shotgun rounds at scene 1 on the 16th of August.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair. If you use shotgun rounds there's also specific instructions on which distances you might use the shotguns, as it's also with, the same with rubber rounds and the shotgun, there's also specific instructions from which distance you are allowed to use it. So if you stay in that distances that is being described, the chances is very less that you will kill a person with shot, number 5.

MR GOTZ: Well, Mr Mdze and Mr Yona both died, according to the pathologists, from injuries sustained by shotgun pellets at scene 1 on the 16th of August. Are you aware of that?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I am aware of it, yes.

MR GOTZ: The Commission has had some difficulty in identifying the source of shot shotgun pellets. Are you able to assist, Lieutenant-Colonel?

COLONEL VERMAAK: As far as I know, there is no number 5 shotgun rounds, it's withdrawn very long ago and there was some inspections at the units to make sure that they do not have number 5 in their possession.

MR GOTZ: When you refer to birdshot number 5 shotgun rounds, is that the same type of ammunition as we understand as shotgun pellets? They're

small –
COLONEL VERMAAK: Very small ball, you can call it ball bearings. I think they are about a millimetre in diameter.
MR GOTZ: Sorry, are you finished your sentence?
COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes, I'm finished, Chair.
MR GOTZ: Sorry, I didn't understand. Are you not able to assist us as to where those shotgun pellets were shot from or who shot them?
COLONEL VERMAAK: No, Chair, unfortunately not.
MR GOTZ: I want to raise an issue which is of some concern to my client, AMCU, and it's a statement that you make in paragraph 4 of your consolidated statement LLL8, if we can have that up on the screen. In paragraph 4 you're describing the events of Sunday the 12th of August. You say in the first sentence of that paragraph that you received a phone call from Brigadier Calitz asking you to deploy a helicopter to Marikana as a result of the unrest there. You then say that you sent Warrant Officer Padayachee and Sergeant Venter off in the Robinson R44 helicopter to give air support and then you, as I understand what you say in paragraph 4, you received BBM

photographs from Sergeant Venter which you then forwarded on to Brigadier Calitz as well as Brigadier Garnett. You also sent a message, you say in the last couple of sentences of paragraph 4, you sent an SMS or a BBM message at about 13:51 to say AMCU and NUM are fighting one another. You don't say so expressly but I presume that you sent that to Brigadier Garnett of the NATJOC as well.
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, Chair. I can just mention, that is the information that I received from Sergeant Venter and Warrant Officer Padayachee after have landed close to the scene and that was also the information that they received from the people who was on the ground and that is the information that I conveyed to Brigadier Calitz and Garnett.
MR GOTZ: Let us go to the point that you're making in relation to information gathering, in particular the accurate verification of information. Do you accept that the information that you received –
CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, sorry, before you carry on, on that point – you say information to people on the ground, were these people on the ground who gave this information about the involvement of AMCU in these –
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is –
CHAIRPERSON: - fight with NUM. Were these Lonmin people or informants or –

COLONEL VERMAAK: That was security officers.
CHAIRPERSON: Of Lonmin?
COLONEL VERMAAK: Of Lonmin, on the ground, Chair.
CHAIRPERSON: We do know that Lonmin were under the impression, which may or may not be correct, Lonmin were under the impression – and this is what they conveyed to the generals when they came – that the cause of the trouble was conflict between AMCU and NUM and in fact they appear to have equated the strikers with AMCU. They used the expression the strikers or the expressions, the strikers and AMCU, almost interchangeably. Now it certainly appears to have been the information which Lonmin had or the belief that Lonmin had. The evidence that we've had so far seems to indicate that that may not be correct because a number of the strikers appear to have had no union affiliations, some of the rock drill operators who were involved in the strike appear to have been NUM members, there were deductions from their salaries in favour of NUM and in fact some of the evidence is that the rock drill operators deliberately elected to proceed with their campaign for increased emoluments up to the amount of 12 500 a month, independently of the trade unions. So there are indications that Lonmin believed that the

strikers were all AMCU people and it was really, AMCU and the strikers were one and the same. The indications we have are that that may not be correct. Can you take that any further or would you agree essentially with what I have put to you?
COLONEL VERMAAK: I agree with what Chair put to me.
MR GOTZ: Sorry, let's just be clear. What the Chairperson is putting to you is that the information that AMCU and NUM were fighting each other on the 12th of August was in fact incorrect. Are you agreeing that it was incorrect?
CHAIRPERSON: No, I didn't put that. What I put was that the belief that the strikers and AMCU were one and the same, which was a belief which Lonmin appears to have held, may not be correct and in any event he says he can take it no further because this is almost double hearsay that he got. I take it, or perhaps I must ask you this, the statement, "AMCU en NUM baklei teen mekaar," AMCU and NUM are fighting each other, which is that message you sent, I take it that didn't refer to a statement, there were actually hostilities taking place on that Sunday afternoon between the two unions.
COLONEL VERMAAK: No, Chair –
CHAIRPERSON: - I take it a metaphorical

statement that there is friction –

COLONEL VERMAAK: Correct.

CHAIRPERSON: - and conflict, whether physical or otherwise, between AMCU and NUM.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Ja.

CHAIRPERSON: It merely meant that, I take it, is that right?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct. The two members of the air wing was on the ground, they get this information from the people on the ground. If it was true, well, that is what we got land that is what we give through.

CHAIRPERSON: Yes. No, what I meant was, if there'd been an actual physical fight, a kind of trade union based faction fight between NUM and AMCU going on that Sunday afternoon, you would have known all about it and there was no such event –

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: - taking place. What had happened was, two security officers had been killed on the Sunday morning.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

CHAIRPERSON: But, and it was obviously believed by Lonmin, it would appear that information found its way to you, that as I've said, Lonmin and the strikers

and the people involved in killing the security officers were all one and the same.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

CHAIRPERSON: But that's all hearsay, you can't – ja.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair. I can just mention, the helicopter withdrew back to Potchefstroom at about 5 o'clock and from that they arrived there on the murder scene until they have, go back to Potchefstroom, there was not any other serious or any incidents that they know of. The people were gathering on the koppie. That photos was also sent to me and I also shared it with the two brigadiers.

MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, can we turn to the presentation document that we've provided, it's exhibit OOO34 and it's the document which is entitled "The movement of the strikers from the koppie towards the small kraal." Lieutenant-Colonel, I'd like to move through this relatively quickly. Have you had an opportunity to study the document and watch some of the videos that have been referred to in the document?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, I did see some videos of the media and I did go through this, photos that I was given from the –

MR GOTZ: Can we start with page 2 of the

document? This is a photograph that you took at 15:42:35 on the 16th of August, do you accept that?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Chairperson, may I simply, may I indicate that all times that we reflect in the document are eTV times.

CHAIRPERSON: That's fine. I was going to ask you about that. I expected that would be the case. It seems to be accepted –

MR GOTZ: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: - that Greenwich Mean Time and eTV time are, correspond in the sense that Greenwich Mean Time is two hours behind eTV time otherwise we can accept it as correct.

MR GOTZ: Yes and it all, it does all depend on which photographic instrument you're using as well.

CHAIRPERSON: But that exercise was performed by Mr Chaskalson and we've got the benefit of his researches in that regard, have we not, and I understand everybody accepts.

MR GOTZ: And this photograph, what this photograph depicts, Lieutenant-Colonel, is that Nyala 1 which is demarcated by the red arrow on the far right, has just started to deploy its barbed wire in the direction,

moving in the direction of Nyala 2. Would you accept that?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Can I ask you just to take a note of the position of Nyala 5 which is demarcated by the arrow which is second to the left, if you move from left to right it'll be the second arrow -

COLONEL VERMAAK: I saw it.

MR GOTZ: - to that. You can see that Nyala 5 is, in a sense, parked across, across the road.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: And can I ask you also to have a look at the position of Nyala 6 which is the Nyala parked on the far left? You'll see that at 15:42:35 Nyala 6 is parked on the northern side of that road that you see running past the small kraal.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Then if we can look at slide 3, this is also a photograph that you took on your Pentax camera at 15:43:56, so it's approximately a minute and a half later. In this photograph what we see is that Nyala 1 has reached Nyala 2 and Nyala 1 has finished deploying its barbed wire indicated by the red line and you see that the two intercept in the position of the blue circle. Would you agree with that?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

Page 26429

MR GOTZ: You can see at this point that Nyala 5 is still in the same position.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: That's indicated by the yellow arrow. What has changed, however, is the position of Nyala 6 which at this point, 15:43:56, has moved from the northern side of the road to the southern side of the road.

COLONEL VERMAAK: I saw it.

MR GOTZ: Can you give us an explanation of why, in effect, Nyala 6 was moved out of that line-up?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, no, I cannot assist with why and what the reason for that was.

MR GOTZ: One of the consequences or perhaps an inadvertent consequence but one of the consequences is that you can see to the right of the orange circle and along that road, a large number of people moving, as we interpret the photograph, down the road towards Nkaneng. Was that your impression as well at the time?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Those are people that are moving off the koppie towards Nkaneng.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: You make that point I think in your witness statement, in your consolidated statement,

Page 26430

that people moved freely – I think when you deal in relation to this photograph, that people moved freely from the koppie towards Nkaneng along this road.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: And just so that we have the opposite perspective, what we've done on slide 4 is to give it from the, in a sense, the other direction to indicate where the road to Nkaneng leads. This is also a photograph that you took but not on the 16th. You took this photograph on the 14th of August. Can you confirm that?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

CHAIRPERSON: According to the note at the bottom it was on the 15th –

MR GOTZ: Oh, I beg your pardon.

CHAIRPERSON: Which is the Wednesday.

MR GOTZ: I do beg your pardon.

CHAIRPERSON: I don't think anything turns on it but it's nice to be accurate.

MR GOTZ: You took a number of photographs of the scene on the 14th as well as the 15th.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Can you orientate us a little, Lieutenant-Colonel? If I can ask you to look at the, at the photograph in the middle towards the top you'll see a brown patch and to the north of that you'll see some

Page 26431

structures. My understanding is that that's the Wonderkop hostel from which a number of protesters came.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: And the settlement as it were to the, below that, is in effect Nkaneng proper, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: Where again a number of the, a large number of the strikers lived.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Would you agree that if one is a striker on the koppie, either on the 15th or the 16th, the road home, as it were, would be to take either one of the two paths, the one which runs closest to the small kraal which will be pretty much in the centre of the photograph or, alternatively, the road to the right of that where you see the road fork.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

MR GOTZ: And you yourself saw the movement of strikers virtually on a daily basis moving back and forth along those two pathways to the koppie and back home again.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: There was a regular movement of the strikers back and forth along those, along those roads.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

Page 26432

MR GOTZ: It was those roads, in fact, that were blocked off by the barbed wire on the 16th.

COLONEL VERMAAK: I accept that.

[11:26] MR GOTZ: On the following slide we start, commence the main point of this presentation which is to outline the objective evidence relating to the lead group's movement past Nyala 5 and I'd like you to look at page 6 of the presentation which is headed, "Mr Noki leads the front group away from the koppie." Now I think it may be useful to play this clip which is exhibit JJJ194.11. The clip commences at eTV time 15:48:20 seconds and let's see what we see on the clip. We can go back to the beginning. Lieutenant-Colonel, you'll agree with me that that is a picture of the people congregated on the koppie and immediately in front of the koppie.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes, that's correct.

MR GOTZ: And it would be on the 16th of August, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Let's play the clip and stop it at six seconds.

[VIDEO IS SHOWN]

MR GOTZ: Now there you see just to the left of the Casspir, that's the STF Casspir coming in from the right, you'll see Mr Noki.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: And let's see what Mr Noki –
CHAIRPERSON: He had some kind of green blanket or green – I'm not sure if it's a blanket, it probably is but you can't see that, but he seems to have some kind of green, not exactly a garment, it's either a blanket or a scarf or shawl or something of that kind, over his right shoulder, part of it hanging down in front of him and part behind. Is that right?
MR GOTZ: Yes.
CHAIRPERSON: I think it probably is a blanket but I mean we can't see that from the photograph.
MR GOTZ: Let's proceed, if the technicians can play the clip, and observe the direction that Mr Noki, the man in the white with the green blanket, is moving and what you'll see immediately following this is the group of people that he leads, as it were. So let's continue to play the clip.
[VIDEO IS SHOWN]
MR GOTZ: At 38 seconds, I think it's a second further on. Now, if you look at slide 7 of our presentation that's the screen shot of exhibit JJJ194.11 at 38 seconds. You'll agree with me, Lieutenant-Colonel, that the general direction of the strikers is from left to right on the screen, correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.
MR GOTZ: And given your knowledge of photographs and photographic angles, there's a large degree of foreshortening, as it were, but they are in a sense moving, they're moving from left to right, they would be moving generally in a northerly direction, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: So perhaps if we can go back to slide 2 of our presentation, you'll agree with me that the direction that they would be heading is effectively north, correct?
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, Chair.
CHAIRPERSON: They seem to be moving more or less parallel with the wire, is that right? Well, I'm not sure if the wire was out yet but it was, they're moving parallel with the –
COLONEL VERMAAK: More or less with the –
CHAIRPERSON: - with the line of the wire.
COLONEL VERMAAK: With the Nyalas, that's correct, Chair.
MR GOTZ: Would you agree with me also that what they, if this is their starting position at 15:42:35, that the direction that they would be heading is towards Nyala 5?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, the front group, as we mentioned it, was crossing that crossing that you see on the photo closest to the small koppie on the right-hand side of the picture and then some of the people from that koppie joined the front group and then they moved as I have explained and also seen on that photo of mine, of the Blackberry, where they move in a circle about, or to that specific point for the first time where there was a clash between them and the police.
MR GOTZ: Well, Lieutenant-Colonel, let's – what I want to focus on is what the objective evidence seems to be showing and what I'm putting to you is that if one looks at exhibit JJJ194.11, the direction that they are moving is north and the direction that they are moving is towards Nyala 5. That's what exhibit JJJ194.11 seems to suggest.
COLONEL VERMAAK: If you maybe can just get that photo on where, which was taken by Blackberry, where you can see the movement of the people.
MR GOTZ: Are you referring to the photograph that's already been made an exhibit, which has lines on it? I think it's OOO6, it could be OOO7. In our presentation that photograph would be appearing on page 12.
COLONEL VERMAAK: It's photo 1515. Chair, there you can see that they are not coming directly

from that crossing next to the Nyalas. They come with a sort of an arrow from the small koppie with the front group in the front and then you can also notice that a lot of people is walking down on this photograph towards the kraal at the bottom of the photograph in the middle.
MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, this photograph of course was taken some minutes later and perhaps what I can do is take you through the presentation and you can make this point in relation to where it fits in, in the timing but before the group – the point I want to make to you is, before the group reaches this position they in fact pass quite close to where Nyala 5 was situated.
COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, I cannot confirm on that. I was not on the ground and I don't want to speculate on a photo which was also not taken by me.
MR GOTZ: Well, Lieutenant-Colonel, can I ask you simply to look at slides 8 and 9 of our presentation which are two photographs that are showing the group as they approach Nyala 5 and on slide 9 showing the group as they pass Nyala 5. You would agree with me, first of all, that this is the lead group, the front group as we have referred to them as.
COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.
MR GOTZ: It is headed by Mr Noki in both

photographs.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: And you will agree with me also that the Nyala that you see in both photographs is Nyala 5.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Well, I see it's been marked on this photo, it say 5 so I'll have to accept it but I did not know that for a fact.

MR GOTZ: Okay. I think it has been established by, through various witnesses and we can get those references if necessary, that that is in fact Nyala 5. So the position of Nyala 5 at this point, if you'll refer back to side 2 of our presentation, had not in fact changed.

COLONEL VERMAAK: I saw it.

MR GOTZ: So when one is looking at slides 8 and 9, one is looking at, effectively, Nyala 5 where it is parked across the road.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, I can only testify on what I've seen and what I have taken from the air with my Pentax and with my Blackberry. As I explained, there was some times during the encircling with the helicopter that you're not always, have everything visual on the ground.

MR GOTZ: I accept that you see it from a particular perspective, Lieutenant-Colonel, but what I'm

putting to you is that there is objective evidence which creates, at least in our minds, quite considerable doubt that your impressions are correct. So let me put this to you, is there a possibility, would you concede that there's a possibility that your impression as to the movements of the lead group as they moved off the koppie is not necessarily accurate?

COLONEL VERMAAK: No, Chair, what you can see on that photo is what was happening on the ground, so I don't think I can be wrong if I've taken the photo clearly, so I won't agree with that statement that you make, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: Lieutenant-Colonel, of course you do say you were circling.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: So there were times where presumably you lost sight of the group.

COLONEL VERMAAK: There were some times, yes, Chair –

CHAIRPERSON: How long would those times have been for, you know –

COLONEL VERMAAK: There was –

CHAIRPERSON: - seconds, 10 seconds, half a minute?

COLONEL VERMAAK: We were also instructed to monitor any gatherings from the informal settlement, so

sometimes you will make a bigger circle and it might take maybe a minute before you're again back at that specific point.

CHAIRPERSON: So in other words there were periods of about a minute when you weren't looking at the group and so therefore you can't say what they were doing during that time.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, I hear your answers. I think I should in fairness simply put the following propositions to you. On slides 10 and 11 of our presentation we have simply captured two seconds of a video clip which is exhibit JJJ194.13. It is right at the beginning of that clip and you'll see that at 15:50:23 and at 15:50:24 Nyala 5 starts to move but at that point in time the lead group of strikers is moving past Nyala 5 and this clip is taken from a different angle from the photograph that you see on slide 9 but is effectively taken at roughly the same time. And so Lieutenant-Colonel, what I –

CHAIRPERSON: What are you putting to the Colonel?

MR GOTZ: If one looks at the objective evidence, the analysis that we then perform on page 12 of our presentation is that what in fact happens is that the

lead group of strikers moves from the position in the, where the green triangle is at its widest point and moves effectively north past Nyala 5 and Nyala 5 at 15:50:24 then starts to move in the direction that we've plotted from that box that we've drawn to its position to the north-west, to the north-east, I beg your pardon, of the line of barbed wire and Nyalas.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, I can only testify on the photo that I have taken that day and I think if you will look closer, I'm not sure, if we can zoom in on that yellow arrow you will see that there's, I don't think there's any person at that stage – so you can see on this photo the people is coming from the small koppie and I think we can also see that the people is all facing the same direction, there's no group that is facing a different direction. So that front group is facing straight forward where that Nyala and I think the water cannon is standing. So I'll stay with my version that I did not see any people following the yellow line and the people that I saw is the group and it is clear on this photo.

MR GOTZ: Well, Lieutenant-Colonel, of course this is a diagrammatic representation of where the strikers were or came, as we indicate, from 15:48:30 to 15:50:30, as we say in the top right-hand corner, so where you see the point of the arrow at the point of the green

triangle, that would be where they would be at – where they were, on our analysis, at 15:50:30. If you can now, your photograph of course is taken some two minutes after this, what this seeks to represent, so it's not really surprising that you don't see any people there and they've moved past that point. Do you –

COLONEL VERMAAK: Chair, I just want to get to one of the photos we were shown.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Gotz, isn't the point that he can't say whether that yellow arrow of yours on the left-hand side as we look at the triangle is the route followed by the front group? You say there's evidence which indicates that. He says well, I was circling around, I didn't take a photograph at the time when the group was there, if they were there, I didn't take a photograph of them where I think they were either. So you're trying to get him to make a concession which I'm inclined to think he's not really able to make, to be fair.

MR GOTZ: Well, Chair, of course I would like the concession that he may possibly have been wrong in his analysis but I have indicated already that what we are doing simply now is, in fairness to the witness, putting the conclusion of our analysis of the objective evidence and –

CHAIRPERSON: I understand you're putting

your analysis to him. The question is whether he can agree with your analysis or not and what he told us is that he was flying around in circles, he also had to keep an eye on people coming from Nkaneng if there were any, he was taking photographs at particular times, there were gaps for obvious reasons and what you're really asking him about is something that happened in one of those gaps. Isn't that a fair summary of what you're doing?

MR GOTZ: Yes Chair, it is. I simply don't want, as Mr Mpofu always says, in the final argument to be accused of not having put –

CHAIRPERSON: No, I understand.

MR GOTZ: - propositions fairly to the witness.

CHAIRPERSON: No, I understand that and I also indicated that if the witness can't answer the point then you can't be criticised for not having put it to him, you know, but anyway you are doing your duty as you see it, you're putting your case to the witness. Am I correct in thinking that you can't really answer what Mr Gotz says because it's, he's dealing with some that happened when you weren't looking and you weren't taking photographs.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct.

CHAIRPERSON: Is that right?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

Miskien, maybe I can just refer to page 10, exhibit JJJ194.

MR GOTZ: Would you like us to play that clip, Lieutenant-Colonel?

COLONEL VERMAAK: I just want to show something and then you can decide if you want to play the clip, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Okay.

MS PILLAY: I think the witness wants to see the presentation, Chair, not the clip.

[11:46] MR GOTZ: Yes, no, I understand.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Ja.

MR GOTZ: Thank you. So if we can go back to –

COLONEL VERMAAK: That one. Just go back one. No, to the other side.

MR GOTZ: Slide 10, isn't it?

CHAIRPERSON: You want slide 10?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair. If you look at that policeman you will see more than, to his right side is a bush and if we go back to the previous photo where the arrow is –

MR GOTZ: Is that on slide 12?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's it, that's it. If you can zoom in to the point where the policeman is.

MR GOTZ: Where would that be on your

analysis?

COLONEL VERMAAK: At the front, on the front line of the strikers or protesters. There you can see on the right-hand side there's also bush there.

MR GOTZ: Sorry, you'll have to be a little bit clearer for –

COLONEL VERMAAK: On the right you see that blue line, more or less in the middle of that blue line down to where you see the, maybe the first people arriving there, there is the pointer. The pointer was on it now. There it is.

CHAIRPERSON: You show what looks like a greenish shape which is below the blue line, more or less in the middle of the blue line, as you say, very close to the front group of strikers.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Yes, Lieutenant-Colonel, I'm sorry, I will beg to differ with you. I'm not sure that that is the bush that you're referring to although I must say without the –

CHAIRPERSON: Well, if we've got the front group of the strikers and the bush was near them, it must be somewhere on the photograph.

MR GOTZ: Yes, except Chairperson, this is taken at two minutes apart so perhaps what we should do

is show the clip which does indicate that the lead group of strikers has just moved past Nyala 5. And what happens there is that Nyala 5 starts to move for the first time. So it's a very short clip but you can see quite clearly that it's the lead group of strikers that are moving past Nyala 5. Nyala 5 meanwhile starts to move and on our –

CHAIRPERSON: What time is that clip?

MR GOTZ: Well, that – as we've indicated on slide 10, is at 15:50:23.

CHAIRPERSON: Ja. Well –

MR GOTZ: We've taken two –

CHAIRPERSON: What you've got on your page 12 is a depiction or based upon your analysis of what happened between 15:48:30 and 15:50:30 and in fact what you - the earlier photograph is 15:50:23. So it's in that period.

MR GOTZ: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Now it seems from what the witness is saying, if I'm wrong I trust he'll correct me, that in those two minutes from 15:48:30 to 15:50:30 he wasn't there because he was circling around, he wasn't taking photographs, is that correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Lieutenant-Colonel, are you prepared to accept the possibility that our analysis is

correct?

COLONEL VERMAAK: It is a possibility but what I analyse from what I saw now there, the bush and the movement of the people and where my picture was taken, it is also a possibility that your possibility is not the true version.

MR GOTZ: You see of course what we haven't done in this presentation is analyse what happens in the 15:50, from 15:50:30 to the point at which this photograph is in fact taken.

COLONEL VERMAAK: I agree but I said I can only testify on what I have, photos that I have taken. You have shown me a video clip and I pointed out to you a bush and the possibility is, the bushy that you see in that one picture where the member was standing, that that might also the correct version be.

MR GOTZ: Finally on this point, what I do want to put to you is as you'll see from slide 13 of our presentation, what happens after 15:50:30 is that the strikers simply continue to move past Nyala 5 until they reach the position that they are in on your photograph which we have used as a base for the diagrammatic representations.

COLONEL VERMAAK: I saw it.

MR GOTZ: If we can play slide, I beg

your pardon, if we can play exhibit 194.14 you'll see that quite clearly.

[VIDEO IS SHOWN]

MR GOTZ: Well, at 10 seconds it's 15:50:57 and so the clip would commence at 15:50:47.

CHAIRPERSON: You see the problem I've got with this, I must put it to you so you can deal with it if I'm on a dwaalspoor here, what we're debating or what you're putting to the witness is the path followed by the front group of strikers from 15:48 to 15:50. Now if they were a ball that were thrown into the air it's probably permissible to work out what the trajectory was from 15:48 to 15:40, 15:50, by looking at the trajectory after 15:50. But here's a bundle of human beings moving across the ground and by looking where they were at 15:50 or after 15:50 doesn't really help us to ascertain where they were between 15:48 and 15:50 because, as I say, if they were, you know, balls that were thrown, you can follow the end part of the trajectory of the ball and you can work out where it was before that, more or less, but that doesn't apply here. So there is something amounting to a logical fallacy underlying what you're putting but perhaps that's too harsh a judgment, you may not agree with that.

MR GOTZ: With respect, Chairperson, I think it is too harsh. We're not suggesting by reference

to exhibit JJJ194.14 that one can work out the trajectory of what happened some 30 seconds earlier. All I'm putting to this witness is that the explanation for where they are when he takes the photograph, which is 1515 I think it is, is simply that they continued to walk past Nyala 5.

CHAIRPERSON: He concedes, that's why he concedes, as I understand it, that your analysis is a possible one but he also says it's also possible, the very idea that it's a possible one indicates that it may also be wrong and I'm not sure that you can get any more out of him than a concession that your analysis is possibly correct, but –

MR GOTZ: I think I can take it, as you suggest, Chairperson, no further than that. Lieutenant-Colonel, perhaps you can simply be asked, in the last moments of today we can work through the remainder of this presentation very quickly. On slide 15 in an appendix I have, we have included two scene photographs. There's been some issue in these proceedings or some doubt expressed by some witnesses that the points that I've marked A, B, C, D, E on slide 15 are joined by fences. From your aerial observation of the scene and having flown over it on a number of occasions, are you able to confirm that A to B is a fence, B to C is a fence, C to D is a fence and D to E is a fence?

COLONEL VERMAAK: No, there was definitely not a fence.

MR GOTZ: Definitely not a fence?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct. The only fence that was there is where you saw that small house more or less in the middle, a big rock and also a kraal on that side –

CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry to interrupt you. That surely means that we can see a fence from C to D, C being the top right-hand corner, from C to D there's a – that looks like a fence, doesn't it? We see the fence poles.

COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Then there's a fence from D to E, is that right?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Can we zoom in on the area which is between A and B?

CHAIRPERSON: A and B there also appear to be fence poles, isn't that right? When was this picture taken? Was this after Brigadier Calitz had driven his Nyala through the fence, knocked part of it down?

COLONEL VERMAAK: Yes, it –

MR GOTZ: That's the second point that I wanted to make, was that this – let me explain, this

photograph was taken by the LCRC. I'm not sure whether it was taken by you or – Lieutenant-Colonel Botha.

CHAIRPERSON: LCRC man –

MR GOTZ: But it was taken the morning after the incident of the 16th of August 2012 at approximately 10 o'clock in the morning.

COLONEL VERMAAK: No, I'm not sure that is my photo there.

MR GOTZ: Be that as it may would you accept that on the basis of this photograph there was a fence on the day between A and B?

CHAIRPERSON: It looks like it, doesn't it?

COLONEL VERMAAK: It's difficult to say if there was a fence. If you look close to the picture you can see there's poles standing but I don't think you can see that there is wires.

MR GOTZ: And similarly, well –

CHAIRPERSON: Yes, I'm sorry to interrupt you. I'm not quite, I can't remember where exactly Brigadier Calitz said his Nyala went through the fence but if you look at – is it on the other side – if you look at between A and B there's, counting from the top of the page, there's a little bush to the right of A and then there are three fence poles and then there appears to be a gap and it

looks like a fence pole lying on the ground on the road. Someone has very kindly put an arrow there. So I don't know whether that's where Brigadier Calitz crashed through the fence. Ja, I think – no, it's put to me that he was actually, he said he was on the right-hand side. Anyway the point is, there was either a fence or there had been a fence because – there was either a fence or an ex-fence because there were fence poles, is that right?

COLONEL VERMAAK: That's correct.

MR GOTZ: Chairperson, perhaps we can assist in looking at the point between B and C, a close-up of that. You'll see that the, to the right of the –

CHAIRPERSON: I'm reminded, it's between B and C, that's where Calitz went through and I'm not sure if that gap we see there is not where his Nyala knocked over the fence.

MR GOTZ: Indeed. So our assessment would be that he drove through the fence roughly in the middle, mid-point between the points marked B and C. Lieutenant-Colonel, would you –

CHAIRPERSON: In the middle, I'm inclined to think it's more to the left towards Brigadier – there appear to be two fence poles, one of which is bending sideways near the top. If I was a betting man, which I'm not, I would put money on it that that's where he went

through.

MR GOTZ: No –

CHAIRPERSON: It doesn't matter really, for our purposes.

MR GOTZ: It doesn't matter save that I would like the witness to accept that there was a fence there, B to C.

CHAIRPERSON: Well, if he can't, he can't. Can you help us with that? Apart from what you saw from the air, did you later go there on the ground and have a look, inspect the fences?

COLONEL VERMAAK: If you look at the movement of the people, they move along that fence that we can see that is between D and it looks like C. And if you look at the one picture where, the second time they come around the kraal –

MR GOTZ: Is that your, you're referring to your photograph –

COLONEL VERMAAK: My photo, yes.

MR GOTZ: 1516, I think it is.

COLONEL VERMAAK: That is correct, Chair.

MR GOTZ: Just to be clear, this is JJJ, I think it's the 10 series. I beg your pardon, 11 and it's 1516.

CHAIRPERSON: [Microphone off, inaudible]

– for the missing fences isn't going to be concluded today and it is just after noon and we did indicate we would adjourn at noon because the technicians have to go to Wits to the seminar site to set up their equipment there. So I fear this fascinating debate is going to be, not be able to be terminated today but we can look forward in eager anticipation to tomorrow, to the exciting conclusion to this debate.

MR GOTZ: I hope, Chair –

CHAIRPERSON: Shall we adjourn now until tomorrow morning, 9 o'clock?

MR GOTZ: I hope to be very brief in relation to this fascinating topic tomorrow, Chair.

[COMMISSION ADJOURNED]

.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
.

A

able 26389:18 26397:25 26410:14 26420:18 26421:10 26441:18 26448:23 26453:5
Abuses 26374:10
accept 26387:24 26422:18 26427:2,14 26428:1 26432:3 26437:6,24 26445:25 26450:10 26452:6
acceptable 26417:18
accepted 26373:13 26427:9
accepts 26427:21
accountability 26397:13
accurate 26422:17 26430:18 26438:7
ACCUs 26393:8,13
accused 26386:20 26442:11
Act 26383:9,15 26384:11 26392:20 26392:20 26401:23 26401:23 26402:2 26412:19 26416:8
action 26382:1 26396:14
actions 26382:5 26397:4 26414:18
actual 26425:14
addition 26395:25
additional 26392:9 26396:21,23
addresses 26406:21
adhered 26411:21
adjourn 26376:1,14,24 26376:24 26411:9 26453:3,10
adjourned 26377:9 26453:14
adjournment 26377:12 26407:3
ADJOURNS 26377:14 26407:23
adopt 26406:20
adopted 26407:20
adoption 26387:13 26390:2
Adv 26375:20 26385:22 26419:19
aerial 26448:21
affect 26417:15
affiliations 26423:18
affirmation 26373:3 26377:17 26408:1
affirms 26373:4 26378:1 26408:3
Africa 26373:24
afternoon 26373:7 26424:23 26425:16
agencies 26414:21
ago 26420:20
agree 26381:23 26390:15 26394:1,17 26394:19,20 26396:15,17 26397:18,20,20 26401:18 26402:2,5,6 26403:19 26404:18 26413:10 26424:4,6 26428:24 26431:10 26432:13 26433:23 26434:9,22 26436:21 26437:3 26438:11 26442:1 26446:11 26447:23
agreeing 26424:11
air 26378:12 26380:19 26421:24 26425:9 26437:20 26447:11 26452:10
aliases 26383:4
aligned 26392:24
allegation 26379:17
alleged 26379:13
allegedly 26386:23 26387:10
allowed 26420:8
alright 26375:4,24 26377:25 26385:15 26389:8,12 26408:10 26408:17,24 26418:10
alternative 26399:18
alternatively 26431:15
AMCU 26375:9 26413:7 26421:15 26422:5,22 26423:10 26423:11,13 26424:1 26424:1,10,14,19,20 26425:4,15
ammunition 26387:15 26390:4 26403:25 26404:7 26420:25
amount 26379:20 26380:16 26423:23
amounting 26447:21
amounts 26379:5
analyse 26446:3,8
analysing 26415:22
analysis 26439:24 26441:2,21,23 26442:1,2 26444:1 26445:13,25 26448:7 26448:11
analytical 26416:2
ANC 26381:18,20
angle 26439:17
angles 26434:3
animal 26382:17
animosity 26379:21 26380:16 26381:1
Anna 26387:3
annexure 26416:17,22
answer 26442:16,20
answers 26410:4 26439:10
Anthony 26375:8
anticipation 26400:9 26408:17 26453:7
anybody 26414:4
anymore 26392:2
anyway 26374:16 26417:16 26442:18 26451:5
apart 26444:25 26452:9
appear 26387:12 26397:21,23 26423:11,17,19 26425:24 26449:19 26451:23
appeared 26408:21
appearing 26435:23
appears 26392:14 26396:20 26423:14 26424:16 26450:25
appendix 26448:17
applicable 26390:20
apply 26409:20,22 26447:21
approach 26391:20 26401:4,10 26436:20
appropriate 26393:21 26397:8
appropriately 26393:25
approximately 26384:24 26386:1 26428:19 26450:6
APRIL 26373:1
area 26382:23 26392:25,25 26449:17
areas 26393:6,18
aren't 26410:11
argument 26442:10
armoury 26400:6
arrange 26389:14
arrangements 26397:13
arrived 26426:8
arriving 26444:10
arrow 26427:24 26428:5,6 26429:5 26436:2 26440:11,25 26441:10 26443:21 26451:2
article 26373:18 26374:2,6,9 26375:15 26375:16 26376:17 26377:5 26384:11,18 26384:19 26385:8 26395:2 26399:15 26406:17
articles 26373:16 26375:11 26376:15 26377:21 26378:4
ascertain 26447:16
asked 26448:15
asking 26375:9 26421:20 26442:6
assessment 26387:18 26403:20 26415:6 26451:17
assist 26410:14 26420:18 26421:10 26429:12 26451:11
assistance 26418:14
associated 26384:12
assumption 26388:2
attack 26379:7 26406:19
attacks 26386:19
attempt 26385:9
attend 26380:5 26398:15
attendance 26384:1
attended 26379:25 26380:14,23
attending 26403:10
attention 26377:2,22 26406:24 26412:6,22 26418:14,23
August 26381:25 26400:14,23 26409:14 26411:21 26411:22 26417:1 26420:2,14 26421:18 26424:11 26427:2 26430:10 26432:18 26450:5
authors 26395:12 26398:3
available 26391:6 26404:9 26406:7 26409:9,11 26413:8 26414:1
avoided 26419:22
aware 26419:25 26420:14,15

B

B 26401:4 26448:20,23 26448:24 26449:18 26449:19 26450:11 26450:23 26451:11 26451:14,19 26452:7
back 26378:17 26393:22 26407:12 26418:17 26426:7,9 26431:19,20,24 26432:12 26434:8 26437:12 26439:2 26443:13,14,20
background 26397:23
bag 26404:3,4
baklei 26424:19
ball 26421:2,3 26447:11,19
balls 26447:18
barbed 26427:25 26428:22 26432:2 26440:7
base 26446:22
based 26425:15 26445:13
basically 26382:25
basis 26381:19 26388:2 26412:4 26431:19 26450:10
battery 26398:24
BBM 26421:25 26422:4
bear 26410:16 26411:4
bearings 26421:3
beef 26385:5
beg 26430:14,16 26440:6 26444:18 26446:25 26452:23
beginning 26386:11 26387:7 26391:23 26418:19 26432:13 26439:14
begins 26388:16
behalf 26375:9
beings 26447:14
Belgian 26383:18,22
Belgians 26383:17 26403:4
Belgium 26384:5
belief 26423:15 26424:14,15
believe 26387:25 26399:15 26400:17 26401:9
believed 26423:25 26425:24
believer 26373:17
belonged 26379:14
bending 26451:23
benefit 26427:19
betting 26451:24
big 26381:18,21 26382:4 26392:6 26399:15 26404:15 26449:6
bigger 26381:24 26393:18 26439:1
birdshot 26400:4,5 26419:1,3,9,11 26420:23
Bis 26413:19,22 26414:3
bit 26389:16 26411:22 26444:6
Blackberry 26435:7,18 26437:20
blanket 26433:4,4,7,12 26433:15
blocked 26432:2
Bloemhof 26404:14
blue 26428:23 26444:8 26444:8,13,14
blurred 26397:14
Boipatong 26378:20,23 26379:1,6,7
Boipelo 26387:11
Botha 26450:2
bottom 26378:9 26392:15 26395:5 26430:13 26436:5
bound 26373:3 26377:17 26407:25
box 26440:5
break 26406:10

26407:7,10,11,15,15 26407:17,18,19,19,20
breaking 26407:14
brief 26453:12
briefing 26397:8
briefly 26418:19
Brigadier 26400:17 26421:20 26422:2,2,7 26422:14 26449:21 26450:21 26451:3,22
brigadiers 26426:13
bring 26411:3 26412:6 26418:14
broad 26410:4,5,10
brown 26430:25
Bruce 26374:10 26384:17,19,22 26386:3,25 26387:18 26389:23 26390:6
brutal 26387:13 26390:2
Budlender 26403:15
building 26393:23
bulk 26376:9
bullets 26387:16
bullet-proofs 26404:6
bundle 26447:14
burdening 26406:13
buried 26381:20,21
bush 26443:20 26444:4 26444:19,22 26446:3 26446:14 26450:24
bushy 26446:14
buy 26404:3

C

C 26448:20,24,24 26449:9,9,10 26451:11,14,19 26452:7,14
Calitz 26400:17 26421:20 26422:2,14 26449:21 26450:21 26451:3,14
call 26394:4 26403:25 26421:3,20
called 26374:25 26380:21 26402:15 26410:9
camera 26428:19
campaign 26423:23
cannon 26440:17
can't 26452:8
capacitated 26402:1
capacity 26393:7,22,23 26396:9,10 26398:11 26404:20,22 26416:25
captured 26439:12
carefully 26377:4
carry 26373:14 26376:5 26377:12 26385:18 26389:18 26397:24 26422:20
cartridges 26419:2
case 26427:8 26442:19
Casspir 26432:24,24
cast 26395:8
categories 26414:23,24
caught 26388:10
cause 26423:9
caused 26382:1 26392:4
CCU 26396:2 26397:3
CCUs 26393:12
centralised 26401:19
centre 26431:14
certain 26390:12
certainly 26388:14 26423:14
challenge 26381:21
challenges 26381:10
challenging 26381:6
chance 26417:14
chances 26420:9
change 26382:13 26383:6
changed 26382:22 26393:2,8 26429:5 26437:13
changes 26382:17
charge 26400:17
Chaskalson 26407:12 26407:13 26427:19
Chaskalson's 26407:19
chat 26376:24
children 26387:9
chopper 26380:4
CIG's 26401:1
circle 26428:23 26429:16 26435:7 26439:1
circles 26442:3
circling 26380:9 26438:13 26441:13 26445:21
circumstances 26375:24
clash 26435:8
clear 26401:7 26424:8 26440:20 26452:22
clearer 26444:6
clearly 26406:24 26438:10 26445:4 26447:2
client 26413:7 26421:15
clip 26432:10,11,12,20 26433:14,18 26439:13,14,17 26443:3,6,9 26445:1 26445:4,7 26446:13 26447:5
close 26422:11 26436:12 26444:14 26450:15
closer 26440:10
closest 26431:13 26435:3
close-up 26451:11
cluster 26398:10
collecting 26415:22
column 26395:6,7
combating 26382:23 26392:25 26393:2,9 26393:16 26396:1
come 26399:5 26411:10 26411:13 26412:21 26436:1 26452:15
comes 26396:7
comfort 26406:10 26407:7,10,11,14,16 26407:18
coming 26403:3 26432:24 26435:25 26440:13 26442:4
command 26378:24 26411:4 26415:10
commander 26378:10 26378:12,19 26381:8 26382:3 26398:9,10 26404:25 26405:2 26415:8,18,18,20,20 26415:24,24
commanders 26383:14 26383:14 26391:2 26398:9 26402:17,18 26403:9,10,11,12 26415:5,25 26416:7
commence 26373:16 26432:5 26447:5
commences 26386:1 26432:11
comment 26380:19 26397:17 26400:15
comments 26397:24
Commission 26373:2 26377:14,14,15 26406:19,22 26407:18,23,23,24 26420:16 26453:14
Commissioner 26378:6 26392:21 26393:21
Commissioners 26373:18
commitment 26397:10
company 26415:20,24
complaining 26399:22
complaint 26400:3 26416:14
complied 26401:23
computer 26416:10
concede 26438:4
concedes 26448:6,7
concentrated 26383:14
concern 26390:8 26391:11,14 26396:13 26421:15
concerns 26390:12,15 26401:17 26402:3 26409:14
concession 26441:17,20 26448:11
conclude 26419:4
concluded 26453:1
concludes 26393:20
conclusion 26441:23 26453:7
conducted 26384:9
confers 26402:2
confident 26385:16
confirm 26414:22 26430:10 26436:14 26448:23
confirmation 26414:19
conflict 26381:10,18 26423:10 26425:3
confronting 26396:21
congregated 26432:14
consequence 26390:2 26391:17 26429:14
consequences 26387:12 26429:13,15
considerable 26379:20 26380:16 26438:2
consideration 26388:13 26401:9
considered 26376:15 26419:7
consolidated 26421:16 26429:25
Constitution 26416:9
CONTD 26378:3 26408:25
content 26411:24
context 26376:19 26377:5
contingency 26415:8
continue 26433:18 26446:20
continued 26384:7 26448:5
continuously 26402:14
control 26378:20 26396:4 26398:19
controllable 26398:18
conveyed 26422:13 26423:9
convictions 26416:4
copies 26374:15 26375:20,20 26384:25 26406:7
core 26396:4
corner 26440:24 26449:10
corps 26396:10
correctly 26394:8
correspond 26427:12
couldn't 26375:13
counting 26450:23
country 26378:13 26380:21
couple 26389:14 26422:3
course 26383:8,24 26402:16 26403:9 26408:16 26418:13 26436:7 26438:13 26440:22 26441:3,19 26446:7
courses 26383:13 26384:2 26398:16 26402:13,15 26403:10
cover 26393:18
covered 26419:18
co-ordinated 26379:13
co-ordination 26397:2
co-ordinator 26398:8
crashed 26451:3
created 26393:22
creates 26438:2
crime 26382:23 26392:25 26393:2,8 26393:16 26396:1,4
critical 26414:16
criticised 26442:17
criticism 26410:6
criticisms 26410:3
cross 26411:13 26418:3
crossing 26435:2,2 26436:1
cross-examination 26374:18 26375:5 26376:7,9 26378:3 26407:5 26408:25 26410:17,25 26411:7 26411:11,12 26417:15 26419:21
crowd 26388:5 26393:3 26395:24 26396:3,5 26401:13 26409:19
current 26373:23 26408:20
currently 26394:18

D

D 26448:20,24,24 26449:9,10,14 26452:14
daily 26431:19
data 26412:25
date 26405:2
Daveyton 26387:3
David 26374:9 26384:16,19,22
day 26380:17 26410:9 26417:10 26440:9 26450:11
days 26379:21 26416:20
de 26396:10
deal 26381:7 26430:1 26447:7
dealing 26387:14 26390:3 26442:21
dealt 26419:20
deaths 26386:13 26387:12
debate 26453:5,8
debates 26373:23
debating 26447:8
December 26378:8 26418:18
decentralise 26395:18
decide 26443:5
decision 26391:20 26400:16 26405:3
decisions 26394:2
decrease 26391:14

decreased 26392:5
dedicated 26392:16 26401:24
deductions 26423:20
deemed 26393:25
defects 26410:12
definitely 26449:2,3
degree 26434:3
deliberately 26386:20 26423:22
demarcated 26427:24 26428:4
democratic 26383:10 26397:1
demonstration 26386:21 26387:11 26404:11
demonstrations 26384:13 26386:4,5,7 26386:9,10,13 26387:7,21
demonstrators 26387:16 26414:15
departure 26409:11
depend 26427:16
depending 26404:9
depiction 26445:13
depicts 26427:23
depletion 26393:19 26394:13
deploy 26404:1,12 26407:6 26421:21 26427:25
deployed 26378:23 26380:21 26382:3 26393:15 26395:20 26397:7 26409:19
deploying 26400:16 26428:21
der 26380:4
describe 26379:2 26387:8
described 26416:16 26420:9
describes 26383:22,23
describing 26421:18
description 26415:16
despite 26381:1 26409:8 26410:25
detail 26409:5 26410:22
detrimental 26394:3,14
developed 26396:12
diagrammatic 26440:22 26446:22
diameter 26421:4
didn't 26380:5 26384:3 26416:18 26421:9 26424:13,21 26441:14,15
died 26420:12
differ 26444:18
different 26382:18 26383:3 26392:1 26402:13 26405:10 26405:11 26439:17 26440:15
differently 26401:14
difficult 26392:6 26397:14 26450:14
difficulty 26420:17
direct 26387:12,16
direction 26427:25 26428:1 26430:7 26433:14,24 26434:6 26434:10,24 26435:13,14 26440:4 26440:15,16
directly 26435:25
directory 26413:10
dis 26390:5
disagree 26383:7 26387:18 26390:6
disbanded 26393:6
discussed 26399:14
dishonesty 26416:4
display 26397:10
disruptive 26396:8
dissemination 26415:23
distance 26420:8
distances 26420:5,9
distributed 26415:21
divided 26392:1 26414:24
division 26393:12 26394:7
document 26392:10,13 26392:15 26393:19 26404:22 26405:4,8 26406:11,14,25 26408:2,23 26409:1 26409:12,23 26410:22 26411:10 26411:17,19,24 26412:2 26413:4,13 26417:9,16,21,25 26426:15,16,20,21 26427:1,5
documents 26375:13 26411:3 26416:23
doesn't 26405:19 26447:16,20 26449:11 26450:12 26452:3,5
doing 26385:14 26389:16 26439:7 26441:22 26442:8,18
don't 26373:13 26375:25 26376:21 26383:7 26385:9 26387:17 26388:9,12 26390:5,5 26397:18 26397:20,20 26402:20 26405:17 26405:18,22,23 26407:5 26411:2,12 26412:7 26417:3,14 26419:20 26422:6 26430:17 26436:15 26438:10 26440:11 26441:5 26442:10 26450:16 26451:2
double 26424:18
doubt 26438:2 26448:19
dramatic 26386:3,7,8 26387:5,21 26388:21
dramatically 26402:11
drastic 26403:19
drastically 26393:13
draw 26377:2 26414:2 26418:23
drawing 26415:8
drawn 26408:23 26440:5
drew 26377:22
drill 26423:18,22
driven 26449:21
drove 26451:18
drowned 26387:10
due 26390:1 26416:19
duty 26442:18
dwaalspoor 26447:8
dwellers 26379:14

E

E 26448:21,24 26449:15
eager 26453:6
earlier 26377:16 26445:15 26448:2
early 26411:9
easier 26388:12
easily 26404:4
Ed 26408:19
edition 26408:20
editions 26408:21
effect 26376:14 26393:11 26394:3,14 26401:22 26415:13 26429:10 26431:5
effective 26393:24
effectively 26434:10 26437:16 26439:18 26440:3
either 26414:12 26431:11,12 26433:6 26441:16 26451:6,7
Ekurhuleni 26386:15
elected 26423:22
election 26381:12,14
elicited 26406:6
emoluments 26423:23
en 26424:19
encircling 26437:21
encounter 26383:24
engage 26406:24
English 26416:3
ensure 26393:21,25
entire 26395:4
entirely 26381:23
entitled 26373:19 26374:10,19 26375:1 26392:10 26405:9 26426:16
equated 26423:11
equipment 26391:6,7 26397:8 26403:20,21 26404:3,5 26415:13 26453:4
escalation 26387:1
escape 26387:10
especially 26401:6
esprit 26396:10
essentially 26395:10 26424:4
establish 26392:21 26398:25
established 26379:19 26392:23 26402:1 26406:1 26411:18 26437:9
Establishment 26392:16
ethical 26381:10
eTV 26427:6,12,13 26432:11
evaluate 26415:11
evaluation 26398:23
event 26403:5 26414:11 26424:16 26425:17
events 26383:11 26392:6,12 26395:22 26395:24 26397:3,7 26412:23 26413:1,25 26414:25 26421:18
events.30 26397:2
everybody 26389:18,22 26414:2 26427:21
evidence 26391:15 26397:22 26406:7 26423:15,21 26432:6 26435:11 26438:1 26439:24 26441:12 26441:23
evidence-in-chief 26391:13 26419:19
evidential 26414:13
exactly 26403:2 26416:14 26433:6 26450:20
examination 26411:14 26418:4
example 26404:12,14 26406:17 26413:6,7
examples 26381:6
excess 26380:23
exciting 26453:7
excuse 26373:12
execute 26402:1
exercise 26383:23 26427:18
exercises 26398:15
exhibit 26374:2,20 26375:11 26378:5,8 26384:18 26388:9 26392:10,12 26395:1 26395:10 26400:3 26401:20 26405:9,15 26406:3 26408:9 26418:18 26426:16 26432:10 26433:22 26435:13,15,21 26439:13 26443:1 26447:1 26448:1
exhibits 26373:16
existed 26396:11
expect 26404:1,13
expected 26404:23,25 26427:8
expecting 26417:16
experience 26381:23 26382:2 26397:23 26401:1,6,12
experienced 26378:13 26391:2 26393:23 26416:3
explain 26449:25
explained 26413:25 26435:6 26437:20
explanation 26429:9 26448:3
expressed 26448:19
expression 26423:12
expressions 26423:12
expressly 26422:6
extremely 26394:3
ex-fence 26451:7
eye 26380:11 26395:8 26442:3

F

face 26404:10
facie 26397:21 26406:18,21
facing 26440:14,15,16
fact 26376:9 26379:9 26379:13 26380:14 26386:4,19 26390:8 26390:16 26392:13 26392:18 26401:13 26401:19 26409:9 26411:1 26423:10,21 26424:11 26432:1 26436:12 26437:7,10 26437:12 26439:25 26445:14 26446:10
faction 26425:15
facts 26419:8
fail 26398:24
failed 26385:4
fair 26385:23 26416:21 26441:18 26442:8
fairly 26394:10 26442:13
fairness 26439:10 26441:22
fall 26399:1
fallacy 26447:22
fallen 26399:11
falling 26398:7,9
far 26381:24 26388:22 26408:19,22 26420:19 26423:16 26427:24 26428:13
fascinating 26453:5,13
fatalities 26388:4
favour 26423:21

fear 26453:5
February 26387:6
feedback 26398:10 26417:5
fell 26396:6
fence 26448:24,24,24 26448:25 26449:2,3,5 26449:9,11,11,14,20 26449:22 26450:11 26450:15,21,25 26451:1,4,6,7,7,8,16 26451:18,23 26452:6 26452:13
fences 26448:21 26452:11 26453:1
fight 26422:24 26425:14,15
fighting 26422:5 26424:10,20
figures 26388:3 26390:6
files 26413:13
final 26390:1 26442:10
Finally 26446:17
find 26375:13 26410:4
fine 26383:7 26427:7
finish 26410:24 26411:7
finished 26410:25 26421:5,7 26428:21
firearms 26403:25
firing 26387:11,16
first 26373:18 26376:6 26378:8,9 26382:21 26383:19 26384:19 26389:15,15 26390:5 26395:24 26399:24 26403:15 26412:18 26417:14 26418:21 26421:19 26435:8 26436:21 26444:9 26445:3
fit 26393:25
fits 26436:9
five 26373:9,11 26386:11 26387:6
FLOM 26402:15,15,15 26402:16,17,17,21
flown 26448:22
flying 26442:3
focus 26386:1 26396:11 26410:5 26435:11
focused 26393:24 26410:12 26411:11 26411:13,23
follow 26447:18
followed 26414:19 26441:12 26447:9
following 26379:22 26380:1 26388:24 26389:2 26432:4 26433:16 26439:11 26440:19
foot 26401:21
force 26374:11 26397:11
foreshortening 26434:4
forgive 26410:7
forgotten 26413:21
fork 26431:16
form 26389:21
forth 26431:20,24
forum 26376:22
forward 26417:19 26440:16 26453:6
forwarded 26422:1
found 26393:17 26425:24
four 26386:12 26414:23,24
France 26383:18 26384:4 26403:4
Freedom 26379:15
freely 26430:1,2
friction 26425:1
friend 26403:14
front 26384:18 26432:9 26432:15 26433:8 26435:1,5 26436:2,3 26436:22 26440:16 26441:12 26444:2,3 26444:15,22 26447:10
full 26404:16
function 26392:25 26393:4,4 26396:2 26401:25 26404:19
functioning 26398:7
functions 26393:1 26402:2
funeral 26379:25 26380:6,15,23
further 26373:5 26378:2 26394:25 26400:21 26405:24 26406:2,14 26408:4 26424:4,17 26433:21 26448:14
future 26414:14
F-L-O-M 26402:21,22 26403:15

G

gap 26450:25 26451:15
gaps 26442:5,7
garment 26433:6
Garnett 26422:2,7,14
gas 26404:6
gather 26405:1
gathered 26412:17 26414:12
gathering 26373:19,22 26373:25 26374:2,7 26375:16 26391:10 26412:21 26413:2 26416:5 26422:16 26426:11
gatherings 26383:9,15 26392:11 26399:23 26399:24 26412:21 26438:25
gear 26403:25 26404:16
general 26380:4 26401:17 26410:20 26433:24
generally 26397:7 26434:6
generals 26423:9
give 26376:13 26381:5 26388:13 26390:12 26390:13 26404:25 26405:12 26410:3 26411:2,9 26412:12 26417:10 26418:2 26421:24 26425:11 26429:9 26430:6
given 26396:13 26400:25 26407:13 26426:24 26434:2
gives 26390:6 26413:6
giving 26375:21 26398:10 26419:19
go 26376:24 26378:17 26391:21 26395:5 26398:22 26404:5,10 26404:15 26412:7,16 26412:24 26413:18 26414:5 26415:1 26416:12 26418:17 26419:5 26422:15 26426:9,23 26432:12 26434:8 26443:12,14 26443:20 26452:10 26453:3
goes 26387:8
going 26376:17 26385:5,23 26388:9 26397:21 26400:9 26401:7 26406:9 26410:9,11 26411:2 26425:15 26427:7 26453:1,5
good 26373:8 26375:5 26375:7 26416:4
Gotz's 26396:15 26417:15
governments 26412:23
gradual 26388:5 26389:24
grandmother 26387:2
green 26433:3,4,6,15 26440:2,25
greenish 26444:13
Greenwich 26427:11 26427:12
grenades 26404:8
ground 26380:6,17,20 26422:13,21,21 26423:5 26425:9,10 26436:15 26437:23 26438:9 26447:15 26451:1 26452:10
group 26391:24 26392:3 26405:7 26414:15 26415:4 26432:9 26433:17 26435:1,5 26436:2,10 26436:11,20,21,22,22 26438:6,16 26439:6 26439:16 26440:1,15 26440:16,20 26441:12,14 26444:15,22 26445:1 26445:5 26447:10
groups 26381:20 26382:4 26392:2 26398:17 26415:1
group's 26432:7
guard 26386:24
guide 26395:21
Guidelines 26392:11

H

half 26393:14,16 26407:6 26428:20 26438:22
hamper 26419:20
hand 26401:3,8 26412:12
handed 26375:25 26405:9,15 26406:3
handle 26381:24 26382:4 26392:3,6 26404:16
handled 26378:15 26381:2 26418:24
handling 26415:12
hands 26384:9 26387:20 26388:4 26389:25 26407:8
hanging 26433:8
happen 26373:13 26413:25
happened 26379:1,5 26384:15 26387:5 26394:12 26425:20 26442:7,21 26445:14 26448:2
happening 26380:12 26409:14 26438:9
happens 26439:25 26445:2 26446:8,19
harsh 26447:23,25
Hartbeesfontein 26381:12,17
head 26378:7 26399:21 26399:22 26403:11
headed 26432:8 26436:25
heading 26392:15 26434:10,24
hear 26397:22 26439:9
hearsay 26424:18 26426:4
heavy-handed 26397:9
held 26383:13 26424:16
helicopter 26380:8 26421:21,24 26426:7 26437:22
helmet 26404:6
help 26377:8 26385:24 26410:5,11 26417:13 26447:16 26452:9
helpful 26411:11 26412:7
Hemraj 26375:20 26385:21,22
Hendrickx 26383:22
here's 26447:14
he'll 26445:19
he's 26383:22 26389:16 26412:3 26441:18 26442:21
HHH68 26378:5,8 26390:9,12 26400:3 26418:18
highlight 26378:5 26412:14 26413:3
highlighted 26417:24 26418:20
highly 26384:7
historical 26412:25
history 26382:7
home 26431:12,21
hope 26410:7 26453:9 26453:12
horrific 26386:17
hostel 26379:8,14 26431:2
hostilities 26424:22
hours 26427:13
house 26449:5
human 26416:4,5 26447:14
hybrid 26407:17,18

I

idea 26391:23 26448:9
identified 26394:2 26398:21
identifies 26393:19
identify 26390:17,19 26391:1,9 26395:1 26397:15 26411:16 26411:19 26412:13
identifying 26420:17
IFP 26381:18,21
ignored 26414:17
ill-prepared 26395:24
imagine 26376:12 26406:4
immediately 26414:1 26432:15 26433:16
important 26376:6 26377:23 26395:12 26410:13,15 26413:1 26414:11 26415:4,7 26415:10 26416:23 26417:13
impression 26423:7,8 26429:18 26438:5
impressions 26438:3
improved 26402:11
inadequate 26390:16 26390:19,24 26391:6 26391:10
inadvertent 26429:14
inaudible 26375:14

26452:25
incident 26378:20 26379:20 26381:2 26450:5
incidents 26378:18 26381:6,11 26426:11
inclined 26441:17 26451:21
include 26393:2
included 26379:24 26387:2,9 26448:18
includes 26412:25
including 26390:3
incorporated 26393:12
incorrect 26424:11,12
increase 26386:3,5,7,8 26386:9 26387:21 26388:6,21 26389:24 26390:12,13
increased 26423:23
increases 26396:13
independently 26423:24
indicate 26397:19 26423:16 26427:5 26430:7 26440:23 26445:1 26453:2
indicated 26400:10 26428:22 26429:4 26441:21 26442:16 26445:8
indicates 26386:6 26441:13 26448:9
indications 26423:25 26424:2
individuals 26397:15
influence 26399:15
informal 26438:25
informants 26422:25
information 26388:1 26391:10 26400:25 26401:5,9 26404:24 26404:24,25 26405:1 26405:5,9 26408:7,12 26408:18 26409:5,9 26409:10,15,17,21 26412:17,20 26413:1 26413:5,8,10 26414:3 26414:4,5,11,12,16 26414:18,22,23,24 26415:2,4,9,12,17,19 26415:21,23 26416:1 26416:5,16,24,25 26417:4 26422:9,12 26422:13,16,17,18,20 26422:22 26423:14 26424:10 26425:10 26425:24
informed 26377:21 26401:2
initiative 26404:3
initiatives 26393:16
injured 26379:10
injuries 26420:12
injury 26382:1
Inkatha 26379:15
inputs 26409:16
insists 26375:20
inspect 26452:11
inspections 26420:21
instance 26412:18
instances 26387:15
instituted 26409:6
instructed 26438:24
instructions 26420:5,7
instrument 26427:16
insufficiently 26391:2
intelligence 26391:10 26404:19,22 26414:20,21
intercept 26428:23
interchangeably 26423:13
interested 26385:16
interlude 26373:9
internal 26382:9,22 26398:21
interpret 26429:17
interrupt 26383:20 26402:20 26412:1,7 26416:14 26449:8 26450:19
interrupted 26403:5
interventions 26415:1 26415:3,5,7,10
introduced 26408:9
introducing 26373:16
introduction 26396:22 26400:13
investigations 26403:3
invite 26410:2
involved 26386:18 26387:14,16 26389:4 26423:19 26426:1
involvement 26422:22
in-service 26395:23
IRIS 26413:19,19,21 26413:21,22,22,23 26414:1,3 26416:9
issue 26395:2 26404:7 26419:8 26421:14 26448:19
issued 26392:13 26403:24
issues 26406:21
it'll 26374:21 26377:5 26411:9 26428:6
it's 26375:1 26376:9 26382:25 26383:2 26385:10 26390:8 26395:3,5 26403:15 26405:11 26406:2,15 26406:16 26411:1 26412:2,16 26413:11 26415:17 26416:22 26416:23 26418:20 26418:22 26420:6,20 26421:15 26426:15 26426:16 26428:19 26430:18 26433:4,6 26433:20 26435:22 26435:24 26437:5 26441:4 26442:21 26445:4,5,15 26447:4 26447:11 26448:8,9 26450:14 26451:4,13 26451:22 26452:23 26452:23
I'd 26388:24

J

ja 26375:4 26383:5 26394:19 26399:4,4 26425:5 26426:5 26443:11 26445:10 26451:4
January 26378:10
JJJ 26452:22
JJJ194 26443:1
JJJ194.11 26432:10 26433:22 26435:13 26435:15
JJJ194.13 26439:13
JJJ194.14 26448:1
JOC 26417:4,5
JOHANNES 26373:4 26378:1 26408:3
joined 26382:20 26435:5 26448:21
judgment 26447:23
June 26379:6 26387:7

K

keep 26405:2 26413:11 26442:3
keeping 26380:11
kept 26409:6 26413:5,8 26413:11,14
key 26390:16
kill 26419:11 26420:10
killed 26379:9 26381:19 26386:12 26386:16,18,21 26387:1,7,9 26419:3 26420:1 26425:20
killing 26389:10 26426:1
killings 26386:10 26387:20 26389:25 26390:14
kind 26389:13 26410:16 26425:14 26433:3,6,7
kindly 26451:2
Klerksdorp 26378:10
knew 26404:13
knocked 26449:22 26451:15
know 26380:20 26384:19,22 26385:10,17 26403:10 26404:2 26405:17,22,23 26406:13 26408:19 26408:22 26409:15 26410:9,10 26416:8 26417:3,3,12 26419:17 26420:19 26423:6 26426:11 26437:7 26438:20 26442:18 26447:18 26451:3
knowledge 26385:11 26390:20 26411:17 26416:5,9 26434:2
known 26425:16
koppie 26374:20 26375:2 26401:5 26426:12,17 26429:22 26430:3 26431:11,20 26432:9 26432:14,15 26435:3 26435:5 26436:2 26438:6 26440:13
kraal 26374:20 26375:2 26426:18 26428:15 26431:13 26436:4 26449:6 26452:16

L

labour 26413:6
lack 26391:5 26396:25 26409:15 26416:19
lady 26375:24
land 26425:11
landed 26422:11
large 26429:16 26431:8 26434:3
largely 26383:16
lately 26403:11
launch 26376:11
layers 26396:23
LCRC 26450:1,3
lead 26432:6 26436:22 26438:6 26439:16 26440:1 26445:1,5
leaders 26395:18 26413:6
leads 26430:8 26432:8 26433:17
learned 26403:14
leave 26399:17
leaving 26395:23
led 26397:2 26419:19
left 26428:5,5,13 26432:24 26433:24 26434:5 26451:22
left-hand 26441:11
legislation 26390:20
lesser 26393:18
letter 26378:6 26392:7 26399:21 26418:17 26419:5
let's 26376:23,24 26378:19 26384:15 26385:17 26387:19 26400:21 26406:11 26407:2,9,11 26412:11,12 26419:13 26424:8 26432:11,20 26433:2 26433:13,17 26435:10
level 26392:3,4,25 26393:7,15 26401:16 26416:16
Lewis 26385:23
lies 26410:6
Lieutenant 26375:9 26384:4,5 26390:4 26418:16 26419:11 26419:23 26448:14
Lieutenant-Colonel 26373:3 26375:6 26377:16 26378:4 26380:15 26381:22 26383:8 26384:20 26385:25 26387:17 26395:9 26404:17 26405:16 26407:25 26409:1 26411:23 26412:11 26413:15 26416:22 26417:7,20 26420:18 26426:14 26426:18 26427:23 26430:23 26432:13 26433:23 26435:10 26436:6,17 26437:25 26438:12 26439:9,19 26440:21 26443:3 26444:17 26445:24 26450:2 26451:20
life 26378:15 26381:3 26381:25 26382:5 26384:9
line 26403:15 26428:22 26434:18 26440:6,19 26444:3,8,9,13,14
lines 26397:13 26435:22
line-up 26429:10
list 26417:11
literate 26416:10
little 26389:16 26410:19 26411:22 26430:22 26444:6 26450:24
live 26387:15 26390:4 26419:13,13
lived 26431:8
lives 26418:25
LLL8 26421:17
local 26386:15 26393:15 26395:21 26412:23
logical 26447:21
logistics 26385:4,6
long 26376:1 26385:17 26420:20 26438:19
longer 26395:17 26396:2 26401:24 26411:10
Lonmin 26422:25 26423:3,4,6,8,14,15 26423:25 26424:15 26425:24,25
look 26375:19 26378:4 26384:15 26392:10 26401:20,21

26406:11 26407:2 26409:13 26411:3 26414:5 26417:14 26428:12,17 26430:23 26432:7 26433:21 26436:18 26440:10 26441:11 26443:19 26450:15 26450:22,22 26452:11,12,15 26453:6
looked 26375:12
looking 26401:17 26437:15,16 26439:5 26442:22 26447:13 26447:15 26451:11
looks 26375:15,17 26385:4 26435:13 26439:23 26444:12 26449:11 26450:12 26451:1 26452:14
loss 26378:15 26381:3 26381:25 26384:9 26396:9 26418:25
losses 26382:4
lost 26417:1,1 26438:16
lot 26380:20 26381:11 26381:18 26392:5 26405:4 26436:3
low 26388:4
lying 26451:1

M

machine 26374:1
main 26432:5
maintain 26392:22
maintained 26402:1
major 26384:4,4 26392:12
making 26418:23 26419:12 26422:16
man 26433:15 26450:3 26451:24
management 26388:5 26393:4 26396:4,6,25 26401:13 26408:18 26409:5,20,22 26410:1 26416:24
manager 26404:24 26415:17,19 26416:2 26416:16,25
managers 26403:16 26417:5
mandate 26396:5
mandated 26397:3
manual 26408:6,7,18 26418:13
manuals 26408:20 26409:9,10
Marikana 26374:10,13 26375:15 26381:25 26396:20 26400:12 26400:14 26421:21
marked 26437:6 26448:20 26451:19
Marks 26373:19 26384:11 26395:1 26400:7
masks 26404:6
mass 26379:25 26380:23 26384:13
massacre 26379:1,6,9 26379:12,14,22 26380:2
massive 26388:6 26389:25
material 26407:4,5
matter 26385:10 26452:3,5
matters 26406:24
Mdze 26420:11
mean 26384:8 26401:11 26405:19 26406:16 26412:7 26427:11,13 26433:12
meaning 26403:2
means 26449:9
meant 26395:21 26425:6,13
media 26426:23
meetings 26417:4,6
mekaar 26424:20
member 26381:20,21 26391:22 26403:24 26404:1 26405:5 26409:16 26446:15
members 26378:14 26383:6,10 26391:20 26391:24 26393:14 26393:17,23,24 26395:20 26396:25 26397:6 26398:12 26399:16,18 26400:19 26402:7,14 26402:16 26416:20 26417:4 26418:24 26419:1,8 26423:20 26425:9
memory 26385:5,12
mention 26402:13 26417:23 26422:9 26426:7
mentioned 26391:14 26400:12 26412:2 26435:2
merely 26425:6
merit 26410:8,19
message 26376:14 26422:3,4 26424:21
metaphorical 26424:25
methods 26387:13,14 26389:4 26390:3
metro 26386:15
Microphone 26375:14 26452:25
middle 26387:6 26415:19 26430:24 26436:5 26444:8,14 26449:6 26451:19,21
mid-point 26451:19
mid-1990s 26396:13
millimetre 26399:25 26421:4
mind 26395:18 26410:16 26419:23
minds 26438:2
mine 26401:1 26435:6
mines 26381:10
minimal 26397:11
minimising 26391:16
Ministry 26392:13,17 26393:2 26401:20
minute 26373:9 26405:12 26428:19 26438:23 26439:2,5
minutes 26373:11 26376:12 26385:20 26406:10 26436:7 26441:3 26444:25 26445:20
Miskien 26443:1
missed 26394:6
missing 26453:1
Mm 26389:6
moments 26448:16
Monday 26401:6
money 26451:25
Monique 26373:19
monitor 26438:25
month 26423:24
months 26387:6
morale 26396:10
morning 26373:8 26375:6,7 26425:21 26450:4,6 26453:11
morrow 26411:14 26418:3
move 26417:19 26426:18 26428:5 26435:7 26439:15 26440:4 26445:3,6 26446:20 26452:13
moved 26429:6,10 26430:1,2 26435:5 26438:6 26441:5 26445:2
movement 26374:19 26375:1 26426:17 26431:19,23 26432:7 26435:19 26446:4 26452:13
movements 26438:5
moves 26440:1,2
moving 26410:20 26414:8 26428:1 26429:17,22 26431:19 26433:16 26434:5,5,6,13,15 26435:14,14 26439:16 26445:5 26447:14
Mpofu 26442:10
Mpofu's 26373:10
Mpumalanga 26386:22
murder 26426:9

N

name 26375:8 26382:13,17 26393:1 26393:8
names 26382:18 26383:3,6
national 26392:20,21 26393:20 26415:10
NATJOC 26422:7
nature 26415:13
near 26386:22 26444:22 26451:24
nearby 26379:8
necessarily 26376:21 26438:7
necessary 26391:5 26395:4 26404:11 26405:3 26406:11 26410:13 26411:6 26413:11 26437:10
need 26376:21 26385:6 26403:19 26409:20 26409:21
needed 26393:7 26402:7 26403:6 26404:5,24
needs 26376:2 26402:10 26403:20 26403:21 26404:20
negotiated 26397:13
negotiation 26416:4
never 26414:17
nevertheless 26379:20
new 26387:13 26390:3 26391:20
newly 26395:20
nice 26430:18
night 26379:6
nil 26384:13 26388:4
nine 26387:12
Nkaneng 26429:18,22 26430:3,8 26431:5 26442:4
Nokele 26387:4
Noki 26432:8,25 26433:2,15 26436:25
noon 26453:2,3
normal 26402:16
normally 26399:23
north 26430:25 26434:10 26435:14 26440:3,5
northerly 26434:6
northern 26428:14 26429:7
north-east 26440:6
North-West 26378:11 26381:8 26404:2 26416:15
note 26405:10 26428:4 26430:12
notice 26412:18 26436:3
Notwithstanding 26386:3,8,17 26388:19,20
no-one 26411:7
NUM 26422:5,24 26423:10,19,21 26424:10,19,20 26425:4,15
number 26379:10 26384:11 26389:24 26390:13 26391:15 26397:17 26401:12 26419:1,3,9,10 26420:10,20,22,24 26423:17 26429:16 26430:19 26431:2,7,8 26448:23
numbered 26408:16
numbers 26413:6
Nyala 26427:23 26428:1,4,9,12,12,13 26428:20,21,21 26429:2,5,10 26432:7 26434:25 26435:15 26436:12,20,21 26437:4,4,10,11,16 26439:15,16 26440:3 26440:3,17 26445:2,3 26445:6,6 26446:20 26448:5 26449:22 26450:21 26451:15
Nyalas 26434:20 26436:1 26440:7

O

object 26406:5
objection 26406:2
objective 26415:22 26432:6 26435:11 26438:1 26439:23 26441:23
obliged 26392:21
observation 26448:22
observe 26433:14
obtainable 26413:5
obtained 26413:9 26414:11
obvious 26442:6
obviously 26377:4 26397:21 26410:15 26412:2 26417:13 26425:23
occasions 26401:12 26448:23
occupants 26379:8
occur 26395:23
occurred 26379:5 26384:12 26386:14 26391:17
OCT 26403:9
office 26399:21
officer 26386:23 26416:3 26421:22 26422:10
officers 26423:2 26425:20 26426:1
offices 26386:16
Oh 26376:16 26408:7 26408:15,15 26430:14

okay 26374:12 26385:15 26389:12 26403:8 26437:8 26443:7
once 26377:8 26385:22 26396:10
ongoing 26396:5
OOO31 26374:3
OOO32 26374:4,6 26375:11,24 26395:1 26395:3 26406:17
OOO33 26374:5,7 26384:18,25
OOO34 26374:23 26375:3 26408:13 26426:16
OOO35 26408:14,17
OOO6 26435:22
OOO7 26435:22
open 26376:22
OPENBARE 26374:22
operation 26386:14 26400:14,18 26415:6 26415:9
operational 26378:7 26382:3 26393:13 26394:9 26402:19 26403:9,12,16 26405:2 26412:19,22 26414:25 26415:3,5,7 26415:14,18,20,24
operations 26388:5 26391:2 26394:15 26401:13 26403:21 26405:2 26409:20 26414:14 26419:15
operator 26385:2,12 26388:10 26389:13
operators 26423:18,22
opportunity 26375:10 26377:21 26411:3,9 26418:12 26426:19
opposite 26430:6
orally 26418:2
orange 26429:15
ORDE 26374:22
order 26373:24 26374:14 26382:9,21 26382:24 26383:11 26384:7,8 26387:20 26392:5,17,18,22 26395:19,22 26396:9 26396:22,24 26397:2 26397:3,7 26398:13 26398:14,16,18,19,21 26398:25 26399:20 26400:5,18,22 26403:24 26408:7,18 26409:16,25 26413:24 26415:12 26419:14
orders 26390:20
ordinate 26397:4
ORE's 26399:22
organisers 26412:23
orientate 26430:22
original 26396:4
ought 26413:11 26419:7,14
outline 26432:6
outset 26418:21
overall 26378:23 26403:10
overnight 26411:3 26417:11,21
overseen 26416:24
o'clock 26426:8 26450:6 26453:11

P

pad 26376:11
Padayachee 26421:23 26422:10
page 26384:18 26386:2 26388:17,24,25 26389:2,15,16 26392:14 26393:10 26393:11,19 26395:2 26395:3,5 26400:8 26401:21 26412:16 26412:24 26413:17 26413:18,20 26414:8 26414:10,15,23 26415:1,16 26416:12 26418:5,6,20 26419:6 26426:25 26432:8 26435:23 26439:24 26443:1 26445:13 26450:23
painstakingly 26396:12
paragraph 26378:9,9 26378:12,18 26389:3 26389:15 26390:1 26396:7,19 26397:18 26398:3 26411:25 26412:16 26413:3 26414:10 26415:2 26418:5,18,20,21 26419:5 26421:16,17 26421:19,25 26422:4
paragraphs 26389:15 26411:20 26412:13 26417:8,9
parallel 26434:14,16
paramilitary 26396:23 26400:13 26406:23
pardon 26430:14,16 26440:6 26447:1 26452:23
parked 26428:9,12,14 26437:17
part 26378:22 26383:19,23 26389:21 26398:13 26398:15,17,19 26404:19 26405:6 26414:16 26433:8,9 26447:19 26449:22
particular 26376:18 26377:22 26391:11 26394:12 26410:12 26411:18 26412:13 26420:1 26422:17 26437:25 26442:5
particularly 26376:19 26406:22
parties 26406:19
party 26379:15
pass 26436:12,21
passage 26376:18 26385:18,25 26386:8 26388:11,16,19 26389:17 26392:14 26392:17 26395:4,6,9 26395:11
passages 26376:21 26377:3,5,22 26386:5 26386:6 26394:3 26412:5 26418:8,12
passed 26383:9
patch 26430:25
path 26447:9
pathologists 26420:12
paths 26431:13
pathways 26431:20
Patrols 26414:20
pattern 26389:9
peaceful 26404:11
pellets 26420:13,18,25 26421:11
Pentax 26428:18 26437:20
people 26378:23 26380:1,19,23 26382:4 26383:19 26385:16 26386:12 26386:16,18,21 26387:1,7,8 26392:6 26398:19 26401:2,5 26402:14 26404:9 26405:7 26415:22 26416:15 26419:25 26419:25 26422:12 26422:20,21,25 26424:1 26425:10 26426:1,11 26429:16 26429:21 26430:1,2 26432:14 26433:17 26435:4,19 26436:4 26440:13,14,18,19 26441:5 26442:4 26444:9 26446:4 26452:13
perform 26439:24
performed 26427:19
period 26378:13 26379:2 26381:7 26382:7 26384:2 26387:5,18,22 26409:17 26445:16
periods 26439:5
permissible 26447:12
permitted 26419:1
person 26420:10 26440:12
personnel 26391:15 26393:20 26394:14 26394:18 26400:23 26415:14
persons 26382:1 26415:1
perspective 26430:6 26437:25
pertaining 26413:1
philosophy 26396:6
phone 26421:20
photo 26435:3,6,18,24 26436:16 26437:6 26438:9,10 26440:9 26440:13,20 26443:21 26450:8 26452:19
photograph 26427:1,22 26427:23 26428:18 26428:20 26429:17 26430:2,8,9,24 26431:14 26433:12 26435:21,23 26436:4 26436:5,7 26439:18 26441:3,14,15 26444:23 26445:15 26446:10,21 26448:4 26450:1,10 26452:18
photographic 26427:16 26434:3
photographs 26422:1 26430:20 26434:3 26436:19 26437:1,4 26442:5,22 26445:22 26448:18
photos 26426:12,23 26441:8 26446:12
physical 26425:4,14
picture 26432:14 26435:4 26446:4,15 26449:20 26450:15 26452:15
Piet 26386:22
Pillay 26374:3,4 26385:21,23 26408:14 26419:19 26443:8
pistols 26399:25
place 26386:13 26404:13 26409:21 26416:24 26424:22 26425:19
placed 26394:8
plan 26395:18 26401:4
planning 26413:2
plans 26415:8
platoon 26383:14 26402:18 26415:25 26416:6
play 26379:19 26432:10,20 26433:14,18 26443:2 26443:5 26446:25 26447:1
please 26388:15 26411:12
plotted 26440:4
point 26382:25 26384:10 26392:9,18 26393:3 26395:10 26396:15,20 26400:2 26400:6,7,10 26401:19 26405:23 26405:24 26406:1,13 26406:15 26407:15 26409:8,18 26410:14 26410:18 26418:24 26419:4,4,6,12,18,20 26419:24 26422:15 26422:20 26429:1,6 26429:24 26432:5 26435:8 26436:9,10 26437:11 26439:3,15 26440:2,25,25 26441:6,9 26442:16 26443:24 26446:9,17 26449:24 26451:6,11
pointed 26392:7 26446:13
pointer 26444:10,10
points 26406:20 26448:20 26451:19
pole 26451:1
poles 26449:12,20 26450:16,25 26451:8 26451:23
police 26379:21 26380:17 26382:1,5 26382:21,24 26384:10 26386:10 26386:12,15,19,23 26387:1,10,20 26388:4 26389:25 26390:14 26391:21 26391:22,24,25 26392:5,10,14 26393:15 26395:18 26395:22 26396:21 26396:23 26398:18 26398:19,23,25 26399:17,18,20 26400:1,19 26403:12 26408:7 26409:16 26412:24 26413:24 26435:9
policeman 26443:19,24
policemen 26380:21
policing 26373:23 26379:25 26382:9 26383:11 26384:7,8 26392:11,17,18,22,25 26393:5,6 26394:7 26395:19,22 26396:9 26396:22 26397:1 26398:14,16 26400:5 26400:23 26419:14
POLISIEMAN 26374:22
POP 26378:10 26381:6 26381:8 26382:10 26391:15,16 26392:23 26393:19 26394:4,6,17 26395:14,20,25 26399:8 26401:12,18

26401:24,25 26402:7 26404:1,20,23 26408:18 26409:6,19 26409:19 26416:3,5 26416:15,20,23 26417:4 26419:2
POPs 26392:17
position 26397:24 26428:4,12,23 26429:2,5 26434:23 26436:11 26437:11 26440:1,5 26446:21
possession 26420:22
possibility 26438:4,5 26445:25 26446:2,5,5 26446:14
possible 26381:24 26385:11,13 26414:18 26419:22 26448:8,8,9
possibly 26391:6 26441:20 26448:11
post 26415:16
Potchefstroom 26426:8 26426:10
prefer 26407:7
premature 26410:19
preparations 26415:9
prepare 26414:18
prepared 26445:25
present 26415:11
presentation 26374:18 26374:24 26408:16 26426:15 26432:5,8 26433:22 26434:9 26435:23 26436:8,19 26437:12 26439:12 26439:25 26443:9 26446:8,19 26448:17
presented 26406:16
presumably 26438:16
presume 26378:25 26379:25 26387:17 26394:1 26422:6
pretty 26431:14
previous 26393:22 26415:2,7,9 26443:20
previously 26404:19
prima 26397:21 26406:18,21
primary 26396:2
principles 26383:10 26397:11 26409:12 26409:21 26411:18 26411:21
princi8ples 26409:22
Priscilla 26387:3
private 26386:24
probably 26380:22 26385:19 26386:2 26390:14 26405:13 26412:4 26433:5,11 26447:11
problem 26390:17 26391:3,21 26393:20 26394:21 26396:21 26400:14 26447:6
problems 26397:2 26398:11,20 26404:14,15
Procedural 26408:6,17
procedures 26409:5
proceed 26410:16 26413:16 26423:22 26433:13
proceedings 26373:1 26448:19
process 26393:5 26396:11 26398:23
processes 26396:8
processing 26416:6
produce 26405:21
produced 26409:2
proficient 26416:3
promulgated 26384:12
proper 26431:5
proportional 26397:11
proposal 26407:20
proposition 26404:18 26410:20
propositions 26439:11 26442:13
prosecute 26414:13
protest 26396:14
protester 26419:10
protesters 26397:16 26419:3 26431:2 26444:3
protests 26381:24 26387:14 26390:3 26392:11 26397:6
proven 26396:8
provide 26412:19
provided 26373:17 26397:7 26403:22 26426:15
provincial 26378:6,7 26398:8 26399:21
psychologists 26398:23
psychometric 26399:2 26399:6
public 26373:23 26374:14 26382:9,21 26382:23 26383:11 26384:6,8 26387:14 26387:20 26390:3 26392:4,11,16,18,21 26395:18,22 26396:9 26396:22,24 26397:1 26397:3,7 26398:13 26398:14,16,17,19,21 26398:25 26399:20 26400:5,18,22 26403:24 26408:6,18 26409:16,25 26413:2 26413:9,24 26415:12 26419:14
published 26387:25
purposes 26414:25 26452:4
put 26376:17 26384:24 26385:3,11 26390:4 26392:5,12 26394:7 26400:11,11 26404:4 26405:6 26406:20,25 26416:24 26424:5,7 26424:13,14 26438:3 26439:10 26442:11 26442:17 26446:18 26447:7 26451:2,4,25
putting 26424:9 26435:12 26438:1 26439:21 26441:22 26441:25 26442:19 26447:9,22 26448:2

Q

qualification 26416:1
quarters 26388:17
question 26396:15 26400:20 26442:1
questioning 26418:22
questions 26375:9 26400:9 26410:4 26417:22
quickly 26426:19 26448:17
quite 26395:12 26406:16 26409:4 26436:12 26438:2 26445:4 26447:2 26450:20

R

R 26392:10,12 26395:10 26401:21
railway 26401:7
raise 26390:9,13,16 26400:9 26419:24 26421:14
raised 26402:4
rapidly 26397:10
rationalised 26393:14
reach 26446:21
reached 26388:24 26428:21
reaches 26436:11
reaction 26380:19 26398:12,17
read 26375:10 26376:1 26376:15 26377:4 26385:8,18 26389:20 26395:4,12 26400:8 26409:1 26417:11,12
readily 26413:5
reading 26388:9,11,18 26388:22,23
reads 26392:20
ready 26377:12 26408:1 26411:8
really 26380:19 26381:18 26389:23 26390:23 26417:2 26424:1 26441:4,18 26442:6,20 26447:16 26452:3
reason 26396:13 26429:12
reasonably 26389:21
reasons 26390:11,13 26442:6
recall 26380:15,17
received 26414:17 26421:20,25 26422:9 26422:12,18
recognised 26416:23
recommendations 26410:10,11,12 26411:18 26419:7
reconsideration 26419:8
reconstituted 26401:18
record 26389:21 26395:4 26406:14
red 26427:24 26428:22
reduced 26384:13 26395:25
refer 26378:18 26384:16 26400:4 26417:9 26420:23 26424:21 26437:12 26443:1
reference 26392:9 26394:25 26447:25
references 26417:11 26418:2 26437:10
referred 26375:11 26389:17 26407:21 26413:19 26418:19 26426:21 26436:23
referring 26374:18 26378:25 26381:13 26381:15 26398:6 26413:13 26417:8 26418:8 26435:20 26444:19 26452:17
refers 26390:1
reflect 26427:5
regard 26377:22 26397:22 26410:14 26427:20
regarding 26383:15 26401:1 26404:22 26412:20
registered 26413:25 26414:2
regular 26412:4 26431:23
Regulation 26383:9 26412:19
relating 26391:14 26432:6
relation 26383:11 26410:3 26417:22 26422:16 26430:2 26436:9 26453:13
relations 26416:5
relative 26387:19
relatively 26376:3 26387:19 26426:19
released 26393:6
relegated 26393:3
relevant 26377:23 26392:14 26396:20 26400:12 26415:24 26418:12
relying 26410:23
remainder 26448:16
remaining 26393:16
remember 26379:16 26394:8 26399:20 26403:3 26405:18 26450:20
remind 26407:25
reminded 26377:16 26451:13
reminder 26377:17
renamed 26396:1
repeat 26384:21
repeats 26406:12
repetition 26419:21
report 26406:21 26416:9
represent 26441:4
representation 26440:22
representations 26446:23
required 26392:19 26395:23 26412:18
requirements 26405:5 26405:6
rescue 26385:22
researches 26427:20
residents 26379:8,9
resort 26397:9
resourced 26394:1
resources 26393:6,18 26394:13
respect 26447:24
respond 26398:2
responders 26395:24
response 26386:20 26393:13 26394:9 26396:24 26397:5 26412:19,22 26414:25 26415:3,14
responsible 26382:8 26396:21
restored 26404:20
restructured 26395:8 26395:17 26396:1
restructuring 26391:17 26392:24 26393:5,11 26394:2 26395:13,19 26396:8,11
result 26396:9 26397:9 26421:21
resumes 26373:2 26377:14,15 26407:23,24 26418:3
Retief 26386:22
retrained 26395:20
return 26400:7 26418:2,18
rifle 26419:11,14
right 26377:11 26380:12 26385:6 26398:3 26399:9 26408:19 26425:7

26427:24 26428:6 26429:15 26431:15 26432:25 26433:8,9 26433:24 26434:5,14 26439:13 26442:24 26443:20 26444:7 26449:15,20 26450:24 26451:8,12
right-hand 26395:6,6 26415:19 26435:3 26440:24 26444:4 26449:10 26451:5
riot 26382:21 26403:25 26403:25 26404:6,16
road 26374:10,12 26375:15 26428:9,14 26429:7,7,16,17 26430:3,8 26431:12 26431:15,16 26437:17 26451:1
roads 26431:24 26432:1
Robinson 26421:23
rock 26373:20,23 26374:1,2,7 26375:17 26423:18,22 26449:6
role 26379:19,24
rolled 26407:15
rough 26397:16
roughly 26386:10 26439:19 26451:18
round 26395:19
rounds 26400:5 26419:3,9,13 26420:1 26420:4,6,20,24
route 26441:11
rubber 26387:16 26420:6
running 26428:15
runs 26431:13
R44 26421:23
R5 26399:24 26419:9 26419:11,14

S

salaries 26423:20
SALMON 26373:4 26378:1 26408:3
SAPS 26379:13,19 26381:2 26386:18 26387:13 26390:2 26392:19,20,24 26401:23 26409:10 26414:21
satisfactorily 26399:6
save 26377:6 26452:5
saw 26381:24 26385:23 26428:7 26429:8 26431:18 26437:14 26440:19 26446:3,24 26449:5 26452:9
saying 26389:23 26445:19
says 26384:17 26385:22,22 26386:3 26386:8,25 26387:5 26401:22,25 26410:15 26412:16 26424:17 26441:13 26442:10,20 26448:8
SC 26407:13 26410:2
scarf 26433:7
scene 26420:1,13 26422:11 26426:9 26430:20 26448:18 26448:22
schizophrenia 26394:11
schoolgirl 26387:3
screen 26384:25 26385:3 26388:9,12 26392:12,16 26421:17 26433:22 26433:25
Sean 26373:18
second 26389:16 26395:19 26418:20 26418:22 26428:5,6 26433:21 26449:24 26452:15
secondary 26393:4
seconds 26432:11,21 26433:20,23 26438:22,22 26439:12 26447:4 26448:2
section 26392:19 26393:12 26401:22 26402:17 26405:6 26409:17
sections 26404:8
security 26386:24 26423:1 26425:20 26426:1
see 26375:17 26376:19 26377:5 26378:15,21 26389:14,18,23 26390:15 26394:10 26395:9 26404:15 26405:4 26406:12 26415:17,21 26416:22 26426:22 26428:8,13,14,20,22 26429:1,15 26430:24 26430:25 26431:16 26432:12,12,23,25 26433:2,5,12,16 26435:2,19,25 26437:4,5,24 26438:9 26439:14,18 26440:11,12,14,18,25 26441:5 26442:18 26443:9,19 26444:4,7 26444:9 26445:4 26446:7,14,18 26447:1,6 26449:9,11 26450:16,17 26451:12,15 26452:14
seek 26418:14
seeks 26441:4
seen 26383:21 26393:14 26407:1 26435:6 26437:19
select 26376:20
selected 26398:17
selection 26402:9
Semenya 26410:2,15
seminar 26453:4
send 26376:14 26403:11
sense 26389:22 26427:12 26428:9 26430:7 26434:4
sent 26402:14 26414:20 26421:22 26422:3,4,7 26424:21 26426:12
sentence 26418:21,22 26421:6,19
sentences 26422:4
September 26387:4
Sergeant 26421:23 26422:1,10
series 26452:23
serious 26393:20 26394:21 26404:13 26426:10
service 26414:25 26415:3
services 26378:7 26393:13 26394:9 26412:20,22 26415:15
sessions 26383:19
set 26409:12,22 26411:19 26453:4
sets 26409:4
settlement 26431:4 26438:25
shape 26444:13
share 26414:4
shared 26426:13
shawl 26433:7
shells 26400:4
sheriff's 26386:15
shields 26404:9,12
shifted 26396:11
shifts 26392:1
shoot 26419:13
short 26374:18 26376:3 26377:11 26445:4
shortage 26394:18
shortly 26379:12
shot 26386:23 26420:10,17 26421:11,11 26433:22
shotgun 26404:6 26419:1,3,9,10 26420:1,4,7,13,17,20 26420:24,25 26421:10
shotguns 26399:16,19 26400:1 26420:5
shoulder 26433:8
shouldn't 26406:20
show 26388:3 26443:4 26444:12 26445:1
showing 26435:12 26436:19,20
shown 26432:22 26433:19 26441:8 26446:13 26447:3
side 26401:2 26415:19 26428:14 26429:7,7 26435:4 26437:12 26441:11 26443:15 26443:20 26444:4 26449:7 26450:22 26451:5
sideways 26451:24
sight 26438:16
significant 26379:5 26386:9 26394:13,18 26400:10,10
significantly 26395:25 26402:7
similar 26395:2 26415:3 26419:4
similarly 26450:18
simply 26406:12 26411:16 26427:4 26436:18 26439:10 26439:12 26441:22 26442:9 26446:20 26448:5,15
sir 26375:7
sit 26375:25
site 26453:4
sitting 26403:1
situated 26436:13
situation 26393:17 26404:10
situations 26378:19 26392:4 26404:16 26414:12 26415:12 26418:25
six 26432:21
skilled 26393:23
skills 26396:12 26397:1 26416:2,4,9
slide 26428:17 26430:6 26432:4 26433:21 26434:9 26436:20 26439:18 26443:16 26443:17,22 26445:9 26446:18,25 26448:17,21
slides 26436:18 26437:16 26439:11
slowly 26389:21
small 26374:20 26375:2 26381:12 26421:1,2 26426:17 26428:15 26431:13 26435:3 26436:2 26440:13 26449:5
SMS 26422:4
solution 26402:3
solutions 26401:17
sorry 26378:9 26383:20 26407:12 26408:15 26412:1 26416:13 26421:5,9 26422:19,19 26424:8 26444:5,18 26449:8 26450:19
sort 26401:5 26404:24 26406:23 26413:10 26414:3 26436:2
sound 26416:5
source 26415:4 26420:17
sources 26412:17,24
South 26373:24
southern 26429:7
specialised 26401:24
specialist 26396:12
specially 26383:13
specific 26377:3 26398:24 26403:24 26410:11,20 26411:10,13,20 26414:5 26417:21 26420:4,7 26435:8 26439:2
specifically 26417:5
specificity 26410:3 26411:4
speculate 26436:16
spike 26388:6 26389:25
spontaneous 26399:23
sporting 26412:23
stability 26382:10,22 26398:22
stage 26394:6 26398:22 26399:16,21 26440:12
standalone 26401:19
standing 26390:20 26411:8 26440:17 26446:15 26450:16
stands 26377:17 26402:25 26403:15
start 26411:23,25 26426:25 26432:5
started 26403:4 26427:25
starting 26388:6 26434:23
starts 26395:7 26439:15 26440:4 26445:3,6
statement 26383:21 26421:15,16 26424:19,22 26425:1 26429:25,25 26438:11
statements 26383:21 26397:18
station 26391:23,24 26393:7,15 26399:19 26400:1 26403:11
stations 26391:21,25 26392:2 26395:21,24 26397:4,6 26399:17 26399:23 26403:12
statistical 26412:25
statistics 26387:24
stay 26420:8 26440:18

step 26400:21
STF 26400:16 26432:24
stick 26385:5,12
stipulated 26404:23
stop 26432:20
stopped 26412:4
story 26408:2
straight 26440:16
strategies 26415:11
strategy 26396:6
strengthen 26393:15
stresses 26413:4
strike 26373:19,20,21 26373:22,23,25 26374:1,1,2,7,7 26375:16,17 26423:19
striker 26431:11
strikers 26374:19 26375:2 26423:11,12 26423:13,17 26424:1 26424:2,14 26425:25 26426:17 26431:8,19 26431:24 26433:24 26439:16 26440:1,23 26444:3,15,22 26445:2,5 26446:20 26447:10
structured 26376:7,8
structures 26431:1
study 26376:18 26377:3,21 26410:22 26411:10 26415:5 26417:21 26418:12 26426:19
stuff 26376:6 26406:15 26406:18
stun 26404:8
subject 26384:17 26392:24
subsequent 26393:5
successful 26384:7
successfully 26382:7
sufficient 26393:21 26400:22
suggest 26375:19 26407:14 26417:10 26417:19 26435:16 26448:14
suggested 26391:16
suggesting 26411:11 26447:25
suggestion 26388:13 26412:10
suggests 26393:1
Sukhai 26387:3
summarise 26389:23 26390:14
summarised 26394:11
summary 26442:8
Sunday 26400:25 26421:18 26424:23 26425:16,21
supplement 26393:7
support 26406:2 26421:24
supporters 26381:19
suppose 26375:23
supposed 26392:3 26404:7 26405:1
sure 26395:3 26420:21 26433:4 26434:15 26440:10 26444:18 26448:10 26450:1,7 26451:14
surely 26449:9
surprising 26441:4
suspect 26403:19
sustained 26420:13
symptom 26390:23
system 26413:24 26414:1,2,3,4 26416:24
systems 26391:10 26409:22

T

Tactical 26396:24 26397:4
tactics 26397:9 26406:23 26415:11
Tait 26373:18 26384:10 26394:25 26400:7
take 26377:11 26381:14 26385:12 26385:17 26386:13 26396:14 26400:21 26401:8 26404:2,4,12 26404:14,18 26405:24 26406:9 26407:7,9,20 26411:8 26412:3,5 26418:10 26424:3,17,18,21,25 26425:7 26428:3 26431:12 26436:8 26439:1 26441:14,15 26448:13
taken 26403:20 26435:18 26436:7,16 26437:19 26438:10 26439:17,18 26440:9 26441:3 26444:25 26445:11 26446:4,10 26446:12 26449:21 26450:1,2,4
takes 26417:12 26448:4
talk 26395:13
talks 26386:4
tardy 26386:20
tea 26407:15,19
technically 26401:22 26401:22
technicians 26384:25 26433:14 26453:3
techniques 26415:11
teen 26424:19
telephone 26413:6,9
tell 26376:23 26402:24
telling 26385:2 26403:6
tend 26397:9
tendered 26373:13
tension 26380:16 26381:2
term 26395:17
terminated 26453:6
terms 26392:20 26395:2 26403:7 26412:18
testified 26401:11 26403:23
testify 26437:19 26440:9 26446:12
testing 26399:2,6
Thandakukhanya 26386:22
thank 26373:15 26374:16 26375:22 26376:16 26377:13 26377:19 26385:22 26403:18 26404:17 26407:22 26408:5,24 26412:15 26414:7 26418:16 26443:12
that'll 26375:3 26388:25 26395:3 26411:2 26417:15
that's 26451:25
that's 26374:9 26383:7 26388:13 26389:8,17 26392:13 26394:22 26394:23 26399:11 26407:17 26412:10 26426:4 26427:7 26429:4 26431:1 26432:16,24 26433:22 26435:15 26435:21 26443:23 26443:23 26447:22 26448:6 26449:24 26451:3,14
there'd 26425:14
there's 26401:24 26403:19 26404:13 26404:15 26405:4 26406:13 26408:23 26409:15 26411:7 26417:24 26420:4,7 26434:3 26438:4 26440:11,12,15 26441:12 26444:4 26448:18 26449:10 26449:14 26450:16 26450:23,24
they're 26376:3 26398:8 26401:7 26417:13 26420:25 26434:5,15
they've 26399:25 26441:5
thing 26389:13 26406:23
things 26378:5 26385:10 26401:14
think 26376:1 26377:3 26379:18 26381:9 26383:21 26384:10 26386:1 26388:10,13 26394:6,10 26397:19 26398:5 26400:1,13 26400:20,21 26403:2 26405:13 26406:1,7 26406:25 26408:8 26410:13,18 26411:2 26411:12,15,20 26413:24 26414:15 26417:15 26419:18 26419:21 26421:3 26429:24 26430:1,17 26432:9 26433:11,20 26435:22 26437:8 26438:10 26439:10 26440:9,11,14,17 26441:16,17 26443:8 26447:25 26448:4,13 26450:16 26451:4,22 26452:20,23
thinking 26442:20
thought 26411:1
thousands 26380:1
three 26385:19 26386:13 26387:1 26388:16 26450:25
three-quarters 26386:2
thrown 26447:11,18
Tigani 26381:17
till 26388:10
time 26377:6 26378:14 26382:9,18 26388:22 26407:19 26410:22 26411:10 26417:1 26418:24 26427:11 26427:12,13,13 26429:19 26432:11 26435:8 26439:7,16 26439:19 26441:14 26445:3,7 26452:15
times 26417:12 26427:5,6 26437:21 26438:15,17,19 26442:5
timing 26436:10
today 26407:14 26410:24 26448:16 26453:1,6
told 26403:14 26413:20 26442:2
tolerance 26397:12
tomorrow 26411:4 26418:11 26453:7,11 26453:13
tool 26415:6
top 26389:3 26393:10 26415:17 26430:24 26440:24 26449:10 26450:23 26451:24
topic 26453:13
topics 26399:14 26417:24 26418:11
total 26404:10
totally 26399:1
town 26381:12
township 26379:7,9 26381:17 26386:22 26387:11
track 26401:7
trade 26423:24 26425:14
traditional 26401:3
traffic 26386:23
trained 26383:10
training 26383:16 26384:6,12 26390:16 26390:24 26393:24 26395:23 26396:5 26397:1,8 26398:14 26402:10 26403:4,7 26403:13 26415:14 26416:6,7,19,19
trajectory 26447:12,13 26447:19 26448:1
transferred 26378:11 26391:22
transferring 26393:22
transgressors 26414:14
triangle 26440:2 26441:1,11
tried 26387:10
trouble 26423:10
TRT 26398:6,7,13 26400:16
TRU 26396:24
true 26425:11 26446:5
trust 26445:19
try 26401:4 26407:11
trying 26441:16
tumultuous 26382:7
turn 26374:1 26384:17 26426:14
turning 26411:24
turns 26430:18
two 26373:16 26375:10 26383:21 26385:19 26386:14,16,20 26387:9 26417:24 26418:8 26419:3,25 26424:23 26425:9,20 26426:13 26427:13 26428:23 26431:13 26431:20 26436:19 26439:12 26441:3 26444:25 26445:11 26445:20 26448:18 26451:23
type 26420:24
types 26412:21

U

ultimately 26379:18
unconfirmed 26414:16
underlying 26447:22
understand 26373:9 26382:16 26410:5 26419:12 26420:25 26421:9,25 26427:20 26441:25 26442:12 26442:15 26443:10 26448:7
understanding 26431:1

understood 26391:15
unduly 26419:20
unfortunately 26391:25 26393:3 26410:21 26421:13
unhelpful 26411:12
union 26413:7 26423:18 26425:15
unions 26423:24 26424:23
unit 26382:8,10,16,21 26382:22,23 26383:1 26383:2,6 26392:17 26392:18,22,22,23 26393:25 26394:3,12 26395:7,13,14,17,25 26396:1 26397:5 26398:9,9,12,14,19 26398:22 26401:18 26401:19,25 26409:19,25,25 26413:14 26415:18 26415:23 26416:16
units 26393:1,9 26394:15 26396:24 26396:25 26397:15 26400:13 26409:6,19 26414:6 26420:21
unit's 26396:2
unnecessarily 26397:16
unrest 26378:14,19 26379:4,5 26392:4 26401:1 26418:24 26421:21
use 26375:20 26387:15 26390:4 26391:6 26397:11 26400:18 26400:22 26406:22 26407:6,17 26419:1 26420:4,5,8
useful 26408:11 26432:10
usefully 26407:5
utilisation 26415:23
utilised 26392:2 26417:2

V

valuable 26406:17,18 26412:20
value 26397:24 26414:13
Van 26380:4
variety 26412:17
various 26382:17 26414:20 26417:8 26419:25 26437:9
Venter 26421:23 26422:1,10
verification 26422:17
version 26440:18 26446:6,16
video 26432:22 26433:19 26439:12 26446:13 26447:3
videos 26426:20,23
views 26396:16
violence 26384:12 26386:17
violent 26386:4,5,7,9 26397:16
virtually 26384:13 26388:4 26431:19
visible 26392:16 26394:7 26395:21
VISPOL 26392:1 26403:12
visual 26437:22
vital 26415:4,6
vitally 26414:11
volatile 26396:14

W

wait 26388:10
walk 26448:5
walking 26436:4
Walt 26380:4
want 26374:3 26375:25 26377:4 26398:6 26402:20 26405:23 26406:12 26412:13 26417:9,22 26418:13 26418:22 26419:20 26419:24 26421:14 26435:11 26436:10 26436:15 26441:7 26442:10 26443:4,5 26443:17 26446:18
wanted 26449:25
wants 26405:24 26443:8
Warrant 26421:22 26422:10
wasn't 26417:16 26445:21,21
wasted 26373:12
watch 26426:20
water 26440:17
watered 26396:5
way 26376:8 26386:2 26389:14 26406:16 26411:1 26412:7 26417:19 26425:25
weapons 26401:3,8 26419:13
Wednesday 26430:15
week 26380:1 26381:20 26381:20 26411:21
weekly 26381:19
weeks 26379:21
Welkom 26387:4
went 26450:21 26451:14,25
weren't 26373:12 26411:20,21 26439:5 26442:22,22
Wesley 26385:6
west 26440:6
we'll 26376:1,13,13 26377:11,12 26385:13 26407:17 26407:18 26410:22
we're 26397:21 26407:14 26410:9 26447:8,25
we've 26374:19 26375:11 26377:8 26388:8 26389:17 26401:17 26407:1 26423:15 26426:15 26427:19 26430:6 26440:4,5 26444:21 26445:8,11
what's 26374:8,25 26394:12 26408:1
white 26433:15
widest 26440:2
willingly 26401:3
wing 26378:12 26425:9
wire 26427:25 26428:22 26432:2 26434:14,15,19 26440:7
wires 26450:17
wish 26397:17
wishes 26412:6
withdrawal 26400:4
withdrawn 26399:17 26399:25 26420:20
withdrew 26399:19 26426:7
witness 26373:17 26377:20 26410:3,13 26411:16 26418:14 26429:25 26441:22 26442:14,16,19 26443:8 26445:19 26447:9 26448:3 26452:6
witnesses 26437:9 26448:20
Wits 26453:3
Wonderkop 26431:1
word 26407:6,17
words 26399:3 26439:4
work 26382:19 26385:10 26391:23 26398:24 26447:12 26447:19 26448:1,16
worked 26376:7
workshops 26383:13
worst 26378:14
wouldn't 26388:12 26406:5
wound 26419:10
writing 26416:9
wrong 26398:4 26438:10 26441:20 26445:19 26448:10
wrote 26378:6 26399:21 26418:17

X

xenophobic 26386:19

Y

year 26387:2
years 26384:11 26386:11 26394:12 26419:2
year-old 26387:2
yellow 26429:4 26440:11,19 26441:10
yesterday 26373:7
Yona 26420:11
young 26387:9
you'll 26377:8 26395:9 26410:7 26418:13 26428:13 26430:25 26432:13,25 26433:16,23 26434:9 26437:11 26439:14 26444:5 26446:18 26447:1 26451:12
you're 26373:3,6 26377:12,16 26378:25 26381:13 26388:9,11 26407:25 26419:12 26421:18 26422:16 26427:16 26437:22 26439:2 26441:16,25 26442:6 26442:8,19 26444:19 26447:9,22 26452:17
you've 26383:21 26388:18,22 26401:11 26402:18 26417:7 26418:11 26445:12

Z

zoom 26440:10 26443:24 26449:17

0

000 26380:23
09:12 26373:2
09:31 26377:15
09:51 26391:8

1

1 26392:3 26402:15,16 26408:18 26420:1,13 26427:23 26428:20 26428:21
10 26376:12 26380:23 26406:10 26407:7 26413:17,18 26414:9 26414:10 26438:22 26439:11 26443:1,16 26443:17 26445:9 26447:4 26450:6 26452:23
10:11 26402:5
10:47 26407:24
11 26387:7 26414:15 26439:11 26452:23
11:07 26419:16
11:26 26432:4
11:46 26443:10
12 26378:7 26407:14 26410:24 26411:7 26414:23 26423:24 26435:23 26439:24 26443:22 26445:13
12th 26411:21 26421:18 26424:11
12.3 26419:5
13 26446:18
13:51 26422:5
14 26392:14 26415:2
14th 26430:10,20
15 26376:12 26393:11 26401:21 26419:2 26448:17,21
15th 26430:13,20 26431:11
15:40 26447:13
15:42:35 26427:1 26428:13 26434:24
15:43:56 26428:19 26429:6
15:48 26447:10,12,17
15:48:20 26432:11
15:48:30 26440:23 26445:14,20
15:50 26446:9 26447:10,13,13,15,16 26447:17
15:50:23 26439:14 26445:9,15
15:50:24 26439:15 26440:3
15:50:30 26440:24 26441:2 26445:14,20 26446:9,19
15:50:47 26447:5
15:50:57 26447:5
1515 26435:24 26448:4
1516 26452:20,24
16 26393:19 26415:16
16th 26400:23 26411:22 26420:2,13 26427:2 26430:9 26431:11 26432:2,17 26450:5
17 26379:6 26392:19 26401:22
18 26395:2,3
19 26382:12 26400:8
194.14 26447:1
1990 26378:11,13 26382:8
1990s 26388:5 26391:18
1992 26379:1,7
1994 26378:13 26381:13,15 26382:8 26383:8
1996 26392:23

2

2 26378:9,10 26388:25 26392:4 26402:15,17 26426:25 26428:1,21 26434:9 26437:12
2000 26386:11 26388:6 26408:19 26409:2 26412:3

2000s 26384:16 26389:24
2002 26392:23
2004 26386:12,14
2005 26378:11 26412:5
2006 26386:16 26393:5 26396:2
2008 26386:17,19
2009 26386:23
2010 26387:1,4 26394:8
2011 26387:6,21 26388:7 26390:1
2012 26378:8 26381:25 26392:7 26400:14 26409:14 26411:22 26416:15 26417:1,3 26418:18 26450:5
2014 26373:1
205 26416:8
28 26416:12 26418:5
29 26418:6

3

3 26402:15,17 26418:6 26428:17
3.1 26418:6
3.2 26418:6
3.2.4 26418:6
30 26448:2
32 26374:3
33 26375:11,24
34 26374:20
35 26408:14,15
38 26433:20,23

4

4 26378:18 26421:16,17 26421:25 26422:4 26430:6
4.4 26412:16
4.5 26413:4
4.7 26412:24 26413:19
40 26379:8
46 26387:2

5

5 26411:25 26419:1,3,9 26419:10 26420:10 26420:20,22,24 26426:8 26428:4,9 26429:2 26432:7 26434:25 26435:15 26436:12,20,21 26437:4,6,11,11,16 26439:15,16 26440:3 26440:3 26445:2,3,6 26445:6 26446:20 26448:5
5.5 26414:10
500 26423:24

6

6 26428:12,13 26429:6 26429:10 26432:8
6.5 26415:2
6.5.1 26415:2

7

7 26433:21

8

8 26412:16 26436:18 26437:16

9

9 26373:1 26378:12 26399:24 26413:20 26418:20 26436:18 26436:20 26437:16 26439:18 26453:11
93 26416:8