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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 300 14 NOVEMBER 2014 PAGES 39591 TO 39719



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[PROCEEDINGS ON 14 NOVEMBER 2014]

2 [08:45] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. In

- 3 order to create a bit more time for argument we've agreed
- 4 that today we won't have two tea breaks, we'll have one
- 5 short five-minute comfort break and thereafter we'll have a
- 10-minute tea break. I know that's going to put pressure 6
- 7 on everybody, but it's a sacrifice we have to make for the
- 8 public good. Mr Semenya.

9 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, Commissioners, 10

thank you. I thought to start by dealing with the analysis

on our terms of what was the nature of the group from the 11

koppie on the 16th. Chair, you would realise that there are 12

sharp differences that SAPS has with some of the parties 13

14 with SAPS contending that it was really a distinct large

15 group of people who were on the koppie and a similarly

distinct smaller group of armed strikers on the koppie, and 16

the significance of that difference in our submission is we 17

do realise when a measure such as the unfurling of the

19 barbed wire started that that type of Public Order Policing

20 technique achieved what is a predictable response from the

21 normal public order situations, 2/3000 of those dispersed

22 without incident, without anything, and yet remained the

23 other 3/400 who were armed and who we say no normal Public

24 Order Policing techniques were capable of defusing or

25 dispersing them, and we do know as a matter of record that

even as late perhaps as it was that the teargas and stun grenade and water cannons were used on them, the result is

3 what we still had.

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With that said, Chair, can I invite us to deal

with an allied topic, which is what exactly was the nature

of the threat that was faced by the police on the 16th, and 6

I invite us to look at page 101 of our written submissions,

that is on page 41, paragraph 101 on page 41. We say

9 there, Chair, that there is an argument that the threat to

the police at scene 1 was posed by the front group of 10

11 strikers who came around the kraal and that some of those

12 strikers who came around the kraal but were at the back of

13 the group did not pose any threat to the police, and we

14 made the submission that this argument is wrong and it is

15 wrong for the following reasons. The evidence

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overwhelmingly shows that the members of the group that 16

17 moved around the kraal were acting in concert and with

18 common purpose. Even those who may not have had weapons on

19 them, if there were any, because we are still contending

20 that if there were any they were moving with a group of

21 heavily armed people and reconciled themselves with that

22 reality.

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Chair, you'd remember that the evidence leaders referred us to Mr Ledingoane, referred us I think to Mr

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Ntsenyane who - Mr Ntsenyeho - yes, Chair, they referred us

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to Mr Ntsenyeho in various frames from even the previous

days to identify this is the same person with the yellow

backpack and show us that individual again even on the 16th,

and argued that he did not have any weapons with him. But

5 if you look at the frame of the 16th he is barely an arm's

6 length away from the man who's shooting at the police. So

7 you would have to ask the question can he innocently say

8 that there is even practical ways of discriminating him

9 against the one who's shooting at the police? And the 10 argument we make there is that he clearly is in concert, or

11 has associated himself sufficiently with the conduct of the

12 many.

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There are verbal threats which are uttered by Mr Noki and others and they are talking the "we," "we are going to show the world how we are going to kill each other today. It must with respect be with reference to the "we" as a group, canvassing all of them.

On the 13th the evidence at the railway line shows a group moving in unison on the command of its leaders and those at scene 1 who were possibly members of the group of 13 August 2012 as well. We make the point that there is evidence that those who went around the kraal followed an instruction from Noki not to run away and that was the evidence that we heard, that he commanded all of those people that he was with shortly before they approached the

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kraal, and we make the submission that the suggestion in

argument that the threat for instance posed by individuals

3 who fired at the police could have been handled using a

4 sniper suffers from the same flaw. It's not an individual

5 that was a threat to the police line, it was the armed

group as a whole acting in concert with a common purpose

under the leadership and direction of Mr Noki.

8 Chair, we may need to emphasise what we stated 9 yesterday in our respectful submission that you are not 10 dealing with a situation of some 3, 4 individuals who are in confrontation with 3, 4 police officers in an ordinary 11 12 course of events in this country. You're really talking 13 about a cohort of 700-odd police officers who were in clear

14 display on the 16th and who the group of 3 or 400 decided to

15 defy. Happily if we understand the submissions by the

16 evidence leaders there is agreement that whatever happened

17 on the 16th of August 2012 was not premeditated executions

18 and we say over and above the elements which the evidence

19 leaders identify in support of that conclusion it would

have been guite a feat to persuade the commanders at 14:30

to commit a crime of that magnitude at 15:30.

22 CHAIRPERSON: [Microphone off, inaudible] 23 understand Mr Mpofu to contend for that. Remember in his 24 argument when he and I had a discussion as to what

happened, probably happened, the understanding was he

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- 1 conceded that the TRT people were probably forming a human
- 2 block, as it's been described, and the intention was that
- 3 they would disperse and disarm and arrest, but that what
- 4 then happened was the, when the teargas and water cannon
- 5 was used at a later stage than perhaps was appropriate,
- 6 that had the effect remember this was the argument of the
- 7 evidence leaders as well that that broke the advancing
- 8 group into three, one group being on the side of the kraal,
- 9 the other one being the head group where Noki was, and then
- 10 the third group were the ones who turned around and ran,
- 11 that in effect the this is as I understand the concession
- 12 in effect the front group was sort of pushed forward by
- 13 the teargas and the water cannon and rubber bullets, rubber
- 14 balls it was, and that created the impression in the minds
- 15 of the TRT that they were being attacked and that's why
- 16 they fired because they argued that in the circumstances
- 17 the principles of putative defence don't apply because the
- 18 rules don't apply. But I understood the concession to be
- 19 that the intention wasn't to mow them down, deliberately to
- 20 mow them down, that it resulted from this particular
- 20 Thow them down, that it resulted from this particular
- 21 combination of circumstances. If I've stated incorrectly
- 22 I'll be corrected.

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- Yes, Advocate Hemraj points out that what was I think conceded was that the TRT were there as a human block
  - to prevent the strikers from going into Nkaneng. There was

- Page 39597 went all over the world and was viewed with shock and
- 2 revulsion and so forth, but although Professor Piketty
- 3 doesn't state it in direct terms there is an impression
- 4 created certainly I think in the eyes of the casual reader
- 5 that what happened in South Africa at Marikana was that
- 6 strikers were killed because they were striking, and
- 7 Professor Piketty in fact refers to two earlier incidents,
- 8 one in Chicago, both in the 19th century, one in Chicago and
- 9 the other in France, where the impression seems to be I'm
- 10 not aware of the details of those two incident, but this is
- 11 a bit like Peterloo I suppose earlier in English history,
- 12 where effectively people were shot because they were
- 13 striking. Now, and certainly we have read in the media
- 14 that certain people internationally have made the
- 15 accusation against South Africa that how dare South Africa
- 16 criticise other countries when they themselves shoot
- 17 strikers because they're striking. Now am I correct in
- 18 thinking that it's not contended by anybody that the
- 19 strikers in this case were killed because they were
- 20 striking?

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- MR SEMENYA SC: It must be common cause
- 22 at least before this hearing, Chair.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON: If there is a contrary
- 24 impression out there either in South Africa or in the rest
  - of the world, that's something which should be -

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- 1 fears that certain things might happen if they went into
- 2 Nkaneng, but the point was, I think it was guite clear from
- 3 the concession that it wasn't the contention that this was
- 4 a deliberate massacre, that the idea was to mow them down,
- 5 but was the results of a particular confluence of
- 6 circumstances which were described. So I don't know that
- 7 it's necessary for you to elaborate on the point. It seems
- 8 to me to be correct to say that nobody at this stage of the
- 9 inquiry suggests that. If I'm wrong I'll be corrected, but
- 10 I don't think I'm wrong.
- 11 MR SEMENYA SC: Yes, that was the only
- submission we were making, that the evidence leaders alsomake the point that whatever we can say about what happened
- 14 on the 16th could not have been a function of a premeditated
- 15 decision to execute the people as has happened, and I
- 16 recall you, Chair, you even pointed to the fact that in the
- 17 middle of international media being present there it could
- 18 not, that conclusion could not -

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- 19 CHAIRPERSON: There's a further point
- 20 that's linked to that that I had intended raising earlier,
- 21 but I didn't. It's probably appropriate to raise it now.
- 22 Mr Mpofu in his argument begins by a quotation from the
- 23 best-selling work by the French economist, Professor Thomas
- 24 Piketty, and he quotes it on the first page of his heads,
- 25 making the point of course that what happened at Marikana

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- MR SEMENYA SC: Dispelled.
- 2 MR MPOFU SC: Chairperson, I'm sorry,
- 3 just in fairness to Mr Semenya, I don't want him to argue
- 4 on the basis of these concessions and understandings which
- 5 I'm going to contest. Firstly if there's an impression
- 6 that they were shot because they were striking, it's not
- 7 out there, it's in here and I'm going to deal with it when
- 8 I argue.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON: Are you going to contend
- 10 they were shot because they were striking?
- 11 MR MPOFU SC: Yes, "Today we are ending
- 12 the strike." That's what Mbombo said.
- 13 CHAIRPERSON: I see, alright. If that's
- 14 your contention then obviously it's one that we have to
- 15 address. If it's your contention and you're going to
- 16 advance it then we'll have to think about it. If you're
- 17 correct we'll uphold the contention and if you're not, we
- 18 won't.
- 19 MR SEMENYA SC: Yes, Chair, can I then
- 20 address another point? The case SAPS is making in relation
- 21 to what may in part explain the events of the 16th is that
- 22 the plan was interrupted and we know when we look at what
- 23 is called the Scott's Plan that indeed the plan was that
- the barbed wire was going to be unrolled, or rolled out,
- 25 there was going to be an announcement made to the strikers,

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they were going to be given an opportunity to disperse and

that did not happen for what we now know through the 2

- 3 evidence that the strikers went to the unfurling barbed
- 4 wire. We need hardly make that point any higher, it's
- 5 evident even from the video clips that depict the events of
- that day. 6

Somewhat a little contentious is the role and function of the NMF, extraordinary session of the NMF. Two elements to it; the one it's even if it were to be contended that the decision to disarm the strikers the following day was made by the NMF, we would submit that that would be perfectly lawful that the highest top brass of the South African Police meet and look at the gravity of the situation unfolding in Marikana with 10 lives down and

say no, this has to stop. What we may debate later, as we

definitely will, would be the question of was that done 16 17 with the care required of police service in the 18 circumstances.

But there is another difficult subject around the NMF and that relates to the fact that the National Commissioner as well as the Provincial Commissioner do not mention that event until, even Roots appears not to be alive to the meeting that was held there and the evidence by both the NATCOM and the PC on that issue is that it was

in what direction does this concealment point?

- 2 [09:05] MR SEMENYA SC: Well, Chair, again, a
- matter of conjecture on my part that it may very well have
- been thought that an announcement of that fact would show a
- decision was taken by them as opposed to the Provincial
- 6 Commissioner. Even something innocuous like that, I'm
- 7 referring to the content of that conversation with the top
- 8 brass. We can accept that whatever it is that was
- discussed was also communicated to the JOC the following 10 day.

CHAIRPERSON: I don't want to make things difficult for you by heckling you, but I have got problems that I must put to you. The decision taken was to endorse her proposal, so therefore it was a proposal she made, not a decision she made, a proposal she made which they endorsed, that's the first point. The second point is you remember I asked her, I said to her your experience is not in the operational matters, your experience is in financial administration. She said yes. I said there were experienced operational people around the table among your fellow provincial commissioners and if any of them - if there'd been an argument to say no, no but the risks, we must look at it very carefully, perhaps we mustn't accept your proposal in the form you've presented it, what would

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mitigation of that error, if it is found to be one, the

an inadvertent omission, but I think, Chair, we can make in

- very fact that there doesn't seem to be anything ominous 2
- 3 about what was discussed there, so the -
- 4 CHAIRPERSON: I know you say that, but
  - why won't they tell us what happened? Why do we get these
- evasive responses to the questionnaire that I sent out? 6
- Why does the National Commissioner herself when I ask her 7
- about it say that she can't remember? I mean things had 8
- 9 gone dramatically wrong the next day. I would have
- 10 imagined that the discussion that took place is something
- 11 that she would have remembered, but she gives me the answer
- 12 when I asked her was the risk discussed, she says "I can't
- 13 be expected to remember pedantic detail about time." Now
- these are the factors which lead one to, prima facie4 14
- 15 obviously, subject to what you're going say, to infer that
- something is being concealed from us and it must be 16
- 17 something awkward because you don't conceal things that
- 18 aren't awkward. So if it was as you say it was, nothing
- 19 wrong with what was said, perfectly in order,
- 20 understandable, why didn't they tell us all that? Why do
- 21 they go to these extravagant lengths to conceal what
- happened from us? Normally when a witness does something, 22
- 23 conceals something or says something untrue, very often
- 24 there's a reason or very often actually it points, just
- 25 like an arrow pointing in the direction of the truth. Now

Page 39602 obviously have accepted that because she accepted her

- limitations in that field, in that area. And then the
- further point is what the JOC was told, as far as we know,
- the JOCCOM was told, was simply that she had decided, that

your attitude have been, and she said oh no, she would

- 5 that was recorded in the occurrence book, and in fact
- 6 Major-General Annandale made it his business to see that
- 7 that was recorded, stood over Brigadier Pretorius while she
- 8 wrote it. So I'm not sure, with respect, that - I must put
- 9 the problems to you because I may be overlooking something,
- 10
  - but I'm not sure, with respect, that the conjecture you put
  - is actually going to work.

MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, I was attempting obviously to answer the difficult question, but also put in the postulate that whatever may have been discussed there couldn't be something inconsistent with what the PC then tells the rest of the world at 9:30 the following day. It can't be incongruent to that and what the PC tells the rest of the world at 9:30 that morning is something lawful. It's we are going to wait until there is a voluntary disarmament on their part, but if there isn't we're going to have to act.

Let me attempt, Chair, again to tackle another point. You'd recall, Chair and Commissioners, that there was a whole illustration made during the evidence which the evidence leaders were suggesting there were two areas on

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which around the kraal the advancing strikers could have

- been blocked, path A and path B. The difficulty we have 2
- 3 with that proposition is we are not told if they were
- 4 blocked then what, what was going to happen next. Does
- that mean the police would then retreat back to the JOC and 5
- 6 say to the PC we feared that we are going to be under
- 7 attack and in the light of that we decided to come back to
- the JOC and to re-strategise. And if we take that 8
- 9 conjecture forward, the armed strikers got into the
- 10 settlement and killed people and we'd hear the police
- 11 service that says to the rest of South Africa, oh the only
- 12 reason we retreated there is because we feared we were
- 13 going to be attacked. It can't work like that in a
- 14 constitutional democracy. The only people who have, as we
- submit, the right under the Constitution to maintain law 15
- 16 and order, it's them, and it is not available for them, as
- 17 it might very well be for you and I, Chair, to retreat and
- 18 run away and tell everybody else and mayhap even with
- 19 aplomb that we may get for running away. This is their
- 20 constitutional mandate, they have a duty to maintain law
- 21 and order. You just don't block it at A or B and do
- 22 nothing about it. In fact I think a better proposition, if
- 23 that were a possible avenue, would have been for Brigadier
- 24 Calitz to say mission abandoned. Then everybody else gets
- 25 into their cars and the people move, why block them at all?
  - Page 39604
  - CHAIRPERSON: Does it follow, I mean I

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- can understand if the only alternative once they'd blocked 2
- 3 them was to go back to the JOCCOM, to the JOC, abandon the
- 4 mission, but would that have been the only thing they could
- 5 have done? Once they've blocked them so they can't come
- forward, they then, presumably the police would have stayed 6
- there, they could then have used the teargas and the non-7
- lethal methods, you know, the force continuum, the water 8
- 9 cannon. Remember at the demonstration, we saw how powerful
- 10 the water cannon is, it knocks you backwards. They could
- 11 have used the water cannon, they could have used the
- 12 teargas, they could have used the stun grenades, they could
- have used the rubber balls. The indications are that the 13
- 14 non-lethal methods actually did have the effect of driving
- 15 that section of the advancing strikers, not in the front,
- backwards. So if they'd blocked them so that they then 16
- 17 used the water cannon and so forth, the non-lethal methods
- 18 in a manner which didn't drive some of the strikers forward
- 19 and create the impression that they were trying to attack
- 20 the police, but drive them all back and presumably they
- 21 would have gone back towards the koppie, and then the plan
- 22 could have been resumed, but I mean these are what Mr
- 23 Burger calls counterfactuals, aren't they?

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- 24 MR SEMENYA SC: Let's test that, Chair.
- 25 You block them at path B, that is at the mouth of the

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- kraal, where do you use the non-lethal methods? Because
- you're behind there. The only path, Nyala 4 has already
- 3 closed that side of the kraal, you close with Nyala 6 the
- 4 other mouth of the kraal, they are on the other side, how
- do you disperse people like that? All they have to do is
- 6 to stand another distance away from you, then you'll have
  - to open.

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8 CHAIRPERSON: But what would they have

9 done – you remember the plan didn't prevent the strikers

10 from going into Nkaneng provided they took the long road as

11 opposed to the short road. If they had gone west into

12 Nkaneng from the other side there wasn't a problem. And in

13 fact if some of the earlier people who left had gone into

14 Nkaneng they weren't prevented from taking their weapons.

That was something that I remember General Annandale

conceded in his evidence. So if you stopped them going

17 directly into Nkaneng opposite the kraal you're then

effectively putting the clock back a bit and they're either

19 going to stay where they are or go back to the koppie -

20 because remember the information was they didn't want to

21 give up possession of the koppie and they would fight to

22 retain it and so forth - or they're going to go the long

23 way and go into Nkaneng. But the plan was, you remember,

24 that once they are in a fenced-off area then it would be

possible for the warning to be given, which presumably

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- would be the section 9(2) warning which Brigadier Calitz
- was going to give, and then the rest of the plan could have
- been resumed. How successful it would have been, of
- 4 course, is another matter, but it was always going to be
- 5 that plan. So the police can't be heard to say well it's
- 6 unfair to suggest we should have carried with our plan if
- 7 they were going to, wanted to carry on with it anyway. The
- 8 lack of wisdom of the plan kicks in at an earlier point,
- 9 but we don't have to discuss that now.

MR SEMENYA SC: But then it means where you have blocked them you would have to unblock that to go

11 12 to them, to the koppie. 13 CHAIRPERSON: The original plan 14

envisaged, you remember, that there was going to be a block on the other side of kraal and there was some suggestion that there would have been some kind of gap through which the police were going to enter. That was always inherent in the plan.

MR SEMENYA SC: No, Chair, you remember when Nyala 6 was originally positioned in that way, the plan was that they were going to move out as the police from the western side of the kraal. It's only when Nyala 4 and Nyala 6 were brought in that they were going to now use the eastern side of the kraal and that is where it is suggested a block must happen. Now I'm saying if you have

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blocked both of them and they went back and you intended to

2 continue the operation you'd have to unblock that so that

3 you go out of it.

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4 CHAIRPERSON: It doesn't it depend on the 5 nature of the block. If it was a wire block from Nyala 6

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then there was some suggestion you could create a space.

7 If it was a human block of TRT people in a line then you

8 haven't got a problem at all, have you?

9 MR SEMENYA SC: Well perhaps this illustrates my point, Chair, with the exchange that we have 10

11 had; this is a decision that to be made by Calitz together

12 with all the commanders there in fractions of seconds and

look at which of those options would have been feasible and 13

14 which one would have been practical to implement and what

efficacies would be with one or opposed to the other.

CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry, I don't quite 16

understand. The situation we're postulating at the moment 17

is there was a human block created, the problem was the

non-lethal force created the situation where some of the

20 strikers in the front were pushed forward with consequences

21 that we know. But if that hadn't happened, the human block

22 had been called and they couldn't advance, then wouldn't

23 there have been effectively a standstill? I mean Calitz

and company could have then had a meeting, decided what to 24

25 do, they might well have decided to call off the operation

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until the next morning, that's another possibility which

arises. But there were various things they could have 2

3 thought about, but they were experienced, Calitz was an

4 experienced POP man, some of the others were as well,

5 Merafe and others, though Merafe wasn't there, he was

6 elsewhere. But some of the others were also experienced.

7 One would hope that it would not have been beyond their

ability to come up with something that would have worked

9 and would have been relatively risk free.

10

There are two things, MR SEMENYA SC:

Chair. Chair, perhaps two things. There was indeed a TRT 11

basic line human block there, it didn't work, it produced

13 the result that it did. But -

CHAIRPERSON: Why didn't it work? If the non-lethal force had been used slightly earlier before the strikers had got to that point and presumably the ones at the front would have done what the ones slightly further back would have done, turned around and gone back. The problem was this concatenation of circumstances brought about by the fact that the non-lethal force was only used after some of the strikers had passed the point at which the non-lethal force was going to be used. Isn't that so?

23 MR SEMENYA SC: That's a different point.

24 I was answering, or attempting to answer the first one,

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25 whether a human block could have blocked them out and I'm Page 39609

saving that on the evidence it looks like even the TRT line

wouldn't do it. I don't see how a POP line similarly lined

3 on the mouth of the kraal could have stopped them

advancing.

Around a different subject, the question of the Scott's plan, of course Chair, if we are correct that there was an attack on the police line of the nature we describe,

8 even on Colonel Vermaak's description of the events that

9 they were impi-like, that POP techniques could have

10 contained that threat, then there clearly is nothing wrong

11 with what is the Scott's plan because it sought to cater

12 for that which goes beyond standing order 262. And we take

13 solace when we read the submissions of the evidence 14 leaders. They too think somehow 262 should be able to be

15 amended to accommodate something more. It's implicit in

16 their recommendations if you read them.

MR BUDLENDER SC: Chair, we say there's a lack clarity as to whether that applies and it should be amended to make it clear that it applies in these circumstances. We don't say that it doesn't apply, we

21 leave that open.

22 MR SEMENYA SC: Yes, but that grey area 23 says let's clarify it to make sure that it is patently

24 clear it caters for things beyond -

> CHAIRPERSON: There was an opacity, I

> > Page 39610

think is the right word, in 262 which should removed. 262

should spell out clearly what is to happen in this kind of

3 situation and we will make recommendations in that regard

4 and hopefully we'll get assistance, well we have already

5 got some assistance from you in your heads, maybe if you've

6 got other ideas which would help to make it clearer they

would be gratefully received.

MR SEMENYA SC: Well, Chair, within SS we made a submission the legislative instruction that is 9(2)(d), the statute there contemplates the use of weapons and firearms if events cannot be contained otherwise.

CHAIRPERSON: It authorises the use of firepower in particular circumstances, it doesn't say how. That's a detail which one would expect the standing order to provide.

MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed, Chair. Another subject was the question that there was relative calm after the killing of Mr Twala and any offensive action by the police would only serve to escalate as opposed to deescalate the conflict. Again if we are correct, Chair, that the decision taken by the PC on the 15th that offensive action would have to be taken was clearly intended to contain what was perceived to be the real threat, and the real threat in the wake of the 9th to 16th was indeed that you have heavily armed people who are responsible at the

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Page 39611

- 1 time the decision was made for the death in part of 10
- 2 people. There was enormous damage to property, police
- 3 officers had been killed, security personnel has been
- 4 killed, how much more can you expect an escalation? Would
- 5 an escalation be another 10 more deaths by that time, 20
- 6 more that were to be contained? Of course the threat in
- 7 our submission is precisely the very fact that there are
- 8 this many, they are this determined, they are this armed
- 9 and they pose a threat to law and order. That's what had
- 10 to be contained, we would submit.

Another argument is offered that of course there could have been a way of putting a filtering line. Now our submission in relation to that, Chair, is that if we do justice to the evidence and we recognise the terrain, and we accept the evidence that virtually the people who came to the koppie came from all directions really, and you have

- 17 limited resources as the police do, where do you put this
- 18 filtering line? Is it on the western side, is it on the
- 19 eastern side, is it on the southern side, is it on the
- 20 northern side? And clearly if they can see there is a
- 21 filtering line there they will go the other direction and
- 22 that filtering line, its efficacy is compromised or
- 23 undermined or cancelled for that matter. That would be our
- 24 submission in relation to that.
  - Again, Chair, let us look at another matter; says

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- 1 said to Zokwana. He said to Zokwana there's no way you can
- 2 disarm someone on the koppie if he's got an axe and you've
- 3 got a rifle, there will be bloodshed. He then proposed
- 4 another approach which one can call the Mpembe plan, which
- 5 was to get information and we know that a process was
- 6 already underway of a team of detectives who'd come from
- 7 Gauteng and they were going through all the footage and
- 8 seeking to identify the people, with the aid of Lonmin, who
- 9 had weapons and find out their names and where they were
- 10 and so forth, and he asked Mr Zokwana to get the NUM people
- 11 anonymously to provide information also as to who had
- weapons in the hostels, who had weapons in the informal
- 13 settlement, so that the weapons could be got there because
- 14 these were daytime strikers, or daytime arms bearers. They
- used to go home, come in the morning and go home in the
- 16 evening, some of them even went home for lunch. So that
- 17 was the Mpembe plan. The Mpembe plan was, if it had been
- 18 implemented, been given a chance, of course it couldn't be
- 19 because the order came you've got to act on Thursday. If
- 20 the Mpembe plan had been followed, substantially less
- 21 risky, it would have dealt with the matter, or may well
- 22 have done, in a much less disastrous fashion. I don't know
- 23 that General Mpembe has got the credit that he deserves
- 24 for, (a), the sensible approach he adopted on the 13th, and
  - what was clearly his approach on the Wednesday evening. So

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- General Mpembe and says General Mbombo in their
- 2 communication with Lonmin officials, there will be
- 3 bloodshed, and the arguments, if we understand them, is
- 4 that that must mean that both of them did foresee the
- 5 bloodshed of strikers. But again, Chair, the evidence by
- 6 both of them is we have used those words to try and impress
- 7 on Lonmin people to appreciate the urgency of the dialogue.
- 8 What could be wrong with that? What could be wrong with
- 9 that as an explanation to say please let's avoid any
- 10 bloodshed, please go and speak to the people in the koppie.
- 11 Please, dialogue is the best way of resolving that.
- 12 [09:25] Now we dislocate those expressions in those
- 13 communications and heighten them to the level of suggesting
- 14 that there was a foreseeability of some bloodshed occurring
- 15 the following day. If this discussion of bloodshed and
- 16 reference to bloodshed was said among the police persons
- 17 themselves to the exclusion of others, it would bear
- 18 contextually a different meaning altogether.
- 19 CHAIRPERSON: I think, if I may say so,
- 20 that you're not taking into account for the purposes of
- 21 your argument the evidence that General Mpembe gave when he
- 22 came back and he gave, I asked him guestions about what
- 23 he'd said on the Wednesday night and I understood his
- 24 evidence to be that he wasn't telling an untruth to

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25 Zokwana, what he was saying – I'm concerned with what he

- Page 39614 it's not just appropriate to have regard to what he said to
- 2 Lonmin, we've also got to have regard to his clear thinking
- 3 on the matter as expressed to Mr Zokwana.

MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, even there it is

an attempt to say it's important we go to the koppie and

6 talk to the people. So –

7

CHAIRPERSON: I'm not in any way

8 challenging what you say there. You've made the submission

9 very strongly that Lonmin bears some of the blame for what

10 happened because they were obdurate and they, we were asked

11 what is the source of their obligation to talk to the

- 12 strikers. Well the answer given was a request from the
- 13 police. They were doing their best to deal with a very
- 14 difficult I think everybody commented on the matter,
- 15 accept it was a very difficult situation. Mr White was
- 16 quite candid about that, very difficult situation the
- 17 police had. They needed all the help they could get from
- 18 Lonmin. They asked Lonmin and Lonmin for reasons which
- To Lorinini. They asked committed a committee reasons while
- attempts have been made to explain, didn't cooperate. Ifthat's the point you're making, that prima facie is a sound
- 21 submission.

22 MR SEMENYA SC: That's right, also an

23 attempt on my part to say we place those bloodshed

24 utterances in the context in which they obtained. The

other aspect we have to address because of the submissions

- made by Mr Ntsebeza relates to the scarifications. Chair,
- 2 if one looks at the post mortem reports, this is what
- 3 stands out; those that were done by Pathologists Morad and
- 4 Ngude do not distinguish between scarification marks that
- 5 are old and new, but they do make reference to them and the
- others are described as fresh scarifications. Now of those 6
- 7 who were at scene 1 it is only Mr Ledingoane and Mr
- 8 Gwelani, two only who did not have scarifications.

9 CHAIRPERSON: And we know they weren't anywhere near the front line, so they weren't part of the 10

front group who you say were the makarapa. 11

12 MR SEMENYA SC: I will still invite you,

13 Chair, to say that please accept -

CHAIRPERSON: 14 [Inaudible] in the wrong 15 direction. That point is not put as a point against you,

it's a point in your favour. 16

17 MR SEMENYA SC: No, no, no, I accept

18 that.

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19 CHAIRPERSON: They weren't part of the

20 front group. They weren't part of the group who you say

were the makarapas. They were people who were 21

22 unfortunately shot at from a distance when they weren't

23 part of any advancing group. So it doesn't help, you

24 wouldn't expect them to have scarification marks because

25 they were in a different position. Your point is all the

Page 39616

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front group people who were killed had scarification marks. 1

2 That's your submission.

3 MR SEMENYA SC: That's the submission

we're making, Chair. Even where there is argument directed

at saying there was channelling at the kraal, nobody can

advance an argument with cogency that suggests that 6

7 channelling was per plan or per design or per instruction

8 of anybody. What I think we see, or what spawns that type

9 of argument is once you freeze the images at a particular

point you are then able to see them positioned in a way 10

that - to use the language that has been said around that -11

12 which has the effect of channelling them. But nobody is

13 advancing an argument that says there was a design or a

decision or anything that the people should be channelled, 14

15 and that must be so, Chair, because to channel them it

means you would have appreciated that the only way in which 16

they could have an escape or an exit would be through one 17 18 direction.

19 We have just been having the exchange, Chair, 20

that said a whole number of people dispersed westwards.

21 Even after the shooting a whole number of people did

22 disperse westwards. So it cannot be channelling, and if I

23 understand what the Public Order Policing techniques do,

24 channelling as a method is - and the exhibits are there to

25 show us - it's an effective tool in urban settings because

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then you are able to use solid structures to channel people

in a particular direction, not in an open field where they

can go anywhere they choose.

4 The evidence leaders have obtained now the opinion of Dr Naidoo in relation to the death of Mr Mati

6 and Chair, yes, we know that Dr Naidoo did not perform the

7 post mortem, he came to the conclusion different to the

8 pathologist that performed that post mortem. He came to

9 that conclusion based on looking at the post mortem report

10 and the photographs and the Chair correctly directs that a

11 proper resolution of that conflict of expert opinion, if

12 the second one is also one, is that there must be this

13 conference and response by the pathologist who did the post

14 mortem report to say whether or not he still stands by it

and if he needs to advance further reasons why his

conclusion is a correct one, can then give it to the

17 evidence leaders. But we cannot at this moment move from a

premise that says Mr Mati was killed by a bullet wound.

19 That conclusion cannot stand, and absent an agreement by

20 the experts, unfortunately the Commission would have to say

there's no agreement on that point. It can't do better

22 than the evidence that is available before it.

So the argument goes in respect of another element that Captain Loest did not fire on the 16th and so

did the others not, and if you understood the argument it

Page 39618 is intended to convey this conclusion that there could

therefore not have been a threat to life, but Chair, you

3 would recall even in examination of Captain Loest I

4 pertinently put it to him that if nobody in that line had

5 fired at the advancing group, what would he have done, and

6 he said he would have fired too. So it is understandable

7 why he felt sufficiently covered by those who were

8 discharging their firearms at the time.

9 CHAIRPERSON: Wasn't there also some 10 suggestion that in this kind of operation the commanders 11

shouldn't fire? MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed, Chair, but obviously this is in instances where the commander orders

13 14 the firing. Well, the facts are a little different, but 15 yes, that is the case, Chair. 16 It is significant, Chair, to draw your 17

Commission's attention to this piece of evidence that when one looks at the people who were lying on the ground at scene 1, you do also see Mr Magidiwana at that point where he is, he still has his arms with him. So it cannot be that even however belated the non-lethal measures that were taken could not get him just to drop those arms and move on

23 and say well, this is it. He is still having them at that

24 point.

25 We need to address what may again seem a - which

Page 39619 Page 39621 may conduce to a misinterpretation in our submission of in our note since they go to the question of weight. 2 CHAIRPERSON: 2 Colonel Vermaak's evidence in relation to the events of the I think you'd better 3 13th. He says from the chopper he could see no reason why 3 include them in your note because -4 the teargas was discharged because as his observation went 4 MR BUDLENDER SC: Chair, we'll also have 5 it could not have been that the people were going to the 5 something to say about that in our notes. settlement. 6 CHAIRPERSON: 6 Yes, yes, I understand. 7 7 But Chair, a careful scrutiny of the record will There are two points; one is admissibility, admission I 8 suppose, and the other is weight. I can understand there 8 show that the settlement which Colonel Vermaak was 9 9 referring to is the one the other side of the river and may well be arguments about weight, but I don't know that a that is not what General Mpembe was attempting to do, 10 commission of this kind we should be too strict on the 10 11 because he wanted - that is now General Mpembe wanted to 11 admissibility side. 12 12 have the Nyalas comes into the road that separated the veld MR MPOFU SC: Chair, while we are at 13 from the settlement, the entire settlement, and that 13 this, we also object to the document. Alright, you've got that on 14 vindicates another point, Chair, because there is a debate 14 CHAIRPERSON: 15 record. 15 as to whether or not at that time the strikers were going 16 to the koppie or they were going to the settlement. 16 MR MPOFU SC: Obviously we can only 17 Now we say look at the body of Warrant Officer 17 object on the admission, not the weight, since we've 18 Lepaaku. That body is almost adjacent to the road resolved not to read it. 19 CHAIRPERSON: 19 separating the veld and house number C05, which is on the I see. When you exercise 20 other side of that road. So to say that they were not 20 your hard-won rights to reply you can deal with the matter. 21 close to the settlement, to the informal settlement, cannot 21 MR SEMENYA SC: Well yes, Chair, I don't be correct if you reference that with the point where 22 know whether that is going to be ZZZZ-something. 22 23 Warrant Officer Lepaaku was killed and the other striker as 23 CHAIRPERSON: Ms Pillay will let you know well. 24 24 when we take the first comfort break. 25 25 MR SEMENYA SC: Very late in the day we were given a report by Thank you, Chair. Can I

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Page 39622 try and tackle another aspect, Chair, or at least to finish 1

the Bapo Ba Mogale of some three academics who wrote on the question of muti, Chair. We would like that to be admitted

2

3 as an exhibit as well. We have attempted to give everyone

4 the CVs that were not initially attached to the report -

5 CHAIRPERSON: That is the report by Dr

Mufamadi and two others? 6

> MR SEMENYA SC: That is correct, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: 8 And we were given

9 yesterday, I think, or was it the day before, CVs of Dr

Mufamadi and her colleagues. 10

11 MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed, Chair, and we'd

12 say whatever -

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13 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu I understand

didn't object to the document, he just said he wasn't going 14

15 to read it and he said it wasn't of any value, so there's

obviously no difficulty about admitting it and we will have 16

17 to read it because we have to read everything. We're not

18 in the fortunate position as Mr Mpofu who reads

19 selectively. But anyway, it's in and I'm sure Ms Pillay,

20 who's nodding her head, she will - we won't waste time with

21 it now, she will give it an exhibit number and that will be

22 communicated to everybody.

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23 MS LE ROUX: Chair, the Human Rights

24 Commission has objections to that document. I'm not sure

25 if you'd like me to put them on the record or include them

2 this exhibit and say of course it is going to be a question

3 of what weight is to be placed on it, but as we pointed out

4 earlier, it is quite a fresh explanation coming from what

5 from my reading of the CVs, well qualified individuals who

can speak on that. They may not be able to persuade you 6

that X is a believable witness, and that's not where we

seek their support.

Where we seek their support is to say to us that we can accept that there are people in this country who practice traditional, who have belief in traditional medicines. They use it for a whole number of things, and in the main it is for non-violent purposes, but there are instances when it is used precisely to fortify oneself in relation to whatever is perceived to be a threat to them and to get themselves strong.

Now you would recall even at this hearing at the very least there is an attempt to explain the use of the muti on a plinth that says it was used for defensive purposes, and we are not told exactly what defensive curtain it offers one who has underwent that muti in the face of an attack, but it could clearly not have been intended to be an attack, a defence against a police attack. [09:45] And Mr Mpofu then invites us to say if they truly

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- believed that, that the muti would render them invisible.
- 2 then it is not rational when we see that they realised that
- 3 the police see them and therefore it can never offer itself
- 4 as a rational explanation. Well, there is an answer to
- 5 that, Chair, and it is this; often there is no congruence
- between faith and reason. This country has a fair 6
- 7 population of Christians who believe that Jesus Christ
- 8 walked on water, that he was born of a Virgin Mary, that he
- 9 took six pieces of fish to feed a whole body of people,
- multitudes of people, that he turned water into wine and a 10
- whole host of other things. Are they rational? I don't 11
- want to go down that road, but I am merely trying to 12
- 13 illustrate that it is a belief system. It is shared by
- 14 many. We respect it. And equally where the Constitution
- says there must be the right to believe is protected 15
- under the Constitution, it must include the belief of those 16
- 17 who think muti does what they say it can do. We may not
- 18 like it and -

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- COMMISSIONER TOKOTA: Let me perhaps
- 20 interrupt you to say that actually speaking for myself as a
- 21 Black person in South Africa, I agree with Mr Mpofu that
- 22 the Blacks do, some of the Blacks do believe in muti use
- 23 for various reasons. So speaking for myself you can bring
- 24 in the professor from UK or from wherever, he is not going 25
  - to change that. And the fact of the matter, you can

Page 39624

- believe in what you believe in, like Christians and so on,
- 2 and maybe Mr Mpofu is right in saying it's not even
- 3 necessary to read these things because that's what it is
- 4 inherent within certain Black populations.
- 5 MR SEMENYA SC: And to the extent that it
- may be common cause amongst some of us it then begins in my 6
  - respectful submission to explain what may otherwise be
- 8 inexplicable, and I am making this submission purely to
- 9 remove the temptation that we should look at a rational
- 10 basis for the use of muti. Chair, at the beginning of our
- 12 in our submission of the Deputy President in relation to
- 13 this whole conspectus of issues, and we quote the evidence
- 14
- 15
- 16 CHAIRPERSON:

  - MR SEMENYA SC:
  - CHAIRPERSON:
- 19 MR SEMENYA SC:
- 22 MR SEMENYA SC:
  - There the Deputy

The main heads, thank you.

- 23
  - President says to us, "The tragedy that has occurred at
- 25 many role-players, many stakeholders," and I don't think he

Page 39625

- says that many who had some role to play can say that they
- 2 do not bear any form of responsibility. "I think the
- 3 responsibility has to be collective and as a nation we
- 4 should dip our heads and accept that we did fail the people
- 5 of Marikana, particularly the families and the workers and
- 6 those who died, we did fail them," end of quote at that
- 7 point. The significance of all of this Chair, is there is
- 8 in our respectful submission merit to that. The tragedy
- 9 that is Marikana was produced by a confluence of factors,
- 10 as we said, and if it is to be avoided we as a nation would
- 11 have to act differently and bring all our shoulders to the
- 12 wheel to get a different result, and we say in those
- 13 written submissions from paragraph 3, Chair, that the place
- 14 to start is to accept a common understanding of what
- constitutes acceptable public order discourse for South
- 16 Africans. It must also be plain to understand what impedes
- 17 the achievement of peaceful protest. It must be accepted
- 18
- by all that what we want is a South Africa that is able to
- 19 offer those who want to exercise the constitutional right
- 20 of assembly to do so, and to do so within the constraints
- 21 that are placed on the exercise of that right by the
- 22 Constitution and the law.

23 We also make the submission that there must also 24 be a common understanding of what militates against the

attainment of peaceful protest and assemblies. We must

- written submissions we refer you Chair, to the sage words 11

- where he says, "The tragedy that has occurred at
- Marikana" -
  - Sorry, page?
  - Page 1.
  - Page 1 of your reply? Of my written
- 20 submissions, Chair.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON:

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- Marikana has to be approached as a collective failure by 24

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- agree that a South Africa we do not want is one where
- public dissent, be of a social, economic, political or
- 3 labour nature is expressed by groups of persons bearing
- 4 weapons and bent on conflict and mayhem. We must agree
- 5 that we do not deserve a South Africa that looks with
- 6 complicit acquiescence at public display of criminal
- 7 conduct where industrial disputes which can be resolved
- 8 through negotiation and dialogue are left to fester until
- 9 police intervention is inevitable, where capital can for
- 10 commercial reasons ignore its legal obligations designed to
- 11 ameliorate the working, social and living conditions of its 12 employees and hope to subdue disaffection of its workforce
- 13 through police intervention. It must be a country where
- 14 those who hold political oversight do take accountability,
- 15 I think it should read, for some of the protests which are
- 16 spawned by political grievances, where civil society does
- 17 not express outrage when law and order is disregarded and
- 18 where the police are forced to go above the public order
- 19 tools of law enforcement with resulting deaths and injuries
- 20 to persons, where trade unions can with ease abdicate 21 leadership and responsibility flowing from the wrongful
- 22 conduct of their members.
- 23 We also make the submission in paragraph 5 that 24 capital place an important role in the economy of the
  - country, and that with that accepted, the right of capital

Page 39627

to participate in the economy must also answer to its duty

- 2 to resolve industrial grievances through negotiation
- 3 principally and that the role of capital in such a
- 4 democratic discourse is one which appreciates its
- 5 responsibilities imposed by law, in this case being mining.
- The responsibility of capital is also to conduct its 6
- 7 business within the prescripts of the Constitution and the

8 relevant legislation.

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More importantly and directly we say about Lonmin, it was obliged to comply with its legal obligations set out in the Mining Charter and its social labour plan, which obligations were intended to ameliorate the living conditions and working condition of its own employees, which are also intended to restore the dignity of workers eroded by past practices of overcrowded single-sex hostels, and it could do this as capital appreciating its leverage in negotiations must always prefer dialogue as a tool for resolving industrial conflict.

That Chair, we submit is the South Africa that we submit we should all be striving for and it is achievable only in our respectful submission if, as we say, all shoulders come to the wheel, but most importantly, before we make our final submissions it's important that we explain the -

CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry to interrupt you, Page 39629

Page 39630

CHAIRPERSON: Well, there's also the

2 suggestion he should have given a warning as required by

3 section 9(2) of the Regulation of Gatherings Act. If he

4 was going to embark upon a dispersal as envisaged in the

section then it would seem that he - this is something that

6 perhaps you can argue on. If you're not ready to argue on

7 today you can give us a note on it, but it is an issue

8 that's been raised and we certainly would appreciate

9 assistance on it. In other words it's not just the

10 standing order, it also is whether if he was engaged in a

11 dispersal operation, a lot of people gathered on the

12 koppie, he wanted to disperse them, those with dangerous

13 weapons they could then be seized because the, by the

14 police under I take it the Criminal Procedure Act and they

could be arrested actually for possession of dangerous 16 weapons, but the first thing he wanted to do was a

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dispersal and if it's correct that before you can exercise 18 powers to disperse a gathering you have to give a warning,

19 then he would have had to give a warning. Anyway, that's

20 the issue. I don't know what the answer will be. I would

21 appreciate submissions on it. If you're able to give us

22 them now, fine. If you give them to us later in writing,

23 we will gratefully accept that.

24 MR SEMENYA SC: Yes, Chair, perhaps a few 25 submissions in that regard would suffice. Part of what

Page 39628

Mr Semenya, would this be a convenient stage for us to take

- the first it's really a comfort break, we would only be 2
- 3 five minutes, I hope.
- 4 MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed, Chair.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON: Will it be convenient for
- you? I don't want to interrupt your, the flow of your 6
- 7 argument but -
- MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed Chair. 8
- 9 CHAIRPERSON: Please everyone try to be
- 10 back here in five minutes.

11 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]

12 [10:04] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. Mr

13 Semenya.

22

14 Chair, I'm almost at the MR SEMENYA SC: 15 tail-end of our submissions, barring the questions that I

may have to field from the Commissioners, and -16

17 CHAIRPERSON: Most of the questions that 18 you have to field you've already had, you've dealt them I

19 think as best you could in the circumstances. 20 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Chair. There

21 are those, a few of these that I must deal with. Chair,

you'd recall there is also a suggestion, if not something higher, that Brigadier Calitz ought to have given a warning 23

24 at koppie 3 and it seemed as though it is a warning as

25 contemplated by Standing Order 262.

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triggers that enquiry is somewhat the fact that we are

trying to distinguish scene 1 and scene 2 as if they are

different operations. They are not different operations.

We have for convenience here made them separate topics to

5 be handled separately because it is easier to do that, but

6 Brigadier Calitz was not involved in two, and his

7 colleagues were not involved in two scenes. They were

8 involved in one operation which was the dispersal,

9 disarmament and arrest of all those armed strikers, and I

10 should add to that, Chair, that whereas regulation 9(2)

11 requires -

12 CHAIRPERSON: Section.

13 MR SEMENYA SC: - section rather, of the

14 Regulation of Gatherings Act requires the warning, in this

15 instance the police did even more. They begged the people

16 to disarm. They begged them to disperse. This is now on

the other wild side of the spectrum, and even the begging 17

18 and the pleading, and we see even Mr Mathunjwa go down on

19 his knees -

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CHAIRPERSON: He wasn't exactly acting as a police agent when he did that.

22 MR SEMENYA SC: No, no, no, no, he

23 wasn't, Chair, and I'm not advancing that as an argument.

24 I'm merely saying that if the law requires the police to

act that way is clearly intended to say make them aware

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Page 39631

this is what is what is required of you, and the police

2 went beyond that point to say we beg of you, in many

3 repeated ways, and did that with a loudhailer and said to

4 them please disarm and disperse. That didn't work.

5 In relation to koppie 3, Chair, it was pointed

out to me that the operation did not even stop at koppie 3.

6 7 There were further violent acts of damage to property that

went on beyond koppie 3 and where the police had to attend

9 to it. So I don't know if the postulate is put that the

10 incident should have been stopped at scene 1, whether the

police if told that we are under attack at K4, somebody

12 would say no, don't attend to it, we have stopped the

operation. That would not be a practical way of dealing

14 with things.

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There is also criticism about the use of specialised units in Public Order Policing. The first response that we must offer as a submission in that regard is to say that if you are talking about Public Order Policing incidents proper – and by proper I mean those that

20 obtain within the constraints of the law - clearly that

21 recommendation to that effect is sound, but we need to be

22 practical about this. We need to accept that we are not

23 there as a country in our appreciation of the important of

24 law obedience, that a Marikana would happen. You would

25 have, as my learned friend Mr Burger would say, marauding

Page 39632

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individuals, heavily armed, who are bent on mayhem. What

do we do there? And as we make a submission section 9(2) 2

does tell us what we do if the criteria is met for the use

of firearms and weapons.

I'm also informed by my learned colleagues that I should draw the attention of the Commission to exhibit GGG4, page 11 of that exhibit. Page 12, I'm told, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON: It's a long time ago when we'd received that exhibit. Can you perhaps just remind us what it is? I know we'll read it, but if there's a nice

clear passage that you can give us at the moment it will 11

12 help. It is GGG4, para 12.

13 MR SEMENYA SC: Not para 12, page 12, from line 14. If we can go, at the top of the right-hand 14 15 corner of the page it says 681, 681.

16 CHAIRPERSON: That's page 12.

MR SEMENYA SC: There in the middle you would see, Chair, that General Mpembe says, and he's speaking to Mr Mathuniwa, "No, thanks, president, are you

19 20 saying tomorrow they will hand in their weapons, they will

21 disperse?" Says Mr Mathunjwa, "Yes, I mean if you are

[inaudible]. I said it clearly that we have been portrayed 22

23 as AMCU as the union that is instigating violence all over

24 the world, so denounce any end to violence if you are

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25 committing such, please denounce. We do not want to hear Page 39633

any incident because all incident that are happening around

the area is reflected [inaudible]. It is AMCU who

3 instigates such a thing, so please, as from now on, as from

now we do not want to hear anything about that [inaudible]

5 address you. Denounce violence, it means weapons, no

6 weapons, and then get your mandate, give us what we agree

7 and people disperse." So we point to that very direction

8 question by General Mpembe, "Are you saying they are going

9 to disarm tomorrow?" he says yes, but -

CHAIRPERSON: [Microphone off, inaudible] goes on and he does seem to be saying effectively what he's going to say the next day, the speech he's going to make, as far as I read it, a sort of trailer almost of what he's

13 14 going to say the next day. This is one of the passages

15 that was referred to earlier in support of the contention

16 that Mr Mathunjwa gave a definite promise that they would

17 lay down their arms, but there are other passages which go

the other way and General Annandale certainly said that he

19 didn't regard what Mr Mathunjwa said as amounting to a

20 definite guarantee or undertaking that they definitely

21 would lay down their arms, but this passage I think is 22 support for the proposition that Mr Mathunjwa was very

23 confident that they would, and he conveyed that confident

24 to the police. We know now with 20/20 hindsight that he

was overconfident, but certainly to be fair to the police,

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they were told by a very confident Mr Mathunjwa that all would be well the next day. I think that's a fair summary.

3 MR SEMENYA SC: "We'll all be happy 4 tomorrow," words to that effect. I'm not suggest that he

5 gave an unequivocal undertaking that he will deliver that type of promise, clearly, but there was certainly amongst 6

the police an expectation that that might very well be a

8 possibility of the people disarming voluntarily. 9 CHAIRPERSON: There's a further point in

your favour on that point and that is according to the evidence it does look as if the police still laboured under what I think one can now describe as a misapprehension that

13 all the strikers were really AMCU people and even the NUM

14 people really more ex-NUM people than actual NUM people at

15 that stage, and one sees interchangeably in the documents

16 reference to the strikers and AMCU. So if the police had

been led to believe, I suppose by Lonmin, that the strikers 18 were all really AMCU, or that AMCU was substantially behind

the strike, that would have encouraged the police to

20 believe that if the president of AMCU thinks that the

21 strike is going to stop, or not the strike but the weapons

22 are going to be handed down, they will accept the

23 instruction or the request from the president of the union.

24 It's difficult to be overly critical of the police for

given the mindset they were in, it would be difficult to be

1 overly critical of the police for assuming that Mathunjwa

2 was right and that they'd all be happy the next day.

3 MR SEMENYA SC: The one other aspect we

- 4 have to address is was Marikana an unprecedented event.
- 5 You'd recall there has been a lot of controversy around
- 6 that and we have been told the May event of 2012 bears
- 7 similar resemblance to Marikana and that claim cannot
- 8 stand. Well, firstly the Lonmin security tells you, Chair,
- 9 Commissioners, that they've never seen anything like that
- 10 in Marikana In Lonmin, not in Marikana, in Lonmin, and
- 11 they have handled many unprotected strikes, and the
- 12 security tells you normally as a matter of course if you
- 13 stood up and said disperse, that is what would happen. It

14 didn't happen on the 12th. So there is that evidence which

15 we submit must bear weight to what the police are

16 describing.

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There's also the evidence which has not been controverted, that use of teargas, which is the doctrine in Public Order Policing, has never triggered an attack on the police on its use, where strikers say because you are throwing teargas at us, that is the reason for us to attack the police. That's a separator as well, Chair.

There is yet another separator. History has it, and the evidence has not been controverted, that the unfurling of a barbed wire as a defensive measure has never

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- 1 said "Engage, engage," he was actually intending to speak
- 2 to the POP people. This was then repeated by Colonel
- 3 Vermaak because he'd remembered what happened the 13th and
- 4 he was afraid that they hadn't, weren't responding, and
- 5 what Mr Mpofu said, as I understand him, was that that, by
- 6 that time the POP people were already in the Nyalas and
- 7 that was understood by the TRT people as being a command to
- 8 them and that was also part of the explanation for what
- 9 happened. He then I think went on to submit that in fact
- 10 the TRT people fired not so much in self-defence, or what
- 11 they thought was self-defence, but because they were
- 12 obeying this command to "Engage, engage," which they
- 13 thought was addressed to them. Now I'd be grateful again
- 14 if you're not able to deal with it at the moment I'd be
- 15 grateful to receive a note on that from you.

16 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, Captain Loest

17 testified on the point that they understood that "Engage,

18 engage" to be an instruction to POP. They never responded

19 to it as TRT members. So there is direct evidence that

20 contradicts that argument.

Also an appreciation of how this operation was to happen was clearly that the POP people were going to be responsible for the conduct of POP and so too those of NIU would be taking instructions from NIU and STF from people

ver 25 of STF. It was not contemplated that because you are the

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- provoked the response that was observed on that day, and
- 2 for that reason it could not have been foreseen that its
- 3 use would have the consequences that it had. Most of the
- 4 time public disturbance events occur as a matter of
- 5 spontaneity when they begin to get out of order. They
- 6 often start in a particular fashion and then emotions go
- 7 awry and after that things may very well go wayward, but it
- 8 is with some element of fluidity and spontaneity to them.
- 9 What is different with Marikana is this is planned, it is
- 10 militarised, it is by individuals who even prior to the
- 11 16th, some of whom would have been associated with very
- 12 violent deaths of policemen and of co-workers and of
- 13 security personnel of Lonmin. That's a separator. We have
- 14 never had that type of thing in the past, says the police,

15 and there is no reason to disbelieve them.

That must trampoline me, Chair, to what must be my concluding submissions, unless – I'm pointed to also deal with the question whether as SAPS we had taken an adversarial posture against Colonel Vermaak.

CHAIRPERSON: I would also like you to deal with, if you can, with the submission that Mr Mpofu made that, it related to the use of the word "Engage, engage." He said, I'm not sure I'm doing full justice to his submission, but as far as I'm concerned it doesn't matter. He referred to Brigadier Calitz as saying when he

operational commander, Brigadier Calitz would be giving

- 2 instructions to STF people to do A or B or C in relation to
- 3 the event. It is clearly that they were going to act under
- 4 the command of Gaffley, who was in charge of them as STF.
- 5 So it has to be understood in a proper context about how
- 6 multi units operate in a particular environment.

Are we adversarial against Colonel Vermaak?

- 8 Clearly not, Chair. There is Captain Baloyi who says
- 9 things that are negative for SAPS. There's nothing wrong
- 10 with that. Everybody has been allowed to come and say what
- 11 they have to say and even Colonel Vermaak has not been able
- 12 to say he was, (1), precluded from making certain
- 13 disclosures, never went that far.
- 14 [10:24] And never went as far as to suggest that on the
- 15 contrary he was advised to state an untruth. It never went
- 16 so far as that and we submit that it is not unexpected that
- 17 in an organisation that large you would find people who
- 18 hold disparate positions in relation to a particular
- 19 matter. And Chair, when we don't address the question of
- 20 incident 1 and 2 it's not because we abandon the fact that
- 21 those incidents didn't happen, we are saying nothing turns
- 22 on that. There is clear evidence that can explain events
- 23 precipitating, or the events immediately before the
- 24 shooting happened at the kraal which bear no controversy
  - around it. Unless if the insinuation is you are lying to

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Page 39639 Page 39641 the Commission when you say they happened, in which event 1 the -2 2 then we'd have to address a different matter. And I don't CHAIRPERSON: Ja, alright. 3 place so much weight to it because as we made the 3 MR CHASKALSON SC: Sorry, Chair, we really don't have time for breaks at this stage. I would 4 submission, Chair, I don't think the President is 5 5 interested in questions of credibility. oppose a request for a break at this stage. CHAIRPERSON: 6 The President in your report is interested in 6 We'll take a tea break a 7 7 bit later on, but we're going to stop at 1 o'clock, it's understanding those issues that can help the government 8 half past 10. 8 shape its policy and its conduct so that South Africa can 9 9 avert Marikana 2. That's what the President is interested MR MPOFU SC: Well, that's - the break, 10 in. If we are in a civil or criminal trial and credibility 10 Chairperson, was actually meant to - anyway we can do it at 11 the tea break to discuss with the evidence leaders -11 issues were primarily in relation to the adjudication of a 12 CHAIRPERSON: We told you yesterday that 12 particular matter then I think my emphasis on whether or 13 not this witness is credible and the other not would have 13 you would have half an hour, after the discussions we had. 14 14 been slightly different, and slightly differently nuanced MR MPOFU SC: Yes. for that matter. If I was an onus-bearing party and had to 15 CHAIRPERSON: I take it you've prepared 15 rely on a particular witness to carry my case it would have half an hour's worth -16 17 17 been different. I think this process is a slightly MR MPOFU SC: No, I haven't, Chairperson, 18 different one. 18 other things have just arisen now. That's why I wanted the 19 My final remarks, Chair. Chair, it's very 19 break so that we can discuss the question of time 20 important for us as a country to understand the role of the 20 allocations because there's more time now. 21 police, and errant police officers do not belong in the 21 CHAIRPERSON: My fellow commissioners 22 urge me that I should give Mr Mpofu his five minutes and so 22 South African Police Service and there is no attempt on the 23 part of at least us as a legal team on instructions that we 23 I do that. 24 24 have received to defend that. But it is very important for MR MPOFU SC: Thank you. 25 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS **COMMISSION RESUMES**] 25 us also as a nation to understand that they are the only, Page 39640 Page 39642 [10:37] CHAIRPERSON: 1 only instrument under the Constitution who have a The Commission resumes. I 2 responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, and understand the matter that you wanted to deal with in the 3 they do it under very difficult circumstances. It is adjournment has been successfully dealt with, MR MPOFU SC. 4 bloodcurdling, Chair, when Mr De Rover says to us in five 4 MR MPOFU SC: It has, Chairperson, thank 5 years we lose 880 members of the police service in the line you very much. 6 CHAIRPERSON: 6 of duty. It's a serious number for a country to sustain I take it Mr Wesley is 7 7 going to keep the - be the timekeeper. and -8 MR MPOFU SC: 8 CHAIRPERSON: In quick summary, I think Mr Wesley, yes. I am 9 9 assuming - well Chairperson, as matters stand now I have 40 it's over 120 a year. It's more than two a week. 10 minutes, so what I would propose is that because it's 20 to 10 MR SEMENYA SC: Something like that, 11, we can go until 11, and then I will do it in two 11 Chair, and it is people who our safety rests on. It is 11 12 people who the law authorises them to carry firearms and 12 instalments. 13 13 other weapons within the constraints of the law so that you CHAIRPERSON: What happens at 11? 14 No, I was saying if, 14 and I, Chair, can have our law and order in place, and when MR MPOFU SC: 15 depending on when you want to take the -15 we do judge their conduct we should do that in deep 16 Oh, tea? 16 appreciation of the special place they occupy. I'm not CHAIRPERSON: 17 defending individuals, I'm defending the institution of the 17 MR MPOFU SC: - the tea break, yes. I 18 police service and I'm saying whatever else we lose, what 18 was proposing if you do it at 11, then I can break it into 19 we should not lose is the importance and centrality in the 19 two instalments. 20 organisation of our constitutional order. Those are our 20 CHAIRPERSON: Well, if you prefer that -21 submissions, Chair. 21 MR MPOFU SC: I would. 22 22 CHAIRPERSON: - I personally would prefer CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mr Semenya. Mr to go on and then take the adjournment when you are 23 Mpofu you've got half an hour. 23 24 MR MPOFU SC: Chairperson, can I request 24 finished, but obviously if it will help you to help us 25 that we take a short break so that we can - I can discuss more, then I will do it the way you suggest.

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MR MPOFU SC: Thank you, Chairperson. I 1

think let's leave it to me for now. Thanks. 2

3 CHAIRPERSON: Alright.

4 MR MPOFU SC: I might go for your option, 5 depending on - Chairperson, thank you very much. I am

obviously racing against the clock here. So what I am

7 going to do, Chairperson, firstly is to deal with the issue

8 of concessions, real and otherwise, that have been spoken

9 about. The first one is that Mr Semenya somewhat has made

10 my job easier because of what I will go as far as to call

11 concessions that he has made. I am sure he will contest

12 that, but in the absence of time, if I have to develop any

13 of the points I am going to make, Chairperson, then I will

14 leave it for the notes. So I am going to be very cryptic.

15 The first one is that Mr Semenya told us yesterday that the

16 conduct of the strikers was - he said treasonous, I am sure

17 he wants to treasonable, but it was treason, it amounted to

18 treason. Now Mr Semenya represents the South African

19 Police Services, so I am sure whatever view he espouses

20 here must be the view of his clients, and you will remember

that I read out the extract from Colonel Scott that the 21

22 Chairperson helped me to find where the similar sentiment

23 had been expressed that once they killed a police, then it

24 was no longer about these small matters of killing non-

25 strikers or enforcing a strike, it was now a challenge, to

to a submission which I made on Wednesday, Chairperson,

that if the TRT indeed made a human block then we have this

3 very simple situation; whereas in that gap the TRT had the

4 time, the means and the wherewithal, and the regulations to

5 boot, to prevent the further movement of the strikers by

6 using barbed wire or by using a physical block of some sort

7 with Nyalas or whatever, they chose to have what Mr Semenya

8 has called a human block. But it was not just a human

9 block of you know, comrades holding each other like this.

It was a human block of more than 50 people armed with

automatic or semi-automatic rifles. That's the difference, 11

12 and therefore that is also a very important statement to

13 note, which takes us Chairperson to the concessions that I was said to have made. I disowned one of them when we were 14

talking now and you correctly said I will deal with it when

I am replying.

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Let's start with the question of premeditated murder. Let me - firstly I was not making any concessions on that question, Chairperson. I was simply saying that one of the theories, and I think I tried to explain this, it was a theory that I said against myself I had not put to anybody but it's one that I had just gained from reading and rereading the documents, and the spark was the reference by General Naidoo I think to section 49, that one

25 of the theories that one could look at was that - well

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use Mr Semenya's words and Colonel Scott, it was now a

2 challenge against the authority of the State, and Mr

3 Semenya has said exactly the same thing.

Now that, Chairperson, is a crucial, crucial concession to make because it goes exactly to what we have

been trying to explain for two years, that these people 6

were regarded as the enemy. We know what happens, what we

should do, what should we do as a country with treasonable

9 people who threaten the authority of our State? We must

10 declare war against them. That is what our army is there

for, and that is why from the point - that's why we call 11 12

the 13th a game changer, we have been calling it since the beginning until now, because it was the point at which the 13

14 whole business changed into war and that is exemplified by

15 many things which I don't have to go into now, what I call

the frenzy of activity that followed that point. So from 16

17 that crucial turning point onwards we were no longer in the

territory of just small matters, we were in the land of

19 treason and war.

> Then the second concession which is important relates to what happened at scene 1 where Mr Semenya in his address this morning, not yesterday - the other, the treason was yesterday - refers us to the fact that the TRT formed a human block, and that's in relation to something

else which I am going to discuss just now. Well, it goes

Page 39646 section 49, reference to section 49 but also Captain

Loest's evidence that they were told to stand fast and not

retreat and so on and so on. And I said one of the - and

the fact that they straddled the road at some stage - I

5 said one of those theories will be that at best for them

6 they were told that they must not allow the so-called

7 militant group to pass through and they must arrest them by

8 any means necessary, at all costs. That would still be

9 unlawful because remember, well firstly it would be

illogical because there was always going to be phase 6 if 10

11 they were so desperate to get those armaments. But you

12 can't instruct people of that kind of - who are bearing

13 those kinds of arms, to say to them don't retreat, and that

14 is where the trick is, Chairperson. Mr Semenya tells us

15 that why must we expect them to run away because their duty

16 is to protect the State or whatever. Well, Chairperson, we

17 must expect them to retreat because that duty to protect

18 the State doesn't just lie on them, it also lies on the

19 POP, and what did the POP do? They retreated, in front of

20 our eyes here on the screen. They retreated into the

21 Nyalas and that was it. So if the TRT had done the same,

22 you know, instead of – I didn't understand the submission,

23 whether they will be protecting their egos or what, but

24 they had exactly the same duty to retreat as the POP, which

did in an exemplary way, which by the way was in front of

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them. So the POP would have been closer to the strikers than the basic line. So their failure to retreat cannot be 2

3 explained by this notion that what we expect of them as a

4 police force and so on and so on, because whatever we

expect of them as a police force, applies equally to POP.

But the real point is this, Chairperson; even if you take that postulation - we have no excluded the issue

8 of premeditated murder at all, but we have said at the 9 lowest, let's say that at scene 1 at the very lowest there

10 was dolus eventualis - and I don't have to go, Chairperson would understand what I mean by that in the sense that they

should have foreseen and so on and so on.

CHAIRPERSON: Not they should have foreseen, if they should have foreseen but didn't then it's culpable homicide, if it is a crime. For dolus eventualis you have to say they did foresee and they were reckless, as they proceeded with their conduct were reckless as to the consequences.

MR MPOFU SC: Thanks, Chairperson, yes. But Chairperson, I just want to point something to you. You will remember, if you look at our opening statement,

22 whatever the exhibit number is, you will see that the 10

23 points that we made there, Chairperson, we differentiated

24 between scene 1 and scene 2. I am paraphrasing because I 25

don't have it in front of me, but we said at scene 1 there

the evidence of Myburgh, whatever problems at the lower

executions, and you would be fortified in that belief by

scale of reasonable suspicion that he did not - he could

4 not have made up this, what he said he heard someone

5

saying, "These people deserve to die," there can't be a

6 better description of an execution than that. But if you 7 put all those things - and even at a prima facie level

8 accept that what happened at scene 2 were coldblooded

9 executions then, Chairperson, you are quite entitled to

10 extend that to say, well, as Mr Semenya has said it was

11 actually one transaction, one operation. The fact that

12 here for argument's sake we divided it up is just neither

13 here nor there. Then you are quite entitled to say, well,

14 if it was execution at scene 2, it must have been execution

15 at scene 1 as well because the - if it was indeed one

transaction and one thing, you would remember this kind of

17 logic I used - I am just digressing a little bit - when we

were talking about the planting of weapons, I can't

19 remember which witness I was cross-examining but I said to

20 that witness, look, if you are coming to this Commission

21 and giving us the excuse that the reason you were removing

22 these weapons was because the medics were asking you to do

23 so, then since we know that you removed weapons at scene 1,

24 where there were no medics, then surely that could not have

been the reason. And there was a long debate about it, but

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was murder, unjustifiable homicide, I think that those were

the words that we used. We said that there was murder 2

3 there. And then we said at scene 2 there was premeditated

4 extrajudicial executions, and that's where there is a

5 subtle difference. The reason we made that difference,

6 Chair, was because we had - in our consultations it was

7 clear that whatever had happened at scene 1, at scene 2 the

8 killing zone and all what we know about it, the fact that

9 no warning was given, the fact that the people were

surrounded and trapped there, I think the way I put it to 10

Brigadier Calitz - again I am paraphrasing - I said to him 11

12 apropos that question of why they were not warned, I said,

13 look, you had these people surrounded - I said, you had

14 these people surrounded. Yes. I said underneath them 15 there was the earth, the ground. Yes. On top of them

16 there were helicopters flying. Yes. So there was nowhere

17 to go, and yet you didn't even say to them - and we have

18 had that discussion on Wednesday and so on and so on. Just

19 from that point it was clear that the executions, as we

20 call them, at scene 2 were definitely premeditated.

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21 But now here's the thing, Chairperson. Here's

22 the thing; you see you are permitted as Commissioners in my 23 respectful submission to say if indeed there is prima facie

24 evidence that what happened at scene 2, as we claimed in

our opening statement was premeditated and coldblooded

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it's that kind of thing because if you are going to lie

about something regarding the one scene, but somehow it

3 doesn't fit on the other, then at worst it must be assumed

that the non-applicability doesn't apply even where it to

the naked eye might be seeming to apply.

So that's our submission on the question of premeditated murder. We are not excluding it exactly because we, in fact at scene 2 we are alleging it, but at scene 2 we are alleging executions, at scene 1 we are not excluding them but at scene 1 we are prepared to accept for the sake of argument that dolus eventualis might have been - but that's not a concession that we make that there was no intention to kill them.

More so, Chairperson, the other concession that we certainly do not make, which I am glad the Chairperson alluded to it because it gives an opportunity to deal with it, is that the people were not killed because they were striking. We certainly do not make that concession. Why? Because I said it on Wednesday, what were the first words as the Chairperson said, the words that were said to the world by General Mbombo? "Today we are going to end the strike. Today we are going to end the strike." That, and Mr Semenya actually said this, he said, whatever, when you were asking him about what was discussed at the NMF, whatever they discussed can't be inconsistent with what

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     General Mbombo told the world the following day. What did
                                                                       costs supposed to be concealed from this Commission, and it
                                                                        must have had something to do with breaking the strike and
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    General Mbombo tell the world the following day? "Today we
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     are going to end the strike." So whatever they discussed
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     at the NMF must have had something to do, on Mr Semenya's
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    formulation must have had something to do about ending the
     strike. And we know - and that takes us to the next point,
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     Chairperson, you - sorry, Chairperson -
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           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  Do I understand you
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     correctly to say, it may well be - I don't think you put it
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    any higher than that - that what has been concealed in
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     relation to what happened at the NMF was there was a
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     decision to break the strike, which would have been an
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     improper decision?
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           MR MPOFU SC:
                                 That's correct,
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     Chairperson. In fact -
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           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  That's revealed as it were
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           MR MPOFU SC:
                                 Yes.
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           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  - by the remark that the
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    Provincial Commissioner made in her eNCA interview.
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           MR MPOFU SC:
                                 Yes, Captain Adriao and
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    all, and the D-day and so on.
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           CHAIRPERSON:
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                                                                              CHAIRPERSON:
                                  No, never mind the D-day.
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                                                                              MR MPOFU SC:
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           MR MPOFU SC:
                                 Okay well -
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           CHAIRPERSON:
                                  The breaking the strike -
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we know how far that chain can go. So it seems clear now that for political reasons - oh, and you must also read that whole statement that I've just made together with the blatant untruthful evidence of the National Commissioner around whether the Minister was told that stage 3 was going to be gone into and so on and so on. That retreat, which is clear from the minutes, which Annandale has agreed was what happened, is what was said, is that the Minister was told about stage 3, which means he knew what stages there were and he must have known that the stage 3 is the tactical stage and that's why the retreat was done here and in Rustenburg. It would mean that there is another intention to hoodwink the Commission into minimising the role that was played by the senior political people and that alone, as the Chairperson says, in the Zeffert's Law of Evidence the Chairperson will be familiar with this - it's said that if you are lying it doesn't necessarily mean you are guilty, but if you are lying - as the Chairperson put it better than me - it points the arrow -It can point. - it can point the arrow at something else that you are concealing, and that can be

MR MPOFU SC: Yes, was only General 2 Mbombo.

3 CHAIRPERSON: 4

The Provincial Commissioner said, I think it was after the press conference, she had an

5 interview on eNCA, we saw that video clip when she said it

6 there. She did say of course that it was a slip of the 7

tongue, but she also conceded that she did nothing to correct it in the period thereafter.

8

9 MR MPOFU SC: That's correct. Yes,

10 Chairperson, actually you took the words out of my mouth. I was just about to say, we, at least you and I, 11

Chairperson, in our debate on Wednesday, and I think you 12

13 repeated it this morning, said very obviously something,

something is being concealed about the discussions of the 14

15 NMF. One can't put it higher than that. Otherwise really,

why would you be fed with evasive written answers and all 16

17 that goes with it, the so-called pedantic detail theory of

18 the National Commissioner. But now we are getting closer

19 to what that something was. That something surely, but

surely, we speculated the other day, we said it was 20

21 something political. I said, maybe it's the pressure of

the Minister, you said maybe it's the Malema issue, it 22

23 doesn't matter, it could be both, it could be one of them,

24 but that something must have been (a), political.

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[10:57] (B) unlawful, and (c), something that was at all 25

Page 39654 debunked with these, or decoded with the submissions that

2 I've made. 3

That brings again the link between the political pressure and what actually happened on the 16th even closer

because the strike, properly so called, was not the

business of the police.

6

7 CHAIRPERSON: What goes against that, I 8 must confess this is a matter that caused me a lot of

puzzlement. What's against that is you have the very

proper approach of General Mpembe on the 13th saying we just 10

11 want the weapons, lay down the weapons, we're not going to

12 arrest you, you can carry on, and I think Lieutenant-

13 Colonel McIntosh said something similar to the strikers

14 when he negotiated with them, and even the plan - now

unless one accepts it's a trap, which I don't think is

suggested, what the police intended to do was to disarm

17 these people, disperse them by the non-lethal methods and

18 so on. That was apparently going to happen, unless we

19 suggest that's the total - we accept that's just a total

20 pretence, but I don't think that can be suggested. So if

21 they dispersed them and disarmed them, then it wouldn't

22 have followed that the strike would have been broken. It

23 might be that the strike would have been more difficult to

enforce by the militant strikers because they wouldn't be

able to use violence and intimidation to the same extent,

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Page 39655 but if that had been done the strike wouldn't have been 2 broken. So I've been puzzling for a long time about how 3 those items of the evidence which tend to point one way can 4 be reconciled with the statement that the Provincial 5 5 Commissioner made. It's one of the mysteries. Maybe we'll find the answer -6 6 7 MR MPOFU SC: 7 Yes. 8 CHAIRPERSON: But it is a mystery, I'm 8 9 afraid. 9 10 MR MPOFU SC: Yes, the -10 11 CHAIRPERSON: 11 Certainly everyone I think 12 12 would agree, and Mr Semenya would be the first to concede 13 13 I'm sure, that it wouldn't have been a proper approach for 14 the police to throw its State provided force into the scale 14 15 on behalf of Lonmin to break a strike. 15 16 16 MR MPOFU SC: Yes. 17 CHAIRPERSON: That's a matter between the 17 18 employer and employee and the police have got no business 18 19 19 with that. Their job is to maintain law and order. 20 MR MPOFU SC: That's correct. Thank you, 20 21 Chairperson, and then while - I'll move on to something 21 else. I hope that that mystery will be resolved when the 22 22 23 Commissioners deliberate in less pressurised conditions 23 24 than I'm operating under now. 24

take the words out of my mouth. It's written here, I've said if any of us had suggested any such thing I'm sure we wouldn't have finished the sentence because the Chairperson would have -CHAIRPERSON: Mr Semenya suggested it actually, but anyway, if there's a perception around -MR MPOFU SC: It must die. CHAIRPERSON: - that you were more interested, well maybe your clients of course would affect - but that somehow those deaths were on a higher scale than the others -MR MPOFU SC: CHAIRPERSON: - if that's a perception anybody has it's a wrong perception -MR MPOFU SC: No, it's very wrong, ja. CHAIRPERSON: I'm not sure Mr Semenya said it, but it doesn't matter, if there's a perception, it's no longer there. MR MPOFU SC: It's no longer there, yes. CHAIRPERSON: It's an ex-perception. MR MPOFU SC: What is happening in this Commission, Chairperson, and I'm glad my learned friend Mr Tip at least has joined us on the side of people who are saying if anybody, whether it's a member of NUM, whether it's a striker, whether it's AMCU or whatever, is

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comparative analysis between scene 1 and scene 2, scene 2

Then again, Chairperson, just to touch on this

in a strange way also provides us with the answer to the 2

3 putative self-defence issue because there's no - nobody, it

- 4 would be laughable if anybody would suggest putative self-
- 5 defence in relation to scene 2 and the killing zone and so
- 6 on and so on, and therefore if it was not putative defence
- there, if they shot people knowing that they are not being 7
- 8 attacked, then we can certainly infer that at scene 1 it
- was also not putative self-defence. I won't put it higher 9
- 10 than that. Again it's the one transaction theory which I
- 11 advanced earlier.

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Chairperson, I have an obligation to do this because yesterday - you know I don't know how many times we must say this; there has never been any suggestion that the injured and arrested or any of the parties who represent the other victims have said that the deaths that occurred on the 16th are more important, or whatever was being suggested by Mr Semenya yesterday, than the 10 deaths that preceded them, or the seven non-striker deaths, because we know that three were strikers. That has never been our case. It will never be our case. If any -CHAIRPERSON: It could scarcely be. (a), you never said it and if you had said it I would have been

down on you like a tonne of bricks.

MR MPOFU SC:

implicated in the gruesome deaths that preceded the 16th, those people must be found, tried, arrested and locked up in jail for the rest of their lives. There should be no doubt about this. So that - you know the only people in

- 5 this room, Chairperson, who do not take that position are
- 6 the people who are guilty of murdering those people, that
- 7 is SAPS and Lonmin, because Lonmin says charge all the
- 8 people who made all these gruesome dastardly, what, what,
- 9 except us, Lonmin, we are innocent. SAPS says the same;
- 10 charge everyone, you know it's bad, gruesome, look at this
- picture, they're all guilty except us, SAPS. We are not 11
- 12 saying that. We are saying charge even ourselves if we are
- 13 - and that, Chairperson, if you take from the biblical
- 14 example of the wisdom of Solomon you will know who is the
- 15 guilty party among those people. One does not need
- Solomonic wisdom, as Holmes JA once said, to work out that
- 17 one. The people who are playing holy-holy are the guilty 18 ones.

Now the next issue, Chairperson, is - also I just want to say this, I have to say this; it does not matter, Chairperson, it does not matter how morally reprehensible the actions of the strikers were, we all agree it's

- 23 gruesome, look at, we just have to look at the pictures,
- 24 but in this country, Chairperson, we have decided that the
  - death sentence has been abolished and what this police did,

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Again, Chairperson, you

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Page 39659

1 because they felt that their fellow policemen had been

- 2 killed, they sentenced these people to death and executed
- 3 them. The executions in this country are not allowed even
- 4 if they were judicially sanctioned, let alone extrajudicial
- 5 executions that were committed on the 16th. So one doesn't
- 6 have to doubt the moral reprehensibility of what was done,
- 7 but it cannot deserve the firing squad that the world saw
- 8 being meted against our people on the 16th.
- 9 Now the other thing, I just want to touch then,
- 10 Chairperson, on the, what I've called the three game
- 11 changers. Maybe we could take that break now, just so that
- 12 I can isolate because it's just three points, three broad
- 13 points, but I can split them up into -
- 14 CHAIRPERSON: How long are you still, do
- 15 you -
- 16 MR MPOFU SC: About five, let's say five,
- 17 15 minutes, Chairperson.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON: Well, let's check with Mr
- 19 Wesley, how much time has he still got, Mr Wesley?
- 20 MR WESLEY: 11.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON: How much?
- 22 MR WESLEY: 11, Chair.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON: 11. Alright, we'll take a
- 24 10-minute adjournment -
- 25 MR BUDLENDER SC: Chair, I want to say

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- that Mr Mpofu's unique contribution to this, not his only
- 2 contribution but unique contribution to the work of this
- 3 Commission is the ability to make 13 minutes become 18 and
- 4 17 become 42, and I think we should all thank him for that.
- 5 MR MPOFU SC: I'll accept that,
- 6 Chairperson, as a compliment.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON: We're busy with 11.
- 8 Alright, let's take a 10-minute adjournment now and then
- 9 he's got 11 minutes and then Mr Chaskalson and you, Mr
- 10 Budlender, have the rest of the sitting until we adjourn
- 11 at -

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- 12 MR MPOFU SC: Thank you very much,
- 13 Chairperson.
- 14 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
- 15 [11:22] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
- 16 Before Mr Mpofu continues with his address I've been asked
- 17 to address two requests to the members of the public who
- 18 are present in the auditorium. The first relates to the
- 19 headsets that you all have today, I'm asked to ask you
- 20 please to leave them here in the chamber and they will then
- 21 be collected and returned to the contractor. The other
- 22 request relates to the headset that someone was using
- 23 yesterday and didn't hand in, so there's one headset short,
- 24 I'm quite sure it was taken through inadvertence, but I'm
- 25 asked that the person concerned must please bring it back

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- 1 because otherwise the Department is going to have to pay
- 2 for it. So those are two points. One, leave your headsets
- 3 in the chamber today and two, the person who took the
- 4 headset away yesterday please bring it back and hand it in
- 5 so we don't have to pay for it. Then I'm asked to make an
- 6 announcement that the Human Rights Commission as one of its
- 7 contributions to the work of Commission has arranged for a
- 8 photograph of all the counsel, legal representatives plus
- 9 the Commissioners to be taken at the end. And apparently
- 10 we're all going to have to be here at the front and some
- 11 kind photographer is going to take the photograph or
- 12 photographs. So just after we adjourn, I hope it won't
- 13 take too long, but just after we adjourn the photographs
- 14 are being taken and its, as I've said, it's one of the many
- 15 contributions the Human Rights Commission has made to our16 proceedings.

Then finally before we carry on with Mr Mpofu I'm told that Mr Bizos, whom I think can be described as the doyen of human rights lawyers in South Africa, as we well remember has made a contribution to our proceedings as

- 21 well, unfortunately he's not here today, but I ask Ms
- 22 Weldon please to convey a message of congratulations I
- 23 think I can take it upon myself to speak on behalf of us
- 24 all, to convey to him our very sincere congratulations on
  - the attainment of the 87th anniversary of his nativity.

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- It's his 87th birthday today, we're very happy for him, we
- 2 wish him all the best. We hope he has a great day, a
- 3 wonderful year and many happy returns with good health all
- 4 the say. So please would you convey that message to him Ms
- 5 Weldon? I think we can possibly give him a round of
- 6 applause. Mr Mpofu.

7 MR MPOFU SC: Thank you, Chairperson, I'm

- 3 glad that Mr Bizos's birthday coincides with day 300 of
- 9 this Commission, Chairperson. Chairperson, I just want to,
- 10 with the very limited time I have, I'm just going to touch
- 11 on very quickly, one is Commissioner Hemraj had asked me
- 12 about a reference of what Brigadier Calitz's responses were
- 13 when I asked him about the no warnings, particularly at
- 14 scene 3. Scene 2 rather, it's on page 20534, that's one of
- 15 the answers, line 14 to 25, day 173 where he said there was
- 16 time, or no chance, geen kans at scene 1 which is nonsense.
- 17 And then the other quick point which I wanted to make,
- 18 Chairperson, is that just to agree with Mr Semenya, my
- 19 learned colleague, on his analysis of if there's going to
- 20 Leave leave leave let a the Standard Science State Netternal
- be an inquiry into the fitness of office of the NationalCommissioner, which we also advocate in our submissions,
- 22 one should not just look at section 8 as suggested by the
- 23 evidence leaders, but also section 9 of the Police Act.
- 24 Actually the inquiry is probably placed at section 9, but
- 25 there's no harm at looking at both, reading section 8 with

- section 9. And then I just want to make this point to
- 2 round off the point I was making earlier about the death
- 3 sentence, that I'm told and I won't say this under oath
- 4 because I have not Googled it myself, but I'm told that
- 5 incidentally after the death sentence was abolished in
- 6 England it was reserved for another 40 years for treason.
- 7 So is that correct, yes. South Africa has abolished
- 8 completely.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON: Completely?
- 10 MR MPOFU SC: Yes except when it's war,
- 11 in times of war. When the Constitution is suspended.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON: There is an exception, that
- 13 is the exception.
- 14 MR MPOFU SC:
- 15 CHAIRPERSON: But that exception wouldn't
- apply in anyway. 16

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- 17 MR MPOFU SC: Yes, but that just shows
- you then it means then the South African Police Services 18
- 19 were using the English system. Now the next issue,
- 20 Chairperson, is that I just want to deal very quickly with
- 21 matters that deal with the game changes. The first one is
- an issue that you canvassed with my learned colleague, Mr 22
- 23 Tip, about the crucial matter of whether or not the
- 24 strikers were armed when on their way to the NUM offices on
- 25 the 11th. It's a very important issue, Chairperson, we
  - Page 39664
  - can't brush it off. I would have thought that the analysis
- made by Mr Gotz of the Cassim rush so to speak would have 2
- 3 put that matter to rest. But insofar as he didn't
- 4 Chairperson must also take into account the fact that
- 5 there's actually evidence, oral evidence of Mabuyakhulu who
- 6 was a very good witness that they were not armed which was
- 7 not challenged. In fact when it was challenged it provided
- 8 one of the most interesting moments in this Commission
- 9 because Mr Semenya played the video we say you can't be
- serious, look at that video and it turned out to be the 10
- 11 video of the NUM people.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON: Unfortunately we haven't
- 13 got a video for reasons that -
- 14 MR MPOFU SC: Yes it was the NUM people
- 15 walking and then that was clarified.

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- 16 CHAIRPERSON: We've only got the after
- 17 the incident video, we haven't got a prior one and that was
- 18 canvassed and I think that may have explained it.
- 19 MR MPOFU SC: No all I'm saying,
- Chairperson, that insofar as Mr Mabuyakhulu was challenged 20
- 21 it turned out that he was being challenged with the wrong
- video, the NUM people were assaulting him. He even said I 22
- 23 can even see my stick there, one of them has taken my
- 24 stick. And then, of course, the evidence of the strikers
- 25 who kept on saying, near the railway line and everywhere

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- that the reason why they went to arm themselves. And Mr
- 2 Gegeleza by comparison to Mr Mabuyakhulu, Chairperson, as a
- 3 witness was - it would be like comparing a Mercedes Benz to
- 4 a Volkswagen. He was a very unsatisfactory witness, one of
- 5 his highlights was that the armed people of NUM only
- 6 carried one stick and on spear, or something like that on
- 7 which I cross-examined him. So the Commission must make a
- 8 finding that Mr Mabuyakhulu evidence that they were in the
- 9 same way as they were on the 10th, in other words not armed,
- 10 except for their sticks, that that should be the basis and
- 11 that whatever follows then with the game changer then I've
- 12 already argued. The next one is game changer two,
- Chairperson, which is what happened on the 13th, very, very 13
- 14 important. Two points, one is the point that was debated
- 15 between my learned colleague, Mr Semenya and Commissioner
- Tokota. And that question is the lingering question of if
- 17 as I put, I think it was Brigadier Calitz where I said what
- was the attack, what was the attack and he said well it was
- 19 the crouching and the singing and so on. If that is true
- 20 then Commissioner Tokota put it to Mr Semenya which I don't
- 21 think was answered properly why under the exact same
- 22 conditions did firstly they not attack the five or seven
- 23 policemen who were standing in front of them. At least one
- 24 of them you can see on the video. I think I put the
  - distance in the end to about two metres or so between them

and the strikers, but more importantly going to putative

- self defence, if those policemen did not believe that
- because those people were crouching and singing and so on
- that it constituted an attack how could the ones of the 16th
- believe the same thing? So that does away both with the
- 6 putative self defence, but also what I call the mirroring
- 7 of the two scenes. But more importantly, Chairperson,
- 8 about game changer two is the following fact. And it goes
- 9 back to this issue of the execution and the death sentence
- 10 meted out against the strikers because remember our case is
- 11 that the motives that were at play here, paramount among
- 12 the police, was the revenge motive which we have spoken
- 13 about. And with Lonmin it was making money and saving the
- 14 NUM, but as far as the revenge motive is concerned,
- 15 Chairperson, ask yourself the following rhetorical
- 16 question.
- 17 CHAIRPERSON: You've got five minutes
- 18 left.
- 19 MR MPOFU SC: Yes, I have a stopwatch,
- 20 Chairperson and Mr Wesley. Ask yourself the following
- 21 question rhetorically, Chairperson, if the members of SAPS
- 22 were prepared to kill, to murder a general of the police,
- 23 one of their own because of what happened on the 13th. If 24 they were prepared to kill a general how much more about
- the people that they thought were the ones who had murdered

- their colleagues? I'll leave it that. If they were
- 2 prepared to kill a general, no less than a general, their
- 3 leader, the chief of the JOC, they were prepared to murder
- 4 him you can imagine what their feelings were against the
- 5 strikers. Then, Chairperson, let's go to the last game
- 6 changer which is the political motive. I just want you to
- 7 add one more - you and I, Chairperson, I was giving you the
- 8 factors which would point to what I'm hoping would be a
- 9 finding that the discussion of the NMF at least included
- the political considerations. One of the things I want you 10
- 11 to add, Chairperson, is the evidence of Mr De Rover. Mr De
- 12 Rover said that an operation of this kind, in his expert
- 13 opinion, could never have been carried out without the
- 14 political sanction from above. Now all of us have said
- 15 that, I've said that and so on. The importance about the
- 16 fact that it comes from De Rover is that Mr De Rover is the
- 17 police expert, he's the SAPS expert. It was not Mr White
- 18 or Mr Hendrickx or Mr Mpofu or whatever. He is brought
- 19 here by SAPS and he says there is no way that a operation
- 20 of this type could happen without a political say so from
- 21 above. So there's no ground upon which the Commission
- 22 would not be entitled -

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- 23 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry - approval from
- 24 the executive and the judiciary.
- 25 MR MPOFU SC: Ωh

Page 39669 curtain. And they say, Chairperson, please do not expect

- that any of the players here did not foresee the
- possibility of death. As Mr Jamieson, I think, conceded,
- it was put up by Mr Gotz and as is implied in the
- concessions made by Mr Ramaphosa, everyone foresaw the
- 6 possibility of death. And then the last one was please
- 7 don't try to - I know I have half a minute, ja, don't try
- to whitewash powerful politicians at all costs or do what
- I saw this morning, Chairperson, to round off that
- 10 submission, most of us who watched television yesterday
- 11 would have seen some of the scenes that will probably have
- 12 a negative effect into the future of our democracy, of
- 13 police storming into – POP storming into parliament. But
- 14 that is not what I want to talk to you about, I want to end
- my address by quoting what one of the members of parliament
- said there, Mr Naren Singh of the IFP. He said to those
- 17 people "Do not, in the name of protecting one man, you are
- protecting one man" he said "but opening a wound in our
- 19 nation that would bleed forever." And that is a plea that
- 20 we would put to this Commission or a warning or a plea that
- 21 our job is to make sure that this does not happen again.
- 22 And that as humanity as South Africans, although the Deputy
- 23 President said that we are collectively guilty we reject
- 24 that. But we say that we are collectively victims all of
  - us as South Africans are victims, all of humanity are

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CHAIRPERSON: So that indicated to me

- 2 that the political set up to which he's accustomed in the
- 3 Netherlands isn't the same as ours.
- 4 MR MPOFU SC: Yes anyway that's akin to a
- 5 declaration of war which we say this was. But,
- Chairperson, I want to end with this, when I asked the 6
- 7 people I represent what should be final message to the
- 8 Commission what came out were the following, what I would
- 9 call warnings that they were giving. But I'll change them
- into pleas because I don't think I'm in a position to make 10
- 11 warnings. But they said please, Chairperson, whatever you
- 12 do, do not insult the intelligence of South Africans and
- 13 the people of the world. Please follow the requirements of
- 14 your job, you and evidence leaders are supposed to be the
- 15 only non-partisan people here, to be impartial and to do
- 16 your respective functions without fear, without favour and
- 17 without prejudice. Secondly, please do not ignore the
- 18 obvious as to what was being concealed at the NMF meeting.
- 19 We've already covered that. And then please do not condemn
- the victims and insult them with theories such as the muti 20
- 21 theory and apropos what Mr Semenya was saying about these
- beliefs. I can refer him to the oxymoron of a holy war. 22
- 23 Even people who believe in other religions sometimes use
- 24 those religions either for defensive, for creating

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25 defensive curtains. Even prayer is used for a defensive Page 39670

- victims and you must remember that, Chairperson. As from
- today all of humanity will be under the slogan that says we
- are all Marikana. So we accept collective victimhood, but
- 4 we reject the collective responsibility. The
- 5 responsibility must go where it rests, to those people who
- 6 were instigated and made sure that our people are mowed
- 7 down and executed in cold blood. Thank you very much,
- 8 Chairperson.
- 9 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Mr Mpofu. Mr
- 10 Chaskalson.
- 11 MR CHASKALSON SC: Thank you, Chair. Mr
- 12 Budlender and I are going to split the reply. I'm going to
- 13 try to address very briefly seven issues. The first is
- what should be done about the fact that no visible policing 14
- 15 was put in place in response to Brigadier Engelbrecht's
- intelligence reports of 11 August. The second is Lonmin's 16
- 18 CHAIRPERSON: What was the first one?
- 19 MR CHASKALSON SC: What should be done 20
- about the fact that no visible policing was put in place in 21 response to Brigadier Engelbrecht's intelligence reports?
- 22 CHAIRPERSON: I see, thank you.
- 23 MR CHASKALSON SC: The second is Lonmin's
- complaints about the phase 2 against it. The third is
  - AMCU's submissions about dangerous weapons and the criminal

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Page 39671

law. The fourth is SAPS's contention that the JOC didn't

- 2 know that the operation was continuing from scene 1 to
- 3 scene 2. The fifth is what one can infer from the post-
- 4 mortems in relation to the presence of muti marks on the
- 5 victims of the 16th and what inferences may or may not be
- 6 drawn from that. The sixth is to clarify our punitive
- 7 recommendations and the seventh is to respond to the issue
- 8 in relation to the terms of reference and our submission
- 9 that there should be an inquiry under the SAPS Act into
- 10 misconduct or the fitness of the office of the National
- 11 Commissioner. Now if there's time after Mr Budlender's
- 12 submissions we'd like to show a presentation that we've
- 13 prepared which identifies with photographs the exact place
- 14 where 41 of the 44 victims died between 12 and 16 August.
- 15 It's 41 out of 44 because in respect of three of the
- 16 victims who died in hospital, Warrant Officer Lepaaku, Mr
- 17 Sagalala and Mr Ntsoele. We can't find conclusive
- 18 photographic evidence or video which shows the exact point
- 19 that they were killed.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON: Where they sustained the
- 21 fatal injuries.
- [11:42] MR CHASKALSON SC: 22 Indeed, where they
- 23 sustain the fatal injuries. We thought that this
- 24 presentation would be an appropriate presentation to use on
- 25 the last day of the Commission to remind ourselves what

- Page 39673
- references, it's day 198, 24278, line 14 to 24279, line 6,
- in respect of the 11th, and 24274, line 20, to 24275, line
- 25, in respect of the 12th, and we know that SAPS did not
- implement a visible policing strategy on the weekend of 11
- 5 and 12 August and that there were tragic consequences for
- 6 Mr Fundi, Mr Mabelane, and Mr Mabebe. I leave Mr Langa out
- 7 of that group because I'm not sure that SAPS's Visible
- 8 Policing strategy would have had the effect of saving him.
- 9 It may well have saved Mr Fundi, Mr Mabelane and Mr Mabebe.

So somewhere from Brigadier Engelbrecht through Major-General Mpembe to Major-General Naidoo and then on to the operational members the communication chain broke down and SAPS failed to take action that may very well have contained the situation at Marikana before it spun out of control. Now in our submission this is a very -

intelligence that was communicated to General Mpembe, there

16 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry, Mr Chaskalson, 17 even if one puts out of the reckoning for the moment the

19 was of course a plan in place which provided for the

20 establishment of the JOC, which wasn't implemented. Major

21 Govender who dealt with Visible Policing as well, Major

22 Govender was to be the official in charge of that; he

23 wasn't even informed of the plan according to him. 24

MR CHASKALSON SC: Indeed, there are two separate breakdowns. The one is the specific intelligence

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- 1 we've been doing for the last two years. There may be time
- to do so. If there isn't we will circulate it to the 2
- 3 parties and make it available to you and your Commissioners
- 4 so that it may be of assistance to you in preparing your
- 5 report.

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- CHAIRPERSON: Perhaps it could be put on 6
  - the website as well of the Commission.
- MR CHASKALSON SC: Well, Chair, it's not 8
- 9 the sort of material that should go on the website -
- 10 CHAIRPERSON: I see.
- 11 MR CHASKALSON SC: - because the pictures
- 12 are particularly gruesome and -
- CHAIRPERSON: 13 I see. I understand.
- 14 MR CHASKALSON SC: To start then with the
- 15 issue of the intelligence reports from Brigadier
- Engelbrecht, it was raised in our primary argument by Ms 16
- 17 Pillay, and she made the point that Brigadier Engelbrecht
- 18 reported to Major-General Mpembe on 11 and 12 August about
- 19 imminent attacks on NUM and on the workers at K4 and the
- 20 need for visible policing, two separate reports.
- 21 Now Major-General Mpembe says he was on leave and
- 22 handed the matter over to Major-General Naidoo. Major-
- 23 General Naidoo claims not to remember receiving any SMSs or
- 24 telephone calls from Major-General Mpembe in this regard
- 25 either on the 11th or the 12th. If I can give you the

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There were two points -

1 in relation to an attack on the NUM office and K4 -

CHAIRPERSON:

- 3 MR CHASKALSON SC: And the separate, the
- 4 second is the failure to implement the plan. We've
- 5 addressed the failure to implement the plan at length, but
- 6 in relation to the failure to act on the intelligence, the
- 7 failure of SAPS as an institution to act on the
- 8 intelligence of Brigadier Engelbrecht, in our submission
- 9 it's a very serious matter and it seems from the evidence
- 10
- that it was either Major-General Mpembe or Major-General Naidoo who was at fault in this regard. That's what the 11
- 12
- evidence suggests. We can't say who, but we would ask the
- 13 Commission to recommend that the issue be investigated
- 14 further by SAPS itself because this is a matter for 15
- disciplinary proceedings, for further investigation and
- 16 disciplinary proceedings. Somebody failed to do a very
- 17 important job and a job which may have saved people's
- 18 lives. It's for SAPS to find out who that person was and 19 to take the necessary action.

20 If I can then move to the Lonmin case on phase 2, 21 now Lonmin asks you not to make any findings against them in relation to the failure to discharge their social labour

23 plan housing obligations. They claim the issue falls

24 outside your terms of reference. They claim it would be

substantively unfair to them to make any findings against

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- 1 them because the housing problem is a problem that
- 2 government should be dealing with. They claim that even if
- 3 they had built the 5500 houses it wouldn't have made a
- 4 difference because it would have made no material change to
- 5 the housing backlog faced by the employees, and they claim
- 6 it would be procedurally unfair to them because they say
- 7 they had limited time to address the phase 2 issue and they
- 8 were only able to put up one witness.

The only thing that they don't claim is that they actually fulfilled their SLP housing obligations. It's not an oversight on their part. They don't make that claim because it's manifestly unsustainable. They must always have known it was an unsustainable claim because when they finally got their opportunity to put up their one witness to speak to the merits of their defence they chose Mr Seedat, who on his own admission has no personal knowledge whatsoever relevant to the SLP obligations. So instead of a witness we got a spin doctor, and that is in fact what happened.

Now in argument they continue ducking and diving to avoid the merits. Now we'd urge this Commission not to let them get away with it, and we'll take their evasive complaints one by one. The terms of reference complaint is a red herring. The Chair's ruling makes that clear. There couldn't ever have been any reasonable doubt that the

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- when he wrote to me to tell me that he was changing the
- 2 terms of reference, taking out 1.5, he did indicate it
- 3 might be necessary at the end of our work to reconsider
- 4 that and to have some kind of investigation in some form
- 5 into the issues raised by the deleted 1.5. So it's not
- 6 something that has necessarily disappeared from the radar

7 screen forever.

MR CHASKALSON SC: Indeed, but where the situation now is, Chairperson, is that your Commission has a legal duty to perform the function that has been assigned to it in accordance with the reduced terms of reference and it would be an unlawful abdication of that function to decide you won't investigate Lonmin, which you're asked to investigate, because you can no longer investigate government. It would in fact be unlawful.

Then we come to the "it wouldn't have made a difference" argument. We find that in Mr Burger's address on day 296, page 28993, lines 3 to 17, and I'd like to quote it. "Can I then conclude on this issue by the counterfactual? Assume for the moment there's going to be a finding, assume for the moment that we're going to be criticised in a vacuum, what's the counterfactual here? Because then the Commission will have to address the reality; what if 5500 houses had been built, what effect would that have had on the tragedy? Remember we employ

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- failure to address the housing issue "created an
- 2 environment conducive to the creation of tension, labour
- 3 unrest, disunity among its employees by the [inaudible]
- 4 conduct." It's not a test for legal causation in relation
- 5 to deaths. It's a test about the creation of an
- 6 environment conducive to the creation of tension.

But even if there was some doubt, that was actually removed by the one piece of evidence that Mr Seedat actually was qualified to give on the basis of personal knowledge, namely that the Lonmin board itself recognise that the tragic events at Marikana were linked to the critical shortage of decent housing for its employees. That was Mr Seedat's evidence and the reference is in our heads, it's day 292, page 38355, lines 4 to 21. So that's the terms of reference complaint.

The "it's not fair not to look at government" complaint is a non-starter. In an ideal world your Commission would have been able to investigate the failures of government and to make recommendations in this regard and we don't for a minute suggest that there haven't been manifest failures on the part of government. But the amendment of the terms of reference changed that and it leaves your —

24 CHAIRPERSON: I must say in fairness to 25 the President when he, we'll quote this in the report but

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Page 39678 28000 employees and we've got 10000 contract workers.

- 2 Let's forget about the contract workers" sensible
- 3 concession "and think away that the government should
- 4 provide housing to them," not just the government, their
- 5 employers, "but of the 28000 we've employed we've now built
- 6 houses for five and a half thousand. What about the other
- 7 20 and a half thousand?" That argument, the arithmetic is
- 8 wrong, it would have been 22 and a half thousand. "Is that
- 9 going to take away their complaints? Is that going to
- y going to take away their complaints: 13 that going to
- 10 create trust between the employer and the employee? I
- 11 wouldn't have thought so."

Let's step back from this argument and just look at it, because it's quite a breathtaking argument for Lonmin to make. It amounts to an argument that Lonmin has been so neglectful of the housing needs of its workforce that the 5500 houses in their SLP would have been no more than a drop in the ocean of squalor in which they expect their workers to live. That's what the argument is.

Well, Lonmin may have been bad, but it wasn't that bad. The figures that Mr Burger quoted to you are actually incorrect for two reasons; first is they conflate the total workforce with the number of migrant workers in categories 4 to 9, which is the real inquiry, migrant workers, and second they ignore the houses that were already available for Lonmin's category 4 to 9 migrant

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workers either through hostel conversion process or through 2 housing developments undertaken by Lonmin prior to 2000.

3 Now we've prepared a table which we have 4 circulated by email and given in hardcopy to Lonmin and 5 made available to you and your Commissioners, Chair. It's table 1 which shows the correct figures on the basis of 6 7 Lonmin's own documents with the sources, and there we see

8 that the total number of category 4 to 9 employees was 9 23044, not 28000 quoted by Mr Burger, that the total number

of these workers who were in decent housing by 2012 was 10 11 5883, which is 25%, 1 in 4. The total numbers not in

decent housing by 2012 was 17161, 74.47%, three-guarters. 12 13 We then look at what would have happened if

Lonmin had delivered. It would have created another 1130 on outstanding hostel conversions and another 5497 houses, that's the 5500 minus the three that they managed to build.

16 That would have changed the situation, so instead of 25% of 17

18 the workers in decent housing and 74% not in decent housing, you would have had 54% in decent housing and 45% 19

20 not in decent housing. 21 Now in our submission it would have been a very

material difference. It's not just that more than half the migrant workers would have been in decent housing, it's

24 also that the remaining 45% would have seen that their

25 employer was in the process of addressing their living

Page 39680 conditions. Instead three-quarters of the migrant

workforce was living in squalor and Lonmin had done nothing 3 about it for more than a decade. In fact they'd compounded

4 the problem by pushing 7 out of every 8 hostel residents

5 into the informal settlements. So it very much would have

made a difference, is our submission. 6

CHAIRPERSON: There was a suggestion that they had a choice, they didn't have to take the living-out allowance, they could have used, taken advantage of accommodation provided by Lonmin, but when I asked Mr Seedat how that would work in practice he wasn't able to explain how such choice could have been exercised -

13 MR CHASKALSON SC: Indeed, Chair, well -14 - what alternative there CHAIRPERSON: 15

was apart from the living-out allowance.

MR CHASKALSON SC: Well Chair, it wasn't possible because there wasn't any available housing. That leaves the procedural fairness complaint. It can be easily addressed. First of all it's grossly overstated. Lonmin

has had Dr Forrest's preliminary report since 15 August. 20

21 That's more than a month before Mr Seedat testified, more

22 than two months before they filed their reply to that

23 preliminary report. So they can't complain that they

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24 didn't have a proper opportunity to assemble a rebuttal of

25 the complaint against them. If they had an answer they had Page 39681

the time to put it forward.

2 But if you're still concerned about procedural fairness, we'd point out that with the exception of paragraph 26 of our heads of argument, which refers to a 5 DMR report, every submission in our heads of argument is 6 based exclusively on legal instruments or Lonmin's own 7 documents. So it's either a proclamation or the Mineral & 8 Petroleum Resources Development Act, or it's a document

CHAIRPERSON: The DMR document they had already, hadn't they?

MR CHASKALSON SC: No, they got through us but they didn't have independently. But we'd invite you to ignore paragraph 26. If they didn't have enough time to consider this document in the two months since they received Dr Forrest's report we don't need to depend on it. If you read our heads on the basis that we found our submissions exclusively on legal instruments and Lonmin's own documents and the testimony of Mr Seedat, you'll see that Lonmin has no complaint about unfairness and what you'll see from the heads, and it's in the heads, I'm not going to take you to them in any detail, but paragraphs 14 to 22 show that there was a clear obligation on Lonmin to build 5500 houses between 2007 and 2011 and Lonmin was at

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Paragraphs 23 to 27 show that they managed to build only three of the 5500 houses they committed to building and that failure was the product of a unilateral repudiation of their original obligation. Paragraph 29 shows that their complaints about delays in proclamation 6 are spurious.

all times aware of this obligation.

Paragraph 30 shows that their complaints about affordability are irrelevant because the SLP obligation was a binding legal obligation under the act. So affordability didn't enter into it. At best it gave them an opportunity to approach the department for a variation.

But paragraph 31 shows that in any event the budget for the entire programme could have been funded by a reduction of less than 20% in the \$607 million, and I emphasise dollars, not rands, that Western Platinum paid in dividends to Lonmin and Incwala over this period, or a reduction in the R1.3 billion payments that Western Platinum made to Lonmin and its Bermuda subsidiary over the same period, ostensibly for marketing services that the figures show cost considerably less than half that amount. So the money was there, it was just sent elsewhere.

So we would urge this Commission to find that Lonmin was in clear default of its housing obligations under the SLP and to ask that this finding be brought to the attention of the DMR. It's for the DMR to decide what,

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if anything, to make of it, but it does need to be stated and it does need to be brought to the attention of the DMR.

3 That brings me to the issue of dangerous weapons 4 at a gathering. AMCU submitted that the mere carrying of 5 dangerous weapons at a gathering was not a criminal offence prior to the post-Marikana amendment of the Regulation of 6 7 Gatherings Act. That's incorrect. Section 2(2) of the

8 Dangerous Weapons Act empowered the Minister to prohibit

9 the carrying of dangerous weapons at gatherings by means of a notice which would specify the category of gatherings and

10 the category of objects which were to be treated as 11

12 dangerous weapons -

> CHAIRPERSON: Was that section in operation in August 2012?

MR CHASKALSON SC: The section was in operation and the notice that was made under it is Government Notice 1633 of 1 October 1996. 1633 of 1 October 1996, which prohibited persons from being in possession at any time at any gathering at or in any public place of any object belonging to a class or type that was specified in schedule, paragraph 2 of the schedule, and that paragraph includes spears, assegais, knobkieries, pangas, knives with blades longer than - the list is long

24 and so any person carrying one of the objects at a public 25 gathering in Marikana was guilty of an offence and we don't Page 39685

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long, long time back. They were responsible for literally

thousands of deaths in KwaZulu-Natal in the 80s and 90s.

They've been responsible for deaths in labour unrest right through the period of the 80s and 90s, and they continue to be responsible for deaths. We do not retreat from a very 6 firm submission that they must be stamped out.

7 We do flag a concern that there is a risk that 8 the fragile peace that prevails in Marikana could be 9 disturbed by mass arrests for possession of weapons in 10 gatherings in August 2012, particularly if they're 11 perceived to be arrests effected on a partisan basis, or 12 for an ulterior purpose. How to assess that risk and what 13 weight to give it are matters for the discretion of the 14 NPA. We would merely ask the Commission to identify that risk in its report and to emphasise that whatever decisions 16 are taken in relation to the prosecutions, to prosecutions 17 for contravention of the laws relating to armed assembly, those decisions must be taken on an even-handed basis. If 19 they're not taken on even-handed basis it would really, 20 well, make matters much worse in Marikana rather than 21 better.

[12:02] Then there's the suggestion -

23 CHAIRPERSON: Of course, another thing 24 that can be done, and I don't know whether you are going to deal with it and that is, what I recalled earlier when you

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retreat from our submissions in this regard in paragraph 13.36 of our heads.

2 3 We do however need to add to those submissions in two respects, and they're two important respects. The

5 first is it's not only the strikers who participated in

armed assemblies during the week of 9 to 16 August 2012. 6

Exhibit ZZZZ6.27, which is the videos taken by Lonmin

8 Security on the afternoon of the 11th of August, show a

9 group of NUM supporters marching triumphantly around the

10 Wonderkop Hostel complex with dangerous weapons in the

afternoon of 11 August. Now that's a long time after there 11

12 may have been any need to defend themselves from any attack

13 that may or may not have taken place in the morning.

14 CHAIRPERSON: Are the hostels a public 15

place? 16

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MR CHASKALSON SC: The hostels I would submit would be a public place for these purposes, and we would submit that if the laws in relation to armed assembly are to be enforced against the strikers they must be enforced against the NUM supporters too.

The second is a more complicated submission and 22 that is that despite our belief that this country must stamp out armed assemblies, and that is a submission that we regard as very important, armed assemblies have bedevilled political life in this country since, well, a

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weren't in the chamber, the Mpembe plan that apart from arresting people for what happened, as far as in relation

to dangerous weapons and assembly, if existing dangerous

4 weapons in the possession of people in Marikana can be

5 seized by the police, then presumably some of the dangers

6 would also fall away.

MR CHASKALSON SC: And maybe that a possible recommendation in this regard is some - a suggestion of some sort of amnesty for surrender - in return for surrender of weapons, that is something that might be a way of addressing both issues. But the one principle that we would want to come out of this Commission is that going forward, armed assemblies have to be treated

14 ruthlessly. The suggestion that the JOC was unaware that 15 the operation was proceeding, in his argument yesterday Mr

16 Semenya suggested that there isn't evidence that the JOC

17 was aware that the operation was proceeding to scene 2

18 after scene 1. Now that, with respect, is not correct.

19 The transcripts of the radio transmissions make clear that

20 anyone in the JOC listening to the radio after the scene 1

21 shootings, would have been aware that the operation was

proceeding and that SAPS were still trying to remove

23 strikers from the koppie. We've prepared a time line of

24 the relevant transmissions in annexure 2. The crucial

points and that's extracted from the transcript of - the

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consolidated transcript of the radio transmissions. The

- 2 crucial points in the time line are, the first 15:53:50
- 3 which is marked in red at the top, which is when the scene
- 4 1 shootings take place. Then there's the item in yellow at
- 5 16:04:04, the times on the left at the ETV times, the times
- on the right are the times of the video or the times of the 6
- 7 cell phone. When Brigadier Pretorius sends her text to
- IPID calling them to the scene and saying "having operation 8
- 9 at Wonderkop, bad, bodies, please prepare your members as
- going to be bad." That is the earliest well, the 10
- 11 earliest point at which the JOC can be said to have known
- about the shootings is of course at the shooting, at the 12
- 13 time of the shootings themselves because of the evidence of
- 14 Mr Botes and Captain Kidd that it was audible on the radio.
- 15 The second point is 16:04:04 by which stage Brigadier
- Pretorius knew that it was going to be bad. That is in 16
- fact before she received the telephone calls from Captain 17
- 18 Loest. The next marker in this time line which is in red.
- 19 if we scroll down, is the 27 seconds between 16:08:15 and
- 20 16:09:17 which is when Mr Mkhonjwa becomes the first victim
- 21 to be shot at scene 2. So that's the point at which the
- 22 first victim is shot at scene 2, and then at the end of
- 23 this time line, 16:19:47 Mr Mpumza marked in red is the
- 24 last victim to be shot at scene 2, to be killed at scene 2.
- 25 Now, we've marked the transmissions in between and we'd

- going to happen at scene 2. The post-mortem evidence and
- muti marks. Mr Ntsebeza cited some statistics from the
- SAPS table in exhibit KKK10 in relation to the presence of
- fresh muti marks on the victims at scene 1. Unfortunately
- 5 that SAPS table is not entirely accurate, so we prepared
- 6 our own table with reference to the post-mortem reports in
- 7 exhibit A with the correct statistics or the correct
- 8 details and fully referenced. I want to emphasise that the
- 9 evidence leaders are of the view that the evidence of fresh
- 10 muti marks on accused persons cannot be used to infer an
- 11 intention to attack the SAPS because muti is at best
- 12 neutral in this regard. Some people taking muti may have
- 13 been wanting protection in the industrial dispute as Mr
- 14 Mpumza suggests - sorry, Mr Nzuza suggests. Others may
- 15 have been wanting protection from SAPS not because they
- 16 intended to attack SAPS but because they had already seen
- 17 on the 13th, that SAPS had killed some of their colleagues.
- Others may have been intending to attack SAPS and may have
- 19 wanted protection for that but at best, it's neutral. So I
- 20 want to emphasise our submission that fresh muti marks
- 21 don't themselves provide evidence of an intention to attack
- 22 SAPS. Having said that, the Commission must reach whatever
- 23 conclusion it's going to reach on the basis of the correct
- 24 facts in relation to fresh muti marks and they are the ones
  - that are set out in the table. What I would indicate

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- 1 invite, I don't want to spend much time on it now, we'd
- 2 invite you and your Commissioners Chairperson, to look at
- 3 them, but by the time that Brigadier Pretorius sent a text
- 4 to IPID there were at least ten radio communications that
- 5 would have made clear that the operation was continuing.
- Several of them would have suggested that the water cannon 6
- 7 was still needed so that - and you can infer from that that
- the crowd hadn't dispersed. Two of them would have alerted 8
- 9 the JOC to the fact that the water cannon was needed in the
- vicinity of a koppie. Before Mr Mkonjwa was shot and after 10
- 11 Brigadier Pretorius's text, there were at least another 12
- 12 communications which showed that the operation was
- 13 continuing. Several of these would have made clear that
- 14 SAPS were engaging the strikers in a koppie. Shortly after
- 15 Mr Mkonjwa was shot, the JOC would have heard a report that
- 16 there were two bodies, one of which was him, behind the
- 17 second koppie, and I emphasise the second koppie, and after
- 18 that report and before Mr Mpumza was killed there would
- 19 have been at least another nine reports that would have
- indicated to the JOC that the operation was continuing and
- 21 several of these reports would have alerted the JOC to the
- 22 fact that more shooting was taking place. So we submit
- 23 that the JOC was aware that the operation was continuing,
- 24 that it was continuing in circumstances where what had

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25 happened at scene 1 created very real risks for what was

Page 39690 quickly in relation to the table is we've distinguished

- 2 between scene 1 and scene 2. We've identified the position
- 3 at scene 1 and in scene 2, where the relevant victim was
- 4 killed. We've got a column that says "marks fresh or
- recent," and you will see that in seven of those entries
- 6 there is a question mark because the report doesn't 7 specify.

8 What I would like to point out in that regard is

9 that it's not a coincidence that all seven come from two

- 10 doctors who consistently don't distinguish between fresh or 11 old scarification marks, so the fact that there's no
- 12 mention of fresh scarification marks don't - is not an
- 13 indication that there weren't fresh scarification marks,
- 14 it's a reflection of the fact that the two doctors don't
- 15 distinguish and we've given the references. Over the page
- 16 there are two more entries in respect of the two victims
- 17 who we cannot place, Mr Segalala and Mr Motswele. Those
- 18 are the correct facts. I do want to emphasise again that
- 19 our primary submission is whatever the facts show are 20 neutral in relation to an intention to attack.

21 CHAIRPERSON: I wanted to ask you about

- 22 that. What is the significance, if any, of muti marks,
- 23 recent muti marks, scarification marks? I take it would be
- 24 a basis for suggesting that the at worst for the strikers,
  - the strikers concerned were minded to attack the police and

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- wanted to be invulnerable and so forth. It would tend to
- 2 support the submission that there was an attack or more
- 3 accurately there wasn't an original intention to attack or
- 4 possibly to attack. If of course - than then brings us to
- 5 the next question, was there actually an attack? Now there
- 6 was threats and there is however an argument that whatever
- 7 threats there had been when, at the crucial moment there
- 8 wasn't an attack and the argument would be that that was
- 9 because if there was going to be an attack the intending
- attack is repented and decided not to attack, where they 10
- 11 have realised this matter was more serious than that. So
- 12 if there in fact, at the end of the day one were to hold,
- 13 and obviously when the matter is, you've got to give
- 14 careful consideration to, that there wasn't in fact an
- 15 attack, it might be based upon an argument that there, if
- 16 it is a correct argument, that there wasn't an incident 1
- 17 and there wasn't an incident 2, and an analysis of the
- 18 final video that was produced. If one concludes that there
- 19 wasn't an attack, whatever the intention may have been
- 20 earlier, then how relevant is the muti evidence?
- 21 MR CHASKALSON SC: Well, it ceases to
- 22 have relevance. If the conclusion on the basis of the
- 23 evidence as a whole is there wasn't an intention to attack.
- 24 then the muti evidence takes the matter nowhere.
- 25 CHAIRPERSON: And if there was an attack,

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- even if there's a question as to whether there was an
- attack or not, the muti evidence would obviously be 2
- 3 relevant and have to be considered.
- 4 MR CHASKALSON SC: Yes, save for our
- 5 submission is that muti could reflect one of three
- possibilities or possibly other possibilities that we 6
- 7 haven't thought of.
- CHAIRPERSON: 8 I am putting it at its
- 9 highest.

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- 10 MR CHASKALSON SC: Chair, then to come to
- 11 the punitive recommendations. The first is to emphasis the
- 12 additional criminal investigations we mentioned in our oral
- 13 arguments but are not in our heads, because we don't want
- our heads to be treated as the laundry list of the only 14
- 15 investigations, and there are two that spring to mind. The
- first is the investigation of SAPS shooters who have not 16
- 17 provided statements which provide a satisfactory
- 18 explanation for their shooting at scenes 1 or 2, or in
- 19 respect of whom there's objective evidence that the
- 20 shooting was unjustified. The second is the investigation
- 21 of NUM supporters who can be seen with dangerous weapons in
- 22 that group that I've just discussed on the afternoon of the
- 23 11th.
- 24 Now through the main body of our heads of argument, we have also identified a range of instances of

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misconduct on the part of SAPS members. We haven't

- consolidated them in our concluding section on punitive
- recommendations. We'd merely emphasise now that we don't
- want them to be lost in the wash. Wherever we mention in
- the main body of the heads that a SAPS member should be 5
- 6 investigated for misconduct, we stand by that submission
- 7 and we just also make the obvious point that where we
- 8 recommended a criminal investigation into a SAPS member for
- 9 misconduct we'd also recommend that SAPS be instructed to
- 10 investigate -

11 CHAIRPERSON: It would helpful if you 12 could provide an omnibus note collecting all these

13 references for us.

14 MR CHASKALSON SC: We will -

> CHAIRPERSON: To save us the task of -

16 MR CHASKALSON SC: We will do so, Chair.

17 And that -

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CHAIRPERSON: Such revised submissions as

19 you are making now in this hearing.

20 MR CHASKALSON SC: We will do that,

21 Chair. And that leaves the issue of the – an inquiry in

22 relation to the National Commissioner and whether this

23 falls within your terms of reference. There are four

24 issues, one of which is a non-issue. What's the correct

provision of the SAPS Act is the first. Is it within your

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terms of reference. Is it fair to the National

Commissioner and are there grounds for an inquiry? The

3 non-issue is section 8 or section 9. We concede that we've

got the wrong section, it's section 9. Section 9 is an 5

allegation into misconduct.

6 The terms of reference question, we would submit answers itself in terms of clause 5 in particular which 8 says, "The Commission shall where appropriate refer any

9 matter for prosecution, further investigation or the

10 convening of a separate inquiry to the appropriate law

enforcement agency, government department or regulator 11

12 regarding the conduct of certain persons. And we would

13 submit that that would embrace an inquiry under section 9

14 of the SAPS Act. Then there is the question, is it fair to

15 the National Commissioner? And I don't fully understand

16 the argument. She's known that her conduct was going to be

17 scrutinised with a view to potential criminal liability or

18 further inquiry in terms of clause 5 of the terms of

19 reference. Several parties have been making submissions

that she should be investigated for murder. We don't know

21 whether the Commission will or won't accept those

22 submissions, or culpable homicide. But it's not clear to

23 us how she can complain if the Commission concludes that

24 her misconduct fell short if that which would justify a

murder investigation but still amounts to misconduct of the

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- sort that might justify her dismissal and so requires an
- 2 inquiry in terms of section 9. The issues in relation to
- 3 the National Management Forum, what happened at the
- 4 National Management Forum, and what SAPS' response to that
- 5 was, had been very fully ventilated in this Commission.
- There could never have been any doubt on the part of the 6
- 7 National Commissioner that this was something the
- Commission was taking very seriously. Now some people are 8
- 9 saying that must be referred for prosecution or for
- 10 investigation with a view to prosecution. We are saying,
- at the very least it must be referred with a recommendation 11

12 that an inquiry be set up in section 9.

13 CHAIRPERSON: What do you say about the 14 changes between the report that was sent to the President 15 and the media extract which she made on the morning of the

17th? 16

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MR CHASKALSON SC: That is - that too we have concerns about and we make the submission in our heads of argument that those changes seem to have emanated from her office. She was certainly aware of the changes.

CHAIRPERSON: She was asked about them and she didn't pretend, she didn't – to be fair to her she

23 didn't hide behind anybody else. She said, "I accept

responsibility" and so forth. And of course, if she'd read 24

25 the report that was sent to the President and that was the authorised.

MR CHASKALSON SC: Indeed, Chair, it's quite an astonishing natural justice argument because it's a suggestion that there should be a hearing. Before there is a hearing about whether there is going to be a hearing, because of course the ultimate hearing, if there is going

7 to be a hearing is going to be the inquiry itself. So

MR CHASKALSON SC:

8 there is -

> CHAIRPERSON: She would have the opportunity to say there shouldn't be a hearing because there isn't a basis for it.

> > Yes. But that's a

13 hearing before the President, not – before the Minister, not before this Commission. Then the last question is are there grounds? And we would stand by what we say in

paragraph 1302 amplified by the exchanges that we've just 16

17 had in relation to the press statement. But when I went

18 back to 1302 I realised to my shock that we hadn't

19 emphasised the actual facts of what her role was at this

20 extraordinary session of the NMF. We focused more on a

21 cover up than on what had or hadn't been done. Because

22 whatever her role was, she was party to a decision that in

23 our submission was a reckless decision that left 34 people 24 dead the next day. And because of her evasive attitude

at the Commission we don't know whether she drove that

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- nature of the information she had, then when she applied
- 2 her mind in the light of that information, to the statement
- 3 that she was going to make it's arguable, it's not for us -

4 MR CHASKALSON SC: Well -

5 CHAIRPERSON: - you might have seen the difference. 6

MR CHASKALSON SC: We would submit that she should have seen the difference because there is a very big difference. The one speaks about two separate incidents, one of which is quite difficult to explain or both of which are quite difficult to explain, but the one

much more difficult than the other. And the other just speaks about one incident. CHAIRPERSON: There is another point. In

the context of natural justice, if we were to suggest, I am not saying that we will, but if we were to suggest that an inquiry be held, she would have the opportunity to make representations to the relevant authority, the President in this case, as to why the inquiry shouldn't be held. So I would have thought that there wouldn't be a problem in relation to natural justice. She doesn't have to be heard by us before we make the suggestion. The complaint, the

23 difficulty would be related as far as she is concerned

24 possibly, to the holding of the inquiry. But she would be

25 able to address before the inquiry is authorised if it is

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reckless decision, or whether she was a passive party at

the extraordinary sessions. We don't know that. But her

role in the attempted cover up of the decision coupled with

suggestions of improper political considerations on her

5 part, that are reflected in the transcript of the

Provincial Commissioner's meeting with Lonmin on the 14th,

7 suggest that she may well have been a primary player in

relation to that decision, either way, there are grounds

for a misconduct inquiry. Our submission is that SAPS

10 should not be led by someone who on the best version for

11 her was party to a reckless decision that left 34 people

12 dead, and then participated in an attempt to cover up her

13 involvement in that decision. So we stand very firmly

behind the submission that there should be an inquiry in

terms of section 9.

16 [12:22] Chair, I've reached the limit of what I think I

17 can do without interrupting or taking away from Mr

18 Budlender's time, if there is time at the end and we can

19 get to the presentation that we've prepared, we'll ask

20 leave to do so.

21 CHAIRPERSON: I think it might be convenient for us a short, a very short comfort break at 23 this stage before we have Mr Budlender in argument.

24 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES] [12:27] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.

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Yes, Mr Budlender. 1

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MR BUDLENDER SC: Thank you, Chair.

3 There are five matters which I wish to address. The first

- 4 is Lonmin's defence that it was not under a duty, under a
- 5 legal duty to negotiate with the strikers. The second is
- 6 Lonmin's decision not to close down its mining operations
- 7 during the strike. The third is Mr Mathunjwa's account of
- his meeting with Mr Kwadi on the 16th of August. The fourth 8
- 9 is a brief remark on the question of a memorial, and then I
- 10 have some very brief closing remarks I wish to make.

So firstly as to Lonmin's defence of no legal duty to negotiate, a large part of Lonmin's submission was

13 that it was not required by law to negotiate with the

14 strikers. It says that the Constitution and the Labour

Relations Act and its own internal protocol did not oblige 15

16 it to do so. Now in fact they are wrong in respect of the

17 Constitution because the Bill of Rights operates

18 horizontally where appropriate and there could be no doubt

19 that the right to life binds and obliges an employer to do

whatever it reasonably can to avoid the loss of life by its

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employees. It was a breach of its constitutional

22 obligations.

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But in any event the argument misses the point because the Commission's terms of reference require it to

inquire into and make findings and report on, and make

Page 39701

- the words of the terms of reference and whether they
- 2 acted appropriately to exercise, to use the terms of
- 3 reference. That's what you are mandated by the President
- 4 to consider and it's no answer to say well, I didn't have
- 5 to act appropriately because I wasn't legally obliged to

6 act appropriately, or I wasn't obliged, I didn't have to

7 use my best endeavours because I wasn't legally obliged to

8 use my best endeavours. The answer is then you didn't use

9 your best endeavours.

> Mr Burger asked repeatedly where does the duty arise from. Well, we say that the duty arises, whether or not it's a legal duty, it arises from the duty of a responsible employer to act responsible and to act appropriately where there is a risk of the loss of human life. It is a duty not to say well, 44 deaths gave us good reason to negotiate outside our structures and to be flexible, but 10 deaths weren't enough. 10 deaths do not give us reason to be flexible, only 44 deaths give us reason to be flexible. That's not what a responsible employer does and it's not an appropriate response. CHAIRPERSON: Is it relevant that they

were requested by the police, the police came, they invited the police in to help them, the police came to them and urged them to negotiate? Is that relevant on this part of

25 the -

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recommendations concerning amongst others, the following

- 2 matters in relation to Lonmin, "1.1.1, whether it exercised
- 3 its best endeavours to resolve any disputes which may have
- 4 arisen (industrial or otherwise) between Lonmin and its
- 5 labour force on the one hand, and generally among its
- labour force on the other." It's not a question of whether 6
- 7 they had a legal duty to do so, whether they used their
- 8 best endeavours to resolve the dispute.

Secondly you're required to report on and make recommendations on, "1.1.2, whether Lonmin responded appropriately to the threat and outbreak of violence which occurred at its premises." Appropriately; it's not just a matter of legality, it's whether it did the right thing.

Thirdly, "1.1.4, whether it employed sufficient safeguards and measures to ensure the safety of its employees, property and the prevention of the outbreak of violence between any parties." Not a question of a legality, question of correct, whether it acted correctly.

"1.1.6, whether by act or omission it directly or indirectly caused loss of life or damage to persons or property." And Chair and Commissioners, that goes to the point which we made at the outset of our submissions. The question is not just whether Lonmin, or for that matter other parties, are legally liable for what happened, it's also whether they exercised their best endeavours - to use

Page 39702 MR BUDLENDER SC: Well, that's very

What they had to do was

material of course, very material. If they are told please

3 negotiate and they say we won't, all the more reason. Then

Lonmin's other explanation for not -

MR BUDLENDER SC:

CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry, one more point before you move on. We've had a bit of an argument here as to what exactly "negotiate" means but I'm not sure that

8 it's necessary for us to go that far. Did they have to

9 negotiate or just talk?

to talk to the people about what their complaint was and what their demands were and to try to resolve the issue. Now whether you do that by a process of full-on negotiation

14 or you do it by other means is a matter which one has to

15 decide if you like in the terms of situational

16 appropriateness. But the one thing you can't say is we

17 won't talk to you, we refuse to talk to you because of a

18 principle which is, which Mr Da Costa admitted led to a

19 completely cynical outcome, was a refusal to talk at all

because they said we'll only talk to you through the people

21 whom we know you're at war with. That was utterly cynical.

22 Mr Da Costa acknowledged that, and that's not what a

23 responsible employer does.

Lonmin's other answer, the one answer is we didn't have a legal duty. The other answer is that they

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Page 39703

couldn't negotiate because the miners were inflexible about

2 the 12 500 and therefore there was no point in talking to

3 them. Now that is firstly not founded in fact, and

4 secondly it's frankly absurd.

5 CHAIRPERSON: Isn't that mainly ex post

facto? There was no basis -6

7 MR BUDLENDER SC: That's -

8 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, if you're going to

9 make that point I won't say anymore.

10 MR BUDLENDER SC: That's precisely the 11 point I was going to make as to why it's not founded in 12 fact. It's not founded in fact because at the time of the 13 events Lonmin had no information at all that the strikers

14 would not budge on a demand for an immediate payment of

15 R12 500. There was no such evidence of that kind before

16 it. Subsequently, we have witnesses who came here 17

subsequently and said that and there's a lot of debate 18

about that, but at the time when they refused to negotiate

or refused to talk they had no information which suggested

20 that talking would be absolutely useless unless they're

21 paid R12 500 the next month, and so it's factually

22 unfounded. It's an ex post facto rationalisation.

Secondly, it's absurd because everyone knows, even I know that people often make very large demands as a starting point and very often they say we're intransigent

evidence is at page 37794 to 37796.

2 The problem with Mr Seedat's evidence is that, 3 (a), it's purely theoretical, and (b), it doesn't answer the question. It's theoretical because he wasn't on the 5 scene at the time when the decision was made to continue 6 mining operations full-on. He arrived later. He doesn't 7 say, and he can't say why the decision was in fact made.

8 But you do have evidence about why it was made and that was given by Mr Mokwena and I'd like that on the 10 screen because it's a critical passage in the evidence. It's day 292 and it's page 38211 and I'm starting at line

12 17. So Mr Ramphele is guestioning Mr Mokwena and he says

13 at line 17, "So it was known, will you agree with me that

14 it was known to Lonmin that there was danger for those

15 employees who were to report for work?" Mr Mokwena, "That

is correct." Mr Ramphele, "It is also correct that in your

17 recruitment you recruit a large number of people coming

18 from very distant places and they have to find

19 accommodation in neighbouring villages. Is that correct?"

20 "That is correct." Mr Ramphele, "And that if these people

21 were going to be going to work," and if you'd just look at

22 this paragraph, "if they were going to be going to work

23 they would face the same violent action by those who do

not, did not want them to go to work." Mr Mokwena, "That

is true." Mr Ramphele, "And that it was a known danger, it

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and we won't budge, but they do budge once talking and

2 negotiations take place. That was Mr Ramaphosa's evidence.

3 I know that as having been an employer in a small non-

4 governmental organisation. Everybody knows that. People

5 make demands and when you talk they moderate their demands.

One can reasonably expect that the management of the 6

world's third largest platinum miner knew that, and if they 7

didn't know that they had no job managing that company. I 8

9 don't believe that's the case. They knew it. They knew

full well when you talk things shift.

Then I want to address two matters where it appears that Lonmin is in any event legally liable. The first matter is Lonmin's decision not to close down its mining operations. Now in his evidence on day 289 Mr -CHAIRPERSON: Sorry, I just want to get,

for the purpose of clarity, close down mining, you mean put 16 17 it on care and maintenance?

18 MR BUDLENDER SC: Yes. Yes, I'll come to 19 that, thank you, Chair. In his evidence on day 289 Mr Seedat addressed the issue of closing the mine to avoid 20 21 further loss of life. He said "You can't simply switch off 22 and close down because there are certain essential

services, maintenance services which have to be continued 23

for safety and other reasons," and that apparently involves 24

25 something less than 10% of the workforce at most. The Page 39706

Yes. Mr Ramphele, "And

was a known danger that Mr Langa on his way to work would

in all probability if he were to meet the strikers, would

be faced with the same fate of these people that were

injured on the 10th?" Mr Mokwena, "That is correct." 5

CHAIRPERSON: The 10th of course was the wrong date.

6 7 MR BUDLENDER SC:

8 therefore you would agree with me that not informing Mr 9 Langa that he should not come to work because of the circumstances was something that one can call 10 irresponsible?" Mr Mokwena, "That could be the case, 11 12 Chair," and then he goes on to explain why the decision was 13 taken. This is the evidence of the decision which was

14 actually taken, not Mr Seedat's subsequent spin on the

15 decision that was taken. "If I may say, one of the options

16 that actually we considered was to close the mine and we

17 deliberated extensively and looked at what that could mean

18 for employees who then we would have to pay because they'd

19 absolutely nothing to do with the strike." So it was a

20 matter that was discussed extensively, let's close the

21 mine. "The question then was if we close the mine the

22 workers who are not on strike have to be paid because

23 they're not on strike, and we realised then that it was 24 going to be very difficult to determine who was actually on

strike and who was not on strike if we were to pay people

Page 39707

- after closing the mine. Further we also looked at the
- 2 issue that if we close the mine, continue paying people who
- 3 are not striking, the likelihood would have been why would
- 4 anyone therefore go back to work if they're paid because
- 5 there is an unprotected strike. So it was a complex issue,
- 6 Mr Chair. I want to admit, however, that it was a
- 7 consideration on our part actually to close the mine as a
- tool to avoid further damage." So they closed, what 8
- 9 actually happened is not what Mr Seedat says might have
- 10 happened, what actually happened is they considered closing
- it, they debated it intensively and they said no, we are 11
- 12 not going to do that because we don't want to have to pay
- 13 wages to strikers and we don't want to have to pay non-
- 14 strikers for not coming to work. That's the reason.
- 15 That's the decision, and so Mr Seedat's explanation of the
- 16 essential services didn't even arise. They didn't even
- 17 consider whether they should keep the essential services
- 18 going. That was not even up for debate. They said we
- 19 won't close.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON: Presumably if they kept the 21 essential services going there would be a much smaller
- workforce, much easier to protect them on their way to work 22
- 23 and way back.

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- 24 MR BUDLENDER SC: Yes, Mr Chaskalson
- 25 points out, and under those circumstances if they said we

- Lonmin also failed to comply with its legal
- obligation to provide adequate protection for its security
- staff. Their security staff said please buy us some hard
- vehicles. Lonmin said no, we're only going to provide
- soft-skin vehicles. But whatever the merits of that
- 6 decision, it didn't prevent Lonmin from saying to its
- 7 service provider, Protea Coin, please provide hard-skin 8 vehicles when in fact there was a hard-skin vehicle
- 9 initially. Could we have a look at exhibit ZZZZ6.23.068?
- This is on the there's the vehicle, on the 9th of August
- 11 2012. It's a very large, very intimidating hard-skin
- 12 vehicle owned by Protea Coin on the 9th of August. Now
- 13 apparently that vehicle was burnt out, but there's no
- 14 explanation for why Lonmin didn't say to Protea Coin that's
- 15 what we want at the very time when it was most needed. It
- 16 was there when it was not most needed and it was not there
- 17 when it was most needed.

18 That brings me to the third matter, which is Mr

- 19 Mathunjwa's account of his meeting with Mr Kwadi on the 16th
- 20 of August. I need to reply to the submissions on behalf of
- 21 AMCU in that regard. In our heads of argument we submitted
- 22 that initially Mr Mathunjwa gave a false account of what
- 23 had happened during his meeting with Mr Kwadi on the 16th of
- 24 August and in response Ms Barnes on behalf of AMCU argued
  - firstly that Mr Mathunjwa couldn't have been expected to

Page 39708

- are keeping the essential services going just to keep
- things afloat there would have been no incentive for anyone 2
- 3 to attack the workers because there was no production
- 4 taking place, no smoke from the stacks. It would have just
- 5 been a safety operation. So a deliberate, a cold and
- 6 deliberate decision was made by Lonmin to instruct people
- 7 to come to work, knowing that they might be killed, and the
- reason that decision was made was because that would be in
- 8 9
- Lonmin's financial interest.

We say with all due consideration, that was a cynical and in fact appalling decision. The managers, in

- 11 12 the comfort of their offices, deliberated intensively and
- 13 decided for financial reasons to instruct their employees
- 14 to come to work, knowing that this would put their lives at
- 15
- risk, and the results were predictable, as Mr Mokwena 16 acknowledged. The decision was not only cynical and
- 17 appalling, it was also unlawful, if you read the judgment
- 18 of the SCA in Media24 versus Grobler. The deaths of Mr
- 19 Mabebe and Mr Langa were the direct result, the direct
- 20 result of the decision of Lonmin not to close down the mine
- 21 or put it on a maintenance basis. They were the direct
- predictable, foreseeable and unlawful consequence of a 22
- 23 decision by Lonmin, and the law is quite clear, if you
- 24 can't provide a safe workplace you may not tell your
- 25 employees to come to work. It's as simple as that.

- Page 39710 give a detailed account of such an informal meeting in his
- statement, and secondly that in any event he was consistent
- in his testimony that AMCU wanted to negotiate in an ad hoc
- central forum on behalf of the strikers.
- 5 But we submit that's not the evidence. Firstly
- in his statement exhibit KK Mr Mathunjwa describes the
- 7 meeting with Mr Kwadi in some detail in three paragraphs.
- 8 He doesn't refer to the demand that Lonmin recognised AMCU
- as a bargaining agent before he goes to the mountain to try
- 10 to persuade the workers to return to work, and that was
- 11 very material because if Mr Mathunjwa had demanded this
- 12 because he needed something to take to the strikers and he
- 13 didn't get it, then his need for it and his inability to
- 14 obtain it were very material to the events which followed
- 15 and one would expect them to be in the statement and say
- 16 actually I knew I was going to have trouble persuading the
- 17 strikers. I tried to get something to take to them but
- 18 Lonmin was hard-headed and wouldn't give it to me.
- 19 Then secondly during his evidence-in-chief Mr
- 20 Mathunjwa gave a detailed account of his discussion with Mr
- 21 Kwadi and again didn't mention this in any way. And then
- 22 thirdly he was cross-examined on this by Mr Burger. It's 23 day 24, page 2551 from line 11, I'll just read it. Mr
- Burger puts to him, "What you wanted to get from management
  - is an undertaking that if the workers go back to work and

Page 39711

- there's going to be a discussion on wages, you want to be
- part of the discussion?" Mr Mathunjwa says, "That's your 2
- 3 opinion." Mr Burger says, "No, I'm putting it to you as a
- 4 fact," and Mr Mathunjwa answers, "That is not correct." Mr
- 5 Burger says, "And you said to management on the morning of
- 6 the 16th, don't be technical with me, meaning don't refer me
- 7 to bargaining structures. If these people get off the
- 8 koppie I want a seat at the table," and Mr Mathunjwa said,
- 9 "Where is that, Sir? Can you give it to me?" and then it
- was, after Mr Mathunjwa had been shown the transcript OO13 10
- 11 he conceded that he had sought this undertaking from
- 12 Lonmin. So his evidence initially was not correct.
- 13 I do, however, want to record something publicly
- 14 in this regard. I want to record publicly that this in no
- 15 way detracts from the moral courage which Mr Mathunjwa
- showed in attempting to persuade the strikers to leave the 16
- koppie on the 16th of August when he would obtain no benefit 17
- 18 from it. AMCU would obtain no benefit from it, and he
- 19 risked being attacked as a sell-out by going to the
- 20 strikers and saying it's time to leave the koppie and lay
- 21 down your weapons. He showed considerable courage in doing
- 22 so and he ought to be congratulated for that, and I want to
- 23 say that it does not lie in the mouths of those who did not
- 24 lift a finger to prevent the catastrophe to criticise Mr
- 25 Mathunjwa for his conduct. It's not for them to say that.
  - Page 39712
  - They should be ashamed of themselves.
- 2 If anyone of us, if you ask who used their best
- 3 endeavours, it was Mr Mathunjwa, no-one else, literally no-
- 4 one else that I can find. You can say really stretched and
- 5 tried and hard and pushed, only Mr Mathunjwa. So we
- criticise his evidence, but his conduct is with respect to 6
- 7 be respected.

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- 8 CHAIRPERSON: I don't think he was the
- 9 only one who used his best endeavours. I'm not sure with
- 10 respect that's correct. I think there's a lot to be said
- 11 for what the stance - never mind some of the things he was
- 12 perhaps persuaded to say, but the stance he took, General
- 13 Mpembe, was also commendable.
- 14 MR BUDLENDER SC: Sorry -
- 15 CHAIRPERSON: I thought you said the only
- one who used his best endeavours -

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- 17 MR BUDLENDER SC: To whom are you
- 18 referring, Chair?
- 19 CHAIRPERSON: General Mpembe. General
- 20 Mpembe may have said things that he shouldn't have said in
- 21 evidence, but -
- 22 MR BUDLENDER SC: We certainly -
- 23 CHAIRPERSON: - he made the right
- 24 decision on the 13th. I know the evidence leaders take a
- 25 different view, but Mr Mpofu takes the view that prima

Page 39713

- facie I have and on the night of the 15th he also expressed
- the view which is one which does him credit.
- 3 MR BUDLENDER SC: General Mpembe
- certainly did some things which were right. When Mr Tokota
- 5 asked earlier in the hearing did the police do anything
- 6 right, he certainly did some things which were right, but
- 7 there are things which we've submitted he did wrong and we,
- 8 one of the things he did wrong was he didn't call off the
- 9 operation as the overall commander after scene 1.
- 10 [12:46] He could have done it. I'm not going to re-
- 11 traverse that. I don't want to re-traverse General Mpembe,
- 12 though I think some people on our team would like me to,
- 13 but he did, he certainly did some things right with the
- 14 meetings that he had with NUM were sensible and wise. His
- decision not to confront the strikers initially on the 13th
- 16 was sensible and wise. Unfortunately he blotted his
- 17 copybook rather badly we say in other respects, but I'm not
- 18 going to go there.
  - Then Chair and Commissioners, may I say something very brief about the question -
    - CHAIRPERSON: Just before you leave it,
- 22 Mr Mpofu has submitted that he was from a factual point of
- 23 view superseded as overall commander and I suppose you
- 24 don't have to go there, but if that submission has some
  - substance then that detracts from the submission you made,
- Page 39714

criticising him.

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- 2 MR BUDLENDER SC: Yes, if that's what
- he'd said. If he'd come and said I couldn't stop it
- 4 because it was taken away from me, control was taken away
- 5 from me, then one could have dealt with that. But there
- 6 was a closing of ranks and he said no, no, no, no-one - he
- 7
  - said "I took the decision."
- 8 [Microphone off, inaudible] CHAIRPERSON: 9
- some things which caused concern, but he also said to
- 10 Mathunjwa you talk to General Mbombo, I'm not in charge
- 11 anymore.
- 12 MR BUDLENDER SC: Which he denies. He can't have it both ways. He can't say give me credit for 13
- 14 saying that to Mr Mathunjwa but I didn't say it. He
- 15 can't -
- 16 CHAIRPERSON: If we find he did say it to
- 17 Mathunjwa, you don't suggest that that aspect of Mr
- 18 Mathunjwa's evidence is questionable and shouldn't be
- 19 accepted?
- 20 MR BUDLENDER SC: No, it's entirely
- consistent with the known facts. Then can I come to the
- question of the memorial. We made the proposal in our
- 23 written submissions that there should be some form of 24 memorial. We left it open as to what that should be. It
  - doesn't have to be a statue. There are many ways of

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- 1 memorialising an event, but we made the submission that
- 2 there should be some memorialising of what happened and
- 3 that it must be, that the memorial must be a memorial for
- 4 all. It must be a part of the process of restoration and
- 5 reconciliation, not a new source of division. If it is
- 6 going to be a physical memorial, location is very
- 7 important, and Mrs Fundi has made the point to us that if
- 8 the location is not acceptable to everyone the memorial
- 9 will not serve its purpose, and so both the process of
- 10 identifying the memorial and the memorial itself have to be

11 inclusive, part of a process of reconciliation, otherwise

12 we will in fact reopen old wounds and reopen very deep

13 wounds.14 Fi

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Finally in closing, Chair, may I say this; Lonmin produced the, made available to the Commission the very interesting report of the Stonechild Inquiry in Canada and one of the conclusions of that commission provides the appropriate response, we submit, to what SAPS did immediately after this catastrophe, namely close ranks. Immediately after the catastrophe the Minister, the National Commissioner and Brigadier Calitz all announced that the police had acted correctly and told the police that they had acted correctly, and the passage in the Stonechild Report which we think is helpful is at page 207,

and this is what the report says, "Certainly the Saskatoon

Page 39717

our submissions, members of the Commission.

Finally, may I take the liberty of speaking on behalf of all of us, without a power of attorney, to – I'm the shop steward, I'm told. I would like to take the liberty of thanking you, Commissioners, on behalf of all of us. We're all indebted to you for your patience, for your

hard work and for your commitment to finding the truth andwe wish you the best as you now undertake the task of

9 producing your very important report. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Before I say something, didn't you want to show us something about the position of the deaths? How long is that going to take? Have we got time for that?

MR CHASKALSON SC: If we go quickly through it, it will take maybe 12 minutes.

16 CHAIRPERSON: I don't think we've got 17 that, I'm afraid. But you'd said you'd give us copies 18 later.

19 MR CHASKALSON SC: Can we give it an

20 exhibit number so that -

CHAIRPERSON: Ms Pillay is in charge of

22 that. She'll give it -

23 MR CHASKALSON SC: ZZZZ49.

24 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, thank you. Thank 25 you very much. Before we adjourn for the last time, there

Page 39716

- 1 Police Service must treat its members with respect and
- 2 dignity and observe the procedural and substantive
- 3 protections of the law. If, however, the Saskatoon Police
- 4 Service becomes an advocate for its members it assumes a
- 5 role that is antithetical to its responsibility to the
- 6 public. In assuming such a partisan rule the Saskatoon
- 7 Police Service contributes to a public perception that the
- 8 police cannot police themselves and that complaints against
- 9 the police are futile." That we submit is a very telling
- 10 observation which is very much applicable to the response

11 what we have had in this Commission.

Policing, Chairperson and members of the Commission, is a difficult and sometimes very dangerous task and Mr Semenya is quite right in that regard. We all need the South African Police Service and we desperately need a police service on which we can rely and which we can trust. The South African Police Services' dogged denial that it did anything wrong, its invention of evidence, its concealment of evidence and its attempts now that those efforts have failed to argue that the Commission may not make any meaningful findings and recommendations are not in the interests of the South African Police Service and they are not in the interest of our country. It's time,

Chairperson, for some accountability. It's time for a

change and it's time for a change from the top. Those are

Page 39718 are some things I want to say. I want to begin by thanking the municipalities of Rustenburg and Tshwane which made venues available to the Commission free of charge and thus made a significant contribution to the Commission's work.

I also want to express our gratitude to the officials of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development and the Secretariat of the Commission for all they've done to facilitate the working of the Commission.

We're also grateful to the evidence leaders and their researchers for all the dedicated work they did to enable the Commission to carry out its functions.

We also want to express our gratitude to the legal practitioners who represented the various parties who participated in the proceedings of the Commission, thank them for their inputs, for their submissions, which I'm sure will contribute very significantly to a report which we hope will be of assistance not only to the people directly involved in the events at Marikana, but looking ahead, to the country as a whole.

It's also important to acknowledge the coverage given to the Commission's work by the media who've enabled the public both in this country and beyond our borders to follow what has been happening at the Commission.

We have on occasion found it necessary to engage with the witnesses in what might be considered a robust

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1	manner. This has been done in an effort to enable us to	
2	understand and evaluate the evidence and to decide what	
3	weight we can attach to their evidence.	
4	We, the Commissioners, will as diligently as we	
5	can consider all the evidence and all the arguments that	
6	we've heard before making our conclusions, before reaching	
7	our conclusions.	
8	As I've said, I want to thank all the people I've	
9	mentioned and to say that it's ultimately been a much more	
10	harmonious commission than I thought it would be in the	
11	beginning. I was very pleased to see the – issues I won't	
12	go into, but by and large the Commission has proceeded and	
13	all the people have taken part in a very harmonious way and	
14	I think that also will be seen in the end to contribute to	
15	a satisfactory result as far as our work is concerned. And	
16	on that note the Commission adjourns for the last time.	
17	[COMMISSION ADJOURNED]	
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