

RealTime Transcriptions

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

MARIKANA

BEFORE TRIBUNAL

THE HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE FARLAM (RETIRED) - CHAIRPERSON
MR TOKOTA SC
MS HEMRAJ SC

HELD ON

DAY 66 25 MARCH 2013 PAGES 6973 TO 7096

HELD AT

CIVIC CENTRE, RUSTENBURG, NORTH WEST PROVINCE



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<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6973</p> <p>1 [PROCEEDINGS ON 25 MARCH 2013] 2 [10:12] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. I 3 understood that counsel for the Human Rights Commission 4 wishes or might just wish to say something but I'll call on 5 him later. Mr Semenya? 6 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, if I may be 7 permitted, we would place – we would want to place on 8 record that, as SAPS, it is with deep shock to learn of the 9 assassination of the sangoma implicated in the Marikana 10 muti rituals, who has been gunned down last, yesterday 11 morning, early hours in the morning and this was 12 immediately with an imminent attempt by the police to get 13 hold of him as a witness in these proceedings. 14 CHAIRPERSON: Where did this take place? 15 MR SEMENYA SC: In Bizana. 16 CHAIRPERSON: In Bizana. Yes, well, 17 thank you for giving us that information, putting it on 18 record. Some of the parties have said that they deny that 19 there was a sangoma involved, so all we can say is the 20 person who is alleged to have been the sangoma and alleged 21 to have done the things that were put to the witnesses, has 22 been assassinated and that's obviously – you say just 23 before the police were due to make contact with him. Well, 24 that's obviously a very serious matter and thank you for 25 drawing it to our attention. This is the second person who</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6975</p> <p>1 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I have said I 2 continued to receive briefing from this environment. 3 MR MADLANGA SC: I didn't hear the last 4 part, you said from? 5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I said in my testimony 6 that I continued to receive briefings from this 7 environment. 8 MR MADLANGA SC: Are you able to tell us 9 who the people who gave you the further briefs or further 10 briefing were, besides those that you've already told us 11 about? 12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: In chief, it has been 13 the commanders led by General Mbombo. 14 MR MADLANGA SC: Would it have been a 15 different set of commanders or possibly the same set that 16 you have already told us about? 17 MR MAHLANGU: The question again, sir, if 18 – 19 MR MADLANGA SC: Would it, or was it the 20 same set of commanders that you have already told us about 21 or would it or was it a different set of commanders? 22 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have said in chief, 23 it would have been the commanders that you've heard about, 24 led by General Mbombo. 25 MR MADLANGA SC: So would it be fair then</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6974</p> <p>1 has links with this Commission in some way or other who has 2 been killed and it's a matter of great concern to the 3 Commission and I'm sure to everyone else involved. 4 National Commissioner, you're still under oath. 5 MANGWASHI VICTORIA PHIYEGA: s.u.o. 6 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, I take it you 7 want to continue with your cross-examination? 8 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MADLANGA SC (CONTD.): 9 Yes, Mr Chairman, thank you. National Commissioner, before 10 I start my cross-examination on the subject where we left 11 off, can I just briefly touch on a different subject. You 12 mention in your statement and in testimony that you were 13 briefed by certain commanders whom you mentioned, during 14 the night of the 16th of August 2012 on what had taken place 15 during the killings at Marikana on that day and you also 16 say that there was an update in the morning of the 17 following day, before you held the press conference, do you 18 remember that? 19 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 20 MR MADLANGA SC: What I'm interested to 21 find out is whether you ever received any further briefing, 22 update or whatever you choose to call it, on the details of 23 what happened on the 16th of August 2012, that is when the 24 killings took place. Did you ever get any other briefing 25 prior to the session at Potchefstroom?</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6976</p> <p>1 to say that even in those further briefings, the only 2 people you knew to have been at the scenes of the killings 3 were the same two, that is General Naidoo and Lieutenant – 4 no, no, I can't think of his rank – and Brigadier Calitz, 5 so to your knowledge the only two that would have been at 6 the scenes would still have been just that two, even during 7 the further briefings, at least to your knowledge. 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: From a commanders' side 9 I would say yes, but there are other sub-commanders that 10 report to them that would have been there. 11 MR MADLANGA SC: No, no, before we talk 12 about anybody who might have said something to the 13 commanders, so is your answer yes, to your knowledge, those 14 that briefed you or rather of those that briefed you, only 15 the two, according to your knowledge, had been at the 16 scenes. Your answer is yes to that. 17 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I would still say in 18 addition to those two, yes, those two but in addition to 19 those there were others that were there. 20 CHAIRPERSON: Would there have been 21 others who briefed you personally? 22 GENERAL PHIYEGA: No, Judge. 23 CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible] those who 24 personally briefed you. I understand other people 25 [inaudible] briefed you. He's concerned with who actually</p>

Page 6977

1 briefed you yourselves and it seems clear from what you say
 2 that of the people who personally briefed you, as far as
 3 you know, the only two – the only ones who were on the
 4 scene at the time the incidents took place were General
 5 Naidoo and Brigadier Calitz. That’s correct, isn’t it?
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Of the people who
 7 briefed me, yes.
 8 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, thank you.
 9 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman.
 10 Did these further briefings bring to your attention
 11 information that you had not received at the briefing and
 12 update of the 16th and 17th respectively?
 13 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have stated in my
 14 statements the information that was brought to my attention
 15 and also the information that is sitting in our
 16 presentation is part of the information that I have been
 17 privy to. The question is a little bit broad for me to say
 18 yes or no.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, think the
 20 National Commissioner is correct, the question was what the
 21 constitutional lawyers would call over-broad. Perhaps you
 22 could narrow it a bit so that she could give a focused
 23 answer.
 24 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman.
 25 National Commissioner, you do know what you were told

Page 6978

1 during the briefing of the 16th of August 2012, just like
 2 you would also know what you were told during the update of
 3 the morning of 17 August 2012, not so?
 4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 5 MR MADLANGA SC: Now what I would like to
 6 know is, what is it that you were told after the update of
 7 the morning of 17 August 2012, but before the Potchefstroom
 8 session, whatever the date or the first date of that
 9 session was? What new material came to your attention
 10 after the update of the morning of the 17th of August – but
 11 before the Potchefstroom session?
 12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I would still say the
 13 question you are asking me is extremely broad because the
 14 information at hand was not only influenced by what you saw
 15 on TV, what you heard from people, so it’s very difficult
 16 to put your pulse on the finger to say what in the – you
 17 intend.
 18 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: General, may I just
 19 enquire whether any of those updates in that period
 20 referred to by Mr Madlanga were in writing in the form of
 21 memorandums or reports to you or were they all verbal
 22 briefings, oral briefings?
 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: A lot of it was verbal
 24 briefings because we consolidated our information into what
 25 the joint was doing and the team that was there was doing,

Page 6979

1 so the presentations that you saw of the police was a
 2 consolidation of a lot of information that came from
 3 various members.
 4 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, Commissioner
 5 Hemraj. Are you able to tell – I do see the difficulty
 6 that you seem to have, National Commissioner, and I
 7 appreciate that but let me try nonetheless. Are you in a
 8 position to say that as at 20 August 2012 you had already
 9 received some of these further briefings, that is after the
 10 update of the 17th of August, or not?
 11 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I continued to receive
 12 updates because operations continued. We didn’t wrap up
 13 and go.
 14 MR MADLANGA SC: And would all these
 15 updates, less alleged briefings, have been about the, how
 16 the killings had taken place or would it have been
 17 briefings on some other issues related to the killings,
 18 again focusing on the 20th of August, as at the 20th of
 19 August. Would they have been about how the killings had
 20 taken place?
 21 GENERAL PHIYEGA: To my memory, a lot of
 22 it has been the post-incident interventions, whether
 23 statements were being taken, whether you know, post-mortems
 24 were taking place, what is the status of those that were
 25 injured, are they – what is the status of those that are

Page 6980

1 being arrested, it was almost on the overall incidents.
 2 MR MADLANGA SC: So post the update of
 3 the morning of the 17th and as at the 20th of August it
 4 would have been about matters relating to, and not really
 5 about how the killings had taken place, do I understand you
 6 correctly?
 7 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Likely so, and remember
 8 we were also preparing ourselves now for the Commission, we
 9 were starting to gather as much as we can and a lot of
 10 investigations were still taking place, ballistic reports
 11 and other things.
 12 MR MADLANGA SC: Would it be correct or
 13 accurate then to make the proposition that when you address
 14 a parade, a police parade on the 20th of August 2012, you
 15 had not received much more by way of further information
 16 other than what you had received on the 16th and 17th?
 17 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, mostly.
 18 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, National
 19 Commissioner. Now let’s go back to where we left off on
 20 Tuesday last week. You will recall that you indicated in
 21 your evidence that you stand by what you had said in the
 22 press statement, subject to new information coming to your
 23 attention and I said that what I would do today would be to
 24 demonstrate that what, or at least part of it, part of what
 25 you said in the press statement was in fact incorrect. So

Page 6981

1 I'm quite open with you, I'm quite candid with you and I'm
 2 going to proceed to do that. Do you remember that that is
 3 what I would be seeking to demonstrate? General, you have
 4 indicated that you do know what the SAPS presentation is.
 5 What I would like to know now is whether you are also aware
 6 what the opening statement of the parties are and, in
 7 particular, what I mean by the SAPS opening statement.
 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 9 [10:32] MR MADLANGA SC: And you said that you
 10 did have occasion to peruse the SAPS presentation. Did you
 11 have occasion to peruse the SAPS opening statement?
 12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 13 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman,
 14 commissioners, I'm being advised by Ms Pillay, and I think
 15 correctly so, that because the AMCU opening statement was
 16 handed in as an exhibit and marked as such, that perhaps we
 17 need to hand this one up and also have it marked as an
 18 exhibit.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: For consistency we must do
 20 that. What is the next – the next? It'll be FFF
 21 something?
 22 MS PILLAY: FFF9, Chair.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.
 24 MR MADLANGA SC: Sorry commissioners, Mr
 25 Chairman. The opening statement, General, actually sets

Page 6982

1 out what the evidence that will be led by SAPS is going to
 2 be and it also sets out the contentions that SAPS will be
 3 making. Do you understand and accept that?
 4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 5 MR MADLANGA SC: Now, you recall that the
 6 penultimate paragraph of the press statement that I
 7 referred you to, your press statement, says that some of
 8 the protesters charged at the police firing shots and that
 9 this was at scene 2, or at least the latter part was my
 10 contention, that is that in context this was plainly at
 11 scene 2. Do you remember that your statement does refer to
 12 protesters that charged at the police, firing shots?
 13 CHAIRPERSON: That's the penultimate
 14 paragraph on the second page.
 15 MR MADLANGA SC: Of the second page,
 16 thank you, Mr Chairman.
 17 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 18 MR MADLANGA SC: Would you be surprised,
 19 General, if I were to take you paragraph by paragraph in
 20 the opening statement to find out that the opening
 21 statement makes no such allegation? Would that surprise
 22 you? This, of course, in relation to scene 2.
 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: No.
 24 MR MADLANGA SC: Did you say you had read
 25 the opening statement?

Page 6983

1 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have confirmed.
 2 MR MADLANGA SC: And when did you read
 3 it? Perhaps let me ask a different question. Did you read
 4 it prior to evidence being led before this Commission?
 5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: Just explain why would
 7 it not surprise you if it says something different to your
 8 media statement which you say you stand by, you continue to
 9 stand by as of today?
 10 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I shall ask you to
 11 repeat your question because that – ja.
 12 MR MADLANGA SC: I understood your
 13 response to an earlier question to be that it would not
 14 surprise you if you were to find out that the SAPS opening
 15 statement does not say that in respect of scene 2 there
 16 were any protesters who charged at the police, firing shots
 17 at them, and you said no, that would not surprise you. So
 18 my next question is, why would that not surprise you if it
 19 is at variance with what you say in your media statement
 20 which you say you continue to stand by to this day?
 21 GENERAL PHIYEGA: It does not surprise me
 22 because, as I've said, the statement I issued on the 16th
 23 were the facts as given to me at that point in time and
 24 I've said to the best of my knowledge they represent the
 25 bona fide information that I received from those who were

Page 6984

1 there.
 2 MR MADLANGA SC: Do you accept that this
 3 is a material difference or departure from what your media
 4 statement says, that is, if the SAPS opening statement says
 5 nothing about protesters charging at police, firing shots
 6 at them? Don't you see that as a material difference?
 7 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I would not agree
 8 because the statements are presented in two different
 9 fashions and unless you point me to a point where there is
 10 that categoric point where you are saying there is a
 11 material difference – I think they are different documents,
 12 as I look at them.
 13 MR MADLANGA SC: A difference or lack of
 14 it, Commissioner, cannot lie in whether or not this
 15 document is one and the same but would lie more in the
 16 content and what I'm suggesting to you is – and I'm going
 17 to go, I'm still going to do what you are inviting me to do
 18 but now all I'm saying is, on the assumption that indeed
 19 the SAPS opening statement, as I say it does or does not,
 20 does not suggest that any of the protesters charged at the
 21 police firing shots at them, whereas your press statement
 22 says that some of the protesters did exactly that. Is that
 23 not a material difference? That is what my question is.
 24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do not see it like
 25 that.

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6985</p> <p>1 MR MADLANGA SC: Just explain that 2 answer, perhaps? 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have already said 4 that the facts that are sitting in my statement of the 20th 5 were facts as presented to me by those who were there and I 6 have also said I believed in the bona fides of those facts 7 and I stand by them. 8 MR MADLANGA SC: Commissioner, this has 9 nothing to do with bona fides. Commissioner, this has to 10 do with what you say you were informed at the briefing of 11 the 16th that night, and the update you were given in the 12 morning of the 17th August 2012 and what you subsequently 13 read, what you yourself say you subsequently read in the 14 SAPS opening statement. So what I'm suggesting to you is, 15 there is in fact a material difference. I'm going to take 16 you through this. I'm saying there is a material 17 difference between the opening statement and what you said 18 in your media statement and that material difference is 19 this, your media statement says some protesters charged at 20 the police firing shots at them, and I say I'm going to 21 demonstrate to you that the SAPS opening statement does not 22 say so. If we accept for a minute, even before I take you 23 through the opening statement, if we accept for a moment 24 that indeed the opening statement says what I say it says, 25 do you accept that that is a material difference? It has</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6987</p> <p>1 statement says. It's your media statement. You stood up 2 there or you sat there and you told the nation and the 3 world what had taken place and, as the Chairman says, what 4 you said is that, in the media statement, the militant 5 group stormed at the police, firing shots at them. That is 6 what your media statement says. You understand me thus 7 far? Just to avoid any confusion, Commissioner, if you 8 could give me a yes or no. Do you understand me thus far, 9 yes or no? 10 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm going to ask you 11 again to just – it's a long sentence that you've given me. 12 What do you want me to understand? 13 MR MADLANGA SC: I want you to understand 14 the long thing that I've said, Commissioner, you presented 15 a media statement to the nation and the world, not so? 16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 17 MR MADLANGA SC: Under cross-examination 18 by me you said that you stand by it, not so? 19 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 20 MR MADLANGA SC: Under cross-examination 21 by me today you have said that you know what the SAPS 22 opening statement is, yes or no? 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 24 MR MADLANGA SC: Still under cross- 25 examination by me you said that you read that opening</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6986</p> <p>1 nothing to do with what you have been told or what you have 2 not been told or the bona fides of those that told you or 3 did not tell you. 4 CHAIRPERSON: I'm sorry to interrupt you, 5 Mr Madlanga, before the witness answers – I may even go 6 further than you've put it. I think, in fairness, the 7 witness should get a chance to deal with what exactly she 8 said compared with the opening statement. In her statement 9 she didn't say some of them went to the police, she said – 10 you know, advanced on the police – she said the militant 11 group stormed towards the police. So it's the militant 12 group, is what she said. Your point, as I understand it, 13 is that that's not what the opening statement says. 14 Perhaps you could reformulate the question to incorporate 15 that, so the witness gets a chance to reply to a focused 16 question. 17 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman. 18 Let me take a step back. Commissioner, I would understand 19 your stance if you had said to the Commissioners, no – no, 20 I never read the opening statement, I'm hearing about such 21 a document for the first time as you are cross-examining me 22 now, but you have said quite the opposite. You have said 23 you read it prior to evidence before this Commission 24 commencing. So you have read that opening statement, you 25 know what it says. You obviously also know what your media</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 6988</p> <p>1 statement, not so? 2 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 3 MR MADLANGA SC: You read it prior to 4 evidence before this Commission commencing, not so? 5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 6 MR MADLANGA SC: And I assume a person of 7 your level, with the experience that you have as a manager, 8 surely you must have read the opening statement with 9 understanding, not so? 10 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Correct. 11 MR MADLANGA SC: And do you accept also 12 that that media statement, amongst others, says that the 13 militant group stormed towards the police, firing shots at 14 them, not so? 15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Correct. 16 MR MADLANGA SC: Now, what I'm saying and 17 where we were when we hit the snag was this, if I were to 18 demonstrate to you – and I am going to do so – that the 19 SAPS opening statement does not suggest that any of the 20 protesters stormed at the police firing shots at them, 21 would you accept that that is a material difference to what 22 you say in your press statement? 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have said no and I am 24 waiting to hear your leading in - your point that you will 25 raise later.</p>

Page 6989

1 MR MADLANGA SC: So is your "no" based
 2 purely on the fact that you have not as yet been taken
 3 through what I'm promising to take you through and on no
 4 other reason?
 5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm saying no because
 6 it is not my understanding and that's how I respond to you.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: Commissioner, would it be
 8 fair to say that your approach is, you say no because it
 9 hasn't been demonstrated to you that there is a conflict?
 10 In the statement – if Mr Madlanga succeeds in demonstrating
 11 to you there is a conflict, then obviously your "no" will
 12 possibly, will no longer stand, but are you saying you
 13 haven't yet demonstrated to me there's a conflict, I'm not
 14 aware of a conflict, therefore I say what I said? Is that
 15 a fair summary of what you're saying?
 16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: That's what I'm saying.
 17 I'm saying I'm not aware of the conflict at this point in
 18 time but I'm willing to engage.
 19 MR MADLANGA SC: May I take you to – and
 20 what you should bear in mind throughout, Commissioner, is
 21 that my focus is at scene 2 which I have indicated appears
 22 to have been your focus as well in the penultimate
 23 paragraph of the second page of your media statement. So
 24 that is what my focus is. If there is any suggestion
 25 anywhere else in the opening statement that some of the

Page 6990

1 protesters charged with firearms, shooting at the police,
 2 that has nothing to do with what I'm focusing on. You
 3 understand that?
 4 [10:52] GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, let's continue.
 5 MR MADLANGA SC: Now let me take you to
 6 paragraph 45.5 at page 19 of the SAPS opening statement.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: I think it might be
 8 sensible to begin on page 18, the heading D, "Scene 2:
 9 koppie 3" in the middle of page 18 sets the scene as it
 10 were, literally, for what follows on page 19.
 11 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you. That is very
 12 correct, thank you, Mr Chairman. If I take you to page 18
 13 first, against the marginal letter capital D, or upper case
 14 D, there it says "Scene 2: koppie 3." So that indicates
 15 that we are indeed dealing with scene 2, you see that?
 16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 17 MR MADLANGA SC: And then I take you to
 18 paragraph 45.5 and do you see there the part that says,
 19 "The evidence will be that some of the 13 protesters who
 20 were shot and killed at koppie 3 had charged at the police
 21 officers with dangerous sharp weapons and had been shot in
 22 self-defence," do you see that?
 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I see that.
 24 MR MADLANGA SC: And do you see that at
 25 least in this part of the opening statement there is no

Page 6991

1 reference to protesters who were charging and also firing
 2 shots at the police, at least not in this part. Do you see
 3 that?
 4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Maybe I read a
 5 different thing.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, tell me how you
 7 read it?
 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: You were going to 45.5,
 9 am I right?
 10 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes.
 11 GENERAL PHIYEGA: And you read paragraph
 12 – is it the second sentence or the third sentence?
 13 MR MADLANGA SC: Right from the
 14 beginning, "The evidence will be that some of the 13
 15 protesters" all the way up to "self-defence."
 16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm not sure how 45.5
 17 is different from the statement that I've given.
 18 MR MADLANGA SC: Show me where paragraph
 19 45.5, National Commissioner, refers to protesters that
 20 stormed at the police firing shots at them. Show me where
 21 paragraph 45.5 says so?
 22 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Perhaps it's a wording
 23 issue because what I read there, it says "some of the 13
 24 protesters who were shot and killed at koppie 3 had charged
 25 at police officers with dangerous sharp weapons and had

Page 6992

1 been shot in self-defence."
 2 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, but doesn't say that
 3 they were firing shots, which is what you said in the
 4 penultimate sentence of the penultimate paragraph on page 2
 5 of your statement.
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: That may not be
 7 reflected but I was focusing on the charging, so if the
 8 question is about that, if the question is about, they
 9 charged with sharp weapons but no guns, it's a different
 10 story. If the focus is on the guns, their statement is not
 11 saying –
 12 CHAIRPERSON: Why do you say may not have
 13 been reflected? It's either reflected or it isn't. Is it
 14 reflected or isn't it?
 15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Judge, what's the
 16 question?
 17 CHAIRPERSON: You said it may not have
 18 been reflected and I said to you, why do you say it may not
 19 have been reflected? It was either reflected or it wasn't
 20 reflected – [inaudible]. Was it reflected?
 21 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Perhaps let me walk
 22 that to say how do I read these two paragraphs.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: Before you say how you read
 24 the two paragraphs, it would be helpful if you answered the
 25 question that has been put to you, then you can go back to

Page 6993

1 the two paragraphs and give the explanation you wish to
 2 give.
 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: The paragraph I've read
 4 talks about sharp weapons and dangerous sharp weapons, it
 5 didn't refer to guns.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: You say it did not refer
 7 to guns.
 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: 45.5 refers to sharp
 9 weapons and it didn't talk about guns.
 10 MR MADLANGA SC: And for me the operative
 11 words, and which I seek to emphasise, contained in your
 12 press statement, the penultimate sentence of the
 13 penultimate paragraph of page 2, "firing shots at the
 14 police." Those are the operative words. They did not only
 15 storm or charge but they stormed towards the police and I
 16 emphasise, "firing shots." Those are the operative words.
 17 Now, what I'm saying to you is, show me in paragraph 45.5
 18 where it's said that the people who charged at the police
 19 were firing shots. That's the emphasis. "Firing shots" –
 20 does paragraph 45.5 say any such thing?
 21 CHAIRPERSON: I think you should give the
 22 witness a chance to read the whole paragraph to herself.
 23 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes.
 24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Let me start with our
 25 paragraph in this statement and then I will go to the

Page 6994

1 opening statement. I will start with, not with the
 2 penultimate paragraph, I will start with the paragraph
 3 preceding that because the context I think is important for
 4 me to grasp what you are asking me. "When the police
 5 started deploying the barbed wire fencing, a group of
 6 protesters armed with dangerous weapons and firearms
 7 hastily flanked the vehicles deploying the wire. They were
 8 met by members from the police who tried to riposte their
 9 advance with water cannon, teargas as well as stun
 10 grenades. The attempt was unsuccessful and the group – and
 11 the police members had to employ force to protect
 12 themselves from the charging group. The dispersion action
 13 had commenced at this time and the armed protesters were
 14 driven from their stronghold to a high bushy ground in the
 15 close vicinity. The police members encircled the area and
 16 attempted to force the protesters out by means of water
 17 cannons, rubber bullets and stun grenades. The militant
 18 group stormed towards the police, firing shots and wielding
 19 dangerous weapons. Police retreated systematically and
 20 were forced to utilise maximum force to defend themselves."
 21 45.5 says, "The evidence will be that some of the 13
 22 protesters who were shot and killed at koppie 3 had charged
 23 at police officers with dangerous sharp weapons and had
 24 been shot in self-defence. These are accounted for below.
 25 Others could have been killed with police officers returned

Page 6995

1 sharp fire, believing shots to have been fired from the
 2 bushes and crevices in the koppie by protesters." And when
 3 I read these paragraphs up to there, I see commonality in
 4 the two. That's my position.
 5 MR MADLANGA SC: I go back to my last
 6 question before you started reading from the two documents,
 7 National Commissioner. Please show me in paragraph 45.5
 8 where it does not only say some protesters charged at the
 9 police but it says they did so firing shots at the police,
 10 so they are charging or storming towards the police but at
 11 the same time firing shots at them. Show me where it says
 12 so in paragraph 45.5.
 13 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I read, "Others could
 14 have been killed when police officers returned sharp fire,
 15 believing shots to have been fired from the bushes and
 16 crevices on the koppie by protesters."
 17 MR MADLANGA SC: And where does that say
 18 that the protesters who might have been shot in that manner
 19 were charging at the police or storming towards the police?
 20 Where does that sentence say so? Where is the charging or
 21 the storming towards the police, if all that the sentence
 22 seems to say is that the police believed that some
 23 protesters might have been firing from within the bushes
 24 and crevices? Where is the charging or the storming, that
 25 is my question.

Page 6996

1 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Paragraph 45 does say
 2 that because it says the evidence will be that some of the
 3 13 protesters who were shot had charged at police officers
 4 with dangerous weapons and it continues into other - it's
 5 part of one thing.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: Surely, Commissioner,
 7 you can understand these two sentences better than that.
 8 The first one, the first one that does talk about charging
 9 says that those protesters charged with dangerous sharp
 10 weapons and had been shot in self-defence and nowhere does
 11 it say that those protesters shot in that manner, were
 12 firing shots. Do you accept that that is how it reads?
 13 I'm going to take you to the next sentence, Commissioner.
 14 Let's deal with this one, let's deal with this one. Do you
 15 accept that yes, it does talk about charging, the
 16 protesters charging but it says they did so with dangerous
 17 sharp weapons and had been shot in self-defence and it says
 18 nothing about them firing shots at the police? Do you
 19 accept that that is what that sentence says?
 20 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I continue to
 21 agree with that first sentence.
 22 MR MADLANGA SC: Now you seem to suggest
 23 that the first and second sentence, the first and second
 24 sentences read together do say the same thing as what you
 25 said in your media statement. Now let us look at the

Page 6997

1 second sentence.
 2 CHAIRPERSON: I think it's the third
 3 sentence actually.
 4 MR MADLANGA SC: Sorry, Mr Chairman, yes,
 5 I could even take you to the third but let's start with the
 6 second.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: The second is that these
 8 are accounted for below. That's –
 9 MR MADLANGA SC: I'm sorry, I'm sorry,
 10 yes, yes –
 11 CHAIRPERSON: The third sentence begins,
 12 "Others could have been killed" –
 13 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes –
 14 CHAIRPERSON: Which I think is the one
 15 you mean.
 16 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, yes, I guess I'm
 17 referring to the second sentence that the Commissioner has
 18 dealt with but you are quite correct, Mr Chairman, it's the
 19 third sentence of paragraph 45.5. Now let's deal with the
 20 third sentence of the opening statement but which is the
 21 second sentence that you are relying on and it reads,
 22 "Others could have been killed when police officers
 23 returned sharp fire, believing shots to have been fired
 24 from the bushes and crevices in the koppie by protesters."
 25 Now my question is, does that talk about any protesters who

Page 6998

1 were storming towards or charging at the police, firing
 2 shots? Does that sentence say anything of the sort?
 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have answered this
 4 and I've said I see those two sentences connected because -
 5 linking with.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: You can't just link
 7 without showing us how the link comes about, Commissioner.
 8 You have agreed that the first sentence does not say so.
 9 Now show me in the second sentence how exactly that link
 10 that you refer to arises, where is it, where is it said in
 11 the third sentence of paragraph 45.5, where is it said that
 12 some protesters charged at or stormed towards the police
 13 and then I emphasise, firing shots? Where does this say
 14 so? Where does this sentence say so? Show me the link.
 15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: My link remains the
 16 fact that the third paragraph starts at "The evidence" and
 17 that the sentence you are referring to starts by saying
 18 "others," which means it already talks to what has happened
 19 before and that's how I read it. I may be reading it not
 20 the way you are reading it, but I read it as a connected
 21 paragraph.
 22 [11:12] CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, perhaps it's
 23 appropriate to take the tea adjournment at this stage.
 24 Thereafter the witness can deal with the fourth sentence
 25 and how it's linked to the third. After we resume after

Page 6999

1 the tea adjournment, I'm going to call upon Mr Malindi to
 2 make a statement in relation to a press statement issued by
 3 his clients yesterday.
 4 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
 5 [11:35] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
 6 Before I remind the National Commissioner she's still under
 7 oath, Mr Malindi, I understand you wish to make a
 8 statement. The front row or are you happy to make it from
 9 where you are?
 10 MR MALINDI: It will save us five minutes
 11 if I proceed from here.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: All right -
 13 MR MALINDI: Thank you Chair.
 14 Chairperson, this morning I was in your chambers regarding
 15 two media statements made by my client, the South African
 16 Human Rights Commission. The one incident involves a radio
 17 interview which I have not had the opportunity to listen
 18 to. The second incident is where the Human Rights
 19 Commission released a statement to the media on Friday the
 20 22nd March. I confirm that a spokesperson of the Human
 21 Rights Commission released the statement on 22 March 2013.
 22 The statement made comment on the evidence of Commissioner
 23 Phiyega in relation to the statement of Warrant Officer
 24 Myburgh which was presented to her for purposes of cross-
 25 examination. The statement goes further to comment on the

Page 7000

1 quality of the Commissioner's evidence. Upon receiving
 2 this statement yesterday afternoon I advised my client as
 3 follows by email, "In regard to the FAHRC press release
 4 client needs to be advised not to comment on the merits in
 5 these proceedings until they have been concluded.
 6 Innocuous comments on the facts such as dates of hearings,
 7 adjournments and the actual evidence without commentary is
 8 permitted." This morning I have attempted to get
 9 instructions in order to have this statement retracted. I
 10 have not been successful, Chairperson. I have spoken to Mr
 11 Semenya and I propose, with your permission, Chairperson,
 12 that my client be admonished for its conduct and to issue a
 13 general statement to all parties involved to desist from
 14 commenting on proceedings before they are concluded.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: I don't see why we have to
 16 admonish the other parties, because no other parties have
 17 done that but if it's suggested they may follow your
 18 client's example I suppose an admonition may be appropriate
 19 but I'm not sure it's necessary at this stage. But please
 20 carry on.
 21 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, I suggested an
 22 admonition to my client and a warning to other parties
 23 which is a general warning that gets given to parties
 24 involved in proceedings but if it's synonymous to
 25 admonition I will not request you to make that warning and

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7001</p> <p>1 -</p> <p>2 CHAIRPERSON: If I admonish one party not</p> <p>3 to do this in future then all the other parties is</p> <p>4 sufficiently intelligent to realise that the same comments</p> <p>5 would apply to them but it's not necessary to admonish them</p> <p>6 or warn them because they haven't done anything which calls</p> <p>7 for an admonition or warning.</p> <p>8 MR MALINDI: Thank you.</p> <p>9 CHAIRPERSON: But what is more serious is</p> <p>10 you dealing with the possible retraction of the statement,</p> <p>11 you said you haven't been able to obtain instruction, does</p> <p>12 that mean your client refused to withdraw the statement or</p> <p>13 that you haven't had an opportunity to get instructions to</p> <p>14 withdraw it?</p> <p>15 MR MALINDI: I have made contact with the</p> <p>16 client but the persons responsible have not been contacted</p> <p>17 directly and I agreed with Mr Semenya that as soon as I</p> <p>18 have those instructions I will approach you similarly to</p> <p>19 indicate such instructions, Chairperson.</p> <p>20 CHAIRPERSON: I think the way to do it is</p> <p>21 I'll give you till 9:30 tomorrow morning to get</p> <p>22 instructions regarding the possible retraction of the</p> <p>23 statement which reflected very seriously and adversely on</p> <p>24 the credibility of a witness who's still under cross-</p> <p>25 examination and accused her, as I read it, of committing</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7003</p> <p>1 not at this stage, Mr Chairman. If anything perhaps only</p> <p>2 tomorrow, Mr Chairman.</p> <p>3 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. National</p> <p>4 Commissioner you're still under oath. Mr Madlanga, please</p> <p>5 proceed with your cross-examination.</p> <p>6 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you Mr Chairman.</p> <p>7 General let's go to the sentence that the Chairman referred</p> <p>8 to just before the tea adjournment. That sentence reads</p> <p>9 and it follows the third sentence that you were relying on</p> <p>10 or reading conjointly with the first sentence. It reads</p> <p>11 "the police officers are prepared to accept that they may</p> <p>12 have been responding to 'friendly fire' believing it to be</p> <p>13 fire from the protestors," do you see that?</p> <p>14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I do.</p> <p>15 MR MADLANGA SC: And looking at that</p> <p>16 together with the third sentence that you were relying on</p> <p>17 in support for the charging at or storming towards the</p> <p>18 police, do you still maintain that this paragraph, that is</p> <p>19 45.5, supports the view held in your media statement or</p> <p>20 expressed in your media statement that a militant group</p> <p>21 stormed towards the police, firing shots and were then shot</p> <p>22 at by the police?</p> <p>23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I still stand by</p> <p>24 that.</p> <p>25 MR MADLANGA SC: Okay let's deal with it</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7002</p> <p>1 perjury before this Commission. If she did or she didn't</p> <p>2 is a matter we will have to deal with at the end of the</p> <p>3 hearing in our report but it's inappropriate for any party</p> <p>4 to make a statement to that effect before we've dealt with</p> <p>5 it in our report and au fortiori while she's still under</p> <p>6 oath being cross-examined. With regard to the other</p> <p>7 matter, you say you haven't yet had an opportunity to</p> <p>8 listen to the radio interview, I understand a clip is being</p> <p>9 sent to you electronically. It either has been or will be.</p> <p>10 So by tomorrow morning at 9:30 I expect you to deal with</p> <p>11 that as well. Mr Semenya, is there anything you wish to</p> <p>12 say?</p> <p>13 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, thank you. We</p> <p>14 will await the retraction and an explanation for why that</p> <p>15 instruction happened in the first place. This is a Human</p> <p>16 Rights Commission.</p> <p>17 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. I may well feel</p> <p>18 called upon to make some general remarks tomorrow addressed</p> <p>19 to the public in general -</p> <p>20 MR SEMENYA SC: Thank you, Chairperson.</p> <p>21 CHAIRPERSON: - relating to the other</p> <p>22 matter which is dealt with on the radio interview but that</p> <p>23 can stand over until tomorrow morning as well. Mr Madlanga</p> <p>24 is there anything you wish to say at this stage?</p> <p>25 MR MADLANGA SC: Not on this subject and</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7004</p> <p>1 step by step. I will not again read the first sentence.</p> <p>2 The second one says "these are accounted for below." Do you</p> <p>3 see that?</p> <p>4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.</p> <p>5 MR MADLANGA SC: And those being</p> <p>6 accounted for below being "those that were shot in self</p> <p>7 defence when they were charging at the police with</p> <p>8 dangerous weapons." Do you see that? That is in the first</p> <p>9 sentence.</p> <p>10 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm probably a bit lost</p> <p>11 because after that sentence what I see is "these are</p> <p>12 accounted for below, others could have been" I don't know</p> <p>13 if I'm reading at the same place with you.</p> <p>14 MR MADLANGA SC: I'm trying to clarify to</p> <p>15 you based on my understanding of the opening statement what</p> <p>16 the word "these" is referring to. The word "these"</p> <p>17 obviously refers back to the sentence immediately preceding</p> <p>18 the "these." Do you accept that?</p> <p>19 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I think I'm confused</p> <p>20 because I thought, maybe it's the interpretation that</p> <p>21 confuses me. Maybe if you lead me again to tell me what</p> <p>22 you are asking. Are you saying - you know just maybe</p> <p>23 explain it again. You lose me.</p> <p>24 MR MADLANGA SC: I was trying to avoid</p> <p>25 reading something that we have read over and over again but</p>

Page 7005

1 maybe I need to do that then, General.
 2 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Do so.
 3 MR MADLANGA SC: Paragraph 45.5 starts by
 4 saying "the evidence will be that some of the 13 protestors
 5 were shot and killed at Koppie Three had charged at police
 6 officers with dangerous sharp weapons and had been shot in
 7 self defence." Do you see that?
 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I do.
 9 MR MADLANGA SC: The very next sentence
 10 reads "these are accounted for below."
 11 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Okay. Yes.
 12 MR MADLANGA SC: And when you got
 13 confused by my question I was saying the word "these" that
 14 is at the beginning of the second sentence is an obvious
 15 reference to the protestors who had charged at police
 16 officers with dangerous, sharp weapons and had been shot in
 17 self defence. Do you accept that?
 18 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 19 MR MADLANGA SC: And now, Commissioner,
 20 to avoid confusion and I understand that you are reading
 21 the two sentences conjointly to arrive at your conclusion
 22 but just so as to go step by step and for me to understand
 23 you do you accept that in first sentence that I have read
 24 again nothing says that the protestors who charged at the
 25 police with dangerous, sharp weapons were firing shots at

Page 7006

1 the police. Do you accept that in the first sentence? I'm
 2 not talking about other sentences in the paragraph, in that
 3 sentence nothing refers to the protestors themselves firing
 4 shots. Do you accept that?
 5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: Now let us go to the
 7 third sentence. That sentence starts with the word
 8 "others" do you see that?
 9 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do.
 10 MR MADLANGA SC: And I read that to
 11 distinguish these protestors that the third sentence is
 12 going to talk about, to distinguish them from "those" that
 13 are referred to in the first sentence, do you accept that?
 14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I understand.
 15 MR MADLANGA SC: Do you accept?
 16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do say I understand
 17 because you started off by saying "I read it as a conjoint
 18 statement" and this is why yes I understand.
 19 MR MADLANGA SC: I want to make sure that
 20 you agree with me, if you don't I would prefer for you to
 21 say that you do not agree with me. Now what I'm saying is
 22 the first sentence mentions a specific category of
 23 protestors and says they were shot in self defence and the
 24 second sentence obviously as you accept refers back to
 25 those same protestors that says "these are accounted for

Page 7007

1 below." And then the third sentence says "others" and I say
 2 by the use of "others" that sentence cannot possibly, even
 3 by the most benevolent reading, it cannot possibly still be
 4 referring to the same protestors that are referred to in
 5 the first and second sentences. Do you accept that?
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have answered this
 7 question and I have said I read this paragraph as one
 8 flowing whatever, it's just a qualification.
 9 CHAIRPERSON: May I intervene and ask a
 10 question, it's related to what you're asking about, it may
 11 shorten proceedings a bit I hope. You see that 45.5 first
 12 sentence talks about 13 protestors. Evidence will be that
 13 some of the 13 protestors who were shot had charged and had
 14 been shot in self defence. Then it goes on "these are
 15 accounted for below" and then you look at 45.6 you'll see
 16 there's reference to 13 bodies and when you look at 45.8
 17 you will see that there are a number of sub paragraphs
 18 45.8.1 going all the way through to 45.8.5. Now if you go
 19 through paragraphs 45.8.1 to 45.8.5 you will see they deal
 20 with 13 bodies. Where they were found and so forth. So
 21 quite clearly when the second sentence of paragraph 45.5
 22 says "these are accounted for below" that's a reference to
 23 what one can call the accounting in respect of the 13
 24 bodies in paragraphs 45.8.1 through to 45.8.5. Would you
 25 accept that that's correct? I've counted them, if you want

Page 7008

1 to check my accounting skills you can count them again.
 2 [11:55] GENERAL PHIYEGA: Chair, I will trust
 3 your accounting and then on the basis of that take the next
 4 question.
 5 CHAIRPERSON: The next question is, it's
 6 not accounting, its counting actually. The next question
 7 is the third sentence at 45.5 "others could have been
 8 killed" clearly relates to persons other than the 13 who
 9 are accounted for below i.e. in 45.8.1 through to 45.8.5.
 10 I take it that must be right.
 11 MR MADLANGA SC: In the first, Mr
 12 Chairman, if perhaps, Mr Chairman, if you agree, if you
 13 could tweak your question to cover what I'm going to
 14 suggest.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: I never believe in tweaking
 16 questions -
 17 MR MADLANGA SC: It is some of the 13 Mr
 18 Chairman. It is some Mr Chairperson.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: But then there are 13
 20 bodies and the 13 are all dealt with. Oh I see.
 21 MR MADLANGA SC: It's some of the 13 that
 22 charged and were killed in self defence, so it's not all
 23 13.
 24 CHAIRPERSON: I see, alright.
 25 MR MADLANGA SC: And that "these" refers

1 to some, not all 13, Mr Chairman.
 2 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I think it's getting a
 3 bit more complicated when I listen to what you have said
 4 and the tweaking that you're putting in and I'd like to say
 5 my simple answer is that when I read the statement I read
 6 it as a conjoint process.
 7 MR MADLANGA SC: General, how can you
 8 read the word "others" that introduces the third sentence
 9 to be still a reference to some of the 13 referred to in
 10 the first sentence and that "these" in the second sentence,
 11 that obviously refers to some of the 13 contained in the
 12 first sentence. How can you read the "others" to still
 13 refer to the same people?
 14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Perhaps you are not
 15 accepting my answer but I still say I look this as a common
 16 process.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: Commissioner, may I ask you
 18 a question on the same point, to see if I can get clarity
 19 in my own mind? The first part of 45.5 talks about people
 20 who were shot in self defence.
 21 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 22 CHAIRPERSON: The second part as I read
 23 it deals with persons who weren't shot in self defence but
 24 who the police believed they had shot in self defence. You
 25 see, "others could have been killed when the police

1 officers returned sharp fire believing shots were being
 2 fired from the bushes and crevices by the protestors, by
 3 protestors." Then it goes on "the police officers are
 4 prepared to accept that they may have been responding to
 5 'friendly fire' believing it to be fire from the
 6 protestors. Without forensic evidence we're unable to give
 7 an unqualified account."
 8 So what that says is this, some people were shot
 9 in self defence other people were shot by police who say
 10 they may not have actually be acting in self defence. They
 11 may have believed that they were acting in self defence
 12 because they may have believed the protestors were shooting
 13 at them but they now are prepared to accept that they may
 14 have been mistaken because the shots which they thought
 15 came from the protestors may have come from what is
 16 described as friendly fire. So in other words what they're
 17 saying is look some people definitely self defence, other
 18 people may be not self defence because we're prepared to
 19 accept that we thought we were defending ourselves because
 20 they were firing at us. We now accept we may have been
 21 wrong because the shots that we thought were coming from
 22 them may have been friendly fire fired by policemen from
 23 the other side of the hill. That seems to be what the
 24 statement says. Would you agree with that? And it depends
 25 obviously on the forensic evidence. Subject to the

1 forensic evidence they say we can't say categorically in
 2 the case of these others that they were definitely shot in
 3 self defence because it may not have been self defence. It
 4 may have been based on a mistaken belief that they were
 5 shooting. That must be right surely, that's what it says.
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Chair the "may be" is
 7 very critical because that last sentence actually says
 8 "without forensic evidence we are unable to give an
 9 unqualified account explaining some of these persons." So
 10 the "may" is very operative in that sentence.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: No I understand that, I
 12 understand. In other words the point is this, your
 13 statement contained on this part effectively two averments
 14 what I'll call A and B. A was the people had sharp
 15 weapons, B was all of them because this statement is
 16 without exception. B is they fired shots. What now
 17 appears is your statement requires revision, at least in
 18 respect of the "others" because the maybe comes in. So
 19 what one now has to say is A plus B maybe if you understand
 20 what I mean. So the point that I think Counsel is making
 21 and if I'm wrong he will, as he's shown previously, not
 22 hesitate to correct me. The point I think Counsel is
 23 making is this; that when you said you stood by the whole
 24 of your statement you should actually have said the
 25 statement was what I believed at the time but in the light

1 of what the police now say about what I call the B maybe,
 2 it may be subject to revision because some of the people
 3 may not actually have been shot in self defence. They may
 4 have been shot by police who thought they were acting in
 5 self defence but were misled by what amounts to friendly
 6 fire. Is that your point Mr Madlanga?
 7 MR MADLANGA SC: Definitely, Mr Chairman,
 8 thank you.
 9 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, can I make two
 10 statements? The one is to the extent that there may be
 11 contradictions between the two, our submission is that that
 12 contradiction is better explained by -
 13 CHAIRPERSON: But hang on a second aren't
 14 you answering the question for the witness?
 15 MR SEMENYA SC: No, I'm not.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: You can make your
 17 submissions later but surely unless the question is unfair
 18 or misleading then the witness - Mr Madlanga is entitled to
 19 have an answer to it and in fact it might even be better
 20 for your client to rather give an answer without having the
 21 benefit of hearing what you're going to submit later
 22 because it might add force and credibility to what she
 23 says.
 24 MR SEMENYA SC: Indeed Chair the second
 25 part of the statement we propose to make is that the

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7013</p> <p>1 paragraph is not strictly as my learned colleague is 2 putting it which renders it unfair. Clearly the ordinary 3 reading which is a possible interpretation of that is that 4 the "others" does not relate to people other than some of 5 the 13. If we know, as we do, that there were 16 people 6 who were killed it says some of those 13 have been killed 7 in self defence but some of those 13 may have been killed 8 in intuitive self defence, that interpretation is competent 9 on paragraph 45.3. Now to disaggregate them and say the 13 10 is put one side and the "others" is the other is with 11 respect misleading.</p> <p>12 CHAIRPERSON: I don't agree with that 13 objection and I overrule it and the witness may now answer 14 the question put.</p> <p>15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I think after all this, 16 I will ask you to state your question again.</p> <p>17 CHAIRPERSON: That's a further question, 18 Mr Madlanga.</p> <p>19 MR MADLANGA: It was your question, Mr 20 Chairman.</p> <p>21 CHAIRPERSON: I put - it was intended to 22 be a statement of what your - If it was something new I 23 apologise, if you don't want to put any new bits then you 24 don't have to.</p> <p>25 MR MADLANGA SC: I understand, Mr</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7015</p> <p>1 "we were not able to pass judgement when this statement was 2 made.</p> <p>3 MR MADLANGA SC: Even if one tries to put 4 it at its lowest by using the word "may" it is still a far 5 cry from the categorical point made in the first sentence 6 which is that "protestors charging at the police were shot 7 at - charging at the police with dangerous, sharp weapons 8 were shot in self defence." Saying that protestors may well 9 have been shot by mistake is totally different from saying 10 that they were charging at police with dangerous weapons 11 and were shot in self defence. Those are two different 12 statements, not so?</p> <p>13 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I continue to disagree.</p> <p>14 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, I think you've 15 taken this point as far as it can go. Your point is 16 clearly put I think. Her reply is clearly put, it's for us 17 perhaps later after the benefit of the argument Mr Semenya 18 promises to give us to decide whether this is a good point 19 or a bad point. Isn't that so? I don't know if you can 20 take it any further by questioning or she can take her 21 answer any further by further replies but I think we should 22 move on unless you feel strongly about that.</p> <p>23 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you I'll move on, 24 Mr Chairman. We will argue at the end that the witness was 25 obviously being evasive on this point. I'm now proceeding</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7014</p> <p>1 Chairman, I understand. General, let me just read the 2 third sentence all he way down to just before "without 3 forensic evidence." I'll read that sentence and the ones 4 that follow up to that point. "Others could have been 5 killed when police officers returned sharp fire believing 6 shots to have been fired from the bushes and crevices in 7 the koppie by protestors. The police officers are prepared 8 to accept that they may have been responding to 'friendly 9 fire' believing it to be fire from the protestors." And I 10 stop there. Do you see that? The first sentence of the 11 paragraph makes the categorical point that the people who 12 were shot in self defence were charging at the police with 13 dangerous, sharp weapons. Do you see that?</p> <p>14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I do see that.</p> <p>15 MR MADLANGA SC: Whereas on my reading of 16 it or rather on my reading of them the third and fourth 17 sentences say that the other lot of protestors may well 18 have been shot at by mistake, that's the essence of it. 19 The "others" may well have been shot by mistake when the 20 police returned fire that they believed to be coming from 21 the bushes and crevices whereas it may well be that that 22 fire was fire by other police which is what they refer to 23 by this friendly fire. Do you accept that?</p> <p>24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I accept that with the 25 highlighted "may" and the last sentence that actually said</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7016</p> <p>1 to do what I said I would do which is to demonstrate to you 2 that those that the opening statement says in second 3 sentence "are accounted for" that it's those who charged at 4 the police with dangerous weapons, charged only with 5 dangerous weapons and not with firearms that were being 6 fired at the police. I take you to paragraph 45.8.1 of the 7 opening statement and that paragraph refers to a group that 8 charged with pangas, spears and knobkerries. Take your 9 time and read and it does not refer to that group charging 10 with firearms or it does not mention firearms, let alone 11 firearms being fired at the police. Do you see that?</p> <p>12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I see that.</p> <p>13 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman, 14 Commissioners I'm going to be mentioning the names of some 15 of deceased. Not showing any pictures, I do not think that 16 warrants a warning but perhaps for what it's worth the 17 warning may be given.</p> <p>18 CHAIRPERSON: Some of the persons who 19 were killed at scene two are going to be mentioned by name. 20 If there are family members or loved ones of persons who 21 were killed at scene two who feel that even hearing their 22 names being mentioned in the context of their being killed 23 will cause them distress I ask that what I say is 24 interpreted into isiXhosa and that the cross-examination 25 should only proceed with the naming of these people two</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7017</p> <p>1 minutes after what I've said has been interpreted. 2 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman, even though 3 the two minutes may not be up it doesn't look like there's 4 any movement. Shouldn't I continue perhaps? 5 CHAIRPERSON: I suggest that you 6 continue, yes. 7 [12:15] MR MADLANGA SC: General, according to 8 the opening statement, the same paragraph 45.8.1, Mr Anele 9 Mdizeni and Mr Thabo Thelejane whose bodies are 10 respectively referred to as A and B, were part of this 11 group, that is the group that is said to have charged with 12 pangas, spears and knobkerries. Do you see that? Of 13 course only mention of A and B is made, not the two names 14 that I've given. 15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I do see that. 16 MR MADLANGA SC: And both of them were 17 shot dead, you see that as well. 18 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 19 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Thobile Mpumza, whose 20 body was subsequently marked C, is referred to in paragraph 21 45.8.2 and he is said to have come out running towards the 22 police armed with a spear and knobkerrie, again no mention 23 of a firearm and that he lunged at a police officer with 24 the spear. Do you see that? Take your time to read it. 25 And he too was shot dead.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7019</p> <p>1 does, of course, state that the group in which Mr O was, 2 was in the vicinity from where gunshots were fired at 3 police officers who were walking to the koppie. The police 4 returned fire in the direction from which the gunfire came. 5 And it goes on and says, "A person charged at the police, 6 who were in the koppie in the vicinity of O and the police 7 shot at the person." Do you see that? 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I see that. 9 MR MADLANGA SC: Crucially, do you notice 10 that the opening sentence does not say that as Mr Xalabile 11 was charging towards the police he was firing shots at 12 them? Do you see that no such allegation is made? 13 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do see that but you 14 have also alluded to a statement there where you were 15 saying the person is in the vicinity from where gunshots 16 were fired at police. 17 MR MADLANGA SC: No, I'm satisfied with 18 the part where you accept that the statement does not say 19 he charged at the police firing shots at them. I'll take 20 you to the next point. Nor does the opening statement say 21 that as he charged at the police, he was part of a group 22 that was firing shots at the police and as they fired the 23 shots they were also charging at the police. So, one, not 24 a group firing shots and, crucially, charging at the 25 police. The group was just him, do you see that?</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7018</p> <p>1 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes. 2 MR MADLANGA SC: In paragraph 45.8.4 the 3 opening statement says that Mr Makhosandile Mkhonjwa, whose 4 body was subsequently marked N, was part of a group that 5 came from inside the koppie to the edge of the koppie armed 6 with spears, pangas, knobkerries – again no mention of 7 firearms, let alone firearms that were being fired at the 8 police, do you see that? 9 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I see that. 10 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Mkhonjwa and another 11 person from the group charged towards the police, who 12 killed Mr Mkhonjwa and injured the other person. Do you 13 see that? 14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I am trying to – 15 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Mkhonjwa is the N, 16 the letter N I referred to. 17 GENERAL PHIYEGA: You lost me because you 18 didn't name the N before. I see that. 19 MR MADLANGA SC: In paragraph 45.8.5 the 20 opening statement says Mr Nkosinati Xalabile whose body was 21 subsequently marked O, was among the group that was inside 22 the koppie, armed with pangas, spears and knobkerries, do 23 you see that? 24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I see that. 25 MR MADLANGA SC: The opening statement</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7020</p> <p>1 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, can we make the 2 objection again on grounds of fairness? Both the opening 3 statement as well as the media statement are statements 4 informed by a whole host of evidence and if the inquiry is 5 whether there was this group or not, may I refer the 6 witness properly to the statement of Modiba which we all 7 have, where both the charging and the firing happened. So 8 to take the two documents as though they are a conclusive 9 total picture of what happened is unfair to the witness, 10 with respect. 11 CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible] 12 MR SEMENYA SC: The statement of Colonel 13 Modiba of the NIU, paragraph 7 thereof. 14 CHAIRPERSON: I see. Mr Madlanga, you've 15 heard what Mr Semanya says. What reply do you have? 16 MR MADLANGA SC: Which paragraph did my 17 learned friend say? 18 MR SEMENYA SC: Paragraph 7 of the 19 statement of Colonel Modiba. 20 CHAIRPERSON: I think I'm correct in 21 saying that statement, although it is part of the SAPS hard 22 drive, is not an exhibit so I haven't seen it, but Mr 23 Madlanga is in possession of a copy and so he'd be able to 24 respond to what you say. 25 MR MADLANGA SC: May the Commissioners</p>

Page 7021

1 please just give me a bit of time?

2 CHAIRPERSON: Someone's phone has got a –

3 what do you call it – a call tone which we can hear, which

4 – a ring tone which I think that cell phone should be

5 turned off because it interrupts the proceedings.

6 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman,

7 Commissioners, may I just ask for a few minutes'

8 adjournment. We're having a debate that's not coming to an

9 end. I hope we will not be long at all.

10 CHAIRPERSON: The Commission will adjourn

11 for more than a moment, for some time and as soon as you

12 are in a position to continue, please let us know and we'll

13 come back.

14 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]

15 [12:40] CHAIRPERSON: I understand you're ready

16 to continue, is that correct? You're still under oath,

17 National Commissioner.

18 MANGWASHI VICTORIA PHIYEGA: s.u.o.

19 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga?

20 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MADLANGA SC (CONTD.):

21 Thank you, thank you Commissioners, for the indulgence.

22 Perhaps it's fair to the National Commissioner to read the

23 paragraph that my learned friend Mr Semenya referred to,

24 which is paragraph 7 of the statement of Mr Kaizer Ntlou

25 Modiba.

Page 7022

1 CHAIRPERSON: I gather he's a member of

2 the police service?

3 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes.

4 CHAIRPERSON: What's his rank?

5 MR MADLANGA SC: Lieutenant-Colonel.

6 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.

7 MR MADLANGA SC: And he is a member of

8 the NIU, Mr Chairman.

9 MR MAHLANGU: The Commissioner does not

10 seem to have the statement. I will – I'll just read the

11 whole of –

12 CHAIRPERSON: I haven't got it either.

13 I'll listen and she can listen too.

14 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes – yes. This

15 paragraph reads, Commissioner, "I immediately directed the

16 members of National Intervention Unit to move to the

17 mountains (scene 2) in order to have them swept. Upon

18 approaching at the mountains, there were warriors that came

19 from hiding behind the rocks, armed with pangas, assegais,

20 knobkerries, axes and spears at a distance of about 12

21 metres, charging at us. I therefore shouted at them by

22 saying, 'stop, stop' while firing warning shots from my

23 pistol number PX1722E, into the ground. At that time there

24 were shots fired from the group towards our team. Some of

25 the members discharged their firearms with an effort to

Page 7023

1 defend themselves." Do you see that, or rather you heard

2 that?

3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I heard that.

4 MR MADLANGA SC: Prior to today you were

5 not aware of this statement and the content of paragraph 7

6 that I've just read.

7 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Can you ask your

8 question again?

9 MR MADLANGA SC: Prior to today you were

10 not aware of the existence of the statement of Colonel

11 Modiba and, in particular, paragraph 7 which I read to you.

12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: The statement of

13 Colonel Modiba and some of the issues that you are raising,

14 I was aware of.

15 MR MADLANGA SC: Does that mean you read

16 this statement itself? I'm not asking you about the issues

17 that the statement addresses, do you mean you read the

18 statement yourself prior to today?

19 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have not read the

20 statement of Modiba.

21 MR MADLANGA SC: Next question, were you

22 aware of its existence – not the issues that it addresses,

23 the existence of this statement.

24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm aware that he's a

25 commander and that he would have taken a statement

Page 7024

1 MR MADLANGA SC: But you were not aware

2 that he had in fact made a statement and in it made the

3 allegations that he makes.

4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm aware of the issues

5 that are being raised in that statement.

6 MR MADLANGA SC: Let me move on to the

7 address you made to the police at –

8 CHAIRPERSON: Before we do that, are you

9 going to deal with 45.8.3, anything further about that,

10 because if you're not, I'm going to ask a question.

11 MR MADLANGA SC: 45? No, please do, Mr

12 Chairman.

13 CHAIRPERSON: Yes. The last sentence of

14 paragraph 45.8.3 – it may well be relevant in the context

15 we're busy with – it refers to eight of the protesters who

16 were killed at the koppie, that's the small koppie, and it,

17 the last sentence reads, "The evidence may reveal that the

18 response of some police officers may have been

19 disproportionate to the danger they faced from the group of

20 more than 200 armed protesters." That means they may not

21 have, they may not be able to rely on the defence of self-

22 defence or private defence if their response was

23 disproportionate to the danger they faced. So in the

24 opening statement Mr Semenya, on behalf of the police,

25 concedes that the evidence may reveal that in the case of

Page 7025

1 some of the police officers who killed protesters, their
 2 conduct was not proportionate to the danger they faced and
 3 therefore they would not be entitled to rely on the defence
 4 of private defence. Do you see that?
 5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do.
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Isn't that – now that reads
 7 as if the police attitude is that in the case of some, at
 8 least, of the people who are listed in 45.8.3, their
 9 killing may not be able to be justified on the grounds of
 10 self-defence or private defence, depending again on the
 11 ballistic reports which were referred to in the previous
 12 sentence. Now if that's so, that the police may not be
 13 able to rely, in the case of some of the deaths, on the
 14 defence of self-defence or private defence, doesn't it mean
 15 that at least to that extent the statement that you made,
 16 that you stand by the media statement you made on the 17th,
 17 may have to be qualified in the light of this partial
 18 concession contained in the sentence that I've read from
 19 45.8.3?
 20 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Judge, my answer is
 21 that the statement that I gave on the 20th, subject to 45.5,
 22 without forensic evidence we are unable to give an
 23 unqualified account explaining the death of some of the
 24 persons. I do believe that through the process of this
 25 hearing that evidence will be given and at that point I'm

Page 7026

1 sure we then may have to revisit my original statement but
 2 at this point in time I'm saying I'm standing, you know, on
 3 the statement because I do not see that qualification and
 4 that issue that answers that question under 45.5.
 5 MR MADLANGA SC: General, may I ask to
 6 refer you to the statement of Lieutenant-Colonel Cheston
 7 Gaffley, I will give you a copy.
 8 CHAIRPERSON: Does it become an exhibit?
 9 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, Mr Chairman,
 10 Commissioners, and a copy –
 11 CHAIRPERSON: That will be FFF10. Can
 12 you make copies for us?
 13 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, copies will be
 14 provided to the Commissioners. For context I will read a
 15 few paragraphs, in particular to indicate that the
 16 Lieutenant-Colonel is referring to scene 2. I'll start at
 17 paragraph 10. Or perhaps let me start at 9, paragraph 9.
 18 He says, "I could notice that a large group of protesters
 19 ran into the bushes and rocks at koppie 3." Paragraph 10,
 20 "The Casspir and the water cannon arrived at koppie 3 at
 21 the same time and at this stage the water cannon was still
 22 spraying at the crowd. At this stage I ordered the members
 23 in the Casspir to stay inside the vehicles as I could see
 24 that the forces on the ground were still far behind us and
 25 that it would be looking for trouble to send nine members

Page 7027

1 into the koppie after the protesters." And perhaps for
 2 completeness let me mention that the Lieutenant-Colonel is
 3 attached to the special task force or the STF. In
 4 paragraph 11 he continues, "We waited inside the Casspir
 5 for a little while and then I saw the canine unit
 6 approaching from behind us. I ordered my members to get
 7 out of the vehicle but not to approach as yet, but just to
 8 line up next to the Casspir. I also got out of the vehicle
 9 and started talking to the crowd, ordering them to lay down
 10 their weapons but this had no effect. I could, however,
 11 not identify any person within the crowd that was visible
 12 to me with any firearm in his hand. At this stage I heard
 13 gunshots coming from the direction of the bushes in front
 14 of us but could not see any person shooting. Then the
 15 canine members also started firing from behind us into the
 16 koppie. I also heard shots from our left and right. At
 17 this stage the Scorpions has joined us and the members had
 18 formed a line in front of the Casspir, ready to approach
 19 the koppie on foot. I ordered the members to fall back and
 20 take position behind the vehicles as it was clear that the
 21 police are firing from different directions and members
 22 could be caught in cross-fire." You heard all that or
 23 you've seen all of that because you have a copy.
 24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 25 MR MADLANGA SC: Now, taking you to the

Page 7028

1 paragraph that we earlier dealt with in the opening
 2 statement, the third and fourth sentences of paragraph
 3 45.5, did I understand you correctly that you eventually
 4 accepted that the protesters referred to in those sentences
 5 may well have been shot by mistake?
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do not recall putting
 7 my facts that way you've changed it.
 8 CHAIRPERSON: - Mr Madlanga used that
 9 language, I've got an idea you agreed with it but -
 10 MR MADLANGA SC: An idea that she agreed
 11 with it?
 12 CHAIRPERSON: That she agreed. I think
 13 that was your language, probably by mistake, she certainly
 14 didn't say that herself.
 15 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, yes.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: But I got the impression
 17 that she didn't – she either agreed or didn't dissent from
 18 it.
 19 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes. National
 20 Commissioner, I used that language, paraphrasing what I see
 21 in those two sentences and my recollection is that you
 22 agreed with me.
 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Perhaps to be corrected
 24 is, are you reading the last paragraph, "The police
 25 officers are prepared to accept that they may have been

Page 7029

1 responding to" – is that what you are referring to?

2 MR MADLANGA SC: I'm referring to that

3 and the sentence preceding that one, National Commissioner.

4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: And I recall you

5 saying, when we closed this one, that your conclusion is

6 that I did not answer you the way you wanted me to answer

7 you because I kept on saying if we read the mail in context

8 I would understand what you say.

9 MR MADLANGA SC: Let me perhaps ask the

10 question again then. Looking at the two sentences

11 together, is that not indicative of an acceptance by the

12 police that they may well have shot and killed some of the

13 protesters by mistake?

14 [13:00] GENERAL PHIYEGA: If I paraphrase what

15 you're saying, may have – may have, I think that's very

16 operative for me to say the statement as it stands there

17 captured our standpoint.

18 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not sure – you say you

19 stand by what you said in your original media statement.

20 In your media statement you didn't say people, some of the

21 people who were shot may have been shot in self-defence.

22 You said they were, and what this statement appears to say

23 is that they may have been shot in self-defence in the

24 belief that the fire to which the police were responding

25 came from them, but in fact that those shots may have been

Page 7030

1 what are described as friendly fire. Isn't that an

2 accurate way of putting it?

3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Judge, I am on record

4 saying we should read that with the last sentence because

5 at this point in time I have said I have not – without that

6 forensic evidence and all those issues it makes it very

7 difficult to just give a categoric yes and no.

8 CHAIRPERSON: You haven't been asked to

9 give a categoric yes or no, you're being asked to give a

10 categoric maybe and the maybe is based upon the last

11 sentence because if there is ballistic evidence on the

12 point, it may put it either into a yes category or a no

13 category but at the moment it's maybe because we don't know

14 but the police are prepared to accept that they may have

15 been responding to friendly fire. Isn't that a fair

16 summary of the position?

17 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm comfortable in

18 saying maybe.

19 CHAIRPERSON: Well, on that comfortable

20 note I suggest we take the lunch adjournment. We will

21 resume at 1:30 but you don't have to be back here, National

22 Commissioner, for that because we're going to have an

23 argument from the Human Rights Commission on a question of

24 discovery and I take it Mr Tip will be responding and the

25 evidence leaders as well and while I won't encourage other

Page 7031

1 parties to take part in the debate, if they have

2 submissions they wish to make, if they believe the ruling

3 we're called upon to make may affect their clients, then

4 obviously I can't stop them, but hopefully the relevant

5 points will be fully covered by the arguments we will

6 receive, so it won't be necessary for other interventions

7 but we'll now adjourn to half past one.

8 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]

9 [13:33] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.

10 After we adjourned I told the National Commissioner that we

11 would be dealing with this matter about the discovery of

12 documents, as I'd indicated earlier, at half past one. If

13 we concluded it before two o'clock I would adjourn and we'd

14 reassemble at two o'clock. I said if the matter went on

15 beyond two o'clock then I wouldn't adjourn but I told her

16 she only had to be back by two o'clock. So that was the

17 discussion I had with her. Mr Malindi, you wish to bring

18 an application?

19 MR MALINDI: Thank you, Chairperson. In

20 fact, the NUM is objecting to our request for discovery but

21 if Mr Chairperson finds it convenient that I begin, I shall

22 begin.

23 CHAIRPERSON: You're bringing the

24 application. You would bear the onus of showing that

25 you're entitled to the relief you seek, so obviously you

Page 7032

1 must start.

2 MR MALINDI: I will start then,

3 Chairperson. Chairperson, on 10 January 2013 the Human

4 Rights Commission made a request for discovery by the NUM

5 and that appears on page 23 of the bundle which I've been

6 made to believe has been made available to the

7 Commissioners and the evidence leaders. The documents

8 required to be discovered are set out in paragraphs 5.1 and

9 5.2 of the request and that is that the NUM should discover

10 records of discussions relating to disputes over benefits

11 associated with employment at Lonmin over the five years

12 preceding August 2012 and their records on format of

13 interaction between the unions and the employer. This

14 includes correspondence as well as individual member's

15 complaints regarding benefits, especially housing.

16 We submit, Chair, that the discovery request

17 falls within the topics that the Human Rights Commission

18 has indicated that it wishes to address in phase 2. These

19 are training and career pathing for mineworkers at Lonmin's

20 Marikana mine, as appears on page 26 of the bundle,

21 especially under topic number 2, specifically under topic

22 number 2 which reads that, the topic deals with the lived

23 experience of mineworkers, point 1, conditions of work for

24 mineworkers at Lonmin's Marikana mine. Point 2, living

25 arrangements for the mineworkers at Lonmin's Marikana mine.

Page 7033

1 Point 3, training and career pathing for mineworkers at
 2 Lonmin's Marikana mine and the extent to which Lonmin has
 3 failed to comply with its Mining Charter obligations and
 4 the reasons therefor as appears on page 32 of the bundle,
 5 especially specifically under topic 16 which reads, "Mining
 6 Charter issues. Point 1, the identification of Lonmin's
 7 obligations under the Mining Charter, the extent to which
 8 Lonmin has failed to comply with these obligations and the
 9 reason for such non-compliance. Point 3, the
 10 responsibility of the Department of Mineral Resources for
 11 not taking steps in relation to any non-compliance."
 12 The NUM, by letter of 15 March 2013 –
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Letter of?
 14 MR MALINDI: 15 March 2013, which appears
 15 on page 37 of the bundle, has objected to the discovery
 16 requirement request for the reasons set out in paragraphs 2
 17 and 3 of the letter. Essentially, Chairperson, the
 18 objection is that the request does not fall within the
 19 parameters of paragraph 7.1 of the timetable issued as a
 20 ruling of the Commission on 12 March 2013.
 21 Paragraph 7.1 requires that the topics – let me
 22 start with the main paragraph. The discovery obligations
 23 are subject to the following conditions, point 1, the
 24 topics do not in any way supersede the terms of reference
 25 of the Commission. So a party is obliged to make discovery

Page 7034

1 of documents in relation to a topic only insofar as the
 2 topic is relevant to the events in Marikana which led to
 3 the deaths of approximately 44 people, the injury of more
 4 than 70 persons and the arrest of more than 250 people.
 5 We contend, Chairperson, that the request for
 6 discovery is relevant for the following reasons. 1,
 7 considering the topics that the HRC wishes to address under
 8 phase 2, under the second and 16th topics, there is an
 9 overlap between what we request from Lonmin, AMCU and NUM.
 10 For example, the HRC's request to Lonmin under page 23 of
 11 the bundle, paragraph 4.1, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 to 11 –
 12 CHAIRPERSON: 4.1, 4 point?
 13 MR MALINDI: 5, 6, 7 to 11, are matters
 14 that both the NUM and AMCU would have concerned themselves
 15 with and as Chairperson can see from the paragraphs that
 16 have been referred to, it's matters that have a bearing on
 17 the social and labour plan of Lonmin. 4.5 employment
 18 contracts of all levels of mineworkers, including benefits.
 19 4.6 salary scales of all Lonmin employees, with benefits.
 20 4.7 to 4.11 are similarly relevant as they refer to matters
 21 of career development of miners, et cetera and other
 22 benefits.
 23 These requests, Chairperson, are relevant to
 24 paragraphs 1.1.3 and 1.1.5 of the terms of reference and I
 25 will refer to page 5 where those are captured, page 5 of

Page 7035

1 the bundle, which require that the conduct of Lonmin must
 2 be investigated in the following regard – whether it, being
 3 Lonmin, by act or omission created an environment which was
 4 conducive to the creation of tension, labour unrest,
 5 disunity among its employees, or other harmful conduct, to
 6 examine generally its policy, procedure, practices and
 7 conduct relating to its employees and organised labour.
 8 In this context, Chairperson, it is important
 9 that the Commission knows whether the NUM pursued the
 10 issues set out in paragraph 4 of page 23 of the bundle,
 11 against Lonmin and whether Lonmin responded thereto and
 12 how.
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Whether Lonmin responded
 14 thereto and how, would be a document you'd presumably get
 15 from Lonmin but I understand the point about whether NUM
 16 pursued the point.
 17 MR MALINDI: Absolutely, Chair.
 18 Regarding the how, Chairperson, NUM might be helpful to
 19 indicate how Lonmin has responded to its own application
 20 for the attainment of the matters that we ask that need to
 21 be investigated. It is also important to know whether
 22 these matters were pursued as a united front by the trade
 23 unions or whether they acted separately and whether
 24 individual miners were left to their own devices.
 25 The relevance to paragraph 7.1 on page 35 is that

Page 7036

1 it may be relevant, therefore, to know whether the unions'
 2 approaches to these matters caused any tension, labour
 3 unrest, disunity among employees, or other harmful conduct,
 4 and whether Lonmin conducted itself in such a way as to
 5 contribute to the environment referred to in paragraphs
 6 1.1.3 and 1.1.5 of the terms of reference. The terms of
 7 reference require that NUM's conduct be investigated in
 8 regard to whether it had exercised its best endeavours to
 9 resolve any dispute or disputes which may have arisen,
 10 industrial or otherwise, between itself and Lonmin and/or
 11 AMCU or any other parties. That will appear on paragraph
 12 1.4.1 of the terms of reference. It is submitted
 13 therefore, Chairperson, that should the HRC find itself
 14 able to continue with phase 2, the NUM is required to
 15 comply with the request to discover.
 16 Having made these submissions, Chairperson, I am
 17 further instructed to indicate that the short time frame
 18 that remains before the conclusion of the Commission on 31
 19 May 2013 militates heavily against the HRC's continuation
 20 in phase 2 as it originally envisaged. There is currently
 21 no ruling by the Commission on whether the topics set out
 22 on page 26 to 34 fall within the terms of reference.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: Has any of the parties
 24 contended that it's not? Has any of the parties contended
 25 that they do not?

Page 7037

1 MR MALINDI: There is no party that has
 2 so contended, Chairperson.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: Then why is the ruling
 4 called for?
 5 MR MALINDI: Because, Chairperson, the
 6 HRC has concerns on the engagement of expert witnesses at
 7 great expense on public funds if, in the process leading up
 8 to the filing of such expert reports there is an objection
 9 on a topic that the HRC wishes to address and therefore
 10 that will be a problem regarding the HRC's endeavours to
 11 participate in these proceedings and especially in view of
 12 all the endeavours that the HRC has engaged in,
 13 Chairperson, to have a lot of these matters clarified
 14 before it expends money in pursuit of phase 2 topics.
 15 Even if a ruling were made today, the experts
 16 that the HRC has approached to testify on matters pertinent
 17 to corporate social responsibility and in terms of the
 18 Mining Charter, have advised that the time frame is
 19 insufficient for a full and proper analysis to be
 20 undertaken. The second impediment is the one that I have
 21 just addressed, Chairperson, in regard to the expenditure
 22 that a chapter 9 body cannot justify without a ruling on
 23 the topics that are permissible.
 24 CHAIRPERSON: Again, has there been any
 25 suggestion by any of the parties that these topics are not

Page 7038

1 permissible? So why must we come and make a ruling that's
 2 not asked for on a matter where everyone seems to agree
 3 that the topics are covered because no-one has objected?
 4 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, the reason that
 5 there's been no objection is not necessarily because the
 6 parties have no objection to any of the topics, it's
 7 because the parties have been non-compliant with many of
 8 the deadlines that have been set for responding to these
 9 matters.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: That's a different matter.
 11 I can understand the parties suddenly waking up after it
 12 was too late and coming and saying, we're sorry, we
 13 overlooked this matter, we'd like now to raise the point
 14 and we ask you to condone our failure to come in time, but
 15 nothing of that's happened either. So what are you
 16 expecting us to do?
 17 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, we =
 18 CHAIRPERSON: You can't rule on an
 19 application, whether it's in time or out of time, that's
 20 not been brought. You can't give a ruling on a matter
 21 which you're not asked to give a ruling on, as I say,
 22 timeously or non-timeously, so how does that point help us?
 23 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, the HRC has
 24 itself requested the Commission to rule on these matters
 25 because it is of concern to it that it cannot proceed with

Page 7039

1 the engagement of experts when there's uncertainty whether
 2 these topics will be dealt with –
 3 CHAIRPERSON: Why is there uncertainty?
 4 No-one has suggested these topics aren't relevant, so why
 5 is there uncertainty on the matter?
 6 MR MALINDI: Because –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: I could understand if there
 8 was a dispute, I could understand you then saying the
 9 Commission's got to give a ruling, we don't know which side
 10 will be successful in contending either these are topics
 11 that are covered or these are not topics that are covered,
 12 but absent any dispute of that kind, surely the point
 13 doesn't arise?
 14 [13:53] MR MALINDI: Chairperson, may I refer to
 15 paragraph 7.4 on page 36, after which I will take this
 16 point no further and –
 17 CHAIRPERSON: Paragraph –
 18 MR MALINDI: Page 36 of the bundle.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: Yes?
 20 MR MALINDI: 7.4 which reads as follows,
 21 "If any party seeks any topic but seeks a ruling
 22 [inaudible] in the terms of reference [inaudible] if it is
 23 held to be within the terms of reference and 2, seek a
 24 [inaudible] in this regard from the Commission." Now,
 25 Chairperson, I have made the point, I can't take it any

Page 7040

1 further, that our hands are held at our backs because we
 2 are a public body, we can't justify the engagement of the
 3 experts that [inaudible] calling, we [inaudible] in terms
 4 of 7.4.1 – addressing these issues because we have got to
 5 justify the expenditure before we do so and that is the
 6 angle from which the HRC comes from and stating that from
 7 November and, in particular, in February, I think it must
 8 have been the 21st of February when we were in the
 9 Commission's chambers, we sought rulings on various things
 10 including discovery by various parties. We also sought
 11 rulings on phase 2 issues upon which the Chairperson
 12 advised that the matter should be deferred accordingly and
 13 in a further in which the HRC was in attendance with the
 14 evidence leaders, again it was emphasised that the phase 2
 15 issues need to be addressed urgently because there has been
 16 no compliance by any of the parties, a situation that has
 17 created the hesitancy on our part to proceed with phase 2
 18 matters as we end this phase, because of the reasons that I
 19 have stated. That situation has persisted –
 20 CHAIRPERSON: What happened was, the
 21 matter was left over for discussions between the parties or
 22 evidence leaders in the hope that they could, it could be
 23 settled outside the Commission, as it were, by consensus
 24 among the parties and my understanding was that there's
 25 been a substantial degree of consensus in that regard.

Page 7041

1 There have been a number of meetings, I understand,
2 convened by the evidence leaders, which Mr Chaskalson can
3 tell us about, if necessary, and what exactly is still
4 outstanding according to you? I know there's a complaint
5 about – which isn't relevant to what you're talking about
6 now – about statements that you seek from the police.
7 That's the subject of a missive that I received on Friday
8 but that's not, we're not busy with that now. Anything
9 else?

10 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, if I'm not
11 getting across on the impediments to the HRC on the phase 2
12 issues, I will pass that submission which we persist on and
13 – because I have stated the two main impediments and absent
14 a ruling as to whether those topics under topic number 2
15 and topic number 16 are relevant, we are unable to proceed
16 with procuring sufficient funds to engage expert witnesses
17 who must compile reports and make those statements
18 available to the Commission, if I remember well by 22
19 April, and with the reply thereto which takes us into the
20 middle of May and we make those submissions, Chairperson,
21 and the Chairperson will make a ruling as to whether the
22 submission has merit or not.

23 For these reasons the HRC gives notice that it
24 will not lead expert witness evidence under phase 2. It
25 will pursue these topics in terms of its mandate as a

Page 7042

1 chapter 9 body. The HRC will play a limited role under
2 phase 2 by presenting its previous report to the Commission
3 on relevant topics and by presenting evidence, evidence of
4 fact, if any. Those are our submissions, Chair.

5 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you.

6 COMMISSIONER HEMRAJ: Mr Malindi, is
7 there any relevance or particular import that attaches to
8 the five year period because it sounds rather onerous,
9 requesting documents for five years. Is there any
10 particular reason for that period?

11 MR MALINDI: It is –

12 CHAIRPERSON: What happened in 2007 which
13 set the clock ticking in respect of relations between NUM
14 and Lonmin, because you go back five years, from 2012 you
15 go back to 2007. So why 2007, what happened then, anything
16 in particular?

17 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, as I stand I
18 can't point to anything in particular but it is common
19 cause that the existence of AMCU has been for a period
20 longer than the preceding five years and if I'm mistaken in
21 that regard –

22 CHAIRPERSON: AMCU started in the coal
23 mines. I mean I'm not quite sure when AMCU moved into the
24 platinum belt of the North-West Province, so I'm not sure
25 if the mere fact that AMCU was in existence in 2007 is a

Page 7043

1 sufficiently powerful factor to set the clock ticking in
2 respect of discovery obligations.
3 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, it's the period
4 that experts would normally regard as relevant for them to
5 conduct a proper study and analysis and I understand, I
6 mean the question there is really whether the period of
7 five years is justified or not and a period short of five
8 years may just be adequate for our expert witnesses to
9 conduct –

10 CHAIRPERSON: It's not easy, though.
11 You're asking for NUM to go to a lot of trouble and
12 presumably it might apply to AMCU as well, I don't know,
13 but NUM must go to a lot of trouble, go into their
14 archives, produce lots of documents – sorry, NUM, sorry,
15 did I say AMCU? NUM must go into their archives, go to a
16 lot of trouble, produce documents that go back five years.
17 Once it's conceded that five years is too long a period,
18 the question arises what is a proper period? And unless
19 the period is defined then NUM will say, well, what must we
20 do? Must we go back five years, four years, three years,
21 what do you want? You can't impose a discovery obligation
22 of a vague nature like that.

23 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, firstly, that
24 has not been the objection of NUM, the period, as I
25 understand it. It's been a different objection but –

Page 7044

1 CHAIRPERSON: Maybe they didn't raise the
2 objection. You're asking us to make a ruling.

3 MR MALINDI: Yes.

4 CHAIRPERSON: And if you're asking us to
5 make a ruling that it's five years, you've got to justify
6 it and if it's not five – you concede, well, five years may
7 be too long, it's just an arbitrary figure, then I'll say
8 what period is relevant because – I mean I can't say to
9 NUM, look here, you must give documents which go back over
10 a reasonable period. They say what's a reasonable period,
11 how can you expect us to comply with an order that's so
12 vague. I have to put that problem to you in the hope of
13 getting an answer from you.

14 COMMISSIONER TOKOTA: Furthermore, you
15 are the one who is bringing an application, so the onus is
16 on you to justify the period which you seek us to rule that
17 NUM should produce those documents.

18 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, in that regard
19 I am instructed that the experts require the five years
20 because they consider it a reasonable period –

21 CHAIRPERSON: But that's not enough. We
22 would have to be satisfied that five years is a reasonable
23 period. You'd have to satisfy us. I mean can you imagine,
24 it's not just going to the archives and taking our five
25 years' worth of files. What would be required would be for

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7045</p> <p>1 NUM to go through five years' worth of documents, looking 2 for documents that are relevant as opposed to documents 3 that are irrelevant. Can you imagine the time and the 4 expense that would be involved in that exercise? So if you 5 ask us to make a ruling like that, regarding being had to 6 the facts that I've mentioned, you've got to justify it. 7 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, the issues that 8 we have addressed you, the Commission, on are matters that 9 have been with the mining industry or in particular Lonmin 10 in this instance, for a long period. For the experts to be 11 able to make a proper analysis of say, for example, the 12 social labour plan, they need to know what it was in 2010, 13 if it existed – 14 CHAIRPERSON: Who is going to tell them 15 that? 16 MR MALINDI: Well – 17 CHAIRPERSON: What the social labour plan 18 is, is a matter that can easily be ascertained from the 19 Department of Mineral Resources and from Lonmin. What do 20 you expect NUM to tell you about that, that you can't find 21 out from these other people? 22 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, as we 23 indicated, all the issues that are set out there, there's 24 an overlap between what Lonmin was doing and what NUM was 25 agitating should –</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7047</p> <p>1 initial instructions from our experts who had given us an 2 outline of what the scope of their work would be, was the 3 requirement of five years which we believed to be 4 reasonable but it's a period that – 5 CHAIRPERSON: But shouldn't you have 6 taken instructions? It's a bit late now to talk about 7 taking instructions. Once you decide to bring an 8 application in respect of which you bore the onus, wasn't 9 that the appropriate time for you to take an instruction 10 and seek to justify the five year period? You haven't done 11 that, so what are you going to do? Do you want a 12 postponement or, if you lose this application, do you want 13 to go back to your experts and then come with a new 14 application? I mean there must be an element of 15 responsibility in the way that the proceedings of this 16 Commission are conducted, regard being had to the fact that 17 there's no provision for cost orders or anything of that 18 kind. You're seeking to put a heavy onus on NUM, which 19 would – I would imagine would involve them in expenditure 20 of considerable sums of money to get the information you 21 seek. If it's not required, if it's not reasonably 22 required then what can they do about it? They can't sue 23 you for the cost, surely. I mean one has got to approach 24 this in a practical, reasonable fashion, surely. I 25 understand that all matters that are reasonably relevant to</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7046</p> <p>1 CHAIRPERSON: I can't understand an 2 overlap in respect of the social economic plan. The plan 3 is the plan. Lonmin and the department would know about 4 that. There's nothing extra you can expect from NUM on 5 that, surely? An overlap means you've got two things that 6 overlap at a certain point but it doesn't mean that if you 7 get – that there's a total identity of coincidence, as it 8 were. 9 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, as I was 10 saying, we refer to a number on issues under page 23 of the 11 bundle and they range from 4.1, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 up to 4.11 12 and that is on the Lonmin side of the request. Those are 13 matters that the NUM as a union would have agitated that 14 they happen. NUM and AMCU are in a position to indicate 15 where there are gaps, if we don't get that information from 16 Lonmin, what they have done and what the responses have 17 been to themselves by the – by Lonmin. 18 As paragraph 5.2 on page 24 indicates, that we 19 seek information especially on housing arrangements by the 20 mining house, from NUM and NUM would have had that as an 21 issue with the mine as to hostel dwellings, of the hostel, 22 of premises, and that is the overlap of this one aspect and 23 other aspects that we have alluded to. 24 As to the question of five years being arbitrary, 25 we obviously can – we can take instructions on that. Our</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7048</p> <p>1 the issues before us have to be investigated. I understand 2 there is a great responsibility on us to ensure that we 3 give a proper, adequate report on these matters, regard 4 being had to the importance of the events which 5 precipitated this Commission, but having said that, the 6 other factors I have mentioned cannot be ignored. 7 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, obviously I 8 don't have instructions beyond the fact that the experts 9 require information for that period and our request for 10 that discovery will then, it appears, stand or fall on this 11 aspect alone and it has – this proceeding has been 12 characterised as an application by the HRC, whereas the HRC 13 complied with the ruling of the Commission that parties 14 must make requests for discovery by a set date, which we 15 did, and now there's an objection to that – 16 CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible] 17 MR MALINDI: And – 18 CHAIRPERSON: - declining to give you the 19 discovery because they say you're not entitled to it. 20 That's not an objection as = please carry on, you 21 understand the point. 22 MR MALINDI: So in the event, 23 Chairperson, if this be construed as an application for us 24 to compel NUM to make discovery, which it declines, we have 25 made our submissions on relevance and the Commission seems</p>

Page 7049

1 disinclined to, if it's inclined to order discovery, to
 2 order it for the period that we requested and I have made
 3 submissions based on the instructions as we received from
 4 our experts for a period of five years, which has not been
 5 one of the grounds of declining the request for discovery
 6 and we shall therefore stand or fall on our submissions.
 7 MR MALINDI: Thank you, Mr Malindi.
 8 [14:13] CHAIRPERSON: Mr Tip?
 9 MR TIP SC: Thank you, Chair,
 10 Commissioners. Before we adjourned for the lunch break,
 11 Chair, you made the observation that this particular
 12 application and the response to it and the input from the
 13 evidence leaders might well be of interest to parties other
 14 than merely the Human Rights Commission and NUM and we
 15 would, with respect, endorse that observation. We consider
 16 this to be a significant application and a significant
 17 objection and a significant hearing because what it brings
 18 to focus is the relationship between 20 topics in phase 2
 19 and the manner in which they are to be dealt with at a
 20 practical level and the manner in which they are to find
 21 their way ultimately into the report, conclusions,
 22 recommendations of the Commission in respect of the terms
 23 of reference viewed as a whole. And I say that in this
 24 particular sense, that not one of the 20 topics that has
 25 been identified could be described as comprising material

Page 7050

1 potentially that is of no interest and perhaps not of great
 2 interest to anybody examining a situation in the mining
 3 environment which has led to difficulties, led to, in this
 4 case, acute conflict and tragically, a number of deaths.
 5 But that of course requires it, those topics to be
 6 funnelled through the process of relevant and we have
 7 observed with pleasure the introduction of paragraph 7.1 in
 8 the most recent version of the timetable that the evidence
 9 leaders have prepared and circulated and 7.1, it's worth
 10 repeating – I know that my learned friend Mr Malindi has
 11 already read it out but it's a very important paragraph and
 12 the pertinent part is that "The topics do not in any way" –
 13 and that's all 20 of the topics – "do not in any way
 14 supersede the terms of reference of the Commission, so a
 15 party is obliged to make discovery of documents in relation
 16 to a topic only insofar as the topic is relevant to the
 17 events" and of course the events are then described. And
 18 that is why this particular argument this afternoon is a
 19 significant one because it brings into relief the need to
 20 examine precisely what is entailed with that phrase, "to
 21 the extent that it is relevant" and that is really where we
 22 join issue with our learned colleagues for the Human Rights
 23 Commission and that is why, in our letter of the 15th March,
 24 we did not confine ourselves to issues around vague
 25 formulations or a period of five years as opposed to 10

Page 7051

1 years or six months, because it's ultimately a broad
 2 question of relevance under which rubric potentially
 3 questions of period, of documentation, may fall for
 4 scrutiny.
 5 Now, paragraph 7.1 is, I've said, a welcome
 6 addition and I, in discussion with many of my colleagues
 7 that is a common view of it. Of course it doesn't say
 8 anything that is already not within the legal framework
 9 that guides the Commission, which is that ultimately there
 10 are terms of reference which prescribe that certain matters
 11 must be investigated and that defines, in one way or
 12 another, the parameters of what must be done.
 13 To step sideways perhaps for a moment, if one
 14 looks at a topic, one of the 20 listed topics, the subject
 15 of migrant labour, now that potentially of course is a
 16 colossal topic. That is a topic that could engage a
 17 dedicated commission of inquiry for years, with the input
 18 of a multitude of experts, governments not only from
 19 departments here in South Africa but from Lesotho,
 20 Mozambique, provincial governments that have a direct
 21 interest, the history, the financial implications of any
 22 change, what's possible in terms of rearrangement, housing,
 23 et cetera. It's a colossal topic, so one can never
 24 imagine, with respect, that everything relating to migrant
 25 labour should fall for the consideration of this Commission

Page 7052

1 and that it would, in its findings, make a full-on
 2 assessment of migrant labour as a topic and have
 3 recommendations on that. The Commission would frankly,
 4 with respect, never come to an end because there are 20
 5 topics.
 6 So hence I say it is a matter of looking at any
 7 topic and determining what the relevant fineness of the
 8 filter is that must be applied. Is it a broad filter or is
 9 it a very fine filter? And that is, in our respectful
 10 submission, a question of the application of the
 11 conventional criteria and of what relevance means in a
 12 particular purpose, in a particular hearing and in order to
 13 secure a particular result as expeditiously as can be.
 14 So against that – and that is again, Mr Chair, if
 15 I may just echo, that is why we imagine that the parties
 16 have not been swift to object to topics as a whole.
 17 Migrant labour may well play a role and there may be
 18 sufficiently distilled material that is relevant for the
 19 findings of the Commission that bear on the topic of
 20 migrant labour for it to be dealt with but then it must be
 21 dealt with in that way.
 22 Now against that, if I may turn to the particular
 23 request which NUM has received from the Human Rights
 24 Commission and say this also, that we are here in the
 25 capacity of an objecting party because this is in fact the

Page 7053

1 only request that has come to us from any of the parties
 2 here for discovery, so that it was then an opportune – and
 3 we hope helpful – step to let us say well, let us test just
 4 what the parameters are of this process. And that is why
 5 we are engaged in the way that we are today.
 6 Now, my learned friend Mr Malindi has tried to
 7 identify topics in respect of which the requests that are
 8 set out in the letter to us of 10 January of this year
 9 falls and he's referred to the lived experience of
 10 mineworkers and he's referred to the Mining Charter and
 11 he's referred to matters such as career pathing and the
 12 like, but what is in fact the scene in that letter and it,
 13 again it bears repetition. My learned friend has read it
 14 but I want to dwell on the particular content a little
 15 longer perhaps than did he. They say they want the
 16 following from NUM, paragraph 1, records of discussions
 17 relating to disputes over benefits associated with
 18 employment at Lonmin over the five years preceding August
 19 2012. Now that's the only paragraph – there's a second one
 20 which I'll read in a moment, this is the only one that has
 21 a period attached to it. I'd read that as arbitrary, my
 22 learned friend says well, that's what experts say is a good
 23 time and of course if you say two weeks it's too little, if
 24 you say 10 years it might be too much, but what is really
 25 being asked for here – records of discussions relating to

Page 7054

1 disputes over benefits. Now, that is a very, very
 2 substantial request and I may say, Mr Chair, it was no
 3 exaggeration to say that digging all this sort of material
 4 out from archives of NUM, which are not necessarily
 5 arranged under the topic headings that we have in this
 6 Commission, is a very substantial task but what is to be
 7 done with it for the purpose of this Commission? And
 8 perhaps that question may best be addressed by a reference
 9 to paragraph 2 of this letter addressed to us, which is
 10 that the HRC wants their records on format of interaction
 11 between the unions and the employer. The format of
 12 interaction between the unions and the employer, all
 13 records on that. Now, frankly, we're not sure what that
 14 means. We can say, well, there's a recognition agreement
 15 that says how we interact but of what utility is that? And
 16 it goes on then –
 17 CHAIRPERSON: Presumably interactions
 18 would presumably be minuted meetings and there are many
 19 matters, topics, many topics covered in minutes of meetings
 20 or in correspondence between the union and the employer
 21 would be totally irrelevant to any approach to the terms of
 22 reference of the Commission –
 23 MR TIP SC: It's indefinite. And then
 24 the second part of that says this includes – so it doesn't
 25 confine that – this includes correspondence as well as

Page 7055

1 individual member's complaints regarding benefits,
 2 especially housing. So what we're asked for is again a
 3 vast amount of information but as my learned friend Mr
 4 Malindi said in relation to this, NUM would also be in a
 5 position to say what Lonmin did in respect of a dispute.
 6 So what, for this to percolate into some form that would be
 7 of value to the Commission in discharging its
 8 responsibilities in terms of the terms of reference, would
 9 be that it would receive a copious amount of complaints
 10 raised by NUM members at Lonmin over an indefinite period
 11 now, because this is not even confined to five years.
 12 Complaints regarding benefits, especially housing but not
 13 limited to housing. Now what does that mean? It means,
 14 first of all, that there's got to be some kind of
 15 assessment for it to be useful, for it to be processed to a
 16 point where any inference can be drawn from it. What was
 17 the complaint? Can one say whether it was a bona fide
 18 complaint? Did the branch committee of NUM attend to it?
 19 If not, did it go to regional? If not, did it go to
 20 national? What attention was given to it? Was it ripened
 21 into a dispute that went to the bargaining council? Did it
 22 find its way into the Labour Court? Then how was it
 23 processed in relation to Lonmin, what was said by NUM about
 24 this particular member's complaint about this particular
 25 benefit? And when NUM got the response from Lonmin, was

Page 7056

1 that a proper response? All of this would have to be
 2 evaluated – and was NUM's reaction to that appropriate?
 3 So one really just has a vast amount of
 4 information which, in itself, would require a tremendous
 5 amount of –
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Did the member concerned
 7 later leave the service, the employment of Lonmin, take his
 8 complaint with him back to Pondoland or wherever he came
 9 from and was there any causal connection between his
 10 complaint and the fact that it wasn't dealt with and the
 11 events of the 16th of August? I mean –
 12 MR TIP SC: Well, ultimately Chair,
 13 absolutely, with respect, because ultimately we come to
 14 that week, to that awful week and all of this has somehow
 15 to be in a form where it can be of value to the Commission
 16 in determining the conduct of the parties set out in the
 17 terms of reference in respect of those events. So much as
 18 the HRC would be glad to have a very, very broad
 19 interpretation of the terms of reference – and it says as
 20 much in the submissions that it lodged in November, said
 21 this is a unique opportunity for matters to be examined
 22 throughout the extractive industry, not just platinum,
 23 unions and employers in South Africa. So it's – their view
 24 is that really you have an opportunity to examine
 25 everything that is a difficulty in and around mines and,

Page 7057

1 more generally, in South Africa.
 2 We take a different view. We say that there is a
 3 task that the President has given this Commission. Had he
 4 wanted an examination, an evaluation, a conclusion making
 5 process of the scale that the HRC evidently contemplates,
 6 the President would, with respect, never have said you've
 7 got four months to complete your work. So in our
 8 submission this, with respect, is not a good application,
 9 request for discovery, and we would ask that our objection
 10 to it be upheld.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: Do any of the other parties
 12 wish to say anything before I ask the evidence leaders to
 13 give us their submissions? It doesn't seem so. Which of
 14 the evidence leaders is going to address on this, is it
 15 you, Mr Chaskalson?
 16 MR CHASKALSON: It is, Mr Commissioner.
 17 Mr Commissioner, while I propose to deal with this specific
 18 application, I would like also to make certain general
 19 submissions about the discovery process and the powers of
 20 the Commission in relation to the discovery process
 21 because, as Mr Tip has pointed out, this application may
 22 serve to guide all of the parties, at least as to the
 23 position of the evidence leaders in relation to discovery
 24 and the powers of the Commission on compulsion.
 25 With that introduction, I propose to deal with

Page 7058

1 four topics. The first is, what are the Commission's
 2 powers in relation to compelling discovery or in relation
 3 to discovery? The second is to link these proceedings to
 4 the discovery timetable that has been issued as a ruling by
 5 the Commission. The third is to turn to the specific
 6 application and to make certain submissions on how we
 7 submit the Commission should exercise its powers in this
 8 particular case. And the fourth is briefly to respond to
 9 the complaint of the SAHRC about the absence of a terms of
 10 reference ruling in relation to the possible calling of
 11 expert evidence.
 12 To start then with the Commission's powers, we
 13 submit that the Commission has two separate powers in
 14 relation to discovery. The first is the power to compel
 15 production of documents, to order a party or a witness to
 16 produce documents.
 17 The second is a slightly different power, it's
 18 the power to rule that in the absence of production of
 19 documents relevant to an issue, a party in control of those
 20 documents who refuses to make discovery of the documents
 21 will not be permitted to participate in the hearing.
 22 If I might take those two powers separately, the
 23 power to compel flows from section 3 of the Commissions Act
 24 and 3.1 states, "For the purposes of ascertaining any
 25 matter relating to the subject of its investigations a

Page 7059

1 Commission shall, in the Union, have the powers which a
 2 provincial division of the Supreme Court of South Africa
 3 has within its province to summon witnesses, to cause an
 4 oath or affirmation to be administered to them, to examine
 5 them and to call for the production of books, documents and
 6 objects." So that's a power of subpoena, essentially.
 7 "The power is a coercive power and it's fortified
 8 with criminal sanction, so it must be exercised with
 9 precision. In particular the Commission cannot issue an
 10 order in open-ended terms because the person on the wrong
 11 side of the order must know exactly what is and what isn't
 12 expected of him or her because non-compliance might give
 13 rise to criminal liability." And we'd refer the Commission
 14 in this regard, by analogy, to the judgment in S v Mulder
 15 1980 (1) SA 113 in the old Transvaal Provincial Division,
 16 where the court emphasised the need for precision in the
 17 terms of reference of the commission of inquiry because
 18 coercive powers would be exercised within those terms of
 19 reference, a fortiori an order to produce documents must be
 20 in precise terms.
 21 [14:33] The second aspect of the power is, is it a
 22 discretionary power? And we would submit that in
 23 exercising its discretion the Commission would weigh up the
 24 relevance and importance of the documents to its enquiry
 25 against the invasion of the private rights of the party who

Page 7060

1 may be compelled to produce documents against its will. So
 2 it's a balancing exercise. It's not a situation of, if a
 3 party can show that any document is relevant to an issue
 4 within the terms of reference a fortiori automatically the
 5 Commission must issue an order. There is a balancing
 6 exercise. One weighs up the invasion of the rights of the
 7 party who will have to produce the documents against the
 8 relevance of the document that is sought and of course the
 9 inquiry is fact specific, because one cannot engage in that
 10 balancing exercise without looking at the specific facts.
 11 In the context of this Commission, we would
 12 submit that one of the factors relevant in this
 13 discretionary inquiry is that the parties have reached an
 14 agreement on a discovery process, subject to the
 15 constraints of the terms of reference. That's the power of
 16 compulsion.
 17 We'd submit that there is a separate power, which
 18 is a power to make parties' participation in the Commission
 19 conditional on proper discovery. Parties have no automatic
 20 right to be here. Their right to participate in this
 21 Commission flow from the Commission's duties in respect of
 22 procedural fairness and we would submit that the corollary
 23 to this is that their participation can be made subject to
 24 reasonable conditions relating to fair procedure generally.
 25 In particular, if the Commission doesn't want to resort to

1 the coercive step of compelling production of documents in
2 a particular case, it can make the continued participation
3 of a party subject to the production of those relevant
4 documents. So those are the two powers.

5 If we link the present application to the
6 discovery timetable that was agreed, very briefly to run
7 through that timetable, it started at 30 November 2012
8 where it was agreed at a pre-hearing meeting. The
9 timetable was then subsequently ignored by most parties and
10 had to be extended by the evidence leaders and on 12 March
11 a ruling was issued by the Commission to give effect to the
12 remaining stages of the timetable and that's the document
13 in the bundle from pages 35 to 36.

14 The ruling took place after certain of the
15 earlier stages of the discovery process had already passed
16 and if I might go back to identify the important provisions
17 of the agreed timetable that preceded the ruling, the first
18 was that the parties would identify topics within the terms
19 of reference that they wanted to address in phase 2. The
20 second was that the evidence leaders would circulate a
21 consolidated list of topics. This was ultimately done on 8
22 February 2012. The third was that by a specified date,
23 which was ultimately extended to 11 March 2013, parties
24 would address requests to other parties to make discovery
25 on particular topics on the consolidated list. So if there

1 was a topic on the list in respect of which you wanted
2 discovery, you could ask a party to make discovery.

3 Now, these first three stages were not included
4 in the ruling issued by the Commission on the 12th of March
5 because they'd already been concluded by the 12th of March.
6 The remaining stages that were included in the ruling are,
7 for present purposes, the following. The first is that the
8 discovery obligations were obviously subject to the terms
9 of reference and that's paragraph 7 of the ruling which
10 both Mr Tip and Mr Malindi have addressed, I don't propose
11 to dwell on that, but the first stage of the timetable
12 relevant to the current dispute was set out in paragraph 1
13 of the ruling and that was by 18th of March parties had to
14 make discovery of documents relevant to any topics that
15 they proposed to address in phase 2 and to any topics in
16 respect of which they'd been requested to make discovery by
17 other parties. If I might draw an analogy to civil
18 proceedings, that would be ordinary discovery in terms of
19 Rule 35(2).

20 The next stage of the timetable was set out in
21 paragraph 2 of the ruling and it's the equivalent of Rule
22 35(3) of the Rules of Court. Parties had until 25 March
23 2013, in other words today, to address requests to other
24 parties for supplementary discovery. Discovery, original
25 discovery has already been made, parties can now peruse

1 that discovery and say there are missing documents, I want
2 you to discover this document and the parties requested to
3 make supplementary discovery then had until 3 April to make
4 supplementary discovery.

5 Now, in terms of that timetable, we would submit
6 that the present request is, if anything, premature. It's
7 framed as a section 35(3) request, it's framed as a request
8 for certain specific categories of documents, at any rate,
9 but the time for making supplementary discovery only
10 expires on 3 April 2013. Now, as NUM is willing to engage
11 with the request head-on, I don't suggest that the
12 Commission should refuse to hear it but I would emphasise
13 that ordinarily the Commission will be better placed to
14 adjudicate on section 35(3) or rule paragraph 2 disputes
15 after 3 April because by that stage the Commission will
16 have received all of the discovery and supplementary
17 discovery made by all of the parties and this will put it
18 in a much better position, first of all to know what
19 documents have already been obtained, secondly to identify
20 what other documents are out there and thirdly and most
21 importantly, to assess the importance of obtaining those
22 out there documents in the light of documents that the
23 Commission has already gathered through the discovery
24 process. But as NUM is the parties who is going to be
25 prejudiced by any adverse ruling or any ruling on this

1 application and NUM is prepared to argue this application,
2 we don't suggest to the Commission that it should be
3 rejected on the basis that it's premature.

4 If I might turn to the application and the
5 attitude of the evidence leaders to this application, we
6 would concede that the documents requested are probably
7 relevant to issues that fall within the terms of reference.
8 We say probably because we see them as probably having some
9 relevance to certainly some of the issues in paragraphs 1.1
10 of the terms of reference to which Mr Malindi referred the
11 Commission, but despite the probable relevance of these
12 documents to some of the issues covered by the terms of
13 reference, we don't suggest that the order should be
14 complied with and we do so for several reasons. First, we
15 submit it's too vague and too broad. We emphasise the need
16 for precision in orders compelling the production of
17 documents and we would submit that certainly paragraph 3.2
18 of the request is too vague to support an order for
19 compulsion. We had difficulty understanding what would be
20 and what wouldn't be covered by 3.2. 3.2 is "records on
21 format of interaction between unions and the employer, this
22 includes correspondence as well as individual member's
23 complaints regarding benefits, especially housing." We
24 submit that one needs far greater precision for an order
25 compelling the production of documents.

Page 7065

1 If 3.2 is, we submit, too vague, we submit both
 2 3.1 and 3.2 are too broad. They embrace potentially
 3 thousands of documents which would put NUM to an extremely
 4 arduous task to identify and to collate and we would submit
 5 that the relevance of the documents or the immediately
 6 apparent relevance of the documents is not of such a nature
 7 to justify a request of this broad nature and the Human
 8 Rights Commission hasn't set out a case for pressing
 9 relevance in this application, so we can only go by the
 10 apparent relevance of these documents.

11 Finally, we would submit that if there is to be a
 12 request for documents of this nature, we would submit that
 13 they are more appropriately requested from Lonmin than from
 14 NUM because they appear to be more relevant to passages of
 15 the terms of reference specifically dealing with Lonmin.
 16 We don't see passages of the terms of reference relating to
 17 NUM, to which these documents would be relevant. So we
 18 would oppose the application on those grounds.

19 Finally, we must briefly respond to the complaint
 20 that there hasn't been a ruling on topics 2 and, I think,
 21 18 and that this has prejudiced the Human Rights Commission
 22 in relation to expert evidence. We specifically included
 23 paragraph 7.4 of the ruling, 7.4 of the ruling that was
 24 issued on the 12th of March to cover this situation. 7.4
 25 says that if any party seeks to lead expert evidence on a

Page 7066

1 topic but seeks a ruling that the topic falls within the
 2 terms of reference before it incurs the expenditure
 3 necessary to engage an expert, that party must, on or
 4 before 15 March 2013, 1) formally commit itself to calling
 5 expert evidence on the topic if it is held to be within the
 6 terms of reference and 2) seek a terms of reference ruling
 7 from the Commission. Now, to the best of my knowledge, the
 8 SA Human Rights Commission never did this, so we don't see
 9 how they can now complain that there hasn't been a ruling
 10 and that they never saw it. Those are our submissions.

11 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Mr Malindi,
 12 anything you wish to say in reply?

13 MR MALINDI: Yes please, Chairperson.
 14 Chairperson, ironically the HRC is the only party that has
 15 complied with the deadline to request discovery and the NUM
 16 also acted within the time frames to register its
 17 objection. Having listened to my learned friend
 18 Chaskalson, I would urge the Commission to exercise its
 19 powers, as he has set out and especially use its discretion
 20 as set out on page 6 of the bundle before the Commissioners
 21 in reference to paragraph 5 of the terms of reference,
 22 which is that the Commission shall, where appropriate,
 23 refer any matter for prosecution, further investigation or
 24 the convening of a separate inquiry to the appropriate law
 25 enforcement agency, government department or regulator

Page 7067

1 regarding the conduct of a certain person. And as Mr Tip,
 2 my learned leader here, has indicated as well, some of the
 3 topics are very important but cannot be dealt with
 4 satisfactorily within the compressed time frames that this
 5 Commission has and to the extent that the Commission is
 6 inclined to see those topics, all 20 topics which have not
 7 been objected to as relevant, the Commission can use its
 8 powers to narrow the requests that are made by the parties
 9 to each other, as Chaskalson has indicated, to not make a
 10 ruling on this application pending any further narrowing of
 11 the request by the HRC on discovery to NUM or any other
 12 party. That will be our submission, Chairperson, because
 13 if it turns out that the topic is too broad for ventilation
 14 before the Commission, it may be referred as provided by
 15 the terms of reference.

16 And Chairperson, Mr Fisher was trying to retrieve
 17 a document or documents that we have forwarded to the
 18 evidence leaders and the Commission regarding our request
 19 that there be rulings on these matters, but it seems like
 20 we don't have it red lettered.

21 MR TIP SC: Mr Chairman, if I might
 22 assist there because I must withdraw the submission that I
 23 made in that regard because a request for a ruling has been
 24 drawn to my attention and possibly I can assist there. On
 25 the 11th of March the Human Rights Commission did address a

Page 7068

1 letter to the evidence leaders calling for a ruling,
 2 indicating that they intended to call expert evidence on
 3 the following two broad topics, one, business and human
 4 rights aspects with a particular focus on social and labour
 5 plans and Lonmin's compliance in this regard and, two,
 6 environmental management issues and they sought a terms of
 7 reference ruling from the Commission in this regard. I
 8 must apologise for suggesting that they hadn't. If they
 9 persist in that ruling then, in seeking that ruling, we
 10 will have to –

11 CHAIRPERSON: I didn't understand that to
 12 be what was set down for hearing today.

13 MR TIP SC: No, no, it's not set down for
 14 the hearing today.

15 CHAIRPERSON: So it's still there,
 16 though, so they can still bring that if they wish.

17 MR TIP SC: I think the evidence leaders
 18 and the Human Rights Commission must just chat about
 19 whether that ruling is still sought and, if so, we must
 20 arrange a convenient time –

21 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, yes and it may be that
 22 the evidence leaders will agree with the Human Rights
 23 Commission that these are topics that are appropriate, in
 24 which case it may be unnecessary for a formal application
 25 before the Commission but these are matters which can best

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7069</p> <p>1 be dealt with once there has been the discussion you 2 suggest between the Commission and the evidence leaders, 3 yes. 4 MR TIP SC: From my side I must just 5 apologise on two counts, the first is for making the 6 submission that there had been no application, the second 7 is for not attending to it in the time period since it's 8 been made. 9 CHAIRPERSON: Well, you can now attend to 10 it. We'll give you an extension of two days to do that. 11 Mr Malindi, anything further you wish to say? 12 MR MALINDI: Nothing further and what's 13 the word, thanking my learned friend for, indebted to my 14 learned friend for assisting – 15 CHAIRPERSON: - to your learned friend. 16 I'm sure [inaudible]. We will reserve judgment on this 17 matter, we'd like to think about it, the points that have 18 been put to us but we will give our ruling as soon as 19 possible. We'll indicate to the parties [inaudible]. We 20 understand that [inaudible]. Thank you. I did say the 21 Commission, I hoped very much, would be ready to proceed at 22 2 o'clock with the evidence. I suggest that it might be 23 appropriate, if the reporter from the City Press is here, 24 for us all to adjourn to have tea and we'll reassemble 25 after the tea adjournment to continue with the cross-</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7071</p> <p>1 a stage where a witness is going to come and give evidence 2 and those documents are necessary, certainly you can raise 3 the matter again and we'll deal with it but I understood Mr 4 Semenya to say in your presence that I give you an 5 undertaking, and in my presence, that he would see to it 6 that as soon as reasonably possible you would get the 7 documents you sought. I think that's correct, Mr Semenya, 8 is it not? 9 MR SEMENYA SC: It is correct, yes. 10 CHAIRPERSON: So we can leave that – 11 let's go and enjoy our tea with the City Press and then 12 come back - 13 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES] 14 [15:12] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. 15 National Commissioner, before I remind you you're under 16 oath, I would apologise to you. I proved to be a very poor 17 prophet as to how long the argument would take and the 18 application, so you were due to come back here at 2 o'clock 19 to continue your evidence. You weren't able to do so, I'm 20 sorry that your time has been wasted in this way. You're 21 still under oath. 22 MANGWASHI VICTORIA PHIYEGA: s.u.o. 23 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, I take it 24 you're to proceed with your cross-examination. 25 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR MADLANGA SC (CONTD.):</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7070</p> <p>1 examination. 2 MR MALINDI: Chairperson, before you 3 adjourn may I interrupt you? Chairperson, Mr Chaskalson 4 has gone through the various agreements on discovery that 5 parties had to adhere to and we have been bombarding the 6 evidence leaders and the SAPS with our insistence that they 7 should discover. It's been over some two weeks now that 8 the Chairperson indicated that if there's still no 9 satisfaction on the part of SAPS to discover as we 10 requested, or the inadequacy of their discovery, they may 11 be put on terms, in fact they were to be put on terms 12 before the commencement of the SAPS evidence. Chairperson, 13 if you permit us we would like – 14 CHAIRPERSON: To interpose, as far as I 15 understand what you're going to say to me, based on 16 something you told me in Mr Semenya's presence last week, I 17 think it was, there are still some statements that you're 18 asking for, asking the SAPS for which they haven't given. 19 I understood they're in the process of getting them for 20 you. They relate to individuals who were involved in the 21 events of the 16th, I think primarily. I understand they 22 are going to be given to you. I don't think the evidence 23 we're hearing at the moment or the evidence of the next 24 witness, for example, are likely to be of such a nature 25 that you require those documents but certainly if we reach</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7072</p> <p>1 Yes, thank you, Mr Chairman. General, before the lunch 2 adjournment I took you to the statement of Lieutenant- 3 Colonel Gaffley that indicates that some SAPS members or 4 rather SAPS members were shooting from different directions 5 and thereafter I took you to, or back to paragraph 45.5 6 where it appears that some protesters may have been killed 7 when some SAPS members might have been firing in response 8 to friendly fire by other SAPS members. Now, I want to 9 take you to the statement of Mr de Rover, I hope I'm 10 pronouncing the name correctly, it's the lower case d-e and 11 then the surname is R-o-v-e-r. I ask that a copy be placed 12 in front of you – 13 CHAIRPERSON: I think we have to make it 14 an exhibit, do we? FFF11. 15 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, yes, Mr 16 Chairman. Do you have a copy there, General? 17 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I do. 18 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes. Now General, if 19 you want you may read perhaps the two paragraphs that 20 precede the paragraphs that I want to focus on and the 21 paragraphs I want to focus on are paragraphs 81 and 82 of 22 that statement. If you've read the paragraphs before that, 23 please indicate then I will read paragraphs 81 and 82 into 24 the record. And whilst you are reading let me, for the 25 record, indicate that Mr de Rover is the South African</p>

Page 7073

1 Police Service expert on public order policing, are you
 2 aware of that?
 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I'm aware.
 4 MR MADLANGA SC: Please indicate then
 5 when I should go ahead and read paragraphs 81 and 82.
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have read 79 and 80.
 7 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, thank you,
 8 General. Now, paragraph 81 reads, "At the time of scene 1
 9 and immediately thereafter, the problems with the analogue
 10 radio network conspired to prevent the overall commander to
 11 stay abreast of developments and to call a halt to police
 12 operations in a bid to regroup and reassess. It virtually
 13 goes without saying that SAPS doctrine and experience in
 14 crowd management dictate such a decision." Do you see
 15 that?
 16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I see.
 17 MR MADLANGA SC: And obviously the
 18 analogue radio network referred to must be the SAPS
 19 analogue radio network, not so?
 20 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 21 MR MADLANGA SC: Paragraph 82 reads, "In
 22 the absence of a countermanding order, the implementation
 23 of the operation at scene 2 went ahead with the on scene
 24 commander unaware of the incidents that had just produced
 25 at scene 1." Do you see that?

Page 7074

1 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I do.
 2 MR MADLANGA SC: Now let me paraphrase,
 3 and I do believe of course that this is quite plain, the
 4 language of these two paragraphs is quite plain but just to
 5 make sure that we are on the same page I will attempt to
 6 paraphrase. I read this to mean that had the overall
 7 commander followed all developments at scene 1, he or she
 8 would have halted the operation and the 18 people who died
 9 as a result of the police shooting at scene 2 would not
 10 have died. Or let me just take one step back, let me take
 11 one step back. Let me say I read this to mean, had the
 12 overall commander followed all developments at scene 1, he
 13 or she would have halted the operation, do you accept that?
 14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do not know.
 15 MR MADLANGA SC: Alright. What Mr de
 16 Rover says does not end there. He says, "It virtually goes
 17 without saying that SAPS doctrine and experience in crowd
 18 management dictate such a decision," such a decision being
 19 the halting of the operation, do you see that? That is the
 20 last sentence of paragraph 81.
 21 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I see that.
 22 MR MADLANGA SC: It is on that basis then
 23 that I made the last proposition I made to you, which is
 24 that according to what Mr de Rover says and which he says
 25 would have been based on SAPS doctrine, had the overall

Page 7075

1 commander followed all developments at scene 1, he or she
 2 would have halted the operation. Do you still not agree?
 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I said I do not know
 4 because the commander is the best person to answer this,
 5 it's not me.
 6 MR MADLANGA SC: I'm not asking you about
 7 your own knowledge. I am asking you purely based on what
 8 the SAPS' own expert is saying, that is what I'm basing
 9 this on. It flows from what the SAPS expert himself is
 10 saying and he says, he says but for the problems with the
 11 analogue radio network which made it impossible or
 12 difficult for the overall commander to follow developments
 13 at scene 1, the operation would have been halted. Do you
 14 agree that that is what this thing says? I'm not asking
 15 you about whether you know for a fact what the commander
 16 would have done. I'm asking you isn't that what paragraph
 17 81 says?
 18 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm not sure where
 19 we're missing each other. You've asked me, you've read
 20 that. You've asked me whether I saw it and I said yes.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: The question really is
 22 whether you understand it and the question is, further
 23 question, is what is meant by the phrase "such a decision"
 24 at the end of the second sentence of paragraph 81. Now
 25 reading back to the first sentence, it does look as if what

Page 7076

1 Mr de Rover meant was a decision to call a halt to police
 2 operations in a bid to regroup and reassess. That seems to
 3 be the plain meaning of the paragraph, doesn't it?
 4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: And I have answered,
 5 Judge, to say I do not know. The operational person may
 6 answer that well because I'm not qualified to actually
 7 underscore or not underscore that statement.
 8 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, no – well, I'm not
 9 [inaudible] whether you were asked whether you agree with
 10 what Mr de Rover says and, as you correctly say, this is a
 11 field of expertise which is different from your normal
 12 field of expertise. The question is, is that what Mr de
 13 Rover is saying?
 14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have said yes to that
 15 already but I was asked a different question, as I
 16 understood. Maybe I was wrong.
 17 MR MADLANGA SC: National Commissioner, I
 18 did not ask you a different question, I asked you exactly
 19 the question that Mr Chairman put to you just now. It's
 20 not a different question. What I'm asking you for is
 21 meaning and right now, after the two or so answers that you
 22 have given I'm confused as to what your answer is. Do you
 23 accept that what this paragraph says is what the Chairman
 24 has just articulated? Do you accept that that is what this
 25 paragraph means? I'm not asking you about commanders, what

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7077</p> <p>1 commanders would have decided, meaning that's what my 2 question is about. 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I understand it even 4 better in Xhosa. I have read the contents of this 5 paragraph and I recognise what the contents of the 6 paragraph says, yes. 7 MR MADLANGA SC: And this Mr de Rover 8 bases on what he calls SAPS doctrine and he says SAPS 9 doctrine, doctrine and experience – he bases it on SAPS 10 doctrine and experience and in crowd management and he says 11 that those, that is doctrine and experience, dictate in 12 those circumstances a decision that the operation be 13 halted, again meaning you accept that? 14 CHAIRPERSON: It's fair to say that she 15 accepts that's what Mr de Rover says. I think she makes it 16 clear that she can't be heard, she's not in a position to 17 say whether Mr de Rover is right or wrong. 18 MR MADLANGA SC: I agree, Mr Chairman, 19 and is why I keep emphasising that all I'm concentrating on 20 is meaning, meaning the meaning of paragraph 81. Do you 21 accept the last proposition? 22 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I must say you, at 23 times, confuse me. When you say meaning, meaning maybe 24 differs. I say I read, I see, I understand it as the 25 English language puts it in this document in 81 and 82.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7079</p> <p>1 last answer she gave. 2 MR MADLANGA SC: But just to make sure, 3 is your short answer yes, to my last proposition? 4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: My problem is the word 5 you have used "accept." It's got a deeper and stronger 6 meaning. 7 MR MADLANGA SC: I will avoid the use of 8 the word "accept." Does what Mr de Rover is saying mean 9 what I have suggested it means? 10 GENERAL PHIYEGA: You've gone back to 11 meaning and you've used meaning before. You confuse me. 12 MR MADLANGA SC: What exactly confuses 13 you about meaning? 14 MR SEMENYA SC: Chair, this must 15 constitute the badgering of the witness. 16 CHAIRPERSON: No, he's not – 17 MR SEMENYA SC: This must constitute the 18 badgering of the witness, Chair. 19 CHAIRPERSON: Well, some people might 20 argue that it's something that's got two sides to it, but 21 let's not get involved in that. I think the problem is 22 that the questions are framed in a way that the witness 23 doesn't fully understand them and she's reluctant to – if 24 she's not quite sure what they mean, she's reluctant to 25 answer yes or no because of the consequences she can't</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7078</p> <p>1 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, I keep – 2 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Madlanga, I think if you 3 say the meaning of Mr de Rover then there won't be a 4 problem. I think I understand why she's reluctant to 5 answer the question in unqualified affirmative but if it's 6 qualified by saying Mr de Rover's meaning, I don't think 7 she should have a problem. 8 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you. May I 9 rephrase the question then and say, to my last proposition, 10 do you accept that that is what Mr de Rover means? 11 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I have read what 12 is written here. 13 MR MADLANGA SC: But I'm asking a 14 different question. Do you accept that Mr de Rover means 15 what I have suggested he means? 16 CHAIRPERSON: I understood her to say 17 yes, and then she gave her reasons for saying yes, because 18 she's read what's written here. I don't think it – I don't 19 think one dare suggest she's not answering the question. 20 MR MADLANGA SC: I get confused, Mr 21 Chairman, because of the lengthy and qualified responses to 22 very simple questions, I honestly get confused. 23 CHAIRPERSON: I don't think that was a 24 lengthy or a qualified response to your question. I really 25 think that's a comment that certainly doesn't apply to the</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7080</p> <p>1 foresee, so I can understand that. That's why I've been 2 trying to help her a bit, but anyway, Mr Madlanga will bear 3 in mind what you've said. I don't think you went quite as 4 far as badgering but maybe you were approaching the borders 5 of badgerdom, so maybe you must move back a bit. 6 MR MADLANGA SC: The last question, 7 Commissioner, was – when Mr de Rover says that SAPS 8 doctrine and experience in crowd management dictate such a 9 decision, does he mean that SAPS doctrine and experience in 10 crowd management dictate that after events like those that 11 had taken place in scene 1 have taken place, there should 12 be a halting or stoppage of the operation – 13 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I have – 14 MR MADLANGA SC: Is that what Mr de Rover 15 means? I've avoided "acceptance" – yes, I can't avoid 16 using the word "mean." 17 CHAIRPERSON: I think to be fair, she 18 can't say she necessarily knows what Mr de Rover meant. 19 All she can say is that's what he appears to mean. He may 20 have had some mental reservation or may have expressed 21 himself badly but all she can be expected to answer is what 22 he appears to mean on an ordinary meaning of the sentence. 23 Perhaps if the question is put that way, the witness 24 shouldn't have a problem. 25 [15:32] MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman.</p>

Page 7081

1 I've asked her the question a few times, I will not ask the
2 full question again. All I will do is just to add this.
3 On your reading of what Mr de Rover says, do you accept the
4 meaning that I've suggested to you?
5 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Maybe ask the question
6 again.
7 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr de Rover says or
8 refers to the SAPS doctrine and experience in crowd
9 management, do you see that?
10 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
11 MR MADLANGA SC: Do you see that he also
12 says that those, that is doctrine and experience in crowd
13 management, dictate the taking of a decision, do you see
14 that?
15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I do.
16 MR MADLANGA SC: Do you also see that if
17 you read "decision" in the last sentence, that must be a
18 reference back to a decision to halt, to call a halt of the
19 operation.
20 GENERAL PHIYEGA: So you're reading
21 "decision" with the previous sentence?
22 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, decision – what I'm
23 suggesting to you is that decision refers back to a
24 decision to call a halt to police operations.
25 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.

Page 7082

1 MR MADLANGA SC: I'll go to the next
2 question. Can that decision, that is the decision to call
3 a halt to the operation, had that decision been taken do
4 you accept that the killings at scene 2 would not have
5 taken place?
6 CHAIRPERSON: I don't think that's a fair
7 question, Mr Madlanga, because to call a police – to call a
8 halt to police operations in a bid to regroup and reassess.
9 Now, if the police operations had been halted and there was
10 then a regrouping and a reassessment, we do not know what
11 the result of the reassessment would've been. The
12 reassessment might have involved a decision to advance on
13 scene 2 and take certain action which might have led to the
14 death of some of the people. So I'm not sure that the
15 question in the absolute form that you put it, was a fair
16 one in the circumstances.
17 MR MADLANGA SC: Let me ask the question
18 differently. Would you accept that if the operation had
19 been halted, the police had regrouped and reassessed, any
20 number of possible decisions could have been taken? One
21 could have been that let's go ahead, let's pursue them to
22 koppie 3. Just like one could well have been that because
23 we as SAPS have already killed 16 people at scene 1, let us
24 not pursue those that have run to koppie 3 because there
25 may again be a large number of casualties.

Page 7083

1 MR SEMENYA SC: The question calls for
2 conjecture again, Chair.
3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes –
4 MR SEMENYA SC: Where are we going?
5 CHAIRPERSON: He's entitled to ask her
6 this kind of question to engage in some conjecture but I
7 don't think it should be taken too far and if he takes it
8 much further, I'll stop him.
9 MR MADLANGA SC: Let me ask you this
10 question. Thank you, Mr Chairman. I know that you were
11 new at SAPS at the time but I want to find out what your
12 own thinking is. If, as Mr de Rover says, in such
13 circumstances there would have been a need to regroup and
14 reassess, what do you think the purpose of the regrouping
15 and reassessing would have been?
16 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I sincerely find that a
17 hard question to answer. I would say I do not know.
18 MR MADLANGA SC: Would it not possibly,
19 amongst others, have involved a taking of decisions as to
20 whether or not to continue with the operation?
21 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I would like to avoid
22 speculating.
23 CHAIRPERSON: I think these are matters
24 for argument, aren't they? I could understand if the
25 National Commissioner had been on the scene at the time, in

Page 7084

1 charge of the operations, conjectural questions of this
2 kind might be directly relevant but regard being had to the
3 fact she wasn't there and there is a strong element of
4 conjecture, I'm not sure we are assisted by the answers she
5 gives or her reluctance to give answers. I'm sure there
6 are other matters you can ask her about which do not
7 involve conjecture of this kind.
8 MR MADLANGA SC: But you accept that part
9 of the problem that made it impossible even for the
10 regrouping and reassessing to be done was the problem with
11 the analogue radio network.
12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm sure the commanders
13 would be able to talk to that. I do not know.
14 CHAIRPERSON: May I ask you a question
15 about that? It appears from Mr de Rover's statement that
16 he must have been informed by those who briefed him that
17 the overall commander had a problem in staying abreast of
18 developments because of problems with the analogue radio
19 network. That seems a fair inference, you'd agree with
20 that, I'm sure. No conjecture required. Now that's a fair
21 inference, isn't it? He must have been told that. He
22 didn't take that himself out of the air. Now when you
23 received your various briefings about what had happened on
24 the night of the 16th, morning of the 17th and thereafter,
25 were you ever told that the overall commander had problems

Page 7085

1 with the analogue radio network?

2 GENERAL PHIYEGA: On the 16th and the

3 17th, Judge, I was not informed of the radio thing.

4 CHAIRPERSON: Were you informed a bit

5 later?

6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: As we were preparing

7 our statements to come to the Commission and many, most of

8 the information was coming, we noted the issue of the

9 radio.

10 CHAIRPERSON: Was that at the time of the

11 Potchefstroom conference or meeting?

12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I missed that?

13 CHAIRPERSON: Was that at the time of the

14 Potchefstroom meeting?

15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I think –

16 CHAIRPERSON: The evidence is that

17 various police generals and others gathered at

18 Potchefstroom, I think it was for over a week, and prepared

19 a number of things, particularly exhibit L which is the

20 police presentation. Was it before then that this was, you

21 were told about the analogue radio network problem?

22 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Maybe let me answer

23 this way, Judge. The building of our submission was a

24 progressive process and we continued to pick up input along

25 the process that took the submission to come to yourselves.

Page 7086

1 And I would also say I visited Potchefstroom only once. It

2 is for that reason that maybe it is difficult for me to

3 pinpoint the time when the information came but I did note

4 the information in our submission.

5 CHAIRPERSON: You must forgive me for

6 saying I don't like this maybe answer. I'm not being

7 unkind, I know it's just a way you express yourself but it

8 doesn't help to say it may be the case or it may not be the

9 case. We're not interested so much in maybe's as in facts

10 but I think it's fair to say, I think what you're saying is

11 you're not sure whether you heard about it before or after

12 Potchefstroom and so you can't tell us. Would that be a

13 fair inference, that's what you're saying?

14 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, Judge.

15 CHAIRPERSON: I see. You see, the reason

16 I asked the question is if there was a problem with the

17 analogue radio network, I take it the commanding officer,

18 the overall commander would have known about it at the

19 time.

20 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Mm.

21 CHAIRPERSON: It's not something he

22 discovered days or weeks or months later.

23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Mm.

24 CHAIRPERSON: So I would've expected that

25 fact, which the overall commander must have been aware of

Page 7087

1 at the time, to have surfaced fairly early on in the

2 development of the, what one can call the police case, but

3 I don't think it's fair to ask you that question. That's

4 something, that's a question the overall commander will

5 have to deal with when he comes there. That's right, isn't

6 it?

7 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, Judge.

8 MR MADLANGA SC: When you say that you

9 read the issue about the problems with the analogue radio

10 network in the submission, are you referring to the SAPS

11 presentation, exhibit L?

12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm hoping that it was

13 mentioned in that, or also in the statements of the

14 members.

15 MR MADLANGA SC: Please bear with me,

16 Commissioners. Now, at the risk of sounding, being

17 repetitive but may the Commissioners and you, General,

18 please bear with me because after what may sound repetitive

19 I am leading to a question. From the information that we

20 have received from SAPS and which I've debated with you

21 after the tea break, one believes the following therefrom.

22 Some SAPS members fired shots in response to what may have

23 been "friendly fire" from other SAPS members. Do you

24 accept that? Do you accept that one does glean this from

25 the information that you and I have been debating?

Page 7088

1 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Just refer me again to

2 –

3 CHAIRPERSON: The word "accept" has

4 caused her trouble in the past and I can understand why.

5 I'm sure you can put it in a way which doesn't raise the

6 kind of problems which encourage her to be cautious, for

7 which one cannot blame her.

8 MR MADLANGA SC: Is it so – thank you, Mr

9 Chairman – is it so that it does appear from the

10 information that you and I have debated, that some SAPS

11 members fired shots in response to what may have been

12 "friendly fire" from other SAPS members? This is in

13 paragraph 45.5 of the opening statement.

14 MR SEMENYA SC: No Chair, I think my

15 learned colleague should have used the word "may."

16 CHAIRPERSON: They don't say in 45.5 it

17 was friendly fire. They say it may have been friendly

18 fire. They don't know that it was friendly fire, they

19 don't know that it wasn't friendly fire, that's why they

20 were hoping ballistic evidence would solve the problem. We

21 will find out in due course if it does but the point Mr

22 Semenya puts is correct, if you can – you've got to use the

23 subjunctive "may" when you convey the point that you make.

24 MR MADLANGA SC: Mr Chairman, I only did

25 not use the "may" and I accept what Mr Semenya says in

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7089</p> <p>1 respect of the "fired" at the beginning of this sentence, 2 but where the Chairman is referring to I actually did use 3 it but I will just again read what I said and then I will 4 insert the "may" that Mr Semenya so correctly says should 5 be inserted. Is it so that what paragraph 45.5 says may be 6 read to mean this, some SAPS members may have fired shots 7 in response to what may have been "friendly fire" from 8 other SAPS members? 9 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, the statement is 10 saying that. 11 MR MADLANGA SC: And does the statement 12 also say that some protesters may have been killed when the 13 SAPS members concerned might have been firing in response 14 to the "friendly fire" by other SAPS members? 15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm not sure is it 16 something you are reading or is it an interpretation? 17 MR MADLANGA SC: I introduced this 18 present debate by saying that on my reading of the material 19 provided by SAPS, this is what one gleans from the 20 material. 21 CHAIRPERSON: I think it's Mr Madlanga's 22 paraphrase. I think it's Mr Madlanga's paraphrase - 23 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Okay, that's different. 24 CHAIRPERSON: - of the relevant section 25 of paragraph 45.5.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7091</p> <p>1 to fall back and take position behind the vehicles as it 2 was clear the police were firing from different directions 3 and members could be caught in cross-fire." 4 MR MADLANGA SC: Yes, that is where I'm 5 reading from or rather I'm paraphrasing from that 6 paragraph, Mr Chairman. Do you accept my paraphrase? 7 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm going to ask you to 8 paraphrase again because I just read that state – I didn't 9 have the statement, I read what is written here, now I can 10 listen to the paraphrase. 11 MR MADLANGA SC: According to Lieutenant- 12 Colonel Gaffley, SAPS members were firing shots from 13 different directions and some SAPS members could have been 14 shot by SAPS members in the cross-fire. 15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm not able to accept 16 your paraphrasing. 17 MR MADLANGA SC: Why not? 18 GENERAL PHIYEGA: As I read the 19 statement, it doesn't give me that understanding. 20 CHAIRPERSON: How would you paraphrase 21 it? 22 MR MADLANGA SC: As the Chairman has just 23 asked, how would you paraphrase it? 24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: My understanding of 25 this, I ordered the members to fall back and take position</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7090</p> <p>1 MR MADLANGA SC: What is your response or 2 should I repeat the question? 3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I think you should. 4 MR MADLANGA SC: Some protesters may have 5 been killed when the SAPS members concerned might have been 6 firing in response to "friendly fire" by other SAPS 7 members? 8 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I would go more with 9 the statement as we've put it because I think the 10 paraphrasing makes many, many more issues than what I read 11 here. 12 MR MADLANGA SC: I will move on, General. 13 According to Lieutenant-Colonel Gaffley, SAPS members were 14 firing shots from different directions and could have shot 15 other police in cross-fire. 16 MR MAHLANGU: If I may just ask, where 17 are we reading from? 18 [15:52] MR MADLANGA SC: Again it's my paraphrase 19 of the information that we have received. I did read to 20 the witness a paragraph or some paragraphs from the 21 statement of Lieutenant-Colonel Gaffley, Mr Mahlangu. 22 MR MAHLANGU: I've got it, I've got the 23 statement. 24 CHAIRPERSON: That's apparent from para 25 13 at the foot of the second page, "I ordered the members</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 7092</p> <p>1 behind the vehicles as it was clear that the police are 2 firing from different directions and members could be 3 caught – could be caught – in cross-fire. And I'm also 4 seeing, he's talking about shooting from different 5 directions and I'm sure he can talk about that – earlier on 6 he said he looked into the bushes and did not see somebody 7 with the firearms. I'm not even sure whether his statement 8 – he needs to be questioned on that so that your 9 paraphrasing can be put into context. I'm the wrong person 10 to do that. 11 MR MADLANGA SC: You can take time to 12 read the statement again, General. When Lieutenant-Colonel 13 Gaffley is talking about not having identified any person 14 within the crowd that was visible to him with any firearm 15 in his hand, it does not appear to be talking about the 16 police that he says were firing from all directions, 17 including some even firing from behind them – "them" being 18 his unit, the STF. Do you not agree with me? 19 GENERAL PHIYEGA: No, I don't because I 20 don't know who that, any person shooting is and this is why 21 I'm saying I'm the wrong person to try and interpret that 22 any person shooting. It is Gaffley who can say who he 23 means by any person shooting. 24 MR MADLANGA SC: In any event, General, I 25 do not see why you want to go back to paragraph 11. I am –</p>

Page 7093

1 CHAIRPERSON: I think paragraph 12, the
 2 first sentence in para 12. "At this stage I heard gunshots
 3 from the direction of the bushes in front of us but I could
 4 not see any person shooting." There were – I think the
 5 test is "in the bushes in front" and it would appear that
 6 there may well have been policemen as well. So the word
 7 "any" as you know is a very wide word, so it could cover
 8 either protesters or policemen, so. It's now 4 o'clock.
 9 When you think it's a suitable stage for us to take the
 10 adjournment, please let me know.

11 MR MADLANGA SC: Thank you, Mr Chairman.
 12 In paragraph 12, the same paragraph that the Chairman read
 13 from, which is the paragraph before the one that I'm
 14 focusing or was focusing on, the following sentence
 15 appears, second last sentence, "Then the canine members
 16 also started firing from behind us into the koppie. I also
 17 heard shots from our left and right." And then in
 18 paragraph 13 he says, "At this stage the Scorpion had
 19 joined us and the members had formed a line in front of the
 20 Casspir, ready to approach the koppie on foot. I ordered
 21 the members to fall back and take position behind the
 22 vehicles." You accept that he's – or rather let me avoid
 23 accept – he is referring to SAPS members, is he not?

24 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes.
 25 MR MADLANGA SC: And he gives the reason

Page 7094

1 why he made that order and he says, "as it was clear that
 2 the police are firing from different directions," do you
 3 see that?

4 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I read that.
 5 MR MADLANGA SC: - "and members could be
 6 caught in cross-fire," do you see that?

7 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Yes, I see that.
 8 MR MADLANGA SC: Would you not accept
 9 that the cross-fire refers also by, or refers also to fire
 10 by SAPS members?

11 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I actually read in his
 12 statement that he says the police are firing from different
 13 directions. That's what he writes in his statement.
 14 MR MADLANGA SC: And members, that is
 15 SAPS members, could be caught in cross-fire. What I'm
 16 suggesting to you is, whatever the source of the cross-fire
 17 might have been, but he is certainly suggesting that part
 18 of that cross-fire would have been fire from or by the
 19 police, do you accept that?

20 GENERAL PHIYEGA: What is important is
 21 what you've said, part of the cross-fire could have been.
 22 In that sense I agree.
 23 MR MADLANGA SC: You spoke at the same
 24 with Mr Mahlangu. What, your answer may not appear in the
 25 transcript. So you say because I have used the word "part"

Page 7095

1 of the cross-fire may have emanated from SAPS, you accept
 2 what I'm putting to you?

3 GENERAL PHIYEGA: I'm saying you have
 4 used the phrase "part," particularly having listened to, I
 5 did not see any person shooting and the police, so the
 6 "part" represents a better understanding of what you're
 7 saying.

8 MR MADLANGA SC: And because he says that
 9 he gave an instruction or a command that they should go
 10 behind the vehicles to avoid the fire, so effectively he
 11 means that part of that cross-fire which emanated from the
 12 police could have injured the police themselves, do you
 13 accept that? Do you agree? Do you agree that this is what
 14 this means?

15 GENERAL PHIYEGA: From what I've read, I
 16 understand that part of that could have been.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: I take it one can go
 18 further. One could even say all of it might have been
 19 friendly fire. There's no basis for saying that only part
 20 of it may have been friendly fire. Of course it's again
 21 speculation –

22 GENERAL PHIYEGA: It is.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: - we're in the area of
 24 conjecture, aren't we, but while we're busy conjecturing,
 25 we may as well get it right. It was fire. The police,

Page 7096

1 according to the statement 45.5, are prepared to accept it
 2 may, some of it may have been – they didn't say some of it,
 3 they're prepared to accept that they may have been
 4 responding to friendly fire. Now in the police statement
 5 it said that there may have been friendly fire.
 6 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Mm-mm.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: The possibility of the fire
 8 being friendly fire appears to be corroborated by what
 9 Colonel Gaffley says in the passage that Mr Madlanga put to
 10 you. I think that's a fair summary, isn't it, of what
 11 we've seen?

12 GENERAL PHIYEGA: Judge, I would still
 13 say there are many talks about possibilities and we still
 14 say that that phrase, that very paragraph at the end says
 15 when all evidence has been presented, then it is a better
 16 point to actually start accepting corroborating and that.
 17 At this point in time I think I would be irresponsible to
 18 do so.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: That answer may be the
 20 subject of argument at later stage but is this perhaps an
 21 appropriate stage to take the adjournment until tomorrow
 22 morning, half past nine?
 23 [COMMISSION ADJOURNED]
 24 .
 25 .

<p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p>able 6975:8 6979:5 7001:11 7015:1 7020:23 7024:21 7025:9,13 7036:14 7045:11 7071:19 7084:13 7091:15 abreast 7073:11 7084:17 absence 7058:9,18 7073:22 absent 7039:12 7041:13 absolute 7082:15 absolutely 7035:17 7056:13 accept 6982:3 6984:2 6985:22,23,25 6988:11,21 6996:12 6996:15,19 7003:11 7004:18 7005:17,23 7006:1,4,13,15,24 7007:5,25 7010:4,13 7010:19,20 7014:8,23 7014:24 7019:18 7028:25 7030:14 7074:13 7076:23,24 7077:13,21 7078:10 7078:14 7079:5,8 7081:3 7082:4,18 7084:8 7087:24,24 7088:3,25 7091:6,15 7093:22,23 7094:8,19 7095:1,13 7096:1,3 acceptance 7029:11 7080:15 accepted 7028:4 accepting 7009:15 7096:16 accepts 7077:15 account 7010:7 7011:9 7025:23 accounted 6994:24 6997:8 7004:2,6,12 7005:10 7006:25 7007:15,22 7008:9 7016:3 accounting 7007:23 7008:1,3,6 accurate 6980:13 7030:2 accused 7001:25 act 7035:3 7058:23 acted 7035:23 7066:16 acting 7010:10,11 7012:4 action 6994:12 7082:13 actual 7000:7 acute 7050:4 add 7012:22 7081:2 addition 6976:18,18 7051:6 address 6980:13 7024:7 7032:18 7034:7 7037:9</p>	<p>7057:14 7061:19,24 7062:15,23 7067:25 addressed 7002:18 7037:21 7040:15 7045:8 7054:8,9 7062:10 addresses 7023:17,22 addressing 7040:4 adequate 7043:8 7048:3 adhere 7070:5 adjourn 7021:10 7031:7,13,15 7069:24 7070:3 adjourned 7031:10 7049:10 7096:23 adjournment 6998:23 6999:1 7003:8 7021:8 7030:20 7069:25 7072:2 7093:10 7096:21 adjournments 7000:7 ADJOURNS 6999:4 7021:14 7031:8 7071:13 adjudicate 7063:14 administered 7059:4 admonish 7000:16 7001:2,5 admonished 7000:12 admonition 7000:18,22 7000:25 7001:7 advance 6994:9 7082:12 advanced 6986:10 adverse 7063:25 adversely 7001:23 advised 6981:14 7000:2 7000:4 7037:18 7040:12 affect 7031:3 affirmation 7059:4 affirmative 7078:5 Africa 7051:19 7056:23 7057:1 7059:2 African 6999:15 7072:25 afternoon 7000:2 7050:18 agency 7066:25 agitated 7046:13 agitating 7045:25 agree 6984:7 6996:21 7006:20,21 7008:12 7010:24 7013:12 7038:2 7068:22 7075:2,14 7076:9 7077:18 7084:19 7092:18 7094:22 7095:13,13 agreed 6998:8 7001:17 7028:9,10,12,17,22 7061:6,8,17 agreement 7054:14 7060:14 agreements 7070:4</p>	<p>ahead 7073:5,23 7082:21 air 7084:22 allegation 6982:21 7019:12 allegations 7024:3 alleged 6973:20,20 6979:15 alluded 7019:14 7046:23 alright 7008:24 7074:15 AMCU 6981:15 7034:9 7034:14 7036:11 7042:19,22,23,25 7043:12,15 7046:14 amount 7055:3,9 7056:3,5 analogue 7012:5 analogue 7073:9,18,19 7075:11 7084:11,18 7085:1,21 7086:17 7087:9 analogy 7059:14 7062:17 analysis 7037:19 7043:5 7045:11 and/or 7036:10 Anele 7017:8 angle 7040:6 answer 6976:13,16 6977:23 6985:2 7009:5,15 7012:19,20 7013:13 7015:21 7025:20 7029:6,6 7044:13 7075:4 7076:6,22 7078:5 7079:1,3,25 7080:21 7083:17 7085:22 7086:6 7094:24 7096:19 answered 6992:24 6998:3 7007:6 7076:4 answering 7012:14 7078:19 answers 6986:5 7026:4 7076:21 7084:4,5 anybody 6976:12 7050:2 anyway 7080:2 apologise 7013:23 7068:8 7069:5 7071:16 apparent 7065:6,10 7090:24 appear 7036:11 7065:14 7088:9 7092:15 7093:5 7094:24 appears 6989:21 7011:17 7029:22 7032:5,20 7033:4,14 7048:10 7072:6 7080:19,22 7084:15 7093:15 7096:8 application 7031:18,24</p>	<p>7035:19 7038:19 7044:15 7047:8,12,14 7048:12,23 7049:12 7049:16 7052:10 7057:8,18,21 7058:6 7061:5 7064:1,1,4,5 7065:9,18 7067:10 7068:24 7069:6 7071:18 applied 7052:8 apply 7001:5 7043:12 7078:25 appreciate 6979:7 approach 6989:8 7001:18 7027:7,18 7047:23 7054:21 7093:20 approached 7037:16 approaches 7036:2 approaching 7022:18 7027:6 7080:4 appropriate 6998:23 7000:18 7047:9 7056:2 7066:22,24 7068:23 7069:23 7096:21 appropriately 7065:13 approximately 7034:3 April 7041:19 7063:3 7063:10,15 arbitrary 7044:7 7046:24 7053:21 archives 7043:14,15 7044:24 7054:4 arduous 7065:4 area 6994:15 7095:23 aren't 7039:4 7083:24 7095:24 argue 7015:24 7064:1 7079:20 argument 7015:17 7030:23 7050:18 7071:17 7083:24 7096:20 arguments 7031:5 arisen 7036:9 arises 6998:10 7043:18 armed 6994:6,13 7017:22 7018:5,22 7022:19 7024:20 arrange 7068:20 arranged 7054:5 arrangements 7032:25 7046:19 arrest 7034:4 arrested 6980:1 arrive 7005:21 arrived 7026:20 articulated 7076:24 ascertained 7045:18 ascertaining 7058:24 asked 7030:8,9 7038:2 7038:21 7053:25 7055:2 7075:19,20 7076:9,15,18 7081:1 7086:16 7091:23</p>	<p>asking 6978:13 6994:4 7004:22 7007:10 7023:16 7043:11 7044:2,4 7070:18,18 7075:6,7,14,16 7076:20,25 7078:13 aspect 7046:22 7048:11 7059:21 aspects 7046:23 7068:4 assassinated 6973:22 assassination 6973:9 assegais 7022:19 assess 7063:21 assessment 7052:2 7055:15 assist 7067:22,24 assisted 7084:4 assisting 7069:14 associated 7032:11 7053:17 assume 6988:6 assumption 6984:18 attached 7027:3 7053:21 attaches 7042:7 attainment 7035:20 attempt 6973:12 6994:10 7074:5 attempted 6994:16 7000:8 attend 7055:18 7069:9 attendance 7040:13 attending 7069:7 attention 6973:25 6977:10,14 6978:9 6980:23 7055:20 7067:24 attitude 7025:7 7064:5 au 7002:5 August 6974:14,23 6978:1,3,7,10 6979:8 6979:10,18,19 6980:3 6980:14 6985:12 7032:12 7053:18 7056:11 automatic 7060:19 automatically 7060:4 available 7032:6 7041:18 averments 7011:13 avoid 6987:7 7004:24 7005:20 7079:7 7080:15 7083:21 7093:22 7095:10 avoided 7080:15 await 7002:14 aware 6981:5 6989:14 6989:17 7023:5,10,14 7023:22,24 7024:1,4 7073:2,3 7086:25 awful 7056:14 axes 7022:20</p>
B				
<p>B 7011:14,15,16,19 7012:1 7017:10,13</p>				

<p>back 6980:19 6986:18 6992:25 6995:5 7004:17 7006:24 7021:13 7027:19 7030:21 7031:16 7042:14,15 7043:16 7043:20 7044:9 7047:13 7056:8 7061:16 7071:12,18 7072:5 7074:10,11 7075:25 7079:10 7080:5 7081:18,23 7091:1,25 7092:25 7093:21</p> <p>backs 7040:1</p> <p>bad 7015:19</p> <p>badgerdom 7080:5</p> <p>badgering 7079:15,18 7080:4</p> <p>badly 7080:21</p> <p>balancing 7060:2,5,10</p> <p>ballistic 6980:10 7025:11 7030:11 7088:20</p> <p>barbed 6994:5</p> <p>bargaining 7055:21</p> <p>based 6989:1 7004:15 7011:4 7030:10 7049:3 7070:15 7074:25 7075:7</p> <p>bases 7077:8,9</p> <p>basing 7075:8</p> <p>basis 7008:3 7064:3 7074:22 7095:19</p> <p>bear 6989:20 7031:24 7052:19 7080:2 7087:15,18</p> <p>bearing 7034:16</p> <p>bears 7053:13</p> <p>beginning 6991:14 7005:14 7089:1</p> <p>begins 6997:11</p> <p>behalf 7024:24</p> <p>belief 7011:4 7029:24</p> <p>believe 7008:15 7025:24 7031:2 7032:6 7074:3</p> <p>believed 6985:6 6995:22 7009:24 7010:11,12 7011:25 7014:20 7047:3</p> <p>believes 7087:21</p> <p>believing 6995:1,15 6997:23 7003:12 7010:1,5 7014:5,9</p> <p>belt 7042:24</p> <p>benefit 7012:21 7015:17 7055:25</p> <p>benefits 7032:10,15 7034:18,19,22 7053:17 7054:1 7055:1,12 7064:23</p> <p>benevolent 7007:3</p> <p>best 6983:24 7036:8 7054:8 7066:7 7068:25 7075:4</p>	<p>better 6996:7 7012:12 7012:19 7063:13,18 7077:4 7095:6 7096:15</p> <p>beyond 7031:15 7048:8</p> <p>bid 7073:12 7076:2 7082:8</p> <p>bit 6977:17,22 7004:10 7007:11 7009:3 7021:1 7047:6 7080:2 7080:5 7085:4</p> <p>bits 7013:23</p> <p>Bizana 6973:15,16</p> <p>blame 7088:7</p> <p>bodies 7007:16,20,24 7008:20 7017:9</p> <p>body 7017:20 7018:4 7018:20 7037:22 7040:2 7042:1</p> <p>bombarding 7070:5</p> <p>bona 6983:25 6985:6,9 6986:2 7055:17</p> <p>books 7059:5</p> <p>borders 7080:4</p> <p>bore 7047:8</p> <p>branch 7055:18</p> <p>break 7049:10 7087:21</p> <p>briefed 6974:13 6976:14,14,21,24,25 6977:1,2,7 7084:16</p> <p>briefing 6974:21,24 6975:2,10 6977:11 6978:1 6985:10</p> <p>briefings 6975:6 6976:1,7 6977:10 6978:22,22,24 6979:9 6979:15,17 7084:23</p> <p>briefly 6974:11 7058:8 7061:6 7065:19</p> <p>briefs 6975:9</p> <p>Brigadier 6976:4 6977:5</p> <p>bring 6977:10 7031:17 7047:7 7068:16</p> <p>bringing 7031:23 7044:15</p> <p>brings 7049:17 7050:19</p> <p>broad 6977:17 6978:13 7051:1 7052:8 7056:18 7064:15 7065:2,7 7067:13 7068:3</p> <p>brought 6977:14 7038:20</p> <p>building 7085:23</p> <p>bullets 6994:17</p> <p>bundle 7032:5,20 7033:4,15 7034:11 7035:1,10 7039:18 7046:11 7061:13 7066:20</p> <p>bushes 6995:2,15,23 6997:24 7010:2 7014:6,21 7026:19 7027:13 7092:6 7093:3,5</p>	<p>bushy 6994:14</p> <p>business 7068:3</p> <p>busy 7024:15 7041:8 7095:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p> <hr/> <p>C 7017:20</p> <p>Calitz 6976:4 6977:5</p> <p>call 6973:4 6974:22 6977:21 6999:1 7007:23 7011:14 7012:1 7021:3,3 7059:5 7068:2 7073:11 7076:1 7081:18,24 7082:2,7 7082:7 7087:2</p> <p>called 7002:18 7031:3 7037:4</p> <p>calling 7040:3 7058:10 7066:4 7068:1</p> <p>calls 7001:6 7077:8 7083:1</p> <p>candid 6981:1</p> <p>canine 7027:5,15 7093:15</p> <p>cannon 6994:9 7026:20 7026:21</p> <p>cannons 6994:17</p> <p>can't 6976:4 7031:4 7038:18,20 7039:25 7040:2 7042:18 7043:21 7044:8 7045:20 7046:1 7047:22 7077:16 7079:25 7080:15,18 7086:12</p> <p>capacity 7052:25</p> <p>capital 6990:13</p> <p>captured 7029:17 7034:25</p> <p>career 7032:19 7033:1 7034:21 7053:11</p> <p>carry 7000:20 7048:20</p> <p>case 6990:13 7011:2 7024:25 7025:7,13 7050:4 7058:8 7061:2 7065:8 7068:24 7072:10 7086:8,9 7087:2</p> <p>Casspir 7026:20,23 7027:4,8,18 7093:20</p> <p>casualties 7082:25</p> <p>categoric 6984:10 7030:7,9,10</p> <p>categorical 7014:11 7015:5</p> <p>categorically 7011:1</p> <p>categories 7063:8</p> <p>category 7006:22 7030:12,13</p> <p>caught 7027:22 7091:3 7092:3,3 7094:6,15</p> <p>causal 7056:9</p> <p>cause 7016:23 7042:19 7059:3</p> <p>caused 7036:2 7088:4</p>	<p>cautious 7088:6</p> <p>cell 7021:4</p> <p>certain 6974:13 7046:6 7051:10 7057:18 7058:6 7061:14 7063:8 7067:1 7082:13</p> <p>certainly 7028:13 7064:9,17 7070:25 7071:2 7078:25 7094:17</p> <p>cetera 7034:21 7051:23</p> <p>Chair 6973:6 6981:22 6999:13 7002:13 7008:2 7011:6 7012:9 7012:24 7020:1 7032:16 7035:17 7042:4 7049:9,11 7052:14 7054:2 7056:12 7079:14,18 7083:2 7088:14</p> <p>Chairman 6974:9 6977:9,24 6981:13,25 6982:16 6986:17 6987:3 6990:12 6997:4,18 7003:1,2,6 7003:7 7008:12,12,18 7009:1 7012:7 7013:20 7014:1 7015:24 7016:13 7017:2 7021:6 7022:8 7024:12 7026:9 7067:21 7072:1,16 7076:19,23 7077:18 7078:21 7080:25 7083:10 7088:9,24 7089:2 7091:6,22 7093:11,12</p> <p>chambers 6999:14 7040:9</p> <p>chance 6986:7,15 6993:22</p> <p>change 7051:22</p> <p>changed 7028:7</p> <p>chapter 7037:22 7042:1</p> <p>characterised 7048:12</p> <p>charge 6993:15 7084:1</p> <p>charged 6982:8,12 6983:16 6984:20 6985:19 6990:1,20 6991:24 6992:9 6993:18 6994:22 6995:8 6996:3,9 6998:12 7005:5,15,24 7007:13 7008:22 7016:3,4,8 7017:11 7018:11 7019:5,19,21</p> <p>charging 6984:5 6991:1 6992:7 6994:12 6995:10,19 6995:20,24 6996:8,15 6996:16 6998:1 7003:17 7004:7 7014:12 7015:6,7,10 7016:9 7019:11,23,24</p>	<p>7020:7 7022:21</p> <p>Charter 7033:3,6,7 7037:18 7053:10</p> <p>Chaskalson 7041:2 7057:15,16 7066:18 7067:9 7070:3</p> <p>chat 7068:18</p> <p>check 7008:1</p> <p>Cheston 7026:6</p> <p>chief 6975:12,22</p> <p>choose 6974:22</p> <p>circulate 7061:20</p> <p>circulated 7050:9</p> <p>circumstances 7077:12 7082:16 7083:13</p> <p>City 7069:23 7071:11</p> <p>civil 7062:17</p> <p>clarified 7037:13</p> <p>clarify 7004:14</p> <p>clarity 7009:18</p> <p>clear 6977:1 7027:20 7077:16 7091:2 7092:1 7094:1</p> <p>clearly 7007:21 7008:8 7013:2 7015:16,16</p> <p>client 6999:15 7000:2,4 7000:12,22 7001:12 7001:16 7012:20</p> <p>clients 6999:3 7031:3</p> <p>client's 7000:18</p> <p>clip 7002:8</p> <p>clock 7042:13 7043:1</p> <p>close 6994:15</p> <p>closed 7029:5</p> <p>coal 7042:22</p> <p>coercive 7059:7,18 7061:1</p> <p>coincidence 7046:7</p> <p>collate 7065:4</p> <p>colleague 7013:1 7088:15</p> <p>colleagues 7050:22 7051:6</p> <p>Colonel 7020:12,19 7023:10,13 7072:3 7091:12 7096:9</p> <p>colossal 7051:16,23</p> <p>come 7010:15 7017:21 7021:13 7038:1,14 7047:13 7052:4 7053:1 7056:13 7071:1,12,18 7085:7 7085:25</p> <p>comes 6998:7 7011:18 7040:6 7087:5</p> <p>comfortable 7030:17 7030:19</p> <p>coming 6980:22 7010:21 7014:20 7021:8 7027:13 7038:12 7085:8</p> <p>command 7095:9</p> <p>commander 7023:25 7073:10,24 7074:7,12 7075:1,4,12,15 7084:17,25 7086:18</p>
--	---	--	---	--

7086:25 7087:4 commanders 6974:13 6975:13,15,20,21,23 6976:8,13 7076:25 7077:1 7084:12 commanding 7086:17 commenced 6994:13 commencement 7070:12 commencing 6986:24 6988:4 comment 6999:22,25 7000:4 7078:25 commentary 7000:7 commenting 7000:14 comments 7000:6 7001:4 Commissioner 6974:4 6974:9 6977:20,25 6978:18 6979:4,6 6980:19 6984:14 6985:8,9 6986:18 6987:7,14 6989:7,20 6991:19 6995:7 6996:6,13 6997:17 6998:7 6999:6,22 7003:4 7005:19 7009:17 7021:17,22 7022:9,15 7028:20 7029:3 7030:22 7031:10 7042:6 7044:14 7057:16,17 7071:15 7076:17 7080:7 7083:25 commissioners 6981:14 6981:24 6986:19 7016:14 7020:25 7021:7,21 7026:10,14 7032:7 7049:10 7066:20 7087:16,17 Commissioner's 7000:1 Commissions 7058:23 Commission's 7039:9 7040:9 7058:1,12 7060:21 commit 7066:4 committee 7055:18 committing 7001:25 common 7009:15 7042:18 7051:7 commonality 6995:3 compared 6986:8 compel 7048:24 7058:14,23 compelled 7060:1 compelling 7058:2 7061:1 7064:16,25 competent 7013:8 compile 7041:17 complain 7066:9 complaint 7041:4 7055:17,18,24 7056:8 7056:10 7058:9 7065:19 complaints 7032:15	7055:1,9,12 7064:23 complete 7057:7 completeness 7027:2 compliance 7040:16 7068:5 complicated 7009:3 complied 7048:13 7064:14 7066:15 comply 7033:3,8 7036:15 7044:11 compressed 7067:4 comprising 7049:25 compulsion 7057:24 7060:16 7064:19 concede 7044:6 7064:6 conceded 7043:17 concedes 7024:25 concentrating 7077:19 concern 6974:2 7038:25 concerned 6976:25 7034:14 7056:6 7089:13 7090:5 concerns 7037:6 concession 7025:18 concluded 7000:5,14 7031:13 7062:5 conclusion 7005:21 7029:5 7036:18 7057:4 conclusions 7049:21 conclusive 7020:8 conditional 7060:19 conditions 7032:23 7033:23 7060:24 condone 7038:14 conducive 7035:4 conduct 7000:12 7025:2 7035:1,5,7 7036:3,7 7043:5,9 7047:16 7056:16 7067:1 conducted 7036:4 conference 6974:17 7085:11 confine 7050:24 7054:25 confined 7055:11 confirm 6999:20 confirmed 6983:1 conflict 6989:9,11,13 6989:14,17 7050:4 confuse 7077:23 7079:11 confused 7004:19 7005:13 7076:22 7078:20,22 confuses 7004:21 7079:12 confusion 6987:7 7005:20 conjunctural 7084:1 conjecture 7083:2,6 7084:4,7,20 7095:24 conjecturing 7095:24 conjoint 7006:17	7009:6 jointly 7003:10 7005:21 connected 6998:4,20 connection 7056:9 consensus 7040:23,25 consequences 7079:25 consider 7044:20 7049:15 considerable 7047:20 consideration 7051:25 considering 7034:7 consistency 6981:19 consolidated 6978:24 7061:21,25 consolidation 6979:2 conspired 7073:10 constitute 7079:15,17 constitutional 6977:21 constraints 7060:15 construed 7048:23 contact 6973:23 7001:15 contacted 7001:16 contained 6993:11 7009:11 7011:13 7025:18 CONTD 6974:8 7021:20 7071:25 contemplates 7057:5 contend 7034:5 contended 7036:24,24 7037:2 contending 7039:10 content 6984:16 7023:5 7053:14 contention 6982:10 contentions 6982:2 contents 7077:4,5 context 6982:10 6994:3 7016:22 7024:14 7026:14 7029:7 7035:8 7060:11 7092:9 continuation 7036:19 continue 6974:7 6983:8 6983:20 6990:4 6996:20 7015:13 7017:4,6 7021:12,16 7036:14 7069:25 7071:19 7083:20 continued 6975:2,6 6979:11,12 7061:2 7085:24 continues 6996:4 7027:4 contracts 7034:18 contradiction 7012:12 contradictions 7012:11 contribute 7036:5 control 7058:19 convened 7041:2 convenient 7031:21 7068:20 convening 7066:24 conventional 7052:11	convey 7088:23 copies 7026:12,13 copious 7055:9 copy 7020:23 7026:7,10 7027:23 7072:11,16 corollary 7060:22 corporate 7037:17 correct 6977:5,20 6980:12 6988:10,15 6990:12 6997:18 7007:25 7011:22 7020:20 7021:16 7071:7,9 7088:22 corrected 7028:23 correctly 6980:6 6981:15 7028:3 7072:10 7076:10 7089:4 correspondence 7032:14 7054:20,25 7064:22 corroborated 7096:8 corroborating 7096:16 cost 7047:17,23 council 7055:21 counsel 6973:3 7011:20 7011:22 count 7008:1 counted 7007:25 countermanding 7073:22 counting 7008:6 counts 7069:5 course 6982:22 7017:13 7019:1 7050:5,17 7051:7,15 7053:23 7060:8 7074:3 7088:21 7095:20 court 7055:22 7059:2 7059:16 7062:22 cover 7008:13 7065:24 7093:7 covered 7031:5 7038:3 7039:11,11 7054:19 7064:12,20 created 7035:3 7040:17 creation 7035:4 credibility 7001:24 7012:22 crevices 6995:2,16,24 6997:24 7010:2 7014:6,21 criminal 7059:8,13 criteria 7052:11 critical 7011:7 cross 6987:24 6999:24 7001:24 7069:25 cross-examination 6974:7,8,10 6987:17 6987:20 7003:5 7016:24 7021:20 7071:24,25 cross-examined 7002:6 cross-examining 6986:21	cross-fire 7027:22 7090:15 7091:3,14 7092:3 7094:6,9,15 7094:16,18,21 7095:1 7095:11 crowd 7026:22 7027:9 7027:11 7073:14 7074:17 7077:10 7080:8,10 7081:8,12 7092:14 crucially 7019:9,24 cry 7015:5 current 7062:12 currently 7036:20 <hr/> D <hr/> D 6990:8,13,14 danger 7024:19,23 7025:2 dangerous 6990:21 6991:25 6993:4 6994:6,19,23 6996:4 6996:9,16 7004:8 7005:6,16,25 7014:13 7015:7,10 7016:4,5 dare 7078:19 date 6978:8,8 7048:14 7061:22 dates 7000:6 day 6974:15,17 6983:20 days 7069:10 7086:22 de 7072:9,25 7074:15 7074:24 7076:1,10,12 7077:7,15,17 7078:3 7078:6,10,14 7079:8 7080:7,14,18 7081:3 7081:7 7083:12 7084:15 dead 7017:17,25 deadline 7066:15 deadlines 7038:8 deal 6986:7 6996:14,14 6997:19 6998:24 7002:2,10 7003:25 7007:19 7024:9 7057:17,25 7071:3 7087:5 dealing 6990:15 7001:10 7031:11 7065:15 deals 7009:23 7032:22 dealt 6997:18 7002:4 7002:22 7008:20 7028:1 7039:2 7049:19 7052:20,21 7056:10 7067:3 7069:1 death 7025:23 7082:14 deaths 7025:13 7034:3 7050:4 debate 7021:8 7031:1 7089:18 debated 7087:20 7088:10 debating 7087:25
---	--	--	---	--

<p>deceased 7016:15 decide 7015:18 7047:7 decided 7077:1 decision 7073:14 7074:18,18 7075:23 7076:1 7077:12 7080:9 7081:13,17,18 7081:21,22,23,24 7082:2,2,3,12 decisions 7082:20 7083:19 declines 7048:24 declining 7048:18 7049:5 dedicated 7051:17 deep 6973:8 deeper 7079:5 defence 7004:7 7005:7 7005:17 7006:23 7007:14 7008:22 7009:20,23,24 7010:9 7010:10,11,17,18 7011:3,3 7012:3,5 7013:7,8 7014:12 7015:8,11 7024:21,22 7024:22 7025:3,4,10 7025:14,14 defend 6994:20 7023:1 defending 7010:19 deferred 7040:12 defined 7043:19 defines 7051:11 definitely 7010:17 7011:2 7012:7 degree 7040:25 demonstrate 6980:24 6981:3 6985:21 6988:18 7016:1 demonstrated 6989:9 6989:13 demonstrating 6989:10 deny 6973:18 department 7033:10 7045:19 7046:3 7066:25 departments 7051:19 departure 6984:3 depending 7025:10 depends 7010:24 deploying 6994:5,7 described 7010:16 7030:1 7049:25 7050:17 desist 7000:13 despite 7064:11 details 6974:22 determining 7052:7 7056:16 development 7034:21 7087:2 developments 7073:11 7074:7,12 7075:1,12 7084:18 devices 7035:24 dictate 7073:14 7074:18 7077:11</p>	<p>7080:8,10 7081:13 didn't 6975:3 6979:12 6986:9 6993:5,9 7018:18 7028:14,17 7028:17 7029:20 7044:1 7068:11 7084:22 7091:8 7096:2 died 7074:8,10 difference 6984:3,6,11 6984:13,23 6985:15 6985:17,18,25 6988:21 different 6974:11 6975:15,21 6983:3,7 6984:8,11 6991:5,17 6992:9 7015:9,11 7027:21 7038:10 7043:25 7057:2 7058:17 7072:4 7076:11,15,18,20 7078:14 7089:23 7090:14 7091:2,13 7092:2,4 7094:2,12 differently 7082:18 differs 7077:24 difficult 6978:15 7030:7 7075:12 7086:2 difficulties 7050:3 difficulty 6979:5 7056:25 7064:19 digging 7054:3 direct 7051:20 directed 7022:15 direction 7019:4 7027:13 7093:3 directions 7027:21 7072:4 7090:14 7091:2,13 7092:2,5 7092:16 7094:2,13 directly 7001:17 7084:2 disaggregate 7013:9 disagree 7015:13 discharged 7022:25 discharge 7055:7 discover 7032:9 7036:15 7063:2 7070:7,9 discovered 7032:8 7086:22 discovery 7030:24 7031:11,20 7032:4,16 7033:15,22,25 7034:6 7040:10 7043:2,21 7048:10,14,19,24 7049:1,5 7050:15 7053:2 7057:9,19,20 7057:23 7058:2,3,4 7058:14,20 7060:14 7060:19 7061:6,15,24 7062:2,2,8,14,16,18 7062:24,24,25 7063:1 7063:3,4,9,16,17,23 7066:15 7067:11</p>	<p>7070:4,10 discretion 7059:23 7066:19 discretionary 7059:22 7060:13 discussion 7031:17 7051:6 7069:1 discussions 7032:10 7040:21 7053:16,25 disinclined 7049:1 dispersion 6994:12 disproportionate 7024:19,23 dispute 7036:9 7039:8 7039:12 7055:5,21 7062:12 disputes 7032:10 7036:9 7053:17 7054:1 7063:14 dissent 7028:17 distance 7022:20 distilled 7052:18 distinguish 7006:11,12 distress 7016:23 disunity 7035:5 7036:3 division 7059:2,15 doctrine 7073:13 7074:17,25 7077:8,9 7077:9,10,11 7080:8 7080:9 7081:8,12 document 6984:15 6986:21 7035:14 7060:3,8 7061:12 7063:2 7067:17 7077:25 documentation 7051:3 documents 6984:11 6995:6 7020:8 7031:12 7032:7 7034:1 7042:9 7043:14,16 7044:9,17 7045:1,2,2 7050:15 7058:15,16,19,20,20 7059:5,19,24 7060:1 7060:7 7061:1,4 7062:14 7063:1,8,19 7063:20,22,22 7064:6 7064:12,17,25 7065:3 7065:5,6,10,12,17 7067:17 7070:25 7071:2,7 doesn't 6992:2 7025:14 7039:13 7046:6 7051:7 7054:24 7057:13 7060:25 7076:3 7078:25 7079:23 7086:8 7088:5 7091:19 doing 6978:25,25 7045:24 don't 6984:6 7030:13 7030:21 7039:9 7043:12 7046:15 7048:8 7062:10 7063:11 7064:2,13 7065:16 7066:8</p>	<p>7067:20 7070:22 7078:6,18,18,23 7080:3 7082:6 7083:7 7086:6 7087:3 7088:16,18,19 7092:19,20 draw 7062:17 drawing 6973:25 drawn 7055:16 7067:24 drive 7020:22 driven 6994:14 due 6973:23 7071:18 7088:21 duties 7060:21 dwelt 7053:14 7062:11 dwellings 7046:21 d-e 7072:10</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">E</p> <p>earlier 6983:13 7028:1 7031:12 7061:15 7092:5 early 6973:11 7087:1 easily 7045:18 easy 7043:10 echo 7052:15 economic 7046:2 edge 7018:5 effect 7002:4 7027:10 7061:11 effectively 7011:13 7095:10 effort 7022:25 eight 7024:15 either 6992:13,19 7002:9 7022:12 7028:17 7030:12 7038:15 7039:10 7093:8 electronically 7002:9 element 7047:14 7084:3 email 7000:3 emanated 7095:1,11 embrace 7065:2 emphasis 6993:19 emphasise 6993:11,16 6998:13 7063:12 7064:15 emphasised 7040:14 7059:16 emphasising 7077:19 employ 6994:11 employees 7034:19 7035:5,7 7036:3 employer 7032:13 7054:11,12,20 7064:21 employers 7056:23 employment 7032:11 7034:17 7053:18 7056:7 encircled 6994:15 encourage 7030:25 7088:6</p>	<p>endeavours 7036:8 7037:10,12 endorse 7049:15 enforcement 7066:25 engage 6989:18 7041:16 7051:16 7060:9 7063:10 7066:3 7083:6 engaged 7037:12 7053:5 engagement 7037:6 7039:1 7040:2 English 7077:25 enjoy 7071:11 enquire 6978:19 enquiry 7059:24 ensure 7048:2 entailed 7050:20 entitled 7012:18 7025:3 7031:25 7048:19 7083:5 environment 6975:2,7 7035:3 7036:5 7050:3 environmental 7068:6 envisaged 7036:20 equivalent 7062:21 especially 7032:15,21 7033:5 7037:11 7046:19 7055:2,12 7064:23 7066:19 essence 7014:18 essentially 7033:17 7059:6 et 7034:21 7051:23 evaluated 7056:2 evaluation 7057:4 evasive 7015:25 event 7048:22 7092:24 events 7034:2 7048:4 7050:17,17 7056:11 7056:17 7070:21 7080:10 eventually 7028:3 evidence 6980:21 6982:1 6983:4 6986:23 6988:4 6990:19 6991:14 6994:21 6996:2 6998:16 6999:22 7000:1,7 7005:4 7007:12 7010:6,25 7011:1,8 7014:3 7020:4 7024:17,25 7025:22,25 7030:6,11 7030:25 7032:7 7040:14,22 7041:2,24 7042:3,3 7049:13 7050:8 7057:12,14,23 7058:11 7061:10,20 7064:5 7065:22,25 7066:5 7067:18 7068:1,2,17,22 7069:2,22 7070:6,12 7070:22,23 7071:1,19 7085:16 7088:20 7096:15</p>
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<p>evidently 7057:5 exactly 6984:22 6986:7 6998:9 7041:3 7059:11 7076:18 7079:12 exaggeration 7054:3 examination 6987:25 6999:25 7001:25 7057:4 7070:1 examine 7035:6 7050:20 7056:24 7059:4 examined 7056:21 examining 7050:2 example 7000:18 7034:10 7045:11 7070:24 exception 7011:16 exercise 7045:4 7058:7 7060:2,6,10 7066:18 exercised 7036:8 7059:8,18 exercising 7059:23 exhibit 6981:16,18 7020:22 7026:8 7072:14 7085:19 7087:11 existed 7045:13 existence 7023:10,22 7023:23 7042:19,25 expect 7002:10 7044:11 7045:20 7046:4 expected 7059:12 7080:21 7086:24 expecting 7038:16 expeditiously 7052:13 expenditure 7037:21 7040:5 7047:19 7066:2 expends 7037:14 expense 7037:7 7045:4 experience 6988:7 7032:23 7053:9 7073:13 7074:17 7077:9,10,11 7080:8 7080:9 7081:8,12 expert 7037:6,8 7041:16,24 7043:8 7058:11 7065:22,25 7066:3,5 7068:2 7073:1 7075:8,9 expertise 7076:11,12 experts 7037:15 7039:1 7040:3 7043:4 7044:19 7045:10 7047:1,13 7048:8 7049:4 7051:18 7053:22 expires 7063:10 explain 6983:6 6985:1 7004:23 explained 7012:12 explaining 7011:9 7025:23 explanation 6993:1 7002:14</p>	<p>express 7086:7 expressed 7003:20 7080:20 extended 7061:10,23 extension 7069:10 extent 7012:10 7025:15 7033:2,7 7050:21 7067:5 extra 7046:4 extractive 7056:22 extremely 6978:13 7065:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">F</p> <hr/> <p>faced 7024:19,23 7025:2 fact 6980:25 6985:15 6989:2 6998:16 7012:19 7024:2 7029:25 7031:20 7042:4,25 7047:16 7048:8 7052:25 7053:12 7056:10 7060:9 7070:11 7075:15 7084:3 7086:25 factor 7043:1 factors 7048:6 7060:12 facts 6983:23 6985:4,5 6985:6 7000:6 7028:7 7045:6 7060:10 7086:9 FAHRC 7000:3 failed 7033:3,8 failure 7038:14 fair 6975:25 6989:8,15 7021:22 7030:15 7060:24 7077:14 7080:17 7082:6,15 7084:19,20 7086:10 7086:13 7087:3 7096:10 fairly 7087:1 fairness 6986:6 7020:2 7060:22 fall 7027:19 7033:18 7036:22 7048:10 7049:6 7051:3,25 7064:7 7091:1,25 7093:21 falls 7032:17 7053:9 7066:1 family 7016:20 far 6977:2 6987:7,8 7015:4,15 7026:24 7064:24 7070:14 7080:4 7083:7 fashion 7047:24 fashions 6984:9 February 7040:7,8 7061:22 feel 7002:17 7015:22 7016:21 fencing 6994:5 FFF 6981:20 FFF10 7026:11</p>	<p>FFF11 7072:14 FFF9 6981:22 fide 6983:25 7055:17 fides 6985:6,9 6986:2 field 7076:11,12 figure 7044:7 files 7044:25 filing 7037:8 filter 7052:8,8,9 Finally 7065:11,19 financial 7051:21 find 6974:21 6982:20 6983:14 7036:13 7045:20 7049:20 7055:22 7083:11,16 7088:21 findings 7052:1,19 finds 7031:21 fine 7052:9 fineness 7052:7 finger 6978:16 fire 6995:1,14 6997:23 7003:12,13 7010:1,5 7010:5,16,22 7012:6 7014:5,9,9,20,22,22 7014:23 7019:4 7029:24 7030:1,15 7072:8 7087:23 7088:12,17,18,18,19 7089:7,14 7090:6 7094:9,18 7095:10,19 7095:20,25 7096:4,5 7096:7,8 firearm 7017:23 7027:12 7092:14 firearms 6990:1 6994:6 7016:5,10,10,11 7018:7,7 7022:25 7092:7 fired 6995:1,15 6997:23 7010:2,22 7011:16 7014:6 7016:6,11 7018:7 7019:2,16,22 7022:24 7087:22 7088:11 7089:1,6 firing 6982:8,12 6983:16 6984:5,21 6985:20 6987:5 6988:13,20 6991:1,20 6992:3 6993:13,16,19 6993:19 6994:18 6995:9,11,23 6996:12 6996:18 6998:1,13 7003:21 7005:25 7006:3 7010:20 7019:11,19,22,24 7020:7 7022:22 7027:15,21 7072:7 7089:13 7090:6,14 7091:2,12 7092:2,16 7092:17 7093:16 7094:2,12 first 6978:8 6986:21 6990:13 6996:8,8,21 6996:23,23 6998:8</p>	<p>7002:15 7003:10 7004:1,8 7005:23 7006:1,13,22 7007:5 7007:11 7008:11 7009:10,12,19 7014:10 7015:5 7055:14 7058:1,14 7061:17 7062:3,7,11 7063:18 7064:14 7069:5 7075:25 7093:2 firstly 7043:23 Fisher 7067:16 five 6999:10 7032:11 7042:8,9,14,20 7043:7,7,16,17,20 7044:5,6,6,19,22,24 7045:1 7046:24 7047:3,10 7049:4 7050:25 7053:18 7055:11 flanked 6994:7 flow 7060:21 flowing 7007:8 flows 7058:23 7075:9 focus 6989:21,22,24 6992:10 7049:18 7068:4 7072:20,21 focused 6977:22 6986:15 focusing 6979:18 6990:2 6992:7 7093:14,14 follow 7000:17 7014:4 7075:12 followed 7074:7,12 7075:1 following 6974:17 7033:23 7034:6 7035:2 7053:16 7062:7 7068:3 7087:21 7093:14 follows 6990:10 7000:3 7003:9 7039:20 foot 7027:19 7090:25 7093:20 force 6994:11,16,20 7012:22 7027:3 forced 6994:20 forces 7026:24 forensic 7010:6,25 7011:1,8 7014:3 7025:22 7030:6 foresee 7080:1 forgive 7086:5 form 6978:20 7055:6 7056:15 7082:15 formal 7068:24 formally 7066:4 format 7032:12 7054:10,11 7064:21 formed 7027:18 7093:19 formulations 7050:25 forth 7007:20 fortified 7059:7</p>	<p>fortiori 7002:5 7059:19 7060:4 forwarded 7067:17 found 7007:20 four 7043:20 7057:7 7058:1 fourth 6998:24 7014:16 7028:2 7058:8 frame 7036:17 7037:18 framed 7063:7,7 7079:22 frames 7066:16 7067:4 framework 7051:8 frankly 7052:3 7054:13 Friday 6999:19 7041:7 friend 7020:17 7021:23 7050:10 7053:6,13,22 7055:3 7066:17 7069:13,14,15 friendly 7003:12 7010:5,16,22 7012:5 7014:8,23 7030:1,15 7072:8 7087:23 7088:12,17,17,18,19 7089:7,14 7090:6 7095:19,20 7096:4,5 7096:8 front 6999:8 7027:13 7027:18 7035:22 7072:12 7093:3,5,19 full 7037:19 7081:2 fully 7031:5 7079:23 full-on 7052:1 funds 7037:7 7041:16 funnelled 7050:6 further 6974:21 6975:9 6975:9 6976:1,7 6977:10 6979:9 6980:15 6986:6 6999:25 7013:17 7015:20,21,21 7024:9 7036:17 7039:16 7040:1,13 7066:23 7067:10 7069:11,12 7075:22 7083:8 7095:18 Furthermore 7044:14 future 7001:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">G</p> <hr/> <p>Gaffley 7026:7 7072:3 7090:13,21 7091:12 7092:13,22 7096:9 gaps 7046:15 gather 6980:9 7022:1 gathered 7063:23 7085:17 generally 7035:6 7057:1 7060:24 generals 7085:17 getting 7009:2 7041:11 7044:13 7070:19 give 6977:22 6987:8 6993:1,2,21 7001:21 7010:6 7011:8 7012:20 7015:18</p>
--	--	--	---	--

<p>7021:1 7025:22 7026:7 7030:7,9,9 7038:20,21 7039:9 7044:9 7048:3,18 7057:13 7059:12 7061:11 7069:10,18 7071:1,4 7084:5 7091:19 given 6983:23 6985:11 6987:11 6991:17 7000:23 7016:17 7017:14 7025:25 7047:1 7055:20 7057:3 7070:18,22 7076:22 gives 7041:23 7084:5 7093:25 giving 6973:17 glad 7056:18 glean 7087:24 gleans 7089:19 GENERAL 7005:2 go 6979:13 6980:19 6984:17 6986:5 6992:25 6993:25 6995:5 7003:7 7005:22 7006:6 7007:18 7015:15 7042:14,15 7043:11 7043:13,13,15,15,16 7043:20 7044:9 7045:1 7047:13 7055:19,19 7061:16 7065:9 7071:11 7073:5 7082:1,21 7090:8 7092:25 7095:9,17 goes 6999:25 7007:14 7010:3 7019:5 7054:16 7073:13 7074:16 going 6981:2 6982:1 6984:16,17 6985:15 6985:20 6987:10 6988:18 6991:8 6996:13 6999:1 7006:12 7007:18 7008:13 7012:21 7016:14,19 7024:9,10 7030:22 7044:24 7045:14 7047:11 7057:14 7063:24 7070:15,22 7071:1 7083:4 7091:7 good 7015:18 7053:22 7057:8 government 7066:25 governments 7051:18 7051:20 grasp 6994:4 great 6974:2 7037:7 7048:2 7050:1 greater 7064:24 grenades 6994:10,17 ground 6994:14 7022:23 7026:24</p>	<p>grounds 7020:2 7025:9 7049:5 7065:18 group 6986:11,12 6987:5 6988:13 6994:5,10,12,18 7003:20 7016:7,9 7017:11,11 7018:4,11 7018:21 7019:1,21,24 7019:25 7020:5 7022:24 7024:19 7026:18 guess 6997:16 guide 7057:22 guides 7051:9 gunfire 7019:4 gunned 6973:10 guns 6992:9,10 6993:5 6993:7,9 gunshots 7019:2,15 7027:13 7093:2</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">H</p> <hr/> <p>hadn't 7068:8 half 7031:7,12 7096:22 halt 7073:11 7076:1 7081:18,18,24 7082:3 7082:8 halted 7074:8,13 7075:2,13 7077:13 7082:9,19 halting 7074:19 7080:12 hand 6978:14 6981:17 7027:12 7092:15 handed 6981:16 hands 7040:1 hang 7012:13 happen 7046:14 happened 6974:23 6998:18 7002:15 7020:7,9 7038:15 7040:20 7042:12,15 7084:23 happy 6999:8 hard 7020:21 7083:17 harmful 7035:5 7036:3 hasn't 6989:9 7065:8 7065:20 7066:9 hastily 6994:7 haven't 6989:13 7020:22 7022:12 7030:8 7047:10 7070:18 heading 6990:8 headings 7054:5 head-on 7063:11 hear 6975:3 6988:24 7021:3 7063:12 heard 6975:23 6978:15 7020:15 7023:1,3 7027:12,16,22 7077:16 7086:11 7093:2,17 hearing 6986:20 7002:3 7012:21 7016:21 7025:25</p>	<p>7049:17 7052:12 7058:21 7068:12,14 7070:23 hearings 7000:6 heavily 7036:19 heavy 7047:18 held 6974:17 7003:19 7039:23 7040:1 7066:5 help 7038:22 7080:2 7086:8 helpful 6992:24 7035:18 7053:3 Hemraj 6978:18 6979:5 7042:6 hesitancy 7040:17 hesitate 7011:22 he'd 7020:23 he's 6976:25 7022:1 7023:24 7053:9,10,11 7079:16 7083:5 7092:4 7093:22 hiding 7022:19 high 6994:14 highlighted 7014:25 hill 7010:23 history 7051:21 hit 6988:17 hold 6973:13 honestly 7078:22 hope 7007:11 7021:9 7040:22 7044:12 7053:3 7072:9 hoped 7069:21 hopefully 7031:4 hoping 7087:12 7088:20 host 7020:4 hostel 7046:21,21 hours 6973:11 house 7046:20 housing 7032:15 7046:19 7051:22 7055:2,12,13 7064:23 HRC 7034:7 7036:13 7037:6,9,12,16 7038:23 7040:6,13 7041:11,23 7042:1 7048:12,12 7054:10 7056:18 7057:5 7066:14 7067:11 HRC's 7034:10 7036:19 7037:10 human 6973:3 6999:16 6999:18,20 7002:15 7030:23 7032:3,17 7049:14 7050:22 7052:23 7065:7,21 7066:8 7067:25 7068:3,18,22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">I</p> <hr/> <p>idea 7028:9,10 identification 7033:6 identified 7049:25 7092:13</p>	<p>identify 7027:11 7053:7 7061:16,18 7063:19 7065:4 identity 7046:7 ignored 7048:6 7061:9 imagine 7044:23 7045:3 7047:19 7051:24 7052:15 immediately 6973:12 7004:17 7022:15 7065:5 7073:9 imminent 6973:12 impediment 7037:20 impediments 7041:11 7041:13 implementation 7073:22 implicated 6973:9 implications 7051:21 import 7042:7 importance 7048:4 7059:24 7063:21 important 6994:3 7035:8,21 7050:11 7061:16 7067:3 7094:20 importantly 7063:21 impose 7043:21 impossible 7075:11 7084:9 impression 7028:16 inadequacy 7070:10 inappropriate 7002:3 inaudible 6976:23,25 6992:20 7020:11 7039:22,22,24 7040:3 7040:3 7048:16 7069:16,19,20 7076:9 incident 6999:16,18 incidents 6977:4 6980:1 7073:24 inclined 7049:1 7067:6 included 7062:3,6 7065:22 includes 7032:14 7054:24,25 7064:22 including 7034:18 7040:10 7092:17 incorporate 6986:14 incorrect 6980:25 incurs 7066:2 indebted 7069:13 indefinite 7054:23 7055:10 indicate 7001:19 7026:15 7035:19 7036:17 7046:14 7069:19 7072:23,25 7073:4 indicated 6980:20 6981:4 6989:21 7031:12 7032:18 7045:23 7067:2,9 7070:8 indicates 6990:14 7046:18 7072:3</p>	<p>indicating 7068:2 indicative 7029:11 individual 7032:14 7035:24 7055:1 7064:22 individuals 7070:20 indulgence 7021:21 industrial 7036:10 industry 7045:9 7056:22 inference 7055:16 7084:19,21 7086:13 influenced 6978:14 information 6973:17 6977:11,14,15,16 6978:14,24 6979:2 6980:15,22 6983:25 7046:15,19 7047:20 7048:9 7055:3 7056:4 7085:8 7086:3,4 7087:19,25 7088:10 7090:19 informed 6985:10 7020:4 7084:16 7085:3,4 initial 7047:1 injured 6979:25 7018:12 7095:12 injury 7034:3 Innocuous 7000:6 input 7049:12 7051:17 7085:24 inquiry 7020:4 7051:17 7059:17 7060:9,13 7066:24 insert 7089:4 inserted 7089:5 inside 7018:5,21 7026:23 7027:4 insistence 7070:6 insofar 7034:1 7050:16 instance 7045:10 instructed 7036:17 7044:19 instruction 7001:11 7002:15 7047:9 7095:9 instructions 7000:9 7001:13,18,19,22 7046:25 7047:1,6,7 7048:8 7049:3 insufficient 7037:19 intelligent 7001:4 intend 6978:17 intended 7013:21 7068:2 interact 7054:15 interaction 7032:13 7054:10,12 7064:21 interactions 7054:17 interest 7049:13 7050:1 7050:2 7051:21 interested 6974:20 7086:9 interpose 7070:14 interpret 7092:21</p>
---	---	---	--	---

<p>interpretation 7004:20 7013:3,8 7056:19 7089:16 interpreted 7016:24 7017:1 interrupt 6986:4 7070:3 interrupts 7021:5 intervene 7007:9 Intervention 7022:16 interventions 6979:22 7031:6 interview 6999:17 7002:8,22 introduced 7089:17 introduces 7009:8 introduction 7050:7 7057:25 intuitive 7013:8 invasion 7059:25 7060:6 investigated 7035:2,21 7036:7 7048:1 7051:11 investigation 7066:23 investigations 6980:10 7058:25 inviting 6984:17 involve 7047:19 7084:7 involved 6973:19 6974:3 7000:13,24 7045:4 7070:20 7079:21 7082:12 7083:19 involves 6999:16 ironically 7066:14 irrelevant 7045:3 7054:21 irresponsible 7096:17 isiXhosa 7016:24 isn't 6977:5 6992:13,14 7025:6 7030:1,15 7041:5 7059:11 7075:16 7084:21 7087:5 7096:10 issue 6991:23 7000:12 7026:4 7046:21 7050:22 7058:19 7059:9 7060:3,5 7085:8 7087:9 issued 6983:22 6999:2 7033:19 7058:4 7061:11 7062:4 7065:24 issues 6979:17 7023:13 7023:16,22 7024:4 7030:6 7033:6 7035:10 7040:4,11,15 7041:12 7045:7,23 7046:10 7048:1 7050:24 7064:7,9,12 7068:6 7090:10 It'll 6981:20 it's 6974:2 6978:15 6986:11 6987:1,11 6991:22 6992:9,13</p>	<p>6993:18 6996:4 6997:2,18 6998:22,25 7021:22 7030:13 7034:16 7036:24 7038:6,19 7043:3,10 7043:17,25 7044:5,6 7044:7,24 7047:4,6 7047:21,21 7049:1 7050:9,11 7051:1,23 7053:23 7054:23 7056:23 7058:17 7059:7 7060:2,2 7062:21 7063:6,7 7064:3,15 7068:13,15 7069:7 7070:7 7072:10 7075:5 7076:19 7077:14 7078:5 7079:5,20 7086:7,10,21 7087:3 7089:21,22 7090:18 7093:8,9 7095:20 I'd 7031:12 7053:21 I'm 7093:13 7095:2 i.e 7008:9</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">J</p> <hr/> <p>ja 6983:11 January 7032:3 7053:8 join 7050:22 joined 7027:17 7093:19 joint 6978:25 Judge 6976:22 6992:15 7025:20 7030:3 7076:5 7085:3,23 7086:14 7087:7 7096:12 judgement 7015:1 judgment 7059:14 7069:16 justified 7025:9 7043:7 justify 7037:22 7040:2 7040:5 7044:5,16 7045:6 7047:10 7065:7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">K</p> <hr/> <p>Kaizer 7021:24 keep 7077:19 7078:1 kept 7029:7 killed 6974:2 6990:20 6991:24 6994:22,25 6995:14 6997:12,22 7005:5 7008:8,22 7009:25 7013:6,6,7 7014:5 7016:19,21,22 7018:12 7024:16 7025:1 7029:12 7072:6 7082:23 7089:12 7090:5 killing 7025:9 killings 6974:15,24 6976:2 6979:16,17,19 6980:5 7082:4 kind 7039:12 7047:18 7055:14 7083:6 7084:2,7 7088:6</p>	<p>knew 6976:2 knobkerrie 7017:22 knobkerries 7016:8 7017:12 7018:6,22 7022:20 know 6977:3,25 6978:2 6978:6 6979:23 6981:4,5 6986:10,25 6986:25 6987:21 7004:12,22 7013:5 7015:19 7021:12 7026:2 7030:13 7035:21 7036:1 7039:9 7041:4 7043:12 7045:12 7046:3 7050:10 7059:11 7063:18 7074:14 7075:3,15 7076:5 7082:10 7083:10,17 7084:13 7086:7 7088:18,19 7092:20 7093:7,10 knowledge 6976:5,7,13 6976:15 6983:24 7066:7 7075:7 known 7086:18 knows 7035:9 7080:18 koppie 6990:9,14,20 6991:24 6994:22 6995:2,16 6997:24 7005:5 7014:7 7018:5 7018:5,22 7019:3,6 7024:16,16 7026:19 7026:20 7027:1,16,19 7082:22,24 7093:16 7093:20</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <hr/> <p>L 7085:19 7087:11 labour 7034:17 7035:4 7035:7 7036:2 7045:12,17 7051:15 7051:25 7052:2,17,20 7055:22 7068:4 lack 6984:13 language 7028:9,13,20 7074:4 7077:25 large 7026:18 7082:25 late 7038:12 7047:6 law 7066:24 lawyers 6977:21 lay 7027:9 lead 7004:21 7041:24 7065:25 leader 7067:2 leaders 7030:25 7032:7 7040:14,22 7041:2 7049:13 7050:9 7057:12,14,23 7061:10,20 7064:5 7067:18 7068:1,17,22 7069:2 7070:6 leading 6988:24 7037:7 7087:19 learn 6973:8 learned 7013:1 7020:17</p>	<p>7021:23 7050:10,22 7053:6,13,22 7055:3 7066:17 7067:2 7069:13,14,15 7088:15 leave 7056:7 7071:10 led 6975:13,24 6982:1 6983:4 7034:2 7050:3 7050:3 7082:13 left 6974:10 6980:19 7027:16 7035:24 7040:21 7093:17 legal 7051:8 lengthy 7078:21,24 Lesotho 7051:19 letter 6990:13 7018:16 7033:12,13,17 7050:23 7053:8,12 7054:9 7068:1 lettered 7067:20 let's 6980:19 6990:4 6996:14,14 6997:5,19 7071:11 7079:21 7082:21,21 let's 7003:7,25 level 6988:7 7049:20 levels 7034:18 liability 7059:13 lie 6984:14,15 Lieutenant 6976:3 7072:2 7091:11 Lieutenant-Colonel 7022:5 7026:6,16 7027:2 7090:13,21 7092:12 light 7011:25 7025:17 7063:22 limited 7042:1 7055:13 line 7027:8,18 7093:19 link 6998:6,7,9,14,15 7058:3 7061:5 linked 6998:25 linking 6998:5 links 6974:1 list 7061:21,25 7062:1 listed 7025:8 7051:14 listen 6999:17 7002:8 7009:3 7022:13,13 7091:10 listened 7066:17 7095:4 literally 6990:10 little 6977:17 7027:5 7053:14,23 lived 7032:22 7053:9 living 7032:24 lodged 7056:20 long 6987:11,14 7021:9 7043:17 7044:7 7045:10 7071:17 longer 6989:12 7042:20 7053:15 Lonmin 7032:11 7033:2,8 7034:9,10 7034:17,19 7035:1,3 7035:11,11,13,15,19</p>	<p>7036:4,10 7042:14 7045:9,19,24 7046:3 7046:12,16,17 7053:18 7055:5,10,23 7055:25 7056:7 7065:13,15 Lonmin's 7032:19,24 7032:25 7033:2,6 7068:5 look 6984:12 6996:25 7007:15,16 7009:15 7010:17 7017:3 7044:9 7075:25 looked 7092:6 looking 7003:15 7026:25 7029:10 7045:1 7052:6 7060:10 looks 7051:14 lose 7004:23 7047:12 lost 7004:10 7018:17 lot 6978:23 6979:2,21 6980:9 7014:17 7037:13 7043:11,13 7043:16 lots 7043:14 loved 7016:20 lower 7072:10 lowest 7015:4 lunch 7030:20 7049:10 7072:1 lunged 7017:23</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <hr/> <p>Madlanga's 7089:21 7089:22 Mahlangu 6975:17 7022:9 7090:16,21,22 7094:24 mail 7029:7 main 7033:22 7041:13 maintain 7003:18 Makhosandile 7018:3 making 6982:3 7011:20 7011:23 7057:4 7063:9 7069:5 Malindi 6999:1,7,10,13 7000:21 7001:8,15 7031:17,19 7032:2 7033:14 7034:13 7035:17 7037:1,5 7038:4,17,23 7039:6 7039:14,18,20 7041:10 7042:6,11,17 7043:3,23 7044:3,18 7045:7,16,22 7046:9 7048:7,17,22 7049:7 7049:7 7050:10 7053:6 7055:4 7062:10 7064:10 7066:11,13 7069:11 7069:12 7070:2 management 7068:6 7073:14 7074:18 7077:10 7080:8,10 7081:9,13</p>
---	--	---	---	--

<p>manager 6988:7 mandate 7041:25 MANGWASHI 6974:5 7021:18 7071:22 manner 6995:18 6996:11 7049:19,20 March 6973:1 6999:20 6999:21 7033:12,14 7033:20 7050:23 7061:10,23 7062:4,5 7062:13,22 7065:24 7066:4 7067:25 marginal 6990:13 Marikana 6973:9 6974:15 7032:20,24 7032:25 7033:2 7034:2 marked 6981:16,17 7017:20 7018:4,21 material 6978:9 6984:3 6984:6,11,23 6985:15 6985:16,18,25 6988:21 7049:25 7052:18 7054:3 7089:18,20 matter 6973:24 6974:2 7002:2,7,22 7031:11 7031:14 7038:2,10,13 7038:20 7039:5 7040:12,21 7045:18 7052:6 7058:25 7066:23 7069:17 7071:3 matters 6980:4 7034:13,16,20 7035:20,22 7036:2 7037:13,16 7038:9,24 7040:18 7045:8 7046:13 7047:25 7048:3 7051:10 7053:11 7054:19 7056:21 7067:19 7068:25 7083:23 7084:6 maximum 6994:20 maybe's 7086:9 Mbombo 6975:13,24 Mdizeni 7017:9 mean 6981:7 6997:15 7001:12 7011:20 7023:15,17 7025:14 7042:23 7043:6 7044:8,23 7046:6 7047:14,23 7055:13 7056:11 7074:6,11 7079:8,24 7080:9,16 7080:19,22 7089:6 meaning 7076:3,21 7077:1,13,20,20,20 7077:23,23 7078:3,6 7079:6,11,11,13 7080:22 7081:4 means 6994:16 6998:18 7024:20 7046:5 7052:11 7054:14 7055:13 7076:25</p>	<p>7078:10,14,15 7079:9 7080:15 7092:23 7095:11,14 meant 7075:23 7076:1 7080:18 media 6983:8,19 6984:3 6985:18,19 6986:25 6987:1,4,6 6987:15 6988:12 6989:23 6996:25 6999:15,19 7003:19 7003:20 7020:3 7025:16 7029:19,20 meeting 7061:8 7085:11,14 meetings 7041:1 7054:18,19 member 7022:1,7 7056:6 members 6979:3 6994:8,11,15 7016:20 7022:16,25 7026:22 7026:25 7027:6,15,17 7027:19,21 7055:10 7072:3,4,7,8 7087:14 7087:22,23 7088:11 7088:12 7089:6,8,13 7089:14 7090:5,7,13 7090:25 7091:3,12,13 7091:14,25 7092:2 7093:15,19,21,23 7094:5,10,14,15 member's 7032:14 7055:1,24 7064:22 memorandums 6978:21 memory 6979:21 mental 7080:20 mention 6974:12 7016:10 7017:13,22 7018:6 7027:2 mentioned 6974:13 7016:19,22 7045:6 7048:6 7087:13 mentioning 7016:14 mentions 7006:22 mere 7042:25 merely 7049:14 merit 7041:22 merits 7000:4 met 6994:8 metres 7022:21 middle 6990:9 7041:20 migrant 7051:15,24 7052:2,17,20 militant 6986:10,11 6987:4 6988:13 6994:17 7003:20 militates 7036:19 mind 6989:20 7009:19 7080:3 mine 7032:20,24,25 7033:2 7046:21 Mineral 7033:10 7045:19 miners 7034:21</p>	<p>7035:24 mines 7042:23 7056:25 mineworkers 7032:19 7032:23,24,25 7033:1 7034:18 7053:10 mining 7033:3,5,7 7037:18 7045:9 7046:20 7050:2 7053:10 minute 6985:22 minuted 7054:18 minutes 6999:10 7017:1,3 7021:7 7054:19 misleading 7012:18 7013:11 misled 7012:5 missed 7085:12 missing 7063:1 7075:19 missive 7041:7 mistake 7014:18,19 7015:9 7028:5,13 7029:13 mistaken 7010:14 7011:4 7042:20 Mkhonjwa 7018:3,10 7018:12,15 Mm 7086:20,23 Mm-mm 7096:6 Modiba 7020:6,13,19 7021:25 7023:11,13 7023:20 moment 6985:23 7021:11 7030:13 7051:13 7053:20 7070:23 money 7037:14 7047:20 months 7051:1 7057:7 7086:22 morning 6973:11,11 6974:16 6978:3,7,10 6980:3 6985:12 6999:14 7000:8 7001:21 7002:10,23 7084:24 7096:22 mountains 7022:17,18 move 7015:22,23 7022:16 7024:6 7080:5 7090:12 moved 7042:23 movement 7017:4 Mozambique 7051:20 Mpumza 7017:19 Mulder 7059:14 multitude 7051:18 muti 6973:10 Myburgh 6999:24</p>	<p>naming 7016:25 narrow 6977:22 7067:8 narrowing 7067:10 nation 6987:2,15 national 6974:4,9 6977:20,25 6979:6 6980:18 6991:19 6995:7 6999:6 7003:3 7021:17,22 7022:16 7028:19 7029:3 7030:21 7031:10 7055:20 7071:15 7076:17 7083:25 nature 7043:22 7065:6 7065:7,12 7070:24 necessarily 7038:5 7054:4 7080:18 necessary 7000:19 7001:5 7031:6 7041:3 7066:3 7071:2 need 6981:17 7005:1 7035:20 7040:15 7045:12 7050:19 7059:16 7064:15 7083:13 needs 7000:4 7064:24 7092:8 network 7073:10,18,19 7075:11 7084:11,19 7085:1,21 7086:17 7087:10 never 6986:20 7008:15 7051:23 7052:4 7057:6 7066:8,10 new 6978:9 6980:22 7013:22,23 7047:13 7083:11 night 6974:14 6985:11 7084:24 nine 7026:25 7096:22 NIU 7020:13 7022:8 Nkosinati 7018:20 non-compliance 7033:9 7033:11 7059:12 non-compliant 7038:7 non-timeously 7038:22 normal 7076:11 normally 7043:4 North-West 7042:24 note 7030:20 7086:3 noted 7085:8 notice 7019:9 7026:18 7041:23 November 7040:7 7056:20 7061:7 no-one 7038:3 7039:4 Ntlou 7021:24 NUM 7031:20 7032:4,9 7033:12 7034:9,14 7035:9,15,18 7036:14 7042:13 7043:11,13 7043:14,15,19,24 7044:9,17 7045:1,20 7045:24 7046:4,13,14 7046:20,20 7047:18 7048:24 7049:14</p>	<p>7052:23 7053:16 7054:4 7055:4,10,18 7055:23,25 7063:10 7063:24 7064:1 7065:3,14,17 7066:15 7067:11 number 7007:17 7022:23 7032:21,22 7041:1,14,15 7046:10 7050:4 7082:20,25 7085:19 NUM's 7036:7 7056:2</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p>O 7018:21 7019:1,6 oath 6974:4 6999:7 7002:6 7003:4 7021:16 7059:4 7071:16,21 object 7052:16 objected 7033:15 7038:3 7067:7 objecting 7031:20 7052:25 objection 7013:13 7020:2 7033:18 7037:8 7038:5,6 7043:24,25 7044:2 7048:15,20 7049:17 7057:9 7066:17 objects 7059:6 obligation 7043:21 obligations 7033:3,7,8 7033:22 7043:2 7062:8 obliged 7033:25 7050:15 observation 7049:11,15 observed 7050:7 obtain 7001:11 obtained 7063:19 obtaining 7063:21 obvious 7005:14 obviously 6973:22,24 6986:25 6989:11 7004:17 7006:24 7009:11 7010:25 7015:25 7031:4,25 7046:25 7048:7 7062:8 7073:17 occasion 6981:10,11 officer 6999:23 7017:23 7086:17 officers 6990:21 6991:25 6994:23,25 6995:14 6996:3 6997:22 7003:11 7005:6,16 7010:1,3 7014:5,7 7019:3 7024:18 7025:1 7028:25 Oh 7008:20 Okay 7003:25 7005:11 7089:23 old 7059:15 omission 7035:3</p>
		<p>N</p> <p>N 7018:4,15,16,18 Naidoo 6976:3 6977:5 name 7016:19 7018:18 7072:10 names 7016:14,22 7017:13</p>		

<p>once 7043:17 7047:7 7069:1 7086:1 onerous 7042:8 ones 6977:3 7014:3 7016:20 onus 7031:24 7044:15 7047:8,18 open 6981:1 opening 6981:6,7,11,15 6981:25 6982:20,20 6982:25 6983:14 6984:4,19 6985:14,17 6985:21,23,24 6986:8 6986:13,20,24 6987:22,25 6988:8,19 6989:25 6990:6,25 6994:1 6997:20 7004:15 7016:2,7 7017:8 7018:3,20,25 7019:10,20 7020:2 7024:24 7028:1 7088:13 open-ended 7059:10 operation 7073:23 7074:8,13,19 7075:2 7075:13 7077:12 7080:12 7081:19 7082:3,18 7083:20 operational 7076:5 operations 6979:12 7073:12 7076:2 7081:24 7082:8,9 7084:1 operative 6993:10,14 6993:16 7011:10 7029:16 opportune 7053:2 opportunity 6999:17 7001:13 7002:7 7056:21,24 oppose 7065:18 opposed 7045:2 7050:25 opposite 6986:22 oral 6978:22 order 7000:9 7022:17 7044:11 7049:1,2 7052:12 7058:15 7059:10,11,19 7060:5 7064:13,18,24 7073:1 7073:22 7094:1 ordered 7026:22 7027:6,19 7090:25 7091:25 7093:20 ordering 7027:9 orders 7047:17 7064:16 ordinarily 7063:13 ordinary 7013:2 7062:18 7080:22 organised 7035:7 original 7026:1 7029:19 7062:24 originally 7036:20 outline 7047:2 outside 7040:23</p>	<p>outstanding 7041:4 overall 6980:1 7073:10 7074:6,12,25 7075:12 7084:17,25 7086:18 7086:25 7087:4 overlap 7034:9 7045:24 7046:2,5,6,22 overlooked 7038:13 overrule 7013:13 over-broad 6977:21 o'clock 7031:13,14,15 7031:16 7069:22 7071:18 7093:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <hr/> <p>page 6982:14,15 6989:23 6990:6,8,9 6990:10,12 6992:4 6993:13 7032:5,20 7033:4,15 7034:10,25 7034:25 7035:10,25 7036:22 7039:15,18 7046:10,18 7066:20 7074:5 7090:25 pages 7061:13 pangas 7016:8 7017:12 7018:6,22 7022:19 para 7090:24 7093:2 parade 6980:14,14 paragraphs 6992:22,24 6993:1 6995:3 7007:17,19,24 7026:15 7032:8 7033:16 7034:15,24 7036:5 7064:9 7072:19,20,21,21,22 7072:23 7073:5 7074:4 7090:20 parameters 7033:19 7051:12 7053:4 paraphrase 7029:14 7074:2,6 7089:22,22 7090:18 7091:6,8,10 7091:20,23 paraphrasing 7028:20 7090:10 7091:5,16 7092:9 part 6975:4 6977:16 6980:24,24 6982:9 6990:18,25 6991:2 6996:5 7009:19,22 7011:13 7012:25 7017:10 7018:4 7019:18,21 7020:21 7031:1 7040:17 7050:12 7054:24 7070:9 7084:8 7094:17,21,25 7095:4 7095:6,11,16,19 partial 7025:17 participate 7037:11 7058:21 7060:20 participation 7060:18 7060:23 7061:2 particular 6981:7 7023:11 7026:15</p>	<p>7040:7 7042:7,10,16 7042:18 7045:9 7049:11,24 7050:18 7052:12,12,13,22 7053:14 7055:24,24 7058:8 7059:9 7060:25 7061:2,25 7068:4 particularly 7085:19 7095:4 parties 6973:18 6981:6 7000:13,16,16,22,23 7001:3 7031:1 7036:11,23,24 7037:25 7038:6,7,11 7040:10,16,21,24 7048:13 7049:13 7052:15 7053:1 7056:16 7057:11,22 7060:13,18,19 7061:9 7061:18,23,24 7062:13,17,22,24,25 7063:2,17,24 7067:8 7069:19 7070:5 party 7001:2 7002:3 7033:25 7037:1 7039:21 7050:15 7052:25 7058:15,19 7059:25 7060:3,7 7061:3 7062:2 7065:25 7066:3,14 7067:12 pass 7015:1 7041:12 passage 7096:9 passages 7065:14,16 passed 7061:15 pathing 7032:19 7033:1 7053:11 pending 7067:10 penultimate 6982:6,13 6989:22 6992:4,4 6993:12,13 6994:2 people 6975:9 6976:2 6976:24 6977:2,6 6978:15 6993:18 7009:13,19 7010:8,9 7010:17,18 7011:14 7012:2 7013:4,5 7014:11 7016:25 7025:8 7029:20,21 7034:3,4 7045:21 7074:8 7079:19 7082:14,23 percolate 7055:6 period 6978:19 7042:8 7042:10,19 7043:3,6 7043:7,17,18,19,24 7044:8,10,10,16,20 7044:23 7045:10 7047:4,10 7048:9 7049:2,4 7050:25 7051:3 7053:21 7055:10 7069:7 perjury 7002:1 permissible 7037:23 7038:1</p>	<p>permission 7000:11 permit 7070:13 permitted 6973:7 7000:8 7058:21 persist 7041:12 7068:9 persisted 7040:19 person 6973:20,25 6988:6 7018:11,12 7019:5,7,15 7027:11 7027:14 7059:10 7067:1 7075:4 7076:5 7092:9,13,20,21,22 7092:23 7093:4 7095:5 personally 6976:21,24 6977:2 persons 7001:16 7008:8 7009:23 7011:9 7016:18,20 7025:24 7034:4 pertinent 7037:16 7050:12 peruse 6981:10,11 7062:25 phase 7032:18 7034:8 7036:14,20 7037:14 7040:11,14,17,18 7041:11,24 7042:2 7049:18 7061:19 7062:15 phone 7021:2,4 phrase 7050:20 7075:23 7095:4 7096:14 pick 7085:24 picture 7020:9 pictures 7016:15 Pillay 6981:14,22 pinpoint 7086:3 pistol 7022:23 place 6973:7,7,14 6974:14,24 6977:4 6979:16,20,24 6980:5 6980:10 6987:3 7002:15 7004:13 7061:14 7080:11,11 7082:5 placed 7063:13 7072:11 plain 7074:3,4 7076:3 plainly 6982:10 plan 7034:17 7045:12 7045:17 7046:2,2,3 plans 7068:5 platinum 7042:24 7056:22 play 7042:1 7052:17 please 6995:7 7000:19 7003:4 7021:1,12 7024:11 7048:20 7066:13 7072:23 7073:4 7087:15,18 7093:10 pleasure 7050:7 plus 7011:19 point 6983:23 6984:9,9</p>	<p>6984:10 6986:12 6988:24 6989:17 7009:18 7011:12,20 7011:22 7012:6 7014:4,11 7015:5,15 7015:15,18,19,25 7019:20 7025:25 7026:2 7030:5,12 7032:23,24 7033:1,6 7033:9,23 7034:12 7035:15,16 7038:13 7038:22 7039:12,16 7039:25 7042:18 7046:6 7048:21 7055:16 7088:21,23 7096:16,17 pointed 7057:21 points 7031:5 7069:17 policemen 7010:22 7093:6,8 policing 7073:1 policy 7035:6 Pondoland 7056:8 poor 7071:16 position 6979:8 6995:4 7021:12 7027:20 7030:16 7046:14 7055:5 7057:23 7063:18 7077:16 7091:1,25 7093:21 possession 7020:23 possibilities 7096:13 possibility 7096:7 possible 7001:10,22 7013:3 7051:22 7058:10 7069:19 7071:6 7082:20 possibly 6975:15 6989:12 7007:2,3 7067:24 7083:18 post 6980:2 postponement 7047:12 post-incident 6979:22 post-mortems 6979:23 Potchefstroom 6974:25 6978:7,11 7085:11,14 7085:18 7086:1,12 potentially 7050:1 7051:2,15 7065:2 power 7058:14,17,18 7058:23 7059:6,7,7 7059:21,22 7060:15 7060:17,18 powerful 7043:1 powers 7057:19,24 7058:2,7,12,13,22 7059:1,18 7061:4 7066:19 7067:8 practical 7047:24 7049:20 practices 7035:6 precede 7072:20 preceded 7061:17 preceding 6994:3 7004:17 7029:3 7032:12 7042:20</p>
---	---	--	---	---

<p>7053:18 precipitated 7048:5 precise 7059:20 precisely 7050:20 precision 7059:9,16 7064:16,24 prefer 7006:20 prejudiced 7063:25 7065:21 premature 7063:6 7064:3 premises 7046:22 prepared 7003:11 7010:4,13,18 7014:7 7028:25 7030:14 7050:9 7064:1 7085:18 7096:1,3 preparing 6980:8 7085:6 prescribe 7051:10 presence 7070:16 7071:4,5 present 7061:5 7062:7 7063:6 7089:18 presentation 6977:16 6981:4,10 7085:20 7087:11 presentations 6979:1 presented 6984:8 6985:5 6987:14 6999:24 7096:15 presenting 7042:2,3 President 7057:3,6 press 6974:17 6980:22 6980:25 6982:6,7 6984:21 6988:22 6993:12 6999:2 7000:3 7069:23 7071:11 pressing 7065:8 presumably 7035:14 7043:12 7054:17,18 prevent 7073:10 previous 7025:11 7042:2 7081:21 previously 7011:21 pre-hearing 7061:8 primarily 7070:21 prior 6974:25 6983:4 6986:23 6988:3 7023:4,9,18 private 7024:22 7025:4 7025:10,14 7059:25 privy 6977:17 probable 7064:11 probably 7004:10 7028:13 7064:6,8,8 problem 7037:10 7044:12 7078:4,7 7079:4,21 7080:24 7084:9,10,17 7085:21 7086:16 7088:20 problems 7073:9 7075:10 7084:18,25 7087:9 7088:6 procedural 7060:22</p>	<p>procedure 7035:6 7060:24 proceed 6981:2 6999:11 7003:5 7016:25 7038:25 7040:17 7041:15 7069:21 7071:24 proceeding 7015:25 7048:11 proceedings 6973:1,13 7000:5,14,24 7007:11 7021:5 7037:11 7047:15 7058:3 7062:18 process 7009:6,16 7025:24 7037:7 7050:6 7053:4 7057:5 7057:19,20 7060:14 7061:15 7063:24 7070:19 7085:24,25 processed 7055:15,23 procuring 7041:16 produce 7043:14,16 7044:17 7058:16 7059:19 7060:1,7 produced 7073:24 production 7058:15,18 7059:5 7061:1,3 7064:16,25 progressive 7085:24 promises 7015:18 promising 6989:3 pronouncing 7072:10 proper 7037:19 7043:5 7043:18 7045:11 7048:3 7056:1 7060:19 properly 7020:6 prophet 7071:17 proportionate 7025:2 propose 7000:11 7012:25 7057:17,25 7062:10 proposed 7062:15 proposition 6980:13 7074:23 7077:21 7078:9 7079:3 prosecution 7066:23 protect 6994:11 protesters 6982:8,12 6983:16 6984:5,20,22 6985:19 6988:20 6990:1,19 6991:1,15 6991:19,24 6994:6,13 6994:16,22 6995:2,8 6995:16,18,23 6996:3 6996:9,11,16 6997:24 6997:25 6998:12 7024:15,20 7025:1 7026:18 7027:1 7028:4 7029:13 7072:6 7089:12 7090:4 7093:8 protestors 7003:13 7005:4,15,24 7006:3 7006:11,23,25 7007:4</p>	<p>7007:12,13 7010:2,3 7010:6,12,15 7014:7 7014:9,17 7015:6,8 proved 7071:16 provided 7026:14 7067:14 7089:19 province 7042:24 7059:3 provincial 7051:20 7059:2,15 provision 7047:17 provisions 7061:16 public 7002:19 7037:7 7040:2 7073:1 pulse 6978:16 purely 6989:2 7075:7 purpose 7052:12 7054:7 7083:14 purposes 6999:24 7058:24 7062:7 pursue 7041:25 7082:21,24 pursued 7035:9,16,22 pursuit 7037:14 put 6973:21 6978:16 6986:6 6992:25 7013:10,14,21,23 7015:3,16,16 7030:12 7044:12 7047:18 7063:17 7065:3 7069:18 7070:11,11 7076:19 7080:23 7082:15 7088:5 7090:9 7092:9 7096:9 puts 7077:25 7088:22 putting 6973:17 7009:4 7013:2 7028:6 7030:2 7095:2 PX1722E 7022:23</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Q</p> <p>qualification 7007:8 7026:3 qualified 7025:17 7076:6 7078:6,21,24 quality 7000:1 questioned 7092:8 questioning 7015:20 questions 7008:16 7051:3 7078:22 7079:22 7084:1 quite 6981:1,1 6986:22 6997:18 7007:21 7042:23 7074:3,4 7079:24 7080:3</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">R</p> <p>radio 6999:16 7002:8 7002:22 7073:10,18 7073:19 7075:11 7084:11,18 7085:1,3 7085:9,21 7086:17 7087:9 raise 6988:25 7038:13 7044:1 7071:2 7088:5 raised 7024:5 7055:10</p>	<p>raising 7023:13 ran 7026:19 range 7046:11 rank 6976:4 7022:4 rate 7063:8 reach 7070:25 reached 7060:13 reaction 7056:2 reading 6995:6 6998:19,20 7003:10 7004:13,25 7005:20 7007:3 7013:3 7014:15,16 7028:24 7072:24 7075:25 7081:3,20 7089:16,18 7090:17 7091:5 reads 6996:12 6997:21 7003:8,10 7005:10 7022:15 7024:17 7025:6 7032:22 7033:5 7039:20 7073:8,21 ready 7021:15 7027:18 7069:21 7093:20 realise 7001:4 really 6980:4 7043:6 7050:21 7053:24 7056:3,24 7075:21 7078:24 rearrangement 7051:22 reason 6989:4 7033:9 7038:4 7042:10 7086:2,15 7093:25 reasonable 7044:10,10 7044:20,22 7047:4,24 7060:24 reasonably 7047:21,25 7071:6 reasons 7033:4,16 7034:6 7040:18 7041:23 7064:14 7078:17 reassemble 7031:14 7069:24 reassess 7073:12 7076:2 7082:8 7083:14 reassessed 7082:19 reassessing 7083:15 7084:10 reassessment 7082:10 7082:11,12 recall 6980:20 6982:5 7028:6 7029:4 receive 6975:2,6 6979:11 7031:6 7055:9 received 6974:21 6977:11 6979:9 6980:15,16 6983:25 7041:7 7049:3 7052:23 7063:16 7084:23 7087:20 7090:19 receiving 7000:1</p>	<p>recognise 7077:5 recognition 7054:14 recollection 7028:21 recommendations 7049:22 7052:3 record 6973:8,18 7030:3 7072:24,25 records 7032:10,12 7053:16,25 7054:10 7054:13 7064:20 red 7067:20 refer 6982:11 6993:5,6 6998:10 7009:13 7014:22 7016:9 7020:5 7026:6 7034:20,25 7039:14 7046:10 7059:13 7066:23 7088:1 reference 6991:1 7005:15 7007:16,22 7009:9 7033:24 7034:24 7036:6,7,12 7036:22 7039:22,23 7049:23 7050:14 7051:10 7054:8,22 7055:8 7056:17,19 7058:10 7059:17,19 7060:4,15 7061:19 7062:9 7064:7,10,13 7065:15,16 7066:2,6 7066:6,21,21 7067:15 7068:7 7081:18 referred 6978:20 6982:7 7003:7 7006:13 7007:4 7009:9 7017:10,20 7018:16 7021:23 7025:11 7028:4 7034:16 7036:5 7053:9,10,11 7064:10 7067:14 7073:18 referring 6997:17 6998:17 7004:16 7007:4 7026:16 7029:1,2 7087:10 7089:2 7093:23 refers 6991:19 6993:8 7004:17 7006:3,24 7008:25 7009:11 7016:7 7024:15 7081:8,23 7094:9,9 reflected 6992:7,13,13 6992:14,18,19,19,20 6992:20 7001:23 reformulate 6986:14 refuse 7063:12 refused 7001:12 refuses 7058:20 regard 7000:3 7002:6 7035:2 7036:8 7037:21 7039:24 7040:25 7042:21 7043:4 7044:18 7047:16 7048:3 7059:14 7067:23 7068:5,7 7084:2</p>
---	---	--	--	---

<p>regarding 6999:14 7001:22 7032:15 7035:18 7037:10 7045:5 7055:1,12 7064:23 7067:1,18</p> <p>regional 7055:19</p> <p>register 7066:16</p> <p>regroup 7073:12 7076:2 7082:8 7083:13</p> <p>regrouped 7082:19</p> <p>regrouping 7082:10 7083:14 7084:10</p> <p>regulator 7066:25</p> <p>rejected 7064:3</p> <p>relate 7013:4 7070:20</p> <p>related 6979:17 7007:10</p> <p>relates 7008:8</p> <p>relating 6980:4 7002:21 7032:10 7035:7 7051:24 7053:17,25 7058:25 7060:24 7065:16</p> <p>relation 6982:22 6999:2,23 7033:11 7034:1 7050:15 7055:4,23 7057:20,23 7058:2,2,10,14 7065:22</p> <p>relations 7042:13</p> <p>relationship 7049:18</p> <p>release 7000:3</p> <p>released 6999:19,21</p> <p>relevance 7035:25 7042:7 7048:25 7051:2 7052:11 7059:24 7060:8 7064:9,11 7065:5,6,9 7065:10</p> <p>relevant 7024:14 7031:4 7034:2,6,20 7034:23 7036:1 7039:4 7041:5,15 7042:3 7043:4 7044:8 7045:2 7047:25 7050:6,16,21 7052:7 7052:18 7058:19 7060:3,12 7061:3 7062:12,14 7064:7 7065:14,17 7067:7 7084:2 7089:24</p> <p>relief 7031:25 7050:19</p> <p>reluctance 7084:5</p> <p>reluctant 7078:4 7079:23,24</p> <p>rely 7024:21 7025:3,13</p> <p>relying 6997:21 7003:9 7003:16</p> <p>remaining 7061:12 7062:6</p> <p>remains 6998:15 7036:18</p> <p>remarks 7002:18</p> <p>remember 6974:18 6980:7 6981:2</p>	<p>6982:11 7041:18</p> <p>remind 6999:6 7071:15</p> <p>renders 7013:2</p> <p>repeat 6983:11 7090:2</p> <p>repeating 7050:10</p> <p>repetition 7053:13</p> <p>repetitive 7087:17,18</p> <p>rephrase 7078:9</p> <p>replies 7015:21</p> <p>reply 6986:15 7015:16 7020:15 7041:19 7066:12</p> <p>report 6976:10 7002:3 7002:5 7042:2 7048:3 7049:21</p> <p>reporter 7069:23</p> <p>reports 6978:21 6980:10 7025:11 7037:8 7041:17</p> <p>represent 6983:24</p> <p>represents 7095:6</p> <p>request 7000:25 7031:20 7032:4,9,16 7033:16,18 7034:5,9 7034:10 7036:15 7046:12 7048:9 7049:5 7052:23 7053:1 7054:2 7057:9 7063:6,7,7,11 7064:18 7065:7,12 7066:15 7067:11,18 7067:23</p> <p>requested 7038:24 7049:2 7062:16 7063:2 7064:6 7065:13 7070:10</p> <p>requesting 7042:9</p> <p>requests 7034:23 7048:14 7053:7 7061:24 7062:23 7067:8</p> <p>require 7035:1 7036:7 7044:19 7048:9 7056:4 7070:25</p> <p>required 7032:8 7036:14 7044:25 7047:21,22 7084:20</p> <p>requirement 7033:16 7047:3</p> <p>requires 7011:17 7033:21 7050:5</p> <p>reservation 7080:20</p> <p>reserve 7069:16</p> <p>resolve 7036:9</p> <p>resort 7060:25</p> <p>Resources 7033:10 7045:19</p> <p>respect 6983:15 7007:23 7011:18 7013:11 7020:10 7042:13 7043:2 7046:2 7047:8 7049:15,22 7051:24 7052:4 7053:7 7055:5 7056:13,17 7057:6,8 7060:21 7062:1,16</p>	<p>7089:1</p> <p>respectful 7052:9</p> <p>respectively 6977:12 7017:10</p> <p>respond 6989:6 7020:24 7058:8 7065:19</p> <p>responded 7035:11,13 7035:19</p> <p>responding 7003:12 7010:4 7014:8 7029:1 7029:24 7030:15,24 7038:8 7096:4</p> <p>response 6983:13 7024:18,22 7049:12 7055:25 7056:1 7072:7 7078:24 7087:22 7088:11 7089:7,13 7090:1,6</p> <p>responses 7046:16 7078:21</p> <p>responsibilities 7055:8</p> <p>responsibility 7033:10 7037:17 7047:15 7048:2</p> <p>responsible 7001:16</p> <p>result 7052:13 7074:9 7082:11</p> <p>resume 6998:25 7030:21</p> <p>resumes 6973:2 6999:4 6999:5 7021:14 7031:8,9 7071:13,14</p> <p>retracted 7000:9</p> <p>retraction 7001:10,22 7002:14</p> <p>retreated 6994:19</p> <p>retrieve 7067:16</p> <p>returned 6994:25 6995:14 6997:23 7010:1 7014:5,20 7019:4</p> <p>reveal 7024:17,25</p> <p>revision 7011:17 7012:2</p> <p>revisit 7026:1</p> <p>right 6991:9,13 6999:12 7008:10 7011:5 7027:16 7060:20,20 7076:21 7077:17 7087:5 7093:17 7095:25</p> <p>rights 6973:3 6999:16 6999:18,21 7002:16 7030:23 7032:4,17 7049:14 7050:22 7052:23 7059:25 7060:6 7065:8,21 7066:8 7067:25 7068:4,18,22</p> <p>ring 7021:4</p> <p>ripened 7055:20</p> <p>riposte 6994:8</p> <p>rise 7059:13</p> <p>risk 7087:16</p> <p>rituals 6973:10</p>	<p>rocks 7022:19 7026:19</p> <p>role 7042:1 7052:17</p> <p>Rover 7072:9,25 7074:16,24 7076:1,10 7076:13 7077:7,15,17 7078:3,10,14 7079:8 7080:7,14,18 7081:3 7081:7 7083:12</p> <p>Rover's 7078:6 7084:15</p> <p>row 6999:8</p> <p>rubber 6994:17</p> <p>rubric 7051:2</p> <p>rule 7038:18,24 7044:16 7058:18 7062:19,21 7063:14</p> <p>Rules 7062:22</p> <p>ruling 7031:2 7033:20 7036:21 7037:3,15,22 7038:1,20,21 7039:9 7039:21 7041:14,21 7044:2,5 7045:5 7048:13 7058:4,10 7061:11,14,17 7062:4 7062:6,9,13,21 7063:25,25 7065:20 7065:23,23 7066:1,6 7066:9 7067:10,23 7068:1,7,9,9,19 7069:18</p> <p>rulings 7040:9,11 7067:19</p> <p>run 7061:6 7082:24</p> <p>running 7017:21</p> <p>R-o-v-e-r 7072:11</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">S</p> <hr/> <p>S 7059:14</p> <p>SA 7059:15 7066:8</p> <p>SAHRC 7058:9</p> <p>salary 7034:19</p> <p>sanction 7059:8</p> <p>sangoma 6973:9,19,20</p> <p>SAPS 6973:8 6981:4,7 6981:10,11 6982:1,2 6983:14 6984:4,19 6985:14,21 6987:21 6988:19 6990:6 7020:21 7070:6,9,12 7070:18 7072:3,4,7,8 7073:13,18 7074:17 7074:25 7075:8,9 7077:8,8,9 7080:7,9 7081:8 7082:23 7083:11 7087:10,20 7087:22,23 7088:10 7088:12 7089:6,8,13 7089:14,19 7090:5,6 7090:13 7091:12,13 7091:14 7093:23 7094:10,15 7095:1</p> <p>sat 6987:2</p> <p>satisfaction 7070:9</p> <p>satisfactorily 7067:4</p> <p>satisfied 7019:17 7044:22</p>	<p>satisfy 7044:23</p> <p>save 6999:10</p> <p>saw 6978:14 6979:1 7027:5 7066:10 7075:20</p> <p>saying 6984:10,18 6985:16 6988:16 6989:5,12,15,16,17 6992:11 6993:17 6998:17 7004:22 7005:4,13 7006:17,21 7010:17 7015:8,9 7019:15 7020:21 7022:22 7026:2 7029:5,7,15 7030:4 7030:18 7038:12 7039:8 7046:10 7073:13 7074:17 7075:8,10 7076:13 7078:6,17 7079:8 7086:6,10,13 7089:10 7089:18 7092:21 7095:3,7,19</p> <p>scale 7057:5</p> <p>scales 7034:19</p> <p>scene 6977:4 6982:9,11 6982:22 6983:15 6989:21 6990:8,9,14 6990:15 7016:19,21 7022:17 7026:16 7053:12 7073:8,23,23 7073:25 7074:7,9,12 7075:1,13 7080:11 7082:4,13,23 7083:25</p> <p>scenes 6976:2,6,16</p> <p>scope 7047:2</p> <p>Scorpion 7093:18</p> <p>Scorpions 7027:17</p> <p>scrutiny 7051:4</p> <p>second 6973:25 6982:14,15 6989:23 6991:12 6996:23,23 6997:1,6,7,17,21 6998:9 6999:18 7004:2 7005:14 7006:24 7007:5,21 7009:10,22 7012:13 7012:24 7016:2 7034:8 7037:20 7053:19 7054:24 7058:3,17 7059:21 7061:20 7069:6 7075:24 7090:25 7093:15</p> <p>secondly 7063:19</p> <p>section 7058:23 7063:7 7063:14 7089:24</p> <p>secure 7052:13</p> <p>seeing 7092:4</p> <p>seek 6993:11 7031:25 7039:23 7041:6 7044:16 7046:19 7047:10,21 7066:6</p> <p>seeking 6981:3 7047:18 7068:9</p> <p>seeks 7039:21,21</p>
---	--	---	--	---

<p>7065:25 7066:1 seen 7020:22 7027:23 7096:11 self 7004:6 7005:7,17 7006:23 7007:14 7008:22 7009:20,23 7009:24 7010:9,10,11 7010:17,18 7011:3,3 7012:3,5 7013:7,8 7014:12 7015:8,11 7024:21 self-defence 6990:22 6991:15 6992:1 6994:24 6996:10,17 7025:10,14 7029:21 7029:23 Semenya 6973:5,6,15 7000:11 7001:17 7002:11,13,20 7012:9 7012:15,24 7015:17 7020:1,12,15,18 7021:23 7024:24 7071:4,7,9 7079:14 7079:17 7083:1,4 7088:14,22,25 7089:4 Semenya's 7070:16 send 7026:25 sense 7049:24 7094:22 sensible 6990:8 sent 7002:9 sentences 6996:7,24 6998:4 7005:21 7006:2 7007:5 7014:17 7028:2,4,21 7029:10 separate 7058:13 7060:17 7066:24 separately 7035:23 7058:22 serious 6973:24 7001:9 seriously 7001:23 serve 7057:22 service 7022:2 7056:7 7073:1 session 6974:25 6978:8 6978:9,11 set 6975:15,15,20,21 7032:8 7033:16 7035:10 7036:21 7038:8 7042:13 7043:1 7045:23 7048:14 7053:8 7056:16 7062:12,20 7065:8 7066:19,20 7068:12,13 sets 6981:25 6982:2 6990:9 settled 7040:23 sharp 6990:21 6991:25 6992:9 6993:4,4,8 6994:23 6995:1,14 6996:9,17 6997:23 7005:6,16,25 7010:1 7011:14 7014:5,13 7015:7 she's 7077:16 7078:4</p>	<p>7078:18,19 7079:23 7079:24,24 shock 6973:8 shooting 6990:1 7010:12 7011:5 7027:14 7072:4 7074:9 7092:4,20,22 7092:23 7093:4 7095:5 short 7036:17 7043:7 7079:3 shorten 7007:11 shot 6990:20,21 6991:24 6992:1 6994:22,24 6995:18 6996:3,10,11,17 7003:21 7004:6 7005:5,6,16 7006:23 7007:13,14 7009:20 7009:23,24 7010:8,9 7011:2 7012:3,4 7014:12,18,19 7015:6 7015:8,9,11 7017:17 7017:25 7019:7 7028:5 7029:12,21,21 7029:23 7090:14 7091:14 shots 6982:8,12 6983:16 6984:5,21 6985:20 6987:5 6988:13,20 6991:2,20 6992:3 6993:13,16,19 6993:19 6994:18 6995:1,9,11,15 6996:12,18 6997:23 6998:2,13 7003:21 7005:25 7006:4 7010:1,14,21 7011:16 7014:6 7019:11,19,22 7019:23,24 7022:22 7022:24 7027:16 7029:25 7087:22 7088:11 7089:6 7090:14 7091:12 7093:17 shouldn't 7047:5 7080:24 shouted 7022:21 show 6991:18,20 6993:17 6995:7,11 6998:9,14 7060:3 showing 6998:7 7016:15 7031:24 shown 7011:21 side 6976:8 7010:23 7013:10 7039:9 7046:12 7059:11 7069:4 sides 7079:20 sideways 7051:13 significant 7049:16,16 7049:17 7050:19 similarly 7001:18 7034:20 simple 7009:5 7078:22 sincerely 7083:16</p>	<p>sir 6975:17 sitting 6977:15 6985:4 situation 7040:16,19 7050:2 7060:2 7065:24 six 7051:1 skills 7008:1 slightly 7058:17 small 7024:16 snag 6988:17 social 7034:17 7037:17 7045:12,17 7046:2 7068:4 solve 7088:20 somebody 7092:6 Someone's 7021:2 soon 7001:17 7021:11 7069:18 7071:6 sorry 6981:24 6986:4 6997:4,9,9 7038:12 7043:14,14 7071:20 sort 6998:2 7054:3 sought 7040:9,10 7060:8 7068:6,19 7071:7 sound 7087:18 sounding 7087:16 sounds 7042:8 source 7094:16 South 6999:15 7051:19 7056:23 7057:1 7059:2 7072:25 spear 7017:22,24 spears 7016:8 7017:12 7018:6,22 7022:20 special 7027:3 specific 7006:22 7057:17 7058:5 7060:9,10 7063:8 specifically 7032:21 7033:5 7065:15,22 specified 7061:22 speculating 7083:22 speculation 7095:21 spoke 7094:23 spoken 7000:10 spokesperson 6999:20 spraying 7026:22 stage 6998:23 7000:19 7002:24 7003:1 7026:21,22 7027:12 7027:17 7062:11,20 7063:15 7071:1 7093:2,9,18 7096:20 7096:21 stages 7061:12,15 7062:3,6 stance 6986:19 stand 6980:21 6983:8,9 6983:20 6985:7 6987:18 6989:12 7002:23 7003:23 7025:16 7029:19 7042:17 7048:10 7049:6 standing 7026:2</p>	<p>standpoint 7029:17 stands 7029:16 start 6974:10 6993:24 6994:1,2 6997:5 7026:16,17 7032:1,2 7033:22 7058:12 7096:16 started 6994:5 6995:6 7006:17 7027:9,15 7042:22 7061:7 7093:16 starting 6980:9 starts 6998:16,17 7005:3 7006:7 state 7013:16 7019:1 7091:8 stated 6977:13 7040:19 7041:13 statements 6977:14 6979:23 6984:8 6999:15 7012:10 7015:12 7020:3 7041:6,17 7070:17 7085:7 7087:13 states 7058:24 stating 7040:6 status 6979:24,25 stay 7026:23 7073:11 staying 7084:17 step 6986:18 7004:1,1 7005:22,22 7051:13 7053:3 7061:1 7074:10,11 steps 7033:11 STF 7027:3 7092:18 stood 6987:1 7011:23 stop 7014:10 7022:22 7022:22 7031:4 7083:8 stoppage 7080:12 storm 6993:15 stormed 6986:11 6987:5 6988:13,20 6991:20 6993:15 6994:18 6998:12 7003:21 storming 6995:10,19 6995:21,24 6998:1 7003:17 story 6992:10 strictly 7013:1 strong 7084:3 stronger 7079:5 stronghold 6994:14 strongly 7015:22 study 7043:5 stun 6994:9,17 sub 7007:17 subject 6974:10,11 6980:22 7002:25 7010:25 7012:2 7025:21 7033:23 7041:7 7051:14 7058:25 7060:14,23 7061:3 7062:8 7096:20</p>	<p>subjunctive 7088:23 submission 7012:11 7041:12,22 7052:10 7057:8 7067:12,22 7069:6 7085:23,25 7086:4 7087:10 submissions 7012:17 7031:2 7036:16 7041:20 7042:4 7048:25 7049:3,6 7056:20 7057:13,19 7058:6 7066:10 submit 7012:21 7032:16 7058:7,13 7059:22 7060:12,17 7060:22 7063:5 7064:15,17,24 7065:1 7065:1,4,11,12 submitted 7036:12 subpoena 7059:6 subsequently 6985:12 6985:13 7017:20 7018:4,21 7061:9 substantial 7040:25 7054:2,6 sub-commanders 6976:9 succeeds 6989:10 successful 7000:10 7039:10 suddenly 7038:11 sue 7047:22 sufficient 7041:16 sufficiently 7001:4 7043:1 7052:18 suggest 6984:20 6988:19 6996:22 7008:14 7017:5 7030:20 7063:11 7064:2,13 7069:2,22 7078:19 suggested 7000:17,21 7039:4 7078:15 7079:9 7081:4 suggesting 6984:16 6985:14 7068:8 7081:23 7094:16,17 suggestion 6989:24 7037:25 suitable 7093:9 summary 6989:15 7030:16 7096:10 summon 7059:3 sums 7047:20 supersede 7033:24 7050:14 supplementary 7062:24 7063:3,4,9 7063:16 support 7003:17 7064:18 supports 7003:19 suppose 7000:18 Supreme 7059:2 sure 6974:3 6991:16 7000:19 7006:19</p>
---	--	--	---	---

<p>7026:1 7029:18 7042:23,24 7054:13 7069:16 7074:5 7075:18 7079:2,24 7082:14 7084:4,5,12 7084:20 7086:11 7088:5 7089:15 7092:5,7 surely 6988:8 6996:6 7011:5 7012:17 7039:12 7046:5 7047:23,24 surfaced 7087:1 surname 7072:11 surprise 6982:21 6983:7,14,17,18,21 surprised 6982:18 swept 7022:17 swift 7052:16 synonymous 7000:24 systematically 6994:19 s.u.o 6974:5 7021:18 7071:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">T</p> <p>take 6973:14 6974:6 6982:19 6985:15,22 6986:18 6989:3,19 6990:5,12,17 6996:13 6997:5 6998:23 7008:3,10 7015:20,20 7016:6,8 7017:24 7019:19 7020:8 7027:20 7030:20,24 7031:1 7039:15,25 7046:25 7047:9 7056:7 7057:2 7058:22 7071:17,23 7072:9 7074:10,10 7082:13 7084:22 7086:17 7091:1,25 7092:11 7093:9,21 7095:17 7096:21 taken 6974:14 6979:16 6979:20,23 6980:5 6987:3 6989:2 7015:15 7023:25 7047:6 7080:11,11 7082:3,5,20 7083:7 takes 7041:19 7083:7 talk 6976:11 6993:9 6996:8,15 6997:25 7006:12 7047:6 7084:13 7092:5 talking 7006:2 7027:9 7041:5 7092:4,13,15 talks 6993:4 6998:18 7007:12 7009:19 7096:13 task 7027:3 7054:6 7057:3 7065:4 tea 6998:23 6999:1 7003:8 7069:24,25 7071:11 7087:21 team 6978:25 7022:24 teargas 6994:9</p>	<p>tell 6975:8 6979:5 6986:3 6991:6 7004:21 7041:3 7045:14,20 7086:12 tension 7035:4 7036:2 terms 7033:24 7034:24 7036:6,6,12,22 7037:17 7039:22,23 7040:3 7041:25 7049:22 7050:14 7051:10,22 7054:21 7055:8,8 7056:17,19 7058:9 7059:10,17,18 7059:20 7060:4,15 7061:18 7062:8,18 7063:5 7064:7,10,12 7065:15,16 7066:2,6 7066:6,21 7067:15 7068:6 7070:11,11 test 7053:3 7093:5 testify 7037:16 testimony 6974:12 6975:5 Thabo 7017:9 thank 6973:17,24 6974:9 6977:8,9,24 6979:4 6980:18 6981:23 6982:16 6986:17 6990:11,12 6999:13 7001:8 7002:13,17,20 7003:3 7003:6 7012:8 7015:23 7021:21,21 7022:6 7031:19 7042:5 7049:7,9 7066:11 7069:20 7072:1,15 7073:7,7 7078:8 7080:25 7083:10 7088:8 7093:11 thanking 7069:13 that's 6973:22,24 6977:5 6982:13 6986:13 6989:6,16 6993:19 6995:4 6997:8 6998:19 7021:8 7024:16 7025:12 7029:15 7038:1,10,15,19 7041:7,8 7044:11,21 7048:20 7050:13 7053:19,22 7059:6 7060:15 7061:12 7062:9 7071:7 7077:1 7077:15 7078:25 7079:20 7080:1,19 7082:6 7084:20 7086:13 7087:3,4,5 7088:19 7089:23 7090:24 7094:13 7096:10 Thelejane 7017:9 therefor 7033:4 therefrom 7087:21 thereof 7020:13 thereto 7035:11,14</p>	<p>7041:19 there's 6989:13 7038:5 7039:1 7040:24 7041:4 7045:23 7046:4,7 7047:17 7048:15 7053:19 7054:14 7055:14 7070:8 7095:19 they'd 7062:5,16 they're 7070:19 7096:3 thing 6987:14 6991:5 6993:20 6996:5,24 7075:14 7085:3 things 6973:21 6980:11 7040:9 7046:5 7085:19 think 6976:4 6977:19 6981:14 6984:11 6986:6 6990:7 6993:21 6994:3 6997:2,14 7001:20 7004:19 7009:2 7011:20,22 7013:15 7015:14,16,21 7016:15 7020:20 7021:4 7028:12 7029:15 7040:7 7065:20 7068:17 7069:17 7070:17,21 7070:22 7071:7 7072:13 7077:15 7078:2,4,6,18,19,23 7078:25 7079:21 7080:3,17 7082:6 7083:7,14,23 7085:15 7085:18 7086:10,10 7087:3 7088:14 7089:21,22 7090:3,9 7093:1,4,9 7096:10 7096:17 thinking 7083:12 third 6991:12 6997:2,5 6997:11,19,20 6998:11,16,25 7003:9 7003:16 7006:7,11 7007:1 7008:7 7009:8 7014:2,16 7028:2 7058:5 7061:22 thirdly 7063:20 Thobile 7017:19 thought 7004:20 7010:14,19,21 7012:4 thousands 7065:3 three 7005:5 7043:20 7062:3 ticking 7042:13 7043:1 till 7001:21 time 6977:4 6983:23 6986:21 6989:18 6994:13 6995:11 7011:25 7016:9 7017:24 7021:1,11 7022:23 7026:2,21 7030:5 7036:17 7037:18 7038:14,19 7038:19 7045:3</p>	<p>7047:9 7053:23 7063:9 7066:16 7067:4 7068:20 7069:7 7071:20 7073:8 7083:11,25 7085:10,13 7086:3,19 7087:1 7092:11 7096:17 timeously 7038:22 times 7077:23 7081:1 timetable 7033:19 7050:8 7058:4 7061:6 7061:7,9,12,17 7062:11,20 7063:5 Tip 7030:24 7049:8,9 7054:23 7056:12 7057:21 7062:10 7067:1,21 7068:13,17 7069:4 today 6980:23 6983:9 6987:21 7023:4,9,18 7037:15 7053:5 7062:23 7068:12,14 TOKOTA 7044:14 told 6975:10,16,20 6977:25 6978:2,6 6986:1,2,2 6987:2 7031:10,15 7070:16 7084:21,25 7085:21 tomorrow 7001:21 7002:10,18,23 7003:2 7096:21 tone 7021:3,4 topic 7032:21,21,22 7033:5 7034:1,2 7037:9 7039:21 7041:14,15 7050:16 7050:16 7051:14,16 7051:16,23 7052:2,7 7052:19 7054:5 7062:1 7066:1,1,5 7067:13 topics 7032:17 7033:21 7033:24 7034:7,8 7036:21 7037:14,23 7037:25 7038:3,6 7039:2,4,10,11 7041:14,25 7042:3 7049:18,24 7050:5,12 7050:13 7051:14 7052:5,16 7053:7 7054:19,19 7058:1 7061:18,21,25 7062:14,15 7065:20 7067:3,6,6 7068:3,23 total 7020:9 7046:7 totally 7015:9 7054:21 touch 6974:11 trade 7035:22 tragically 7050:4 training 7032:19 7033:1 transcript 7094:25 Transvaal 7059:15 tremendous 7056:4 tried 6994:8 7053:6</p>	<p>tries 7015:3 trouble 7026:25 7043:11,13,16 7088:4 trust 7008:2 try 6979:7 7092:21 trying 7004:14,24 7018:14 7067:16 7080:2 Tuesday 6980:20 turn 7052:22 7058:5 7064:4 turned 7021:5 turns 7067:13 TV 6978:15 tweak 7008:13 tweaking 7008:15 7009:4 two 6976:3,5,6,15,18 6976:18 6977:3 6984:8 6992:22,24 6993:1 6995:4,6 6996:7 6998:4 6999:15 7005:21 7011:13 7012:9,11 7015:11 7016:19,21 7016:25 7017:3,13 7020:8 7028:21 7029:10 7031:13,14 7031:15,16 7041:13 7046:5 7053:23 7058:13,22 7061:4 7068:3,5 7069:5,10 7070:7 7072:19 7074:4 7076:21 7079:20</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">U</p> <p>ultimately 7049:21 7051:1,9 7056:12,13 7061:21,23 unable 7010:6 7011:8 7025:22 7041:15 unaware 7073:24 uncertainty 7039:1,3,5 underscore 7076:7,7 understand 6976:24 6980:5 6982:3 6986:12,18 6987:6,8 6987:12,13 6990:3 6996:7 6999:7 7002:8 7005:20,22 7006:14 7006:16,18 7011:11 7011:12,19 7013:25 7014:1 7021:15 7028:3 7029:8 7035:15 7038:11 7039:7,8 7041:1 7043:5,25 7046:1 7047:25 7048:1,21 7068:11 7069:20 7070:15,21 7075:22 7077:3,24 7078:4 7079:23 7080:1 7083:24 7088:4 7095:16 understanding 6988:9</p>
---	---	---	--	--

<p>6989:6 7004:15 7040:24 7064:19 7091:19,24 7095:6 understood 6973:3 6983:12 7070:19 7071:3 7076:16 7078:16 undertaken 7037:20 undertaking 7071:5 unfair 7012:17 7013:2 7020:9 union 7046:13 7054:20 7059:1 unions 7032:13 7035:23 7036:1 7054:11,12 7056:23 7064:21 unique 7056:21 unit 7022:16 7027:5 7092:18 united 7035:22 unkind 7086:7 unnecessary 7068:24 unqualified 7010:7 7011:9 7025:23 7078:5 unrest 7035:4 7036:3 unsuccessful 6994:10 update 6974:16,22 6977:12 6978:2,6,10 6979:10 6980:2 6985:11 updates 6978:19 6979:12,15 upheld 7057:10 upper 6990:13 urge 7066:18 urgently 7040:15 use 7007:2 7066:19 7067:7 7079:7 7088:22,25 7089:2 useful 7055:15 utilise 6994:20 utility 7054:15</p>	<p>VICTORIA 6974:5 7021:18 7071:22 view 7003:19 7037:11 7051:7 7056:23 7057:2 viewed 7049:23 virtually 7073:12 7074:16 visible 7027:11 7092:14 visited 7086:1</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>waited 7027:4 waiting 6988:24 waking 7038:11 walk 6992:21 walking 7019:3 want 6973:7 6974:7 6987:12,13 7006:19 7007:25 7013:23 7043:21 7047:11,12 7053:14,15 7060:25 7063:1 7072:8,19,20 7072:21 7083:11 7092:25 wanted 7029:6 7057:4 7061:19 7062:1 wants 7054:10 warn 7001:6 warning 7000:22,23,25 7001:7 7016:16,17 7022:22 Warrant 6999:23 warrants 7016:16 warriors 7022:18 wasn't 6992:19 7047:8 7056:10 7084:3 7088:19 wasted 7071:20 water 6994:9,16 7026:20,21 way 6974:1 6980:15 6991:15 6998:20 7001:20 7007:18 7014:2 7028:7 7029:6 7030:2 7033:24 7036:4 7047:15 7049:21 7050:12,13 7051:11 7052:21 7053:5 7055:22 7071:20 7079:22 7080:23 7085:23 7086:7 7088:5 weapons 6990:21 6991:25 6992:9 6993:4,4,9 6994:6,19 6994:23 6996:4,10,17 7004:8 7005:6,16,25 7011:15 7014:13 7015:7,10 7016:4,5 7027:10 week 6980:20 7056:14 7056:14 7070:16 7085:18 weeks 7053:23 7070:7 7086:22</p>	<p>weigh 7059:23 weighs 7060:6 welcome 7051:5 went 6986:9 7031:14 7055:21 7073:23 7080:3 weren't 7071:19 weren't 7009:23 we'd 7031:13 7038:13 7059:13 7060:17 7069:17 we'll 7021:12 7031:7 7069:10,19,24 7071:3 we're 7021:8 7024:15 7030:22 7031:3 7038:12 7041:8 7054:13 7055:2 7070:23 7075:19 7086:9 7095:23,24 we've 7090:9 7096:11 we're 7010:6,18 we've 7002:4 what's 6992:15 7022:4 7044:10 7051:22 7069:12 7078:18 whilst 7072:24 wide 7093:7 wielding 6994:18 willing 6989:18 7063:10 wire 6994:5,7 wish 6973:4 6993:1 6999:7 7002:11,24 7031:2,17 7057:12 7066:12 7068:16 7069:11 wishes 6973:4 7032:18 7034:7 7037:9 withdraw 7001:12,14 7067:22 witness 6973:13 6986:5 6986:7,15 6993:22 6998:24 7001:24 7012:14,18 7013:13 7015:24 7020:6,9 7041:24 7058:15 7070:24 7071:1 7079:15,18,22 7080:23 7090:20 witnesses 6973:21 7037:6 7041:16 7043:8 7059:3 won't 7030:25 7031:6 7078:3 word 7004:16,16 7005:13 7006:7 7009:8 7015:4 7069:13 7079:4,8 7080:16 7088:3,15 7093:6,7 7094:25 wording 6991:22 words 6993:11,14,16 7010:16 7011:12 7062:23 work 7032:23 7047:2 7057:7</p>	<p>world 6987:3,15 worth 7016:16 7044:25 7045:1 7050:9 wouldn't 7031:15 7064:20 would've 7082:11 would've 7086:24 wrap 6979:12 writes 7094:13 writing 6978:20 written 7078:12,18 7091:9 wrong 7010:21 7011:21 7059:10 7076:16 7077:17 7092:9,21</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">X</p> <hr/> <p>Xalabile 7018:20 7019:10 Xhosa 7077:4</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>year 7042:8 7047:10 7053:8 years 7032:11 7042:9 7042:14,20 7043:7,8 7043:16,17,20,20,20 7044:5,6,19,22,25 7045:1 7046:24 7047:3 7049:4 7050:25 7051:1,17 7053:18,24 7055:11 yesterday 6973:10 6999:3 7000:2 you'd 7035:14 7084:19 you're 6974:4 6989:15 7021:15,16 7024:10 7029:15 7030:9 7031:23,25 7038:21 7041:5 7043:11 7044:2,4 7047:18 7048:19 7070:15,17 7071:15,20,24 7081:20 7086:10,11 7086:13 7095:6 you've 6975:10,23 6986:6 6987:11 7020:14 7027:23 7028:7 7044:5 7045:6 7046:5 7057:6 7072:22 7075:19,19 7075:20 7079:10,11 7080:3 7088:22 7094:21</p>	<p>1:30 7030:21 10 7026:17,19 7032:3 7050:25 7053:8,24 10:12 6973:2 10:32 6981:9 10:52 6990:4 11 7027:4 7034:11,13 7061:23 7092:25 11th 7067:25 11:12 6998:22 11:35 6999:5 11:55 7008:2 113 7059:15 12 7022:20 7033:20 7061:10 7093:1,2,12 12th 7062:4,5 7065:24 12:15 7017:7 12:40 7021:15 13 6990:19 6991:14,23 6994:21 6996:3 7005:4 7007:12,13,16 7007:20,23 7008:8,17 7008:19,20,21,23 7009:1,9,11 7013:5,6 7013:7,9 7090:25 7093:18 13:00 7029:14 13:33 7031:9 13:53 7039:14 14:13 7049:8 14:33 7059:21 15 7033:12,14 7066:4 15th 7050:23 15:12 7071:14 15:32 7080:25 15:52 7090:18 16 7013:5 7033:5 7041:15 7082:23 16th 6974:14,23 6977:12 6978:1 6980:16 6983:22 6985:11 7034:8 7056:11 7070:21 7084:24 7085:2 17 6978:3,7 17th 6977:12 6978:10 6979:10 6980:3,16 6985:12 7025:16 7084:24 7085:3 18 6990:8,9,12 7065:21 7074:8 18th 7062:13 19 6990:6,10 1980 7059:15</p>
<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">V</p> <hr/> <p>v 7059:14 vague 7043:22 7044:12 7050:24 7064:15,18 7065:1 value 7055:7 7056:15 variance 6983:19 various 6979:3 7040:9 7040:10 7070:4 7084:23 7085:17 vast 7055:3 7056:3 vehicle 7027:7,8 vehicles 6994:7 7026:23 7027:20 7091:1 7092:1 7093:22 7095:10 ventilation 7067:13 verbal 6978:21,23 version 7050:8 vicinity 6994:15 7019:2 7019:6,15</p>	<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>waited 7027:4 waiting 6988:24 waking 7038:11 walk 6992:21 walking 7019:3 want 6973:7 6974:7 6987:12,13 7006:19 7007:25 7013:23 7043:21 7047:11,12 7053:14,15 7060:25 7063:1 7072:8,19,20 7072:21 7083:11 7092:25 wanted 7029:6 7057:4 7061:19 7062:1 wants 7054:10 warn 7001:6 warning 7000:22,23,25 7001:7 7016:16,17 7022:22 Warrant 6999:23 warrants 7016:16 warriors 7022:18 wasn't 6992:19 7047:8 7056:10 7084:3 7088:19 wasted 7071:20 water 6994:9,16 7026:20,21 way 6974:1 6980:15 6991:15 6998:20 7001:20 7007:18 7014:2 7028:7 7029:6 7030:2 7033:24 7036:4 7047:15 7049:21 7050:12,13 7051:11 7052:21 7053:5 7055:22 7071:20 7079:22 7080:23 7085:23 7086:7 7088:5 weapons 6990:21 6991:25 6992:9 6993:4,4,9 6994:6,19 6994:23 6996:4,10,17 7004:8 7005:6,16,25 7011:15 7014:13 7015:7,10 7016:4,5 7027:10 week 6980:20 7056:14 7056:14 7070:16 7085:18 weeks 7053:23 7070:7 7086:22</p>	<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>year 7042:8 7047:10 7053:8 years 7032:11 7042:9 7042:14,20 7043:7,8 7043:16,17,20,20,20 7044:5,6,19,22,25 7045:1 7046:24 7047:3 7049:4 7050:25 7051:1,17 7053:18,24 7055:11 yesterday 6973:10 6999:3 7000:2 you'd 7035:14 7084:19 you're 6974:4 6989:15 7021:15,16 7024:10 7029:15 7030:9 7031:23,25 7038:21 7041:5 7043:11 7044:2,4 7047:18 7048:19 7070:15,17 7071:15,20,24 7081:20 7086:10,11 7086:13 7095:6 you've 6975:10,23 6986:6 6987:11 7020:14 7027:23 7028:7 7044:5 7045:6 7046:5 7057:6 7072:22 7075:19,19 7075:20 7079:10,11 7080:3 7088:22 7094:21</p>	<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <hr/> <p>1 7032:23 7033:6,23 7034:6 7053:16 7059:15 7062:12 7066:4 7073:8,25 7074:7,12 7075:1,13 7080:11 7082:23 1.1 7064:9 1.1.3 7034:24 7036:6 1.1.5 7034:24 7036:6 1.4.1 7036:12</p>	<hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <hr/> <p>2 6982:9,11,22 6983:15 6989:21 6990:8,14,15 6992:4 6993:13 7022:17 7026:16 7032:18,21,22,24 7033:16 7034:8 7036:14,20 7037:14 7039:23 7040:11,14 7040:17 7041:11,14 7041:24 7042:2</p>

<p>7049:18 7054:9 7061:19 7062:15,21 7063:14 7065:20 7066:6 7069:22 7071:18 7073:23 7074:9 7082:4,13 20 6979:8 7049:18,24 7050:13 7051:14 7052:4 7067:6 20th 6979:18,18 6980:3 6980:14 6985:4 7025:21 200 7024:20 2007 7042:12,15,15,25 2010 7045:12 2012 6974:14,23 6978:1 6978:3,7 6979:8 6980:14 6985:12 7032:12 7042:14 7053:19 7061:7,22 2013 6973:1 6999:21 7032:3 7033:12,14,20 7036:19 7061:23 7062:23 7063:10 7066:4 21st 7040:8 22 6999:21 7041:18 22nd 6999:20 23 7032:5 7034:10 7035:10 7046:10 24 7046:18 25 6973:1 7062:22 250 7034:4 26 7032:20 7036:22</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p>3 6990:9,14,20 6991:24 6994:22 7026:19,20 7033:1,9,17 7058:23 7063:3,10,15 7082:22 7082:24 3.1 7058:24 7065:2 3.2 7064:17,20,20 7065:1,2 30 7061:7 31 7036:18 32 7033:4 34 7036:22 35 7035:25 7061:13 35(2) 7062:19 35(3) 7062:22 7063:7 7063:14 36 7039:15,18 7061:13 37 7033:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>4 7034:12 7035:10 7093:8 4.1 7034:11,12 7046:11 4.11 7034:20 7046:11 4.5 7034:11,17 7046:11 4.6 7034:11,19 7046:11 4.7 7034:11,20 7046:11 44 7034:3 45 6996:1 7024:11 45.3 7013:9</p>	<p>45.5 6990:6,18 6991:8 6991:16,19,21 6993:8 6993:17,20 6994:21 6995:7,12 6997:19 6998:11 7003:19 7005:3 7007:11,21 7008:7 7009:19 7025:21 7026:4 7028:3 7072:5 7088:13,16 7089:5,25 7096:1 45.6 7007:15 45.8 7007:16 45.8.1 7007:18,19,24 7008:9 7016:6 7017:8 45.8.2 7017:21 45.8.3 7024:9,14 7025:8,19 45.8.4 7018:2 45.8.5 7007:18,19,24 7008:9 7018:19</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>5 7034:13,25,25 7066:21 5.1 7032:8 5.2 7032:9 7046:18</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <p>6 7034:13 7066:20</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <p>7 7020:13,18 7021:24 7023:5,11 7034:13 7062:9 7.1 7033:19,21 7035:25 7050:7,9 7051:5 7.4 7039:15,20 7065:23 7065:23,24 7.4.1 7040:4 70 7034:4 79 7073:6</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">8</p> <p>8 7061:21 80 7073:6 81 7072:21,23 7073:5,8 7074:20 7075:17,24 7077:20,25 82 7072:21,23 7073:5 7073:21 7077:25</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">9</p> <p>9 7026:17,17 7037:22 7042:1 9:30 7001:21 7002:10</p>			
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