

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 43 5 FEBRUARY 2013 PAGES 4615 TO 4735

HELD AT

CIVIC CENTRE, RUSTENBURG, NORTH WEST PROVINCE



© REALTIME TRANSCRIPTIONS

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



Page 4615

1 [PROCEEDINGS ON 5 FEBRUARY 2013]
 2 [11:02] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
 3 Due to unforeseeable circumstances that arose yesterday,
 4 it's not been possible for us to commence until now and I
 5 wish to apologise to everyone concerned who has been kept
 6 waiting because we didn't commence at the scheduled time.
 7 You're still under oath. Ms Barnes, I think you're still
 8 cross-examining?
 9 MS BARNES: Yes, Chair, that's correct.
 10 SENZENI ZOKWANA (CONTD): Yes.
 11 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS BARNES (CONTD):
 12 Good morning, Mr Zokwana. I'd like to start this morning
 13 by introducing another article, also by Carol Paton. It's
 14 an article that was published in the Business Day on the
 15 14th June 2012.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: What will this exhibit
 17 number be, Ms Pillay?
 18 MS PILLAY: Chair, it should be BBB2.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: Triple?
 20 MS PILLAY: BBB2.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: BBB2, thank you.
 22 MS BARNES: We do have copies for
 23 everybody. We'll hand those out now.
 24 CHAIRPERSON: You say it's an article by
 25 Ms Carol Paton -

Page 4616

1 MS BARNES: Yes, it's a different
 2 article, also by Carol Paton – yes.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: - published in Business Day
 4 on the 14th last year.
 5 MS BARNES: 2012.
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, alright. Is
 7 there a particular passage to which to draw the witness's
 8 attention?
 9 MS BARNES: Yes, there is indeed.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: It might be an idea to give
 11 him, to identify it, give him a chance to read it quickly –
 12 or slowly, whichever speed he prefers – and then you can
 13 question him about it.
 14 MS BARNES: It's really on page 3 of the
 15 article and you'll see that about halfway down the page on
 16 page 3 the word "Impala" appears in bold, if you could read
 17 that paragraph and the paragraph following that.
 18 CHAIRPERSON: If you want to look
 19 elsewhere in the article just to see if there's something
 20 that is relevant for him but he will tell us what he needs,
 21 I think, Ms Barnes.
 22 MS BARNES: Are you with me, Mr Zokwana?
 23 CHAIRPERSON: The reference – while I was
 24 making a note – what is the passage, in particular?
 25 They're unnumbered I see, the pages, but that's just to

Page 4617

1 test our ingenuity. The third unnumbered page, paragraph
 2 beginning?
 3 MS BARNES: Paragraph beginning "Impala"
 4 and the word "Impala" is in bold –
 5 CHAIRPERSON: "Impala executive director
 6 Paul Dunn says" –
 7 MS BARNES: That's correct.
 8 CHAIRPERSON: And up till where is the
 9 passage you want, Ms Barnes?
 10 MS BARNES: It's that paragraph and the
 11 next paragraph.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: Now, the next paragraph,
 13 the one after that begins "Either way", so are both of the
 14 ways, as it were, covered in the two paragraphs that you've
 15 drawn the witness's attention to?
 16 MS BARNES: Yes, that's correct.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: I see, alright. Mr
 18 Zokwana, when you're ready let us know and then Ms Barnes
 19 will start questioning you about it.
 20 MR ZOKWANA: Do you want to go through
 21 the whole or want to only read these two paragraphs?
 22 MS BARNES: Yes, the focus is simply on
 23 these two paragraphs.
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Fine, I'm through.
 25 MS BARNES: Have you had a chance to look

Page 4618

1 at them? You'll see that the first paragraph that I've
 2 drawn your attention to is a reference to what Paul Dunn
 3 said happened in the wage negotiations at Impala in 2011
 4 and it's very similar to what was contained in the Carol
 5 Paton articles that we looked at last week, is that
 6 correct?
 7 MR ZOKWANA: Except that it is in bold in
 8 this new document as compared to the other document, the
 9 only thing I can see as different.
 10 MS BARNES: That's right, the font is
 11 different. If I can just read the last sentence of the
 12 first paragraph that I've asked you to –
 13 CHAIRPERSON: I think to be fair, Ms
 14 Barnes, there are a lot of people here in the auditorium
 15 who have come to listen and they haven't got the advantage
 16 of reading the article so I think in fairness to them you
 17 should read – it's not a long passage – I think you should
 18 read it, let the interpreter interpret it, because
 19 otherwise they will be lost, they won't be able to follow
 20 the cross-examination.
 21 MS BARNES: Alright, I'll read the
 22 relevant paragraph into the record then. This is now in
 23 relation to wage negotiations at Impala in 2011. "Impala
 24 executive director Paul Dunn says that during the talks,
 25 management put a proposal on the table that rock drill

Page 4619

1 operators who are more skilled and who are at risk of
 2 resigning for better jobs, be given a higher increment. We
 3 recognised that we were out of step with the rest of the
 4 industry, both in job grading and in pay. It would have
 5 been pre-emptive to stop them from leaving but that
 6 suggestion never found its way into the final agreement.”
 7 Then the next paragraph reads as follows, “Mr Dunn says
 8 it’s because NUM rejected it. Sidwell Dikolwana, the NUM’s
 9 provincial secretary, says it was never seriously on the
 10 table.” So what is reported here, Mr Zokwana, is not that
 11 your provincial secretary, when he was asked about this,
 12 said that there was no proposal, but he said it was not a
 13 serious proposal. Is that correct? Is that the
 14 information you received?

15 MR ZOKWANA: I think we are dealing with
 16 the same article, I gave an answer, because the only
 17 difference between this one, Chairperson, and the one we
 18 read last week is that the description of the job of
 19 machine drillers in the first article is described as hard,
 20 which I agree with. On the new, with bold font this time,
 21 it regards them as skilled but I still say, as I said last
 22 week, that there was never a proposal to deal with a
 23 differential increase to rock drill operators and I said
 24 the reason being that for every negotiation process, people
 25 exchange documentation, proposals are given in writing and

Page 4620

1 my information from those who led, especially the leader of
 2 that negotiation, no such was presented.

3 MS BARNES: Sir, this article is dated
 4 the 14th of June 2012, as you’ve seen. Were you aware at
 5 this time that it was being said, that this proposal had
 6 been rejected by NUM and that your provincial was saying,
 7 not that there was no proposal but that such a proposal was
 8 not seriously on the table? Were you aware of that?

9 MR ZOKWANA: I have responded on Friday
 10 to say this, that a number of articles were written. Many
 11 people tend to be experts on these matters – only
 12 unfortunately after the effect and if NUM chose not to
 13 respond to each and every article that is issued. As to
 14 your question whether I have checked with the NUM
 15 secretary, in my view he is not saying that such a proposal
 16 was made. He is just saying that such a proposal was never
 17 tabled and I think what he’s saying concurs with what I
 18 have given a response to say when you negotiate, you don’t
 19 put things as if you are just in a conversation, you reduce
 20 them down into paper as proposals.

21 MS BARNES: I’ll give you another
 22 opportunity to answer the question. Were you aware in June
 23 2012 that the allegations that appear in this article were
 24 being made?

25 MR ZOKWANA: Personally I never saw this

Page 4621

1 document, although I know there were many documents flying
 2 around of many people who have turned experts in these
 3 matters.

4 MS BARNES: Alright, now let’s go back to
 5 the events of the 11th and the 12th of August 2012. If I
 6 could perhaps just refer you to your statement, to page 3
 7 paragraph 12.

8 MR ZOKWANA: Yes?

9 MS BARNES: You’ll recall that I referred
 10 you to this paragraph on Friday and I asked you to explain
 11 the reference in that paragraph to the events that had
 12 occurred at the NUM office the previous day, do you
 13 remember that?

14 MR ZOKWANA: I remember that very well.

15 MS BARNES: What you said in response to
 16 my question on Friday was that Mr Bongo had told you on the
 17 phone on the 12th August that there had been an attempt to
 18 invade the NUM offices but you’d not gotten any details, is
 19 that correct?

20 MR ZOKWANA: That’s correct, but let me
 21 explain. The reason of his calling was not to deal with
 22 the issue of the 11th, it was to deal with the fact that a
 23 group of people were marching towards the NUM office, but
 24 he did mention that such was not the first, as the previous
 25 day there had been such and we never went into detail what

Page 4622

1 happened the previous day.

2 MS BARNES: Now despite that, despite
 3 having received that information from Mr Bongo, you took no
 4 steps on the 12th to find out what in fact had happened, is
 5 that correct?

6 MR ZOKWANA: My answer on Friday, and
 7 I’ll repeat it again, was that when I arrived on the scene
 8 on the 12th, either the late comrade Bongo or any other
 9 leaders of the branch were already in hiding and what was
 10 pressing at that time was the risk of more lives being
 11 lost, hence I spent more time with the company trying to
 12 look at measures, we can increase police presence so that
 13 no more lives were lost.

14 MS BARNES: So the answer to the question
 15 is no.

16 MR ZOKWANA: I couldn’t understand the
 17 question because I’m saying that Mr Bongo – the late
 18 comrade Bongo who could have explained, and other officers
 19 of the branch, were not on the scene as they had been
 20 compelled to run away from their lives, but from what we
 21 have raised with Bongo on the phone - he wasn’t there when
 22 I arrived.

23 CHAIRPERSON: The answer to the question
 24 counsel asked you is no, but you’ve given explanation for
 25 that answer.

Page 4623

1 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

2 CHAIRPERSON: But I think we can now move

3 on. Now we know you've given a negative answer and we know

4 what the negative answer is based on, you can now proceed

5 to your next question, Ms Barnes.

6 MS BARNES: And you also took no steps on

7 the 12th August to find out what your local NUM leaders'

8 attitude was to the RDOs' strike, did you?

9 CHAIRPERSON: I think his explanation is

10 going to be that they weren't there, they were already in

11 hiding so he couldn't – if he had been there he might've

12 asked them. I'm not – spending a lot of time on an issue

13 that isn't going to help us.

14 MS BARNES: Well, you did meet – on your

15 own version, sir, you did meet with shop stewards on the

16 12th of August, isn't that correct?

17 MR ZOKWANA: I tried to show you on

18 Friday how different our structures are and I showed you

19 that the shop stewards are leaders who were elected at

20 their work place and the leaders who take decisions in a

21 branch will be members of the branch committee and I

22 [inaudible] Chairperson that on the day of my arrival none

23 of the branch committee members were present and hence

24 they'd gone to – they were hiding.

25 MS BARNES: Now, on the 12th of August you

Page 4624

1 had a meeting with Lonmin management, is that correct?

2 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

3 MS BARNES: Surely at that meeting with

4 Lonmin management you should've suggested that all the

5 trade unions come together with Lonmin management and

6 attempt to establish the facts as to what was going on and

7 attempt to find a solution, surely you should've done that?

8 MR ZOKWANA: Sorry Chairperson, maybe if

9 she can assist me to understand which unions are we

10 referring to?

11 MS BARNES: All the unions that might

12 have an interest in the matter.

13 MR ZOKWANA: Let me explain that,

14 Chairperson. My concern was to ensure that relevant steps

15 are taken, as I was informed that already two lives had

16 been lost with the possibility of more being lost, if you

17 read the statement of the security Motlogeloa as to what

18 was happening on the day, page 94. I was not going to be a

19 shop steward of other unions. I think those unions had the

20 choice to prevail if they were concerned [inaudible]. With

21 due respect, Chairperson, I went to represent NUM to make

22 sure that what NUM can do to reduce any further carnage. I

23 was not going to say to management, where are other unions?

24 They never mandated me to raise that on their behalf.

25 [11:22] MS BARNES: We know that what you did do

Page 4625

1 on the 12th of August, Mr Zokwana, was phone the police, is

2 that correct?

3 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I said that in my view

4 and in terms of what I was given by the company, that only

5 the presence of the SAPS with the necessary skills in crowd

6 control would assist and they were telling me how

7 frustrated they were and if you read the statement of the

8 witness security Motlogeloa, he will tell you of their

9 frustrations that there was no backup from the police. The

10 reason I called was because I was aware that if, to say

11 that if nothing was done to increase the police – and I was

12 doing that as an NUM person, not on behalf of other unions.

13 MS BARNES: I'd like us to, I'd like you

14 to tell us, sir, about those phone calls that you made on

15 that day. You said that you phoned the office of the

16 provincial commissioner, is that correct?

17 MR ZOKWANA: That is in my statement,

18 yes.

19 MS BARNES: Who did you speak to?

20 MR ZOKWANA: Given the situation, I

21 couldn't remember who I spoke to. Whoever I spoke to did

22 not give mean answer I was happy with.

23 MS BARNES: Do you know the rank of the

24 person you spoke to?

25 MR ZOKWANA: I repeat, I could not have –

Page 4626

1 I mean and if I could remember the rank I would be maybe

2 knowing the person. The only person I remember I spoke to

3 thereafter was the Minister of the Police.

4 MS BARNES: You said the response was

5 unsatisfactory. What did this person say to you?

6 MR ZOKWANA: They didn't have enough

7 personnel to deal with the situation as two of their

8 personnel had been to the scene, as claimed by the report

9 of the security officer.

10 MS BARNES: What level of personnel did

11 you think was required?

12 MR ZOKWANA: Given the numbers of people

13 who were involved here, I mean between 2 000 and 3 000 and

14 how they were described in manner, in terms of being armed,

15 I thought that the security had to decide that, I'm not in

16 a position to determine. My training has not given me to

17 know if people are armed this way, you need so many.

18 MS BARNES: You then phoned the Minister

19 of Police directly, is that correct?

20 MR ZOKWANA: I was given his office and I

21 got somebody in the office and I left a message. He came

22 back to me.

23 MS BARNES: What did you ask the Minister

24 of Police to do?

25 MR ZOKWANA: I gave him the report as

Page 4627

1 given to me by the company and told him that the company
 2 was frustrated, as I was as well, for the fact that there
 3 was this situation of anarchy happening on the mine, people
 4 being killed, a threat to turn down property. That's what
 5 I told him.
 6 MS BARNES: How long was your call with
 7 the Minister?
 8 MR ZOKWANA: Unfortunately I didn't
 9 record but I can imagine it's – I did give him enough
 10 information so that he can make his mind.
 11 MS BARNES: Assist us, Mr Zokwana, give
 12 us an estimate.
 13 MR ZOKWANA: Sorry Chairperson, I don't
 14 want to create a view that says 10, 20 minutes. I say I
 15 took long enough to make sure that the Minister
 16 comprehended what the situation was. I can't even say 20,
 17 30 minutes. I would not be basing that on fact, I didn't
 18 observe that.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: I think what she wants to
 20 know is, was it a fairly short conversation or one that
 21 can't be described as short but –
 22 MR ZOKWANA: Not short.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not exactly sure where
 24 she's getting with the question but I'm sure she has a
 25 reason for asking it, so I'm not going to disallow the

Page 4628

1 question. Was it longer than 10 minutes?
 2 MR ZOKWANA: It could have been longer
 3 than that.
 4 MS BARNES: And what did the Minister say
 5 he would do?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: He said to me he will
 7 consult his structures, I mean he was referring to his
 8 senior personnel and I didn't know whom he was going to
 9 call to deal with that and I think he's in a position to
 10 know whom to call when such requirements are made.
 11 MS BARNES: Were you satisfied after you
 12 spoke to him that action would be taken?
 13 MR ZOKWANA: As a person I trusted the
 14 Minister. I was aware, I was sure that having been given
 15 the briefing, he will take the necessary steps.
 16 MS BARNES: And the information that you
 17 gave to the Minister was the information that you'd
 18 received from Lonmin about what had happened on the 12th of
 19 August, is that correct?
 20 MR ZOKWANA: I said that I got a briefing
 21 from our local shop stewards as well as the management.
 22 That's the briefing I gave the Minister, but more around
 23 the fact that two security guys have been killed and how
 24 they were killed.
 25 MS BARNES: You didn't tell the Minister

Page 4629

1 anything about what had happened on the 11th because you
 2 didn't know anything about what had happened on the 11th, is
 3 that correct?
 4 MR ZOKWANA: I said – again, and I repeat
 5 – that I informed the Minister of the situation as detailed
 6 to me, which was mostly around the events of the 12th and I
 7 was able to impress on him the need to increase police
 8 presence. I didn't go into details of the 11th, as I've
 9 said, I couldn't meet with the late Mr Bongo so that he
 10 would give me what he gave me on the phone. The issue of
 11 the 11th appeared to me on the 15th when the president of
 12 AMCU raised it at SABC. And let me say that, Chairperson,
 13 your question, I didn't inform the Minister of the issues
 14 of the 11th as that didn't form part of the briefing I
 15 received.
 16 MS BARNES: And we know that the SAfm
 17 interview – and we'll get to that in a moment – took place
 18 on the 15th, Wednesday the 15th of August, is that correct?
 19 MR ZOKWANA: That's correct, yes.
 20 MS BARNES: So from the 12th to the 15th
 21 you took no steps to find out what had happened on the NUM,
 22 at the NUM offices on Saturday the 11th, is that correct?
 23 MR ZOKWANA: The reports I got were such
 24 that on the same evening of the day I was in Marikana
 25 confirming my concerns, one of our leaders, Mr Mabebe, was

Page 4630

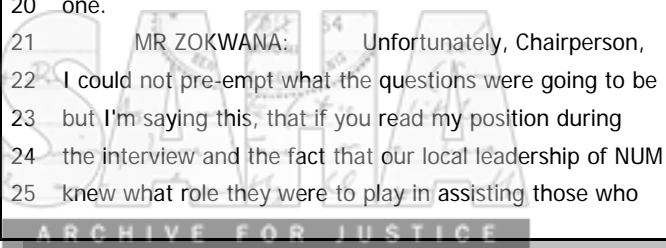
1 killed that night and a number of other incidents happened,
 2 including the murder of other leaders of NUM. So we were
 3 preoccupied in trying to find what could be done –
 4 including the killing of the two police by the same people.
 5 So I did not deal with the 11th until the 15th when it was
 6 raised to me as a question by, an observation by the leader
 7 of AMCU.
 8 MS BARNES: And during the period from
 9 the 12th to the 15th August you also did not find out what
 10 your local branch's attitude was to the RDO strike, did
 11 you?
 12 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, it would have
 13 been difficult for a person to look at such a matter when
 14 at that moment we were receiving reports as to the fact
 15 that our branch committee members were in hiding,
 16 allegations of [indistinct] of those murdered, people
 17 having been killed already. It would've been difficult for
 18 you to begin to look at what could have been the issue of –
 19 as I've said that at that moment the branch committee was
 20 no longer available for anybody to enquire whether this
 21 issue you are raising was really an issue. We were
 22 concerned about more lives being lost.
 23 MS BARNES: But surely, sir, you could
 24 have phoned your branch committee members and if you had,
 25 they would've told you what they'd said to the RDOs and you

1 would've established that they'd given them incorrect
 2 advice, isn't that correct?
 3 MR ZOKWANA: You can only do that, senior
 4 counsel, if the branch committee was available to meet with
 5 me. At the point you are referring to they were all in
 6 hiding and their fears were not unfounded as a number of
 7 those who were unable to run before, were killed - to
 8 understand maybe the situation we were in as a union.
 9 MS BARNES: During the period from the
 10 12th to the 15th of August you didn't even issue a press
 11 statement condemning the violence, did you?
 12 MR ZOKWANA: Our position at NUM has been
 13 consistent and I've raised that in my statement. We are
 14 not a union that believes that we can add to numbers by
 15 embarking on violence, we are not a union that would
 16 encourage families losing their next of kin just to be big
 17 after that. And we have made that all clear, to say that
 18 NUM is against violence, NUM is against illegal strikes,
 19 NUM is for processes where issues are debated through
 20 negotiations.
 21 MS BARNES: Sir -
 22 MR ZOKWANA: And by this I'm saying in
 23 paragraph - in paragraph 1, page 84 of Mr Motlogeloa's
 24 statement, the security guy, as to why were NUM - it's
 25 because our local branch committee were assisting the non-

1 strikers to say, don't go on illegal strike because if you
 2 do so you are going to - this shows as to what stand did
 3 NUM take around the illegal strike, around all these
 4 occurrences.
 5 MS BARNES: Sir, it was a simple
 6 question. You didn't issue a press statement during the
 7 period from the 12th to the 15th of August condemning the
 8 violence, did you?
 9 MR ZOKWANA: Many statements were issued
 10 by the union around these matters, from Impala to Lonmin.
 11 That is the reason why on the 15th I went to SAfm so that
 12 our position is put clearly for the public. If maybe that
 13 can - maybe we can go and check how many statements NUM
 14 made, or interviews. I don't have them with me but I know
 15 that NUM stood clear that we are against violence, we are
 16 against people being killed, we are against illegal
 17 strikes.
 18 MS BARNES: Well, I'm sure if there was
 19 such a statement you'll show it to us, sir, we haven't seen
 20 one.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Unfortunately, Chairperson,
 22 I could not pre-empt what the questions were going to be
 23 but I'm saying this, that if you read my position during
 24 the interview and the fact that our local leadership of NUM
 25 knew what role they were to play in assisting those who

1 were being threatened not to go to work, in assisting them
 2 to access the work places, shows very clearly that NUM who
 3 are a non-violent organisation will stand by that.
 4 CHAIRPERSON: May I ask you a question at
 5 this point? The statements issued by NUM, do you put them
 6 up on a website for people to see?
 7 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, we do, Chairperson, but
 8 the point is that I did not prepare -
 9 CHAIRPERSON: No - no, I understand. So
 10 if there's any statement that Ms Barnes wants to see, she
 11 or her attorneys can go to your website -
 12 MR ZOKWANA: She can do -
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Presumably your website -
 14 sorry, presumably your statements are arranged
 15 chronologically so if they wish to study your statements at
 16 the relevant time, they can do so and if there's something
 17 that's material they can then raise it with you in cross-
 18 examination. If necessary, if you've finished your
 19 evidence already and they find something that's important,
 20 they can have you recalled so it can be dealt with? Is
 21 that so?
 22 MR ZOKWANA: I'm aware that, Chairperson,
 23 we had press conferences. Even on the day of the 16th NUM
 24 had a press conference where our views were clearly made
 25 and I was saying this, that if the need may be that I go

1 back and check on which days we issued - but I'm clear that
 2 for any day our stance would've been consistent that we're
 3 against violence, we're against people being killed, we're
 4 against any form that would undermine the Labour Relations
 5 Act of this country.
 6 MS BARNES: Thank you, sir, we'll
 7 certainly have a look at your website. Now if I can take
 8 you to page 4, paragraph 15 of your statement.
 9 MR ZOKWANA: Yes?
 10 [11:42] MS BARNES: You say there that when you
 11 left the meeting with Lonmin management on Sunday, the 12th
 12 of August, you stayed in touch with your local NUM
 13 officials for the next few days and they kept you informed
 14 of the events that were taking place, is that correct?
 15 MR ZOKWANA: That's correct, yes.
 16 MS BARNES: Now I'd like to take you to
 17 exhibit QQ2 but perhaps before I asked you about that
 18 exhibit, I asked you last week -
 19 MR ZOKWANA: No, sorry, give me time to
 20 check QQ2. I don't have them in the chronology you may be
 21 having them, because you knew what you were going to ask
 22 questions as I'm sure you were clearly prepared, than I
 23 would be.
 24 MS BARNES: I'll certainly give you an
 25 opportunity, sir, but before I take you to the document



Page 4635

1 itself can I just check with you that – when I asked you
 2 last week whether you'd heard the rumour that was doing the
 3 rounds that two people had been killed as a result of the
 4 incident which took place at the NUM offices on Saturday,
 5 the 11th of August, you said you had not heard that rumour,
 6 is that correct?
 7 MR ZOKWANA: Where – what page –
 8 MS BARNES: You don't need the document
 9 to answer that question, if you could answer that question
 10 first and then I'll take you to the document.
 11 MR MAHLANGU: If the question could be
 12 repeated please?
 13 MS BARNES: Last week I said to you that
 14 a rumour started that two people had been killed as a
 15 result of the incident which took place at the NUM offices
 16 on Saturday, the 11th of August, you said you had not heard
 17 that rumour. I'm now talking about the period from the 12th
 18 to the 15th of August.
 19 MR ZOKWANA: As I've said, the details of
 20 that incident were brought to me by the president of AMCU
 21 who put it to me that we have killed the two people on the
 22 day in question.
 23 MS BARNES: Yes, we've established that,
 24 sir. We've established that you knew nothing about that
 25 incident –

Page 4636

1 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 2 MS BARNES: - from the 12th to the 15th.
 3 The question is different. The question is, did you hear
 4 the rumour that two people had been killed in that
 5 incident?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: We always encourage our
 7 local leadership, when they present issues to national
 8 leadership, to verify the information that they give us.
 9 We were given the incident I have referred to, of people
 10 killed, the two security people. I was present on the day
 11 [inaudible] our guys and all other murders, including that
 12 of Twala and others were given because we are avoiding of
 13 dealing with rumours because rumours in most cases can be –
 14 cannot be based on truth, as I think this Commission
 15 formed, how a remark can be.
 16 MS BARNES: Yes and it would be important
 17 to correct rumours if they were false, wouldn't it?
 18 MR ZOKWANA: As a union we always
 19 question and I think the approach would be that rumours can
 20 be dangerous and people aware of them may take them as true
 21 and make decisions and as a union we always avoid people
 22 reporting on rumours.
 23 MS BARNES: Alright, well let's look at
 24 what happened. Let me take you to exhibit QQ2 and I'll
 25 explain to you what it is because you may not know what it

Page 4637

1 is. The background is that there was an incident on the
 2 Monday the 13th of August where, at the railway line at
 3 Lonmin, where there was an incident that happened between a
 4 group of striking workers and the police and as a result of
 5 that incident two policemen were killed and three strikers
 6 were killed. Are you aware of that incident?
 7 MR ZOKWANA: I am aware of the two police
 8 personnel who were killed on that day.
 9 MS BARNES: You weren't aware that three
 10 strikers were also killed on that day in the same incident?
 11 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not sure it's three.
 12 It may be two plus a civilian.
 13 MR ZOKWANA: Reports about murders,
 14 including those of the people who may have been killed,
 15 were made but I don't have real info, what incident really
 16 happened.
 17 MS BARNES: Yes, I know you weren't
 18 there, I'm just drawing your attention to the incident
 19 which you obviously became aware of subsequently, just in
 20 an attempt to introduce this document.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I think that is
 22 confirmed by even my statement I made during the interview
 23 on the 15th, that two policemen have been killed and I agree
 24 with you that other people may have been killed but I don't
 25 have, in terms of how it happened.

Page 4638

1 MS BARNES: What this document is, sir,
 2 it's a transcript of a conversation that took place between
 3 the group of striking workers and General Mpenbe on Monday,
 4 the 13th of August.
 5 MR ZOKWANA: Yes?
 6 MS BARNES: If you look at page 9 of the
 7 document –
 8 MR ZOKWANA: I've got that, yes.
 9 MS BARNES: One, this is one of the
 10 striking workers speaking to General Mpenbe and he says the
 11 following, "On Saturday when we came back the mine security
 12 shot at us, together with the people from NUM, and killed
 13 two of our people. That is the reason why we are carrying
 14 these weapons. We did not fighting with anybody." Do you
 15 see that?
 16 MR ZOKWANA: I see that.
 17 MS BARNES: And then if you go on to page
 18 11 of the same document –
 19 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 20 MS BARNES: It says, "The person from NUM
 21 is the one who shot at us, he killed two of our people."
 22 Do you see that just near the top of the page?
 23 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 24 MS BARNES: Now did you not hear, sir,
 25 from your people on the ground that this was being said?

Page 4639

1 MR ZOKWANA: That the people at NUM have
 2 killed two people from the strikers, is that the question?
 3 I'm checking, Chairperson, I want it clear before I answer.
 4 MS BARNES: Yes, that this is what the
 5 strikers were saying, did you not hear this?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: Unfortunately not, I didn't
 7 hear that because I had been relying, as I'm saying on page
 8 84, on the security personnel who are the company, the
 9 strikers, were then intending to burn - and the reasons he
 10 gave are contrary to the reasons given by this striker -
 11 your question - I didn't hear that.
 12 MS BARNES: If I could take you then to
 13 exhibit OO2.
 14 MR ZOKWANA: I would request assistance
 15 again. Some of these things I don't have. Yes, I've got
 16 that now.
 17 MS BARNES: Now this is the media release
 18 statement by AMCU and on the second page of the media
 19 statement, in the second paragraph -
 20 MR MAHLANGU: Page 2.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Yes?
 22 MS BARNES: There's a reference to
 23 occurred on the NUM office -
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 25 MS BARNES: - and it says "People came

Page 4640

1 out of the NUM office wearing NUM T-shirts, opened fire to
 2 the marchers and one workers was killed on the spot while
 3 others were wounded and taken to hospital." Now did you
 4 not hear about this? This is on Tuesday, the 14th of
 5 August.
 6 MR ZOKWANA: Unfortunately I didn't catch
 7 that statement of AMCU and the alleged killing of people.
 8 MS BARNES: So the first time you heard
 9 about this was at the SAfm interview which took place on
 10 the 15th of August?
 11 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I have said in
 12 my - that when the late comrade Bongo called me on the 12th
 13 he did mention, but not in detail, the fact - not the first
 14 time that people have marched to NUM offices. I didn't get
 15 details thereof up until we were at the interview with Mr
 16 Xolani Gwala that I got details from the president of AMCU.
 17 MS BARNES: If you go to exhibit LL -
 18 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, the interview.
 19 MS BARNES: That's right, the transcript
 20 of the interview you refer to.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: I've got that, yes.
 22 MS BARNES: Now if you go to page 13 of
 23 exhibit LL you'll see that at the top of that page Mr Gwala
 24 refers to a caller that phoned in and talked about the
 25 incident at the NUM office.

Page 4641

1 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 2 MS BARNES: And Mr Gwala says, "Now a
 3 little earlier on there was a witness who spoke to one of
 4 our reporters. He says there was a march on Friday and
 5 when we went past the offices of the NUM, something like
 6 that, we were fired upon." And you then asked what
 7 happened, do you see that?
 8 CHAIRPERSON: He did not ask, Mr Gwala
 9 asked what happened and Mr Zokwana then answers, line 9 and
 10 following.
 11 MS BARNES: Sorry yes, Mr Gwala is
 12 telling you what he's heard from this caller and is asking
 13 you what happened, do you see that?
 14 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I see that, yes.
 15 MS BARNES: And you then say that, "You
 16 know, when people tell lies after the lives of 10 innocent
 17 people" - and you then say that you think AMCU is not
 18 telling the truth, do you see that?
 19 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 20 MS BARNES: But surely, Mr Zokwana, you
 21 were in no position to dispute this at this time on your -
 22 you have said to us that you had no details of what
 23 happened don the 11th of August, isn't that correct?
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Let me explain what I was
 25 disputing on that day, Chairperson. The president of AMCU

Page 4642

1 was making a view that these strikers or marchers were to
 2 march through the NUM to the stadium, then I was showing
 3 him that it would need for them to march past the NUM
 4 office, if you understand the location of the NUM office
 5 vis-à-vis the stadium. It was the issue that we were
 6 dealing with.
 7 MS BARNES: No, sir. This is the first
 8 time that you hear about this. This has not yet been
 9 mentioned in the interview. It is the very first time that
 10 you ever hear about this, on your version, and you accuse
 11 the caller and Mr Mathunjwa of telling lies but on your own
 12 version you know nothing about what happened on -
 13 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson -
 14 CHAIRPERSON: No, he's making another
 15 point. The point he's making, as I understand him, is to
 16 say the allegation was they were walking past the NUM
 17 offices on the way to the stadium and he says that that's
 18 not true because you don't have to go past the NUM offices
 19 to go to the stadium.
 20 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: Do I understand correctly?
 22 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: That's his point.
 24 MS BARNES: That allegation is made
 25 later. This is, in terms of time, the very first time that

Page 4643

1 you hear of this allegation, according to you.

2 CHAIRPERSON: That's not right either, Ms

3 Barnes, I'm sorry to interrupt you. Mr Gwala, on page 13

4 from line 3, is reporting what someone who telephoned the

5 SAfm and spoke to a reporter, had said. And what he says

6 is this, "A little earlier on there was a witness who spoke

7 to one of our reporters. He says there was a march on

8 Friday and when we went past the offices of the NUM,

9 something like that, we were fired upon. What happened?"

10 And that's when he takes it further. Now –

11 MR ZOKWANA: I agree, Chairperson, the

12 conversation was –

13 CHAIRPERSON: Sorry to interrupt. To be

14 fair to Ms Barnes, I thought that that passage actually

15 said in terms that they were on the way to the stadium when

16 they went past. It doesn't say that, so when I intervened

17 and told Ms Barnes that she wasn't understanding the

18 answer, I was actually wrong. I withdraw what I said, so

19 please proceed with the cross-examination.

20 MS BARNES: Very well –

21 CHAIRPERSON: I made –

22 MR BURGER SC: In fairness to the

23 witness, what is being debated here is what happened on

24 Friday the 10th –

25 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

Page 4644

1 MR BURGER SC: Not Saturday the 11th.

2 MR ZOKWANA: Yes -

3 CHAIRPERSON: - cross-examination, if the

4 witness didn't know anything about what happened on either

5 the Friday or the Saturday and therefore it is, the

6 question asked is, how can you deny it and accuse other

7 people of telling lies. I think that's the point of the

8 question. I was aware of the fact - they're actually all

9 talking nonsense because the incident that forms the

10 subject of the present cross-examination happened on the

11 Saturday, whereas at one – on a number of occasions Mr

12 Mathunjwa himself talks about it having happened on the

13 Friday and also a suggestion is that someone phoned the

14 SAfm and spoke to a reporter and spoke about something that

15 happened on the Friday. So there was a fair measure of

16 confusion but I'm not sure that that confusion is a reason

17 for my disallowing Ms Barnes's question. But anyway, she's

18 heard the discussion between us and so has the witness, and

19 presumably they can all proceed, or both of them, in a

20 focused way from now on.

21 MS BARNES: Thank you, Chair. Mr

22 Zokwana, a little later in the transcript, and we'll get to

23 it, there's a debate about where the workers were marching

24 to and which direction they were coming from, but that

25 comes later. This is the first time you hear about an

Page 4645

1 incident at the NUM office and I put it to you that you had

2 no basis on which to accuse the caller and Mr Mathunjwa of

3 lying about the incident since, on your own version, you

4 did not have information. Would you like to comment?

5 [12:02] MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I would like

6 again to say that there is, I agree that the dates are

7 wrong. It's the 12th, but nonetheless if you read point

8 number 15 on page 13, I clearly say AMCU is not telling the

9 truth, not the caller. I was not talking about what the

10 caller was saying. I was saying that the president of AMCU

11 at that point where he was alleging that people were

12 marching past the NUM offices towards the stadium – I

13 wasn't dealing with what happened, I was dealing with the

14 direction they were supposed to take if they would go to

15 wherever they were going, because the debate at that moment

16 –

17 MS BARNES: Sir, Mr Mathunjwa hasn't said

18 it yet. It's only the caller who said it at this time and

19 it's in response to Mr Gwala telling you what the caller

20 has said that you say, "You know when people tell lies."

21 Would you like to comment on that?

22 MR ZOKWANA: My view and my version is

23 that I was debating with Mr Mathunjwa and the issue of the

24 call was made by Mr Gwala.

25 MS BARNES: Sir, you earlier told us that

Page 4646

1 when you spoke to Mr Bongo on Sunday the 12th he said that

2 there had been a previous attempt to invade the NUM

3 offices, those were your words. So for all you know, this

4 could have happened, isn't that correct? For all you knew

5 at the time, what the caller was saying here, happened.

6 Isn't that correct?

7 MR ZOKWANA: I didn't have to rely on

8 anybody telling me of the stadium and where NUM offices

9 are. I was only dealing with the issue that you didn't

10 need to go through, past the NUM office if your aim was

11 marching to where he claimed they were marching.

12 MS BARNES: If you go on in exhibit LL,

13 sir, to page 16 –

14 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I've got that.

15 MS BARNES: This is now the first time

16 that Mr Mathunjwa refers to the incident and you can check

17 the transcript in the break and satisfy yourself. This is

18 the first time it's mentioned by Mr Mathunjwa and he then

19 says, "On Friday" – on Friday, and we know that the date

20 was wrong. He then goes on, if you go on to the next page,

21 page 17, and he says he's received a report from the

22 strikers and they say, "We were shot by NUM and the demands

23 are not directed to NUM. NUM is not a company but we were

24 surprised when they were killing us."

25 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I think –

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 4647</p> <p>1 MS BARNES: I haven't put the question –</p> <p>2 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I think that</p> <p>3 this recording and the way the dates and times were</p> <p>4 presented and how did it flow, would give the impression</p> <p>5 that for first time the matter was mentioned but I put it</p> <p>6 to you, this that – I respond that the matter of the march</p> <p>7 – as I've mentioned before, I get what you're saying, that</p> <p>8 it's only referred to here and I still stand by the fact</p> <p>9 that in the discussion when I spoke of AMCU not telling the</p> <p>10 truth, I was referring to the fact that the march was</p> <p>11 supposed to went past NUM offices.</p> <p>12 MS BARNES: The point is, sir, and I put</p> <p>13 it to you again you had no basis to dispute what Mr</p> <p>14 Mathunjwa was saying, did you?</p> <p>15 MR ZOKWANA: My only basis is that I know</p> <p>16 the area, I know the mine and when I put up to him, he</p> <p>17 could not dispute what I was saying.</p> <p>18 MS BARNES: Now, Mr Mathunjwa has already</p> <p>19 given evidence in this commission of inquiry and you</p> <p>20 indicated that you were not present while he gave his</p> <p>21 evidence, is that correct?</p> <p>22 MR ZOKWANA: But not being present is</p> <p>23 true but the process itself was broadcast on television. I</p> <p>24 was able to follow what was happening.</p> <p>25 MS BARNES: Good, then you will know that</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 4649</p> <p>1 was he? I don't think that's – were you here when Mr</p> <p>2 Mathunjwa was cross-examined?</p> <p>3 MR ZOKWANA: No, Chairperson, I was not.</p> <p>4 CHAIRPERSON: You can ask him if he knows</p> <p>5 that it was put to Mr Mathunjwa but if he says he doesn't,</p> <p>6 I don't know that you can take it much further.</p> <p>7 MS BARNES: Sir, if there was evidence,</p> <p>8 if you had evidence that AMCU was responsible for the</p> <p>9 killing of the two security guards on Sunday the 12th of</p> <p>10 August, you would have given that evidence or you would</p> <p>11 have alerted your legal representatives to that evidence,</p> <p>12 is that correct?</p> <p>13 MR ZOKWANA: I never made the allegation</p> <p>14 in question.</p> <p>15 MS BARNES: Well, if we can go then to</p> <p>16 page 13 of exhibit LL.</p> <p>17 MR ZOKWANA: Yes?</p> <p>18 MS BARNES: On the bottom of page 13 you</p> <p>19 say, "On Friday" – this is you speaking – "and those</p> <p>20 security guards were the people who were at the offices.</p> <p>21 Two of the security guys killed by what I will call AMCU."</p> <p>22 You said this on national radio, is that correct?</p> <p>23 MR ZOKWANA: Where is that?</p> <p>24 MR MAHLANGU: Page 13.</p> <p>25 MR ZOKWANA: Yes but these pages have got</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 4648</p> <p>1 it was not put to Mr Mathunjwa during his evidence before</p> <p>2 this Commission that AMCU had been responsible for the</p> <p>3 killing of security guards on the 12th of August, correct?</p> <p>4 MR ZOKWANA: That was not in the</p> <p>5 Commission, I would not be able to answer questions because</p> <p>6 I was not part of that, for the record of the Commission</p> <p>7 can show that. What I picked was only what I saw in the</p> <p>8 snippets on the news and the news doesn't go into details.</p> <p>9 MS BARNES: I thought you said you</p> <p>10 watched it on TV?</p> <p>11 MR ZOKWANA: What? Chairperson, sorry,</p> <p>12 can you repeat the question?</p> <p>13 MS BARNES: I obviously misunderstood</p> <p>14 your earlier answer that you watched the proceedings of the</p> <p>15 Commission on the television.</p> <p>16 MR ZOKWANA: No, no, I said I only saw</p> <p>17 the Commission through the snippets of the news.</p> <p>18 MS BARNES: Anyway, I can tell you, sir,</p> <p>19 that what I've just indicated to you was not put to Mr</p> <p>20 Mathunjwa in his evidence, do you agree with me?</p> <p>21 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I don't know</p> <p>22 how I would agree to that question because I was not part</p> <p>23 of the Commission as to say yes or no.</p> <p>24 CHAIRPERSON: Do you suggest that – is it</p> <p>25 that he was here when Mr Mathunjwa was cross-examined, or</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 4650</p> <p>1 numbers 20, 25.</p> <p>2 MS BARNES: Page 13 -</p> <p>3 CHAIRPERSON: In fairness I think, Ms</p> <p>4 Barnes, you can't just take passage by itself. I think you</p> <p>5 should go on to probably line 17 on page 14, so the whole</p> <p>6 passage can be read in context. It does say what you said</p> <p>7 at the top of page 14 but then he seems to qualify it a bit</p> <p>8 later. So in fairness to him, you've got to get the whole</p> <p>9 passage. I understand the point you're making which – and</p> <p>10 I also un its relevance, but if you want to drive the point</p> <p>11 home you've got to put the full context to him and not sort</p> <p>12 of, not just one answer.</p> <p>13 MS BARNES: Alright, let's read on. Are</p> <p>14 you with me so far, Mr Zokwana, at the top of page 14?</p> <p>15 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.</p> <p>16 MS BARNES: You then go on to say, "On</p> <p>17 Friday" – no, sorry, that's Mr Gwala, "On Friday" –</p> <p>18 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.</p> <p>19 MS BARNES: Then you say, "At NUM</p> <p>20 offices, yes."</p> <p>21 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.</p> <p>22 MS BARNES: Then Mr Gwala says, "How were</p> <p>23 they killed?" You say "They were in their cars. Guys came</p> <p>24 and they stabbed them and they burned those cars and I saw</p> <p>25 one of those cars being pulled from the shaft and" – and</p>

Page 4651

1 then Mr Gwala says "And they were burnt by AMCU members."
 2 And you then say, "I believe now, having heard to the, from
 3 the president of AMCU that AMCU instigated the march, it is
 4 the style they have been using before. They did this thing
 5 in Impala, they are doing it again." Do you see that?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I see that, yes.
 7 MS BARNES: You have no evidence, though,
 8 that AMCU was responsible for these events. If you had
 9 such evidence you would've given it to your legal
 10 representatives, isn't that correct?
 11 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I repeat, this
 12 was my view based on the historical events in Impala, as
 13 I've referred to. The point I was qualifying was saying
 14 that in that debate, which is not appearing here, the
 15 president of AMCU admitted the fact that they had been to
 16 the mountain, to the koppie to be precise, to the koppie
 17 and that their general secretary had met with the members.
 18 Then I said, if you've been to the koppie, therefore AMCU
 19 is better placed to understand what's happening on the
 20 koppie but given the likeliness of what is happening in
 21 Lonmin, what happened in Impala, I can come to a view that
 22 therefore this may have been – and I can support this,
 23 Chairperson, by going to page, I think it's page 80, a
 24 statement by one of the senior executives of Lonmin, Mr
 25 Bello, in saying to the CEO that this march of AMCU – which

Page 4652

1 I'm not the only one to conclude that AMCU was behind this
 2 march. I never said they killed, I said that AMCU was
 3 behind the march, not they had been killing.
 4 MS BARNES: Sir, you said on the top of
 5 page 14, "Two of the security guards were killed by what I
 6 will call AMCU." You said that on national radio in the
 7 absence of any evidence. Do you think that is responsible,
 8 as a president of a union?
 9 MR ZOKWANA: I understand that in that
 10 meeting I was with the president of AMCU who was able to
 11 dispute what I said and I think he did. We were in an
 12 interview of that day and we were able therefore to put
 13 forward our views and my view therefore was that, given
 14 what happened in Impala, given that there's been this union
 15 that has been in interaction with the strikers, by his own
 16 admission I could – that therefore AMCU would have known of
 17 these developments leading to this march.
 18 MS BARNES: Sir, will you retract this
 19 statement now? Will you retract the allegation that AMCU
 20 was responsible for the death of two security guards now?
 21 MR TIP SC: Chair, before the witness –
 22 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Tip.
 23 MR TIP SC: Before the witness answers
 24 that particular question, this is based on the two lines at
 25 the top of page 14. Regard must be had to the phrase

Page 4653

1 "organised march" and –
 2 CHAIRPERSON: When Ms Barnes read the
 3 passage she actually stopped before the end of the line.
 4 Perhaps it would be helpful if I read the whole thing out
 5 and then you can go on with your – and those in the
 6 auditorium would understand the debate between us. What Mr
 7 Zokwana said is this, Mr Gwala says initially, "What
 8 happened, tell me the truth?" And he says, this is because
 9 he says AMCU is not telling the truth. "The fact is, the
 10 security guys of management were requested by NUM to go and
 11 guard our offices after the meeting was held in the
 12 stadium." Mr Gwala, "On Friday?" Mr Zokwana, "On Friday.
 13 And those security guys were the people who were at the
 14 offices. Two of the security guys were killed by what I
 15 will call AMCU and organised march." Mr Gwala then
 16 interrupts, "On Friday?" Mr Zokwana, "At NUM offices,
 17 yes." Mr Gwala, "How were they killed?" Mr Zokwana, "they
 18 were in their cars, guys came, they stabbed them, they
 19 burnt those cars. I saw one of the cars being pulled to
 20 the shaft." And Mr Gwala then says, "And they were burnt
 21 by AMCU members." Mr Zokwana says this, "I – I believe
 22 now, having heard to the, from the president of AMCU, that
 23 AMCU instigated this march. It is the style they've been
 24 using before. They did this thing in Impala, they are
 25 doing it again." And then Mr Mathunjwa then deals with

Page 4654

1 that. So that's the full passage on which this cross-
 2 examination is based.
 3 MR TIP SC: Yes.
 4 CHAIRPERSON: Do you wish to – now what
 5 exactly is the point you want to make?
 6 MR TIP SC: Well, the point –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: I read that out, so those
 8 in the audience can follow what, the point you're going to
 9 make.
 10 MR TIP SC: There is, with respect,
 11 differences between a proposition that has a full stop at
 12 the end of AMCU and that one that has regard to it being an
 13 organised march or AMCU instigated march, which it quite
 14 clearly, from the context, states.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: Well, Ms Barnes, what do
 16 you say? Sorry, have you –
 17 MR TIP SC: Yes. Thank you, Chair.
 18 CHAIRPERSON: Ms Barnes, what do you say
 19 about that point?
 20 MS BARNES: Well, the whole passage has
 21 now been read. Perhaps I can – I can reformulate my
 22 question to the witness.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: Yes.
 24 MS BARNES: Will you retract any
 25 allegation that AMCU was responsible for the act, any acts

Page 4655

1 of violence that have been referred to on those particular
 2 days?
 3 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I would like to
 4 say this, that it was a view I held, informed by that
 5 meeting, by AMCU that they have been in interaction with
 6 the strikers on Monday. I never accused AMCU of killing.
 7 I said AMCU could have known of this march since they are
 8 part of those interactions. I don't know if it's what I
 9 should – I should withdraw, because I was saying this, that
 10 it is the same carbon paper of what happened in Impala
 11 where strikers will be called, five Madoda, but immediately
 12 the strike ends AMCU will be the union with – to come
 13 forward. I [inaudible] withdraw that, Chairperson.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Zokwana, I hope Ms
 15 Barnes will not be offended if I try to put her point to
 16 you. If she is, if she doesn't want me to, I won't but can
 17 I try and put the point clearly?
 18 MS BARNES: Please, Chair.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: The point being made to you
 20 is this, there was a march, you say it was organised by
 21 AMCU. The march was on the Friday. The security guards
 22 were killed by people on the Sunday. Now you, it's clear
 23 from the passage that was read that you believed that the
 24 people who killed the security guards were AMCU people.
 25 You base that belief, you base that belief on two things,

Page 4656

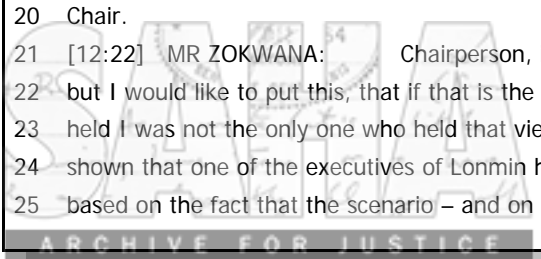
1 as I understand it. Firstly, the statement that the march
 2 on the Friday had been instigated by AMCU and secondly the
 3 fact that it was, as you put it, the style they'd been
 4 using before – they did this thing in Impala, they're doing
 5 it again. So you inferred that because this is what had
 6 happened at Impala and your understanding was it had been
 7 done by AMCU people at Impala, you thought this was now a
 8 repetition of the same kind of conduct at Lonmin, again by
 9 AMCU people. Now, it's clear from what's been put that
 10 this was your inference. You didn't have direct knowledge
 11 that that was so, it was an inference you were drawing and
 12 I think what Ms Barnes wants you to deal with is, in view
 13 of the fact that it was an inference and you had no solid
 14 evidence to back it up, are you now prepared to withdraw
 15 the statement you made of what you believed because there
 16 isn't any evidence, direct evidence which supports what
 17 you've said? Is that your question, Ms Barnes? If I've
 18 got it wrong, please correct me.
 19 MS BARNES: That's correct, thank you,
 20 Chair.
 21 [12:22] MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, if I'm obliged,
 22 but I would like to put this, that if that is the view I
 23 held I was not the only one who held that view as I've
 24 shown that one of the executives of Lonmin have that view,
 25 based on the fact that the scenario – and on that day in

Page 4657

1 question the president of AMCU admitted to the fact that
 2 AMCU had been to the mountain and, Chairperson, I never
 3 said AMCU killed, I said AMCU was behind the march, but
 4 again, Chairperson, it's - of the discussion because if you
 5 go to page 14 - you look on the same sentence, it's
 6 unfinished – to be able to look what I was saying beyond
 7 that because the [inaudible] is that their recording was
 8 poor [inaudible]. The only leader of union who has been to
 9 the koppie, by evidence of the AMCU president, was the AMCU
 10 president and I was saying you said you were interacting
 11 with these workers, you would have known what they were
 12 planning to do. I only linked, Chairperson, AMCU only with
 13 the march, not with the murders.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Zokwana, that's not
 15 strictly accurate. Let me put again to you the point that
 16 Ms Barnes is making. At the foot of page 13 you say,
 17 "Those security guys were the people who were at the
 18 offices. Two of the security guys" – now listen very
 19 carefully to the following words – "Two of the security
 20 guys were killed by what I will call AMCU and organised
 21 march" - it's true that the sentence wasn't finished, but
 22 as far as the sentence had gone you had said two of the
 23 security guards were killed by what I will call AMCU and
 24 organised march. So there was a statement, admittedly
 25 incomplete, but there was a statement that the security men

Page 4658

1 were killed by people you called AMCU people. That's the
 2 statement that Ms Barnes is asking you about. So Ms
 3 Barnes, do you want to ask something further about it
 4 before the witness gets a chance to answer?
 5 MS BARNES: I'd like to give the witness
 6 –
 7 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I would not
 8 find it difficult to say this, that I cannot produce that
 9 evidence but I believe when this process is concluded the
 10 world will know who was behind the march. It was not NUM.
 11 I cannot prove to say it was AMCU but I – Chairperson, I'm
 12 not the only person who held the view that this process
 13 smacks of AMCU footprints as informed by incidents of
 14 Impala. For the sake, Chairperson, I would like to say if
 15 what I said on that day doesn't sit well with AMCU that I
 16 said they were behind the march, because at present I can't
 17 prove that I withdraw that statement.
 18 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Zokwana, it's not as
 19 simple as that. There are actually two days and two
 20 incidents that we're busy with. The one is the march on
 21 the Friday, the second is the killing of the security men
 22 actually on the Sunday. There was confusion in the radio
 23 programme.
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 25 CHAIRPERSON: And I think Ms Barnes is



Page 4659

1 concentrating on the Sunday and presumably, although it's
 2 not for me to put words in her mouth, presumably she will,
 3 may say never mind what happened on the Friday, it may well
 4 have been an AMCU march on the Friday but I'm interested in
 5 the Sunday and she's really trying to get you to withdraw
 6 what you said. I know you believe what you said but that's
 7 a different question. She's trying to get you to withdraw
 8 what you said about what happened on the Sunday. Am I
 9 correct, Ms Barnes?

10 MS BARNES: That's correct, Chair.
 11 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I will – I
 12 repeat to say this that, one, I am not the only person who
 13 held the view at that time and that, and the dates were
 14 messed up. I was not accusing AMCU of having killed. I
 15 was accusing AMCU of having instigated the march that led
 16 in the deaths.

17 CHAIRPERSON: Perhaps easier –
 18 MR ZOKWANA: - reason, Chairperson, I
 19 withdraw any view that may say that I accused AMCU of
 20 organising marches that led to the two deaths.

21 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, we're not busy with
 22 the march, we're busy with the killing on the Sunday but it
 23 seems what you now say may well solve the problem because I
 24 understand you to say you weren't intending to accuse them
 25 of being responsible for the killing on the Sunday. If

Page 4660

1 what you said, it sounded like that, I take it it wasn't –
 2 you now say that wasn't what you intended, so you have no
 3 difficulty withdrawing the –

4 MR ZOKWANA: I'm withdrawing, Chairperson
 5 –

6 CHAIRPERSON: If the suggestion is, if
 7 that's the way it came out, that's not what you intended
 8 and you're sorry and you withdraw it. Is that, would that
 9 be fair?

10 MR ZOKWANA: Yes because -
 11 CHAIRPERSON: Or am I putting words in
 12 your mouth that you're not happy with?

13 MR ZOKWANA: Because, Chairperson, I want
 14 to say, Chairperson, the senior counsel put words to say I
 15 accuse AMCU of killing.

16 CHAIRPERSON: She's not senior counsel
 17 yet, but I'm sure she won't mind your [inaudible]
 18 anticipate –

19 MR ZOKWANA: Alright, the counsel seems
 20 to think that I accused AMCU of murder. I agree,
 21 Chairperson, and I put the point that says this strike,
 22 given what the president of AMCU has said during the
 23 interview, in my view and my past knowledge of how this
 24 organisation organises things, the march was organised at
 25 their behest and I'm saying I withdraw because I'm only

Page 4661

1 saying this, that I don't say AMCU killed, I said AMCU
 2 organised the march that led to the killing. And I
 3 withdraw that, Chairperson – hoping that when the
 4 Commission process, the truth will be clear as to who was
 5 behind those marches because in my history, Chairperson, of
 6 leading workers, workers don't sleep and dream what to do
 7 the following day, they are guided.

8 MS BARNES: Sir, you also have no
 9 evidence that AMCU organised the march, do you?

10 CHAIRPERSON: He's already said that,
 11 he's already withdrawn that. He withdrew that statement
 12 about Friday – you've been trying to get him to withdraw
 13 the statement about the Sunday, which I think he's just
 14 about done so it may well be that you've achieved what you
 15 set out to achieve and you can move on to the next point
 16 but if there's something else that you want to make in
 17 relation to this incident, I won't stop you.

18 MR BURGER SC: Chair, may I just add -
 19 because there was a reference to one of the officials of
 20 Lonmin in this context – may I just add the following. The
 21 people who can tell us as to AMCU's involvement would
 22 presumably be the senior officials of AMCU at Lonmin.
 23 They've been identified, they in fact went to the koppie on
 24 the 12th and spoke to the people. We've recently been
 25 informed that AMCU does not intend to call them.

Page 4662

1 CHAIRPERSON: Inferences may have to be
 2 drawn against them because of their failure to call those
 3 witnesses or alternatively, if it's necessary, we may well
 4 have to call them ourselves. We have the power to do so
 5 and if it's necessary we won't hesitate to use that power
 6 but perhaps Ms Barnes can continue in the meanwhile.

7 MS BARNES: Mr Zokwana, at this stage
 8 now, at the stage of the SAfm interview on the 15th of
 9 August, you know two things. You know, one, that there was
 10 an incident at the NUM offices where, as Mr Bongo put it,
 11 there was an attempt to invade the office. You know that
 12 and the second thing you know is that it is alleged that
 13 people were killed, is that correct?

14 MR ZOKWANA: We have gone there,
 15 Chairperson, when Mr Xolani was quoting what he had from a
 16 caller, is that there had been – but the only contention
 17 was the fact that what route was the march supposed to
 18 take.

19 CHAIRPERSON: I must tell you on my
 20 reading of the transcript, it may be wrong but on my
 21 reading of the transcript he appears to have known about
 22 the march. He thought he knew who instigated it and he
 23 knew about the killing of the security guards on the
 24 Sunday. I couldn't find a passage – I did spend some time
 25 looking for it – which indicates that he knew at that stage

1 already that it was alleged that marching strikers had been
 2 killed on the Saturday, but if there is a passage which
 3 I've missed I'd be grateful if you'd bring it to my
 4 attention, I couldn't see it. Then maybe you're talking
 5 past each other at this stage.
 6 MS BARNES: Perhaps you can go to page
 7 17, sir, of the transcript. There it's Mr Mathunjwa
 8 speaking, it's from line 7 and Mr Mathunjwa is reporting
 9 what he's heard from the striking workers and he says,
 10 "They say" – because there's inverted commas, do you see
 11 that, the last sentence in that paragraph – "We were shot
 12 by NUM and the demands were not directed to NUM, NUM is not
 13 a company but we were surprised when they are killing us."
 14 You'd heard that, is that correct?
 15 MR ZOKWANA: This is what Mr Mathunjwa
 16 said, yes.
 17 MS BARNES: So presumably at this stage
 18 you would've investigated the matter and established the
 19 facts and issued a statement, is that correct?
 20 CHAIRPERSON: I don't understand the
 21 question, Ms Barnes. It appears from what he's now saying
 22 that he heard it for the first time, the allegation that
 23 people had been killed at the NUM office – which we now
 24 know to be untrue – but he appears to be saying that from
 25 the lips of Mr Mathunjwa at the SABC studios on the morning

1 Chairperson, I only heard about these alleged deaths from
 2 the mouth of Mr Mathunjwa and when I left that studio to
 3 the mine, we were going there to ensure that we play any
 4 role we could in defusing the situation.
 5 MS BARNES: I understand all of that, Mr
 6 Zokwana, but surely – given the information you now had
 7 about this incident that occurred sometime over the weekend
 8 at the NUM offices, you would have conducted an
 9 investigation to find out what happened, correct?
 10 MR ZOKWANA: You want to check if we
 11 checked after, or soon after I heard – you mean in the
 12 morning of that Friday I was supposed to have left the
 13 studios to Marikana to verify that, or do you want to know
 14 whether NUM did check to verify these killings?
 15 MS BARNES: Sometime after the 15th, with
 16 some sense of urgency presumably, NUM would have conducted
 17 an investigation into this, isn't this correct?
 18 MR ZOKWANA: Thanks, Chairperson. One of
 19 the reasons why NUM made a submission and presented
 20 witnesses was to clarify this Commission as to what our
 21 information is. NUM did verify that there was no truth to
 22 the fact that there were two people who were killed on the
 23 day in question.
 24 MS BARNES: You knew, Mr Zokwana, that
 25 the strikers on the koppie were saying this. Wasn't it

1 of the 15th. So are you asking him about the possibility of
 2 further investigations and a statement to be issued after
 3 that?
 4 MS BARNES: That's correct, but perhaps
 5 if I can summarise up to now. You have information from Mr
 6 Bongo, but no detail. You have a caller alleging that they
 7 were fired upon and you have Mr Mathunjwa saying he'd heard
 8 from the workers that "NUM is killing us." That's the
 9 information you have at this stage, is that correct?
 10 CHAIRPERSON: This stage being?
 11 MS BARNES: 15th of August.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: In the radio studio on the
 13 morning of the 15th of August.
 14 MS BARNES: That's correct.
 15 MR ZOKWANA: Maybe let me try to detail
 16 to you, counsel – Chairperson, I'm sorry about – I've
 17 withdrawn that already.
 18 CHAIRPERSON: It's fine if you call her
 19 junior counsel.
 20 MR ZOKWANA: Alright. Chairperson,
 21 Chairperson, if the counsel should understand what was
 22 happening that day and the call that was made by the
 23 caller, it was for both of us to go to the mine, make sure
 24 that we talk to the strikers. At that moment what was key
 25 was to do what we could to stop further deaths and also,

1 important for you to find out at that stage, as soon as you
 2 could, what had actually happened?
 3 MR ZOKWANA: I don't want to come to
 4 conclude that the counsel is supposing that I would have
 5 gone to the koppie knowing that I would be killed but let
 6 me answer the question, Chairperson, that at that moment it
 7 was clear that any leader of NUM who would approach the
 8 koppie would be really asking to be killed, as it had been
 9 shown that a number had been killed before. And I've said
 10 that between NUM and the strikers there was no interaction
 11 at all.
 12 MS BARNES: No, sir, I'm not talking
 13 about you going to the koppie. I'm not suggesting that at
 14 all. What I'm saying is that you know there are NUM
 15 members on the koppie, it's a volatile situation and they
 16 are saying that NUM have shot at their members and killed
 17 them. Do you not take steps to find out whether that is
 18 correct or not?
 19 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, in trying to
 20 answer the question, you know, is that if we were able to
 21 link as the reasons why NUM was not able to address those
 22 workers, the only reason given by the strikers to the
 23 security personnel as to why they're marching to NUM was
 24 because NUM was assisting people to go back to work against
 25 the decision of the strikers. There's no mention in that

1 statement of the security personnel who were interacting
 2 with them as to why they were burning the NUM offices. I
 3 can't understand then as to where do we get this view that
 4 says there was another reason why the strikers were willing
 5 to burn or to do harm to NUM. The second thing is that,
 6 Chairperson, we have shown that none of our local officials
 7 or leaders could interact with the strikers at that point.
 8 I don't know how then was I going to be able to verify the
 9 reason why because the reason they didn't want NUM is
 10 because NUM, as per the statement I have read, is that it
 11 has assisted and abetted those who wanted to go back to
 12 work against their decision.

13 MS BARNES: If you had investigated you
 14 would have found that there was an incident where shots
 15 were fired by NUM members and that two strikers were
 16 injured – not killed but injured. Do you agree with me?

17 [12:42] MR ZOKWANA: Again Chairperson, I'm
 18 saying this that there are different versions that it seems
 19 were given by the strikers. One version is consistent in
 20 the statement of Mr Motlogeloa, is that on the day when
 21 they marched, if you read point number 5 of his statement,
 22 the reason they marched is because they were angry. They
 23 were going to burn the NUM office because NUM has assisted
 24 the strikers, the non-strikers to go back to work.

25 CHAIRPERSON: You're not actually

1 were answering something different. So let her put the
 2 next question and I will see where you're answering it. Ms
 3 Barnes, would you like to proceed?

4 MS BARNES: Well, let me put this to you,
 5 Mr Zokwana, that up until this Commission started, we had
 6 no statement from NUM setting out the correct position in
 7 relation to what had happened on the 11th, isn't that
 8 correct?

9 MR ZOKWANA: I think that, Chairperson,
 10 with due respect to the question, all statements were made
 11 during this Commission and the reason the Commission was
 12 appointed was to collect such information. I don't know to
 13 which structure were we supposed to give that statement.

14 CHAIRPERSON: The point seems to be that
 15 you hadn't issued a statement. They will argue later on
 16 that that somehow is a point against you. Your side will
 17 presumably argue it takes the case no further, for the
 18 reason you gave, and we will then have to look at it to see
 19 if there's anything in the point either way. But I would
 20 have thought, Ms Barnes, if you'll forgive me, that you've
 21 got all the juice that you can possibly get out of this
 22 particular lemon, you might like to pick up another one.

23 MS BARNES: Mr Zokwana, at the meeting
 24 that you held at the offices of Lonmin on the 15th of
 25 August, the meeting at which General Mpembe spoke to you,

1 answering the question at the moment and I'm concerned that
 2 an enormous amount of time is being spent on an issue which
 3 may, in the last analysis, not prove terribly helpful to
 4 us. It seems the question has then lost its answer but
 5 it's a matter for argument later, but let me put to you
 6 what I understand Ms Barnes's point to be. I'd be grateful
 7 if you'd answer it because then we save a lot of time.

8 What Ms Barnes says to you, if you had investigated this
 9 allegation about what happened on the Saturday, you would
 10 have discovered a couple of things. You would have
 11 discovered, one, that people were marching to the NUM
 12 office – not on their way, of course, to the stadium –

13 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

14 CHAIRPERSON: - but coming directly to
 15 the NUM office. You would've discovered that shots were
 16 fired by NUM people and you would've discovered that two
 17 people were not killed but two people were injured. What
 18 in fact has happened, as we know, and that's what your
 19 legal team have done, they've investigated what happened
 20 and they've presented evidence as part of NUM's case as to
 21 what happened. Now, what Ms Barnes is busy with is if, at
 22 the time, you had made the investigation that has now been
 23 made by your legal team, you would've discovered those
 24 three facts that I put to you. And that's the springboard
 25 from which she is proposing to ask the next question. You

1 he indicated to you not only that there were NUM members
 2 that were on the koppie, which you already knew, but that
 3 NUM members were part of the leadership of the strike on
 4 the koppie, is that correct?

5 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, correct.

6 MS BARNES: Now surely what you could
 7 have done and should have done is find out who those people
 8 were and attempt to meet with them privately, isn't that
 9 correct?

10 MR ZOKWANA: I think that without maybe
 11 trying to – because I was present when Gcilitshana was
 12 being questioned – Dali Mpofu made a statement, the fact
 13 that those workers were [indistinct] and I'm sure he raised
 14 that from a background of what he has done in
 15 investigating. In any said situation, Ms Barnes, once you
 16 call a section of strikers, your aim is to break them and
 17 there's no way they would allow that to happen - but the
 18 situation, it's not even possible for any leader of NUM to
 19 come near the koppie.

20 MS BARNES: I'm not saying, Mr Zokwana,
 21 that you should have walked up to the koppie. I'm saying
 22 you should have found out the names of the NUM people that
 23 were leaders of the strike and you should have made an
 24 attempt to meet with them privately.

25 MR ZOKWANA: I would like again to say

Page 4671

1 this, that General Mpembe made it clear to us that an
2 urgent action was needed and we were to do things as per
3 his own dictates. It was not for NUM to decide maybe to
4 call for a meeting of our own stewards. It was for all
5 leaders who were there to meet with all the leaders of the
6 strikers.

7 MS BARNES: Did you establish the names
8 of the people that were NUM members that were leading the
9 strike?

10 MR ZOKWANA: I repeat again, I didn't,
11 for one reason – I could only do that if I was having
12 access to the local leadership who know those workers. NUM
13 was at a situation where the people who were supposed to
14 assist with that information were in hiding and the urgency
15 we were having then was to ensure that the sooner we
16 address the strikers, before it was dark, could have meant
17 that to go around and demanding who was leading, not
18 leading the strike, would have taken more time.

19 MS BARNES: Now, when General Mpembe
20 asked you if you would go and address the strikers on the
21 koppie, you agreed to do so. Correct?

22 MR ZOKWANA: In my own statement,
23 Chairperson, I have thought to say when I arrived at the
24 offices and this proposal was made, there was an objection
25 from our local stewards to allow me to the koppie, giving

Page 4672

1 reasons. That was the reason why we had to go for a caucus
2 and after caucusing we agreed that going to the koppie and
3 doing everything we could to prevent any situation that may
4 prevail later.

5 MS BARNES: Yes, it was a difficult
6 situation but you were nevertheless prepared to go and try
7 to do everything that you could and –

8 MR ZOKWANA: The reason, Chairperson, we
9 agreed in the morning during the interview under LLB – LL,
10 sorry – was because we were made aware, not only by the
11 callers, that the only thing we could do as leaders is to
12 ensure that we persuade the strikers to disarm and desist
13 from using violence.

14 MS BARNES: Yes, Mr Zokwana, we agree at
15 least that this approach was very important and I put it to
16 you and I'm sure you'll agree with me that in order to have
17 the best chance of persuading the people to go back to work
18 you had to try, try to do two things. One, try to win
19 their trust and, two, try to give them a way out – in other
20 words a way of dealing with their grievances. You'd agree
21 with that?

22 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, let me say it
23 is true, before you can address people to stop whatever
24 they're doing they must, they should trust you that you are
25 with them, but I'm sure this Commission has been shown

Page 4673

1 videos that detailed what the other party was doing, the
2 party who represent Ms Barnes.

3 MS BARNES: It is more difficult than
4 that, it's more difficult than that. You were going to try
5 to win their trust. When you arrived there, people start
6 singing, "How will we kill NUM? We hate NUM. How will we
7 kill Zokwana? We hate Zokwana." So it's scarcely a
8 situation in which it's easy to gain anyone's trust.

9 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, Chairperson, I agree
10 with them, that to win their trust there are two things one
11 could have done. To deny all the allegations made against
12 you before you arrival, or you will say to them, I agree
13 with all that you have done, you are good citizens, can we
14 go forward. And that would have been contrary to the basic
15 tenet of our beliefs as a union. For years of being a
16 union in that company it cannot happen that a person NUM
17 trusts could have been wished away. A number of incidents,
18 I believe, happened that made to doubt where NUM is
19 standing, as informed by the statements of the witnesses I
20 have referred to, then the other people woke up and say we
21 don't like NUM, we want to kill it. The fact that union
22 leaders sang this song tells a lot.

23 MS BARNES: Sir, what you could've done
24 if you'd got your facts straight is, you could've said to
25 the workers, look, no-one was killed by NUM on Saturday,

Page 4674

1 that is inaccurate. You could've at least corrected that,
2 is that right?

3 MR ZOKWANA: Sorry, Chairperson, I will
4 quote one of, an historian I read about, Joseph Goebbels,
5 the Minister of Propaganda in Germany, when he said, "When
6 a lie is told repeatedly when no truth is told, the lie
7 becomes the truth." In this case NUM could not be on the
8 koppie to defuse the lies told about it, only those who
9 were lying have got access to those members. Hence they
10 were angry, they were against NUM, they got killed.

11 MS BARNES: Sir, it appears that even you
12 didn't know the truth at that stage because you hadn't
13 investigated it, isn't that correct?

14 MR ZOKWANA: The truth I know, Ms Barnes,
15 is that the strike was illegal. Carrying those arms was
16 against any policy of this country. Gathering everywhere
17 you want to, was wrong. Killing people cannot be anybody's
18 right, that truth I know.

19 MS BARNES: Chair, I see it's just before
20 1 o'clock. I'm almost done, I just have one more section
21 to do but perhaps this would be an appropriate time.

22 CHAIRPERSON: I think it would be best to
23 deal with it after the lunch adjournment. We will resume
24 at 1:30 in order to make up for the fact that this was a
25 late start, which we were going to do that anyway – we will

1 adjourn at this stage till half past one.
 2 [COMMISSION ADJOURNS COMMISSION RESUMES]
 3 [13:42] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes. Mr
 4 Zokwana, you're still under oath. Ms Barnes, before you
 5 proceed with your cross-examination, I just want to say
 6 I've decided to alter the sequence of cross-examination. I
 7 did indicate that Mr Mpofu would cross-examine after you.
 8 It occurs to me in view of some of the evidence that the
 9 witness gave in relation to his conversation with the
 10 minister, it would be appropriate for me to call on Ms
 11 Nkosi Thomas to cross-examine next if there's anything she
 12 wishes to put in relation to the conversation with the
 13 minister. Mr Mpofu would obviously appreciate being able
 14 to cross-examine on that as well, and not have to deal with
 15 this later. So Ms Nkosi Thomas is here. I take it she's
 16 heard what I said. Ms Barnes?
 17 MS BARNES: Thank you, Chair.
 18 MS THOMAS SC: Chairperson, if I may at
 19 this stage, I'm not sure if this is a proper moment to
 20 address you, Chair and honourable Commissioners, about this
 21 whole cross-examination issue. Should we do that now or
 22 perhaps at a later stage?
 23 CHAIRPERSON: As I've indicated to you,
 24 I'm going to call on you and give you an opportunity to
 25 cross-examine next. You don't have to avail yourself of

1 it, but if you choose to do so and put material in
 2 relation, possibly get answers from the witness relating to
 3 his conversation with the minister, it will then enable Mr
 4 Mpofu to cross-examine further on that.
 5 MS THOMAS SC: The only request that that
 6 would have been for, Chairperson and honourable
 7 Commissioners, to let Mr Mpofu to go in first because we're
 8 still taking instructions on this specific issue, and our
 9 instructions are to –
 10 CHAIRPERSON: Well, don't tell me what
 11 your instructions are. You're taking instructions.
 12 MS THOMAS SC: Thank you –
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofu, I tried to
 14 shorten proceedings. We'll have to do it the long way.
 15 Anyway, Ms Barnes, please carry on.
 16 MS BARNES: Mr Zokwana, when you
 17 addressed the workers on the 15th of August 2012 at the
 18 koppie, you could have from within the safety of the Nyala,
 19 you could have said to them the following, and I'm going to
 20 put this to you and I want you to please comment. You
 21 could have said to them, "Look, although there's a two-year
 22 wage agreement, that agreement can still be changed; we can
 23 still entertain fresh demands. Go back to work. Give us a
 24 mandate and we will negotiate for you." Isn't it true that
 25 you could have said that?

1 MR ZOKWANA: Thanks, Chairperson. As a
 2 union, or trade unions, we have got ways of addressing our
 3 members and one of those was to assure them that going back
 4 to work was not the end of their demands, but that such
 5 demands can only be dealt with when law and order is
 6 retained, and when nobody will be threatened with violence.
 7 That I did, because one of the key things, Chairperson, you
 8 should do as a leader, is never to leave an impression that
 9 you want a shortcut to be applauded when the truth is not
 10 being told. You rather have people understanding what is
 11 it about to happen. To me as a person, the issue of the
 12 agreement of two years or three years was not an issue. As
 13 I've said here that at national level the issue of how many
 14 years the agreement has been signed has no bearing to the
 15 matter in question being addressed. The fact is that those
 16 members were not willing at that point to listen to NUM.
 17 Let me put it in answer [inaudible], even management was
 18 saying we cannot negotiate with people on an illegal strike
 19 armed, meaning that had people agreed to disperse,
 20 proceedings, and we agreed that NUM would be their agent,
 21 we could have let the following day to go forward, provided
 22 they give us a mandate.
 23 MS BARNES: Yes, but the simple point, Mr
 24 Zokwana, is that you didn't make it clear to the workers
 25 that notwithstanding the two-year agreement, NUM could

1 still assist them if they gave them a mandate. Did you?
 2 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I did not see
 3 the issue of two-year agreement as a hindrance in us
 4 engaging, provided the environment and the atmosphere was
 5 perfect, and Chairperson, I made the [inaudible] in 2005,
 6 the same kind of agreement was signed with Lonmin. When
 7 members came to NUM in a decent way, Lonmin management was
 8 willing to listen. That agreement was changed and we were
 9 able to establish peace in the industry. What was wrong
 10 this time was the issues of violence, killing of people,
 11 sitting in koppies, because in the mining industry,
 12 Chairperson, we hold our meetings in stadiums. We don't go
 13 to mountains to handle such processes.
 14 MS BARNES: Let's look at what you did
 15 say on the 15th. I'd like to hand up the statement of Mr
 16 Simphiwe Booi. He's going to give evidence in this
 17 Commission. The parties are already in possession of the
 18 statement, if I could just, the statement could be made
 19 available to the Commissioners and to the witness.
 20 CHAIRPERSON: Ms Pillay, what do you
 21 suggest we should call this? Obviously Mr Booi is going to
 22 come and give evidence, so presumably logically it would be
 23 the first exhibit – Mr Mpofu, you turned your light on.
 24 MR MPOFU: I'm sorry, Chairperson, to
 25 interrupt. I just wanted to point out that this might be

Page 4679

1 an older version of that statement. There is a revised
 2 statement of Booi, which has been distributed as well. I
 3 don't think it makes any difference to the point that –
 4 CHAIRPERSON: Alter the exhibit, it
 5 doesn't alter the exhibit number, so let's sort that out
 6 first while you're finding out from Ms Barnes whether she's
 7 using the old or new version.
 8 MR MPOFU: I have found out –
 9 CHAIRPERSON: Ms Pillay, I imagine,
 10 seeing, it will probably be CCC1, would you think? I'm in
 11 your hands.
 12 MS PILLAY: Chair, it would be BBB3.
 13 That's the way we've done it in the past. Even though a
 14 witness –
 15 CHAIRPERSON: It would be triple?
 16 MS PILLAY: BBB3.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: That's the next one that
 18 follows from where we are, but I thought in –
 19 MS PILLAY: That's right.
 20 CHAIRPERSON: If that's what you suggest,
 21 we'll do it.
 22 MS BARNES: Alright, do you have the
 23 statement in front of you, Mr Zokwana?
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 25 MS BARNES: Now this is a statement by Mr

Page 4680

1 Booi who is going to give evidence in this Commission. He
 2 was on the koppie when you addressed the people on the 15th
 3 of August 2012. You understand that?
 4 MR ZOKWANA: Ja, I'm told that
 5 [inaudible] Mr Booi in one of those crowds.
 6 MS BARNES: I'd like you to look at what
 7 Mr Booi says you said to the workers on the 15th, if you
 8 could go to paragraph 36 of the statement, and if you could
 9 please read just that paragraph into the record.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: I think if you'd read it
 11 into the record for the benefit of those in the auditorium
 12 who will be very puzzled if the questions proceed on the
 13 basis of a paragraph that's very important, that they're
 14 ignorant about.
 15 MS BARNES: Perhaps the witness can read
 16 the paragraph. Just paragraph 36, please. If you could
 17 read it into the record, Sir.
 18 CHAIRPERSON: Perhaps if you read it. He
 19 might be a bit grumpy about some of the things, I think you
 20 should read it. You can read it less grumpily than he
 21 will.
 22 MS BARNES: Alright, I'll read it into
 23 the record.
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 25 MS BARNES: "On the 15th of August 2012,

Page 4681

1 NUM president Mr Senzeni Zokwana arrived around 6 o'clock
 2 and said we must go to work. We asked him what about the
 3 money we were demanding. He said if we did not want to go
 4 to work, the police will have to do their work. He said he
 5 would leave us to call president "Nyanaya" AMCU, which can
 6 be loosely translated as little or so-called president of
 7 AMCU. He was speaking from a Nyala. I did not see him,
 8 but I recognised his voice."
 9 CHAIRPERSON: The copy that I've got is
 10 dated December 2012, although the date isn't filled in and
 11 it's unsigned. Is this indeed the latest copy of the
 12 statement?
 13 MS BARNES: No, Chair, the –
 14 CHAIRPERSON: If it isn't, you know we'd
 15 better put the latest one in instead.
 16 MR MPOFU: Yes -
 17 CHAIRPERSON: If it's the latest one then
 18 we've got it.
 19 MS BARNES: The latest one is February
 20 2013, but this paragraph is –
 21 MR MPOFU: Is the same.
 22 MS BARNES: - is identical, but the –
 23 CHAIRPERSON: I see. No, it's okay.
 24 MS BARNES: We will have to hand up the
 25 more recent February 2013 statement in due course.

Page 4682

1 CHAIRPERSON: Alright.
 2 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I think the, Ms
 3 Barnes has read my own statement, and one thing as myself,
 4 President – sorry, Chairperson, I would never go so low as
 5 to describe another leader of another union because that
 6 president "Nyanaya," which you may not have pronounced
 7 properly, means a person you regard as a smaller than
 8 yourself. I wouldn't do that. NUM would not go so low as
 9 to deal with other organisation. We have been trained to
 10 deal with issues affecting us, than to deal with other
 11 unions, so that workers when they make their choice, it's
 12 not about us ridiculing others. The statement is not only
 13 wrong, but is a lie.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: In dealing with the fourth
 15 sentence in that paragraph, what do you say about the third
 16 sentence, which I should read again. "He said if we did
 17 not want to go to work, "the police will have to do their
 18 work."
 19 MR ZOKWANA: Given, Chairperson, the
 20 short time I could have in talking to those workers, with
 21 the manner that I'm sure the, this Commission has been made
 22 aware in videos, it was impossible for me to detail what I
 23 was saying. What I did say was people should disarm to
 24 allow the police to do their work. The issues they are
 25 raising will be dealt with at relevant structures. By that

Page 4683

1 moment already the singing went louder and the clashing of
2 arms, which was mistaken to be hands by one other leader in
3 this Commission.

4 MS BARNES: Mr Zokwana, I put it to you,
5 and this is what we're going to argue at the end of this
6 Commission, that you took no steps during the week of the
7 9th to the 16th of August to establish the facts or to
8 engage in order to find a solution to the matter. Would
9 you like to comment on that?

10 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I have made
11 this statement that what created a problem for NUM was the
12 fact that not only the attempt to burn our office, but also
13 that we lost a number of leaders in the, on the mine, as
14 well as that our leaders have to go to hiding.
15 Notwithstanding that, nonetheless we have made attempts
16 like going to the mine, making sure that the security
17 arrangements are made, as well as making sure that we avail
18 ourselves on the day in question. It was limited,
19 Chairperson, for NUM because one you'd get cut off from the
20 people you are supposed to talk to, and I think that,
21 Chairperson, it will be clearer at the end as what cut us
22 off, because people we have led for many years changed
23 against us. It's not accidental. We're informed that not
24 only the songs were sung against NUM, but were labelled as
25 part of management, as part of the system, as refusing to

Page 4684

1 open up negotiations, and it's clear, Chairperson, that
2 people who believed that they have got a genuine case,
3 would look at you as being opposed to what they are looking
4 for. So whoever was planning these strikes, whoever was
5 behind its planning, made their point that NUM is
6 discredited. So if you are asking what NUM could have
7 done, what could we have done if people were killing our
8 leaders? What could we have done if people don't want to
9 listen to us? What we could have done if they were
10 planning to burn our offices? Because they refused to have
11 NUM negotiating on their behalf. You can only be able to
12 engage the employers when those you came to represent
13 accept you as their leader.

14 [14:02] MS BARNES: You yourself in your
15 evidence, Mr Zokwana, have referred to the people on the
16 koppie as "NUM in transit or un-NUM." We will argue that
17 the evidence shows that you were not interested in engaging
18 with the people on the koppie and that you were happy for
19 the police to come and break the strike. Would you like to
20 comment on that?

21 MR ZOKWANA: Ms Barnes yesterday said –
22 careful of statements we make. To come to that conclusion
23 that NUM was happy when the police came and did what they
24 did, is not only far from the truth, but is not – NUM has
25 got a record of – as long as the strike allows interaction

Page 4685

1 – and we've been able to resolve strikes where members
2 still regard us as their agent. But it is untrue to put a
3 view that says NUM was happy to see what happened. It
4 conforms, by the way, to what was made to be the case by
5 those you represent, in saying that NUM has called the
6 police to do what they did. Let me put it to saying, Ms
7 Barnes, why I'm raising this response, is that if you read
8 page 39 of the statement, it confirms what we have been
9 saying that wrong insinuations were made about NUM at the
10 koppie, that NUM was sitting with the employer and AMCU was
11 not allowed to go in. Same statement you are reading
12 confirms that these members on the koppie were told that
13 NUM was colluding with the employer, meeting behind doors,
14 refusing to allow AMCU on. I don't know what aim was that
15 statement meant to create in view of those workers on NUM.

16 MS BARNES: Thank you, Chair. I have no
17 further questions.

18 MR ZOKWANA: Thank you.

19 CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Ms Barnes. Mr
20 Mpofo.

21 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
22 Before I commence, I just want to comment on your earlier
23 suggestion put to Ms Nkosi Thomas, just to indicate that if
24 she does get instructions and she wants to do the cross-
25 examination before I finish, I won't mind, at an

Page 4686

1 appropriate stage. Maybe me and her we can talk, because I
2 do accept, Chair, that your suggestion –

3 CHAIRPERSON: No, I don't think that's a
4 good idea. You cross-examine. When you're finished, I'll
5 give her a chance, depending – she may not ask anything.
6 Depending what she asks, I'll then have to give everyone an
7 opportunity –

8 MR MPOFU: Perfect.

9 CHAIRPERSON: - who wishes to do so in
10 order, as it were, to deal with the new matter.

11 MR MPOFU: Yes.

12 CHAIRPERSON: So I think you just finish
13 your cross-examination.

14 MR MPOFU: Okay, thanks, Chairperson.

15 CHAIRPERSON: And we will then see
16 whether she has any cross-examination.

17 MR MPOFU: At that stage, ja. Thank you,
18 Chairperson. Good afternoon, Mr Zokwana.

19 MR ZOKWANA: Afternoon.

20 MR MPOFU: You remember the, I have to
21 start this on a very conciliatory note. I made some
22 suggestion when I was cross-examining one of the NUM guys –

23 MR ZOKWANA: Gcilitshana.

24 MR MPOFU: - witness, Gcilitshana, yes,
25 about you having been shown photographs to prove that there

Page 4687

1 were NUM members. Remember that?

2 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

3 MR MPOFU: Yes, and I thereafter made a
4 retraction. I think you were in the room, that since
5 you're there I think I wanted to take the apology to,
6 rather the opportunity to increase the retraction into an
7 apology. It was not meant to mislead.

8 MR ZOKWANA: Accepted.

9 MR MPOFU: Okay, and perhaps before Mr
10 Semenya says anything, it also, that apology is extended to
11 General Mpenbe as well.

12 MR SEMENYA SC: We'll relay the message
13 to General Mpenbe.

14 MR MPOFU: Thank you. Right, Mr Zokwana,
15 now that that's behind us, I will come back to your
16 attitude, or rather the attitude that you displayed about
17 going to the mountain, but at a later stage.

18 MR ZOKWANA: Okay.

19 MR MPOFU: Now I just wanted, you know,
20 for the Commission just to understand that you are a very
21 important witness who might give us some unique insight, Mr
22 Tip did introduce you but I don't think he did complete
23 justice. You are, as we know, the president of the NUM;
24 you have been since 2000.

25 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

Page 4688

1 MR MPOFU: You also hold a very important
2 position in the ANC. You are a member of the national
3 executive committee, having been elected in Mangaung.
4 Correct? Which is the ruling party.

5 MR ZOKWANA: On my personal capacity as
6 an ANC member I was elected, not for being NUM president.
7 There's no relationship between the two.

8 MR MPOFU: Yes, no sorry, I'm sure you
9 misunderstood me. I was not linking the two.

10 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I accept what you are
11 saying.

12 MR MPOFU: And you also hold, what
13 position do you hold in the South African Communist Party?

14 MR ZOKWANA: As a member of the South
15 African Communist Party, Chairperson, I'm the national
16 chairperson of the party.

17 MR MPOFU: Right, so you're the
18 chairperson of the Politburo.

19 MR ZOKWANA: I'm the chairperson of South
20 African Communist Party, a member of the PB.

21 MR MPOFU: Of the PB.

22 MR ZOKWANA: Correct. So before you go
23 on, maybe to help you, I'm also the chairperson of the
24 Energy Water SITA.

25 MR MPOFU: No, that I -

Page 4689

1 MR ZOKWANA: I'm making sure that all the
2 - you don't ask me, I tell you before.

3 MR MPOFU: You have been warned about
4 that. Thank you. Thank you anyway, but the chairperson
5 has warned you about trying to answer the next question,
6 but we'll - therefore, would it be correct to say that in
7 the political life of the country you hold quite a unique
8 position, being maybe one of few people that you can count
9 with your hands, who sit in the central executive committee
10 of COSATU, National executive of the ANC and the Politburo
11 of the SACP?

12 MR ZOKWANA: I wouldn't agree with that
13 because in the nature of the alliance historically members
14 of the, of COSATU, the party and the ANC were sitting in
15 all positions, as long as they [inaudible] of their
16 different roles in those different organisations.

17 MR MPOFU: Yes, thank you. No, don't get
18 me wrong, Mr Zokwana, I'm not criticising the phenomenon.
19 I'm simply saying you are one of a few people in South
20 Africa now, not historically, who sits in all those three
21 important structures.

22 MR ZOKWANA: I will disagree with that
23 because the president of COSATU, Sidumo Dlamini, sits in
24 all.

25 MR MPOFU: Yes, anyone else that you can

Page 4690

1 think of?

2 MR ZOKWANA: Majola.

3 MR MPOFU: Anyone else?

4 MR ZOKWANA: Oh, there are many. If I'm
5 going to count it, Chairperson, how many, maybe I must
6 bring the ANC document to check who sits where and what I'm
7 saying that it is not, it's not only me. There are many
8 currently who are sitting in those.

9 MR MPOFU: No, I didn't say it was you.
10 I said you can count them in your hands. That doesn't mean
11 it's only you. It means it's less than five, but anyway,
12 let's move on. You accept that you can count them on one
13 hand?

14 MR ZOKWANA: I'm, I wouldn't like to
15 venture into that and confirm, because I haven't done that
16 counting.

17 MR MPOFU: Okay, I have. Right, now
18 reason I'm asking you this is because among others, I'm
19 sure that you hold a particular view about the relationship
20 between labour, capital and the State. Correct?

21 MR ZOKWANA: And that view will be
22 informed by the conditions applying at home. If you're
23 asking me about that view, if I was in another country,
24 maybe I would say yes, I do, but I must take into account
25 the conditions we work under in our own country, and apply

Page 4691

1 that principles, informed by the conditions as they apply.
 2 MR MPOFU: Okay, please once again, don't
 3 answer the next question. I only asked you a simple
 4 question, whether you have a view –
 5 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I do.
 6 MR MPOFU: Yes, thank you. That would
 7 have sufficed. And that view, well you're a Marxist-
 8 Leninist, correct?
 9 MR ZOKWANA: That is a [inaudible] that
 10 guides my way of work.
 11 MR MPOFU: Yes, we'll do. Now as far as
 12 I know, in terms of that ideology the relationship between
 13 capital and labour is inherently antagonistic. Is that
 14 correct?
 15 MR ZOKWANA: Lenin prescribed that such
 16 conditions will never be resolved, but it further informs
 17 me that the only way you can be able to minimise the extent
 18 to which capital exploits is to have strong trade unions
 19 that lead and engage in negotiations.
 20 MR MPOFU: Okay, Mr Zokwana, once again
 21 you are running ahead of me. You're quite right that -
 22 actually it's Marx, ja, but Lenin does say that that
 23 relationship is irreconcilable, correct? Agreed?
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 25 MR MPOFU: And as far as the State is

Page 4692

1 concerned, Lenin says that the State is an instrument of
 2 oppression of one class by another. Correct? Agreed?
 3 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 4 MR MPOFU: And that there's no such thing
 5 as a neutral state. It either is a capitalist state, it's
 6 an instrument to oppress the working class. If it's a
 7 social state I suppose it's an instrument to support the
 8 working class, correct?
 9 MR ZOKWANA: Generally yes, but such
 10 conditions can be mitigated by the role of other classes.
 11 In this case strong trade unions can dent the intention of
 12 capital and influence the State. Hence our situation is
 13 unique.
 14 MR MPOFU: Thank you. In other words, in
 15 that tension the trade unions are fundamentally there to
 16 intervene on the side of the working class?
 17 MR ZOKWANA: That is correct.
 18 MR MPOFU: And they should never be found
 19 siding with either capital or the State against the working
 20 class.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: It's difficult to concur
 22 with you without understanding, because in any environment,
 23 whatever you do there will be those who disagree with you.
 24 As the case is, it means if we disagree with the fact that
 25 the situation in China is the best in the world, nor is it

Page 4693

1 in Cuba, so in every environment you will find those who
 2 will differ with that view.
 3 [14:22] Chairperson, my studies or my readings or my
 4 training the union, I was told that trade unions should
 5 remain reformists. They are not formed to change the
 6 state, they are to mitigate the extent which people can be
 7 oppressed by the ruling classes. They don't become an
 8 instrument to change the state. They always work within
 9 that system.
 10 MR MPOFU: But is correct that COSATU,
 11 which is a member, rather an affiliation that you belong
 12 to, believes that that narrow view of trade unions should
 13 be extended to matters of the state?
 14 MR ZOKWANA: I may not be able to agree
 15 with you, counsellor Mpofo, on the basis that it depends in
 16 which context are you putting that point because COSATU
 17 will not only be stuck with labour issues. If for instance
 18 this issue of the electricity hikes through - COSATU will
 19 have a view, if it's the matter of tollgates, that view is
 20 not in as far as saying we are now a fickle party whose
 21 aim is to led. It's where it becomes the format, the form
 22 comes from.
 23 MR MPOFU: Okay. Okay, I will stop that
 24 discussion interesting as it might be before the
 25 Chairperson intervenes.

Page 4694

1 MR ZOKWANA: Alright.
 2 MR MPOFU: Can we accept that typically,
 3 at least it is the view of the NUM that typically the state
 4 and capital collude against the workers and that's one of
 5 the reasons why the NUM was formed?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, in answering
 7 the question I will refer the counsellor to the stages or
 8 phase in which NUM has operated. When NUM was formed in
 9 '82, we were under a racist state that was anti-workers in
 10 terms of its laws, in terms of its behaviour when there are
 11 strikes. Under the current regime we are in a situation
 12 where we believe that the current Labour Relations Act was
 13 highly influenced by COSATU. It has improved the role of
 14 workers. It has given workers the right to go to a strike,
 15 a right that didn't exist before. Therefore it is
 16 difficult to answer the question as if the situation has
 17 been the same since NUM was formed.
 18 MR MPOFU: Alright, I'm just going to
 19 read you something from the NUM website and without
 20 burdening the record, I will only make it an exhibit if
 21 there is a debate about it. It's under NUM history and
 22 that's the website printed today, not historically. Okay,
 23 it says "the history of the National Union of Mineworkers
 24 is a history of class struggle. This struggle is embedded
 25 in the inherent contradictions that exist between capital

Page 4695

1 and labour. For their own survival and dignity the workers
2 learnt through history that unity was strength, hence the
3 logic of forming trade unions at the work place. This
4 alone has cemented the strength of coming together but more
5 so believe, so the belief through solidarity". I take it
6 you agree with that?

7 MR ZOKWANA: I agree, Chairperson,
8 because one of our founding principles of trade unions is
9 the principle of an injury to one is an injury to all. The
10 ability of workers organised we have seen the framework of
11 the law acting in a way that they complimented each other.
12 That applies in that context.

13 MR MPOFU: And you would agree with me
14 that of these three components, capital, state and labour,
15 the labour is invariably the weakest and most vulnerable,
16 correct?

17 MR ZOKWANA: It depends, Chairperson, on
18 the political choice or choices labour has taken. In our
19 context the fact that COSATU is part of the alliance not of
20 the ANC an alliance, meaning that the chief components in
21 government, the ANC, the party and COSATU are in alliance.
22 A number of legislations that go through, COSATU has an
23 input. I can't therefore regard us as the weakest. Yes,
24 in general in some countries I can agree with Zimbabwe, I
25 will say yes you know the weakest but not here.

Page 4697

1 difficult to concur with Mr Mpofu, depending on where one
2 stands. In this country before a company can lay off
3 workers, there are processes that the law requires for them
4 to go through. When a worker is dismissed, you can't just
5 dismiss in a worker in the morning if those workers are
6 organised without facing the law going forward. Yes, in
7 terms of the ability employers have got one power, if they
8 can stop investing there would be no trade unions. But our
9 law is such that it has got 50 valves for workers. One of
10 those would be the right to strike. When you apply the law
11 you can be able to force the employer to do certain things
12 as long as you are within the law. It is when you divert
13 the law and disregard it that you are exposed to severe
14 situations that NUM was avoiding in Marikana.

15 MR MPOFU: So your view is that the
16 massacre at Marikana was caused because the people did not
17 obey the law?

18 MR ZOKWANA: With due respect,
19 Chairperson, I have never alluded to that. I never made a
20 statement that seeks to condone the killing of people in
21 Marikana and I hope that as Mr Mpofu is putting that view,
22 he is not basing it on my statement. And I am,
23 Chairperson, from the level of the shop stewards we are
24 pleading with our members not to embark on an illegal
25 strike. NUM has been saying let us deal with these issues

Page 4696

1 MR MPOFU: Well to cut it short, I will
2 suggest to you that that is definitely not correct. There
3 is no country in the world now as we speak where the labour
4 or the workers have stronger powers than the state or
5 capital, let alone a combination of the two.

6 MR ZOKWANA: That is debatable
7 Chairperson, and I agree with Mpofu, we are not here to run
8 a lesson of political choices. If you go to China the
9 secretary of the Federation of the Chinese Workers will be
10 occupying a very senior position in many companies. If you
11 go to Cuba, trade unions sit and decide on how they will
12 distribute their productivity. To it depends what
13 formation and I don't think that we can agree with Mpofu on
14 that, because I don't think it's correct to claim that yes
15 in as far as the global climate and the challenge is
16 therefore, I would partly but not to say that workers have
17 no powers in all countries.

18 MR MPOFU: Okay, once again I will move
19 on because I know that you know that I did not say that
20 workers have no power. I was doing a comparison between
21 three components but be that as it may, in South Africa,
22 lets come to South Africa would you agree that at the
23 present juncture labour or the workers in general are in a
24 weaker position as opposed to capital and the state?

25 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, again it is

Page 4698

1 within the ambit of the LRA. When we say that Chairperson,
2 we are not saying that any form of force was qualified to
3 be used whenever. If what Mr Mpofu is saying he wants to
4 predict that NUM therefore wants to say the police have the
5 right to do what they did, he is wrong.

6 MR MPOFU: Okay, Mr Zokwana, once again I
7 don't want to waste time I'm going to move on, but you know
8 as well as I do that I am basing what I said on your
9 statement. You and I were here debating issues about Cuba
10 and all sorts of places. You are the one who brought
11 Marikana into the discussion by saying that if people do
12 things within the law, things such as those that happened
13 in Marikana would not happen.

14 MR ZOKWANA: In Marikana President not
15 only people were killed, which was very-very unfortunate.
16 But people lost their work, Mr Mpofu, when the strike was
17 over, over 1 000 workers could not find work after that.
18 The point NUM is putting, not debating the issue of how
19 many were killed and how. For that we are saying to those
20 families who are with them we feel that was not the price
21 they were supposed to pay. I speak about how workers gets
22 what it deserves, Chairperson, when a strike is legal.
23 That the legal - from the country protects workers from
24 being expelled, from being dismissed when they are in a
25 strike that is lawful it allows channels of negotiations.

Page 4699

1 The point I'm putting, so Mr Mpofo must not come with his
2 own ideas to come and say NUM is saying that the police
3 were right to have done what they did. I'm not saying
4 that.

5 MR MPOFU: Okay, once again you were the
6 first one to mention Marikana and you were the first one to
7 mention the police. Don't ascribe that to me.

8 CHAIRPERSON: That's not a question, Mr
9 Mpofo. Please confine yourself to asking questions.

10 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, I'm trying
11 to cut this short because otherwise I will have to do it by
12 a series of questions. I appreciate what you are saying,
13 Chairperson. Let's just agree on one thing, Mr Zokwana,
14 that it is undesirable from the point of view of workers to
15 be saying to the situation where the state and business or
16 capital is colluding against them. They have no chance of
17 success in that kind of duel, would you agree?

18 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, in answering
19 the question, NUM was amongst those unions that campaigned
20 for the Labour Relations Act. When the commission of
21 Professor Viaan and Riekert was formed, culminating with
22 its recommendations that recognised trade unions, NUM knew,
23 Chairperson, that there was an instrument that would
24 mitigate the scenario that Mr Mpofo is coming up with.
25 Within the ambit of the law, working within structures,

Page 4700

1 workers can be able to put one pressure on employers
2 refusing to go to work within the law, putting pressure on
3 the employers and I don't foresee any government in this
4 country that would say go back to work because capital is
5 losing money. I know that what and only in our neighbours
6 in Zimbabwe, not here.

7 [14:42] Yes, Chairperson, lastly I will agree with you,
8 Mr Mpofo, where there's no clearly defined Labour Relations
9 Act empowering workers to put pressure on employers with
10 the right to strike, the situation you are painting is
11 possible.

12 MR MPOFU: Well okay, I don't know what
13 you have against the Zimbabweans, but I put it to you that
14 that situation happens in every capitalist state, since you
15 and I had agreed that in a capitalist state, the state is
16 an instrument of the ruling class.

17 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, one would dwell
18 on our neighbouring country. Maybe I was wrong to mention
19 Zimbabwean and so, but I know very well that the president
20 of the Zimbabwean electrical workers, who is a colleague of
21 us, as we speak he's on suspension because he took a
22 strike, trying to force the company to implement a wage
23 agreement reached by all. But don't think, we were not
24 there, by the way, Chairperson. I withdraw that reference,
25 but coming to the situation at home, I repeat, Chairperson,

Page 4701

1 that our labour relations, our legal framework in dealing
2 with labour issues, I don't know of any company after an
3 agreement is reached through bargaining, can regain, can
4 renege against such. That's why even this morning the
5 Minister of Labour has promulgated new wages for farm
6 workers. It shows that our labour relation framework
7 functions, and I think that our labour is such that it can
8 be able to bend the aspirations of employers. If your
9 answer was to say how was my experience before NUM was
10 formed, I will say yes, the situation you're creating is
11 true. If you ask now, I will say where there may be some,
12 there's some witness then there, but at least the law is
13 such that it gives workers the right to strike.

14 MR MPOFU: Okay, the question was simply
15 whether you agree that it's undesirable for the State to
16 collude with capital against the workers.

17 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I'm really
18 struggling to understand how to answer that question.

19 CHAIRPERSON: I don't understand
20 immediately the relevance of the question, but presumably
21 Mr Mpofo will explain that to us later, but all he asks you
22 is do you agree that it's undesirable for the State to
23 collude with capital against the workers, and I would have
24 thought, regard being had to the high offices you hold, you
25 would have no difficulty in saying it's very undesirable

Page 4702

1 that the State should collude with capital against the
2 workers.

3 MR ZOKWANA: I get that, Chairperson, and
4 the answer is no. We would not [inaudible] Mpofo approve
5 of where capital and –

6 MR MPOFU: The State.

7 MR ZOKWANA: - the State work in
8 collusion in denying workers their defined rights as
9 contained in the Labour Relations Act.

10 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. I'm
11 indebted to the chairperson. Do you also agree that it
12 would be undesirable for organised labour to collude with
13 capital against unorganised labour?

14 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.

15 MR MPOFU: Thank you, and then you must
16 certainly agree that if there's a tripartite collusion with
17 the State, capital and organised labour, that unorganised
18 labour then doesn't stand a chance?

19 MR ZOKWANA: I don't agree with that,
20 Chairperson, because in this country we do have organised
21 labour that is under different affiliations. We have got
22 unorganised workers. I haven't seen in a situation where
23 these three will collude, and I don't understand how that
24 would happen. I disagree with that.

25 MR MPOFU: Yes, no I accept that you've

Page 4703

1 never seen it, but if it did happen, would you agree that
2 unorganised labour wouldn't stand a chance against that
3 alliance?

4 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I wouldn't like
5 this Commission to be made to believe that the organised
6 labour is only those who are part of the alliance. We do
7 have NATO outside the alliance. We have got many other
8 federations outside the alliance. I don't understand how
9 will therefore the alliance decide to collude with, against
10 anybody.

11 CHAIRPERSON: I don't think you're
12 understanding the question correctly. I'm not sure that I
13 understand it fully either, but let me tell you what I
14 understand about it and Mr Mpofo will then explain a bit
15 [inaudible]. I think by organised labour he means non-
16 unionised labour. In other words, if you have workers who
17 don't belong to a union, who are embarking upon some kind
18 of campaign, if they were then opposed, had opposed to them
19 a combination of the State, the employers and organised
20 labour, they would probably come second. I think that's
21 the point he's putting. The difficulty I've got is he uses
22 the word "collude" and I'm not quite sure what he means by
23 that. But if he's going to explain that to us, then he'll
24 put the question again, then –

25 MR ZOKWANA: Ja.

Page 4705

1 you and I had agreed in that collusion, organised labour.
2 So if you understood it the first time, I'm sure you still
3 understand it now.

4 MR ZOKWANA: I would not agree with you,
5 Mr Mpofo, because as I understand the trade unions there's
6 no way unions would collude with the employer that deal
7 harshly with unemployed – or sorry, unorganised workers.
8 It could have been a scenario in the past when there were
9 things like closed shop agreement, that people in a
10 particular grouping will have to belong to a union.
11 Currently people join trade unions out of their own free
12 will. As long, and I'm not having a big, a situation where
13 I can be able to put an example to the question you are
14 posing, that unions and government and employers will come
15 together and collude that this is the manner we will deal
16 or present such that if these workers were to go on strike,
17 therefore their situation will be worse than others.

18 MR MPOFU: Okay, once again I'll accept,
19 if you say you've never seen it, you've never seen it.
20 Have you ever seen a situation where business, or capital
21 colludes with one union against another union?

22 MR ZOKWANA: Thanks, Chairperson. I will
23 say no because our Labour Relations Act is so structured
24 such that if unions are registered, the framework of how
25 they should function, how would they run their businesses,

Page 4704

1 CHAIRPERSON: And you will then
2 understand by unorganised labour he means, I think he means
3 workers who aren't members of –

4 MR ZOKWANA: Any union.

5 CHAIRPERSON: A union, then we may get
6 some –

7 MR ZOKWANA: Thanks, Chairperson –

8 MR MPOFU: Yes, sorry. As a unionist I
9 thought that I was using the language that you are more
10 familiar with, of organised labour and unorganised labour,
11 but the chairperson is quite correct; I mean non-unionised
12 workers, in normal English. The question, the issue –

13 CHAIRPERSON: - said what you mean by
14 collude. I think the witness –

15 MR MPOFU: Yes, that's what I'm trying to
16 –

17 CHAIRPERSON: - is entitled to know what
18 that means before he answers the question when you repeated
19 it.

20 MR MPOFU: Yes, I was responding to that,
21 Chairperson. Sorry, Chairperson, yes, when I said the
22 question, I was doing both. The collusion that I'm
23 alluding to, Mr Zokwana, is the same collusion that you and
24 I had agreed was undesirable between capital and State.
25 Now the only thing I've done is to add thereon as to what

Page 4706

1 is clear and there are recourses, means there's a recourse
2 if any deviation is done by that collusion. I haven't seen
3 that. I don't think it is possible.

4 MR MPOFU: Okay, I know you've never seen
5 that as well, but I will disagree with you when you say it
6 is not possible, and the reason for that – and I'll invite
7 your comment – is that you, and I mean in your capacity as
8 president of the NUM, or the NUM have repeatedly accused
9 the employers in the mining sector of colluding with AMCU.
10 So how can it be impossible?

11 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, it doesn't
12 include government at this stage because the question to me
13 was saying when the three components collude against a
14 formation, but in this case, Chairperson, I think NUM in
15 raising those things have come up with examples as to why
16 it believed that specifically the Impala management was
17 colluding. It has been able, because NUM offices,
18 Chairperson, were closed at the behest of AMCU. That made
19 NUM not to operate inside there, when the company was
20 supposed to call upon law enforcers to play their role. It
21 was only in as far as that I was saying is that here is a
22 union, it forces another union, using violence, out of its
23 space, so that even a case where AMCU will say we don't
24 want so-and-so here because he's pro NUM, that person will
25 be taken out, sometimes paid by the company, not being on –

Page 4707

1 it's where collusion ends, but I thought that if you were
 2 speaking of – I want to clarify that I was responding to
 3 your question in as far as you are saying where the
 4 government and the labour collude with the employer, but in
 5 this case what specific [inaudible] we say Impala has made
 6 the point that AMCU uses unusual forms of organising. It
 7 uses coercion. It has led our offices to be closed. It
 8 has allowed our people to be out of the operations, and the
 9 company has not done what they should be doing. That's
 10 where, I mean our position as NUM is. Sorry Chairperson, I
 11 know my rights are limited in dealing with questions in as
 12 far as possible and being honest, but my hands are dirty.
 13 Can you allow me to go to the bathroom to wash my hands,
 14 please?
 15 CHAIRPERSON: I am proposing to take the
 16 tea adjournment at this point, and I was requested by both
 17 of my Commissioners to do that. I wasn't listening to
 18 them, but in view of the fact that you've asked as well,
 19 we'll take the tea adjournment now.
 20 MR ZOKWANA: Thank you.
 21 [INQUIRY ADJOURNS INQUIRY RESUMES]
 22 [15:18] CHAIRPERSON: The Commission resumes.
 23 During the tea adjournment, by arrangement between Mr Mpofo
 24 and Mr Madlanga, the chief evidence leader, we extended the
 25 subpoenas of the witnesses who were subpoenaed to come here

Page 4708

1 yesterday. Mr Madlanga, have you got their names or has Mr
 2 Mpofo got their names? I think we should put it on record
 3 what happened so that –
 4 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, I think you've
 5 caught both of us by surprise –
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Before we adjourn then
 7 we'll do that. You're still under oath, Mr Zokwana.
 8 Before Mr Mpofo continues with his cross-examination, I
 9 want to ask you a question. I didn't understand your
 10 evidence about your never having encountered a situation
 11 where an employer colludes with one union against another.
 12 Have you never experienced a situation where there are two
 13 unions and one of them is a sweetheart or Uncle Tom union,
 14 and the other one isn't, and the employer then colludes
 15 with the sweetheart or Uncle Tom union to favour it by way
 16 of attempting to frustrate the [inaudible] of the other
 17 union?
 18 MR ZOKWANA: I can only come to the same
 19 example, Chairperson, to say that if the Commission will
 20 have time maybe, or do more into the situation in Impala,
 21 it may find that scenario, Chairperson, where NUM is not
 22 only denied by violence to operate, but the employer
 23 clearly in this case favours AMCU. It does not only lock
 24 offices, it [inaudible] them. Whenever AMCU raises a
 25 discomfort with a shop steward who operates in that area,

Page 4709

1 or a member who does not want to agree that NUM should not
 2 be the union, AMCU will say to the employer, get that
 3 person transferred. That has happened, I'm sure when such
 4 information will be made, I'm sure it will be led later as
 5 to what had been the experience of NUM in as far the
 6 scenario is concerned. Besides that, Chairperson, I can't
 7 give another example of a union colluding with the
 8 employer, except Impala colluding with AMCU to get rid of
 9 NUM.
 10 MR MPOFU: Just to save time I'll accept
 11 that answer to mean that you are amending your statement
 12 that you had never seen this, to say that you have seen it
 13 only in the case of AMCU.
 14 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, before it is
 15 interpreted, I made a point that Counsellor Mpofo made this
 16 analysis based on three components colluding. If I may
 17 have heard him wrongly, if you referred to an employer
 18 colluding with a union, my answer is yes, I've seen one.
 19 That is Impala, the employer, AMCU, the union.
 20 MR MPOFU: Ja. Yes, for the record, I
 21 did confine my question to only an employer and the union,
 22 but we won't quibble about that. What I want to ask you is
 23 in your experience as a trade unionist - let's just say,
 24 confine it to the mining industry - you have never had or
 25 seen or experienced a situation where some of the

Page 4710

1 conservative unions for example even participated in
 2 beatings in collusion with the employer?
 3 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I've always
 4 confined myself to the era under the new regime, the Labour
 5 Relations Act. The era before that I've said has got all
 6 those hallmarks of what you are saying, but in as far as
 7 union working with the employer, so they're defined into
 8 recognition agreements and how such agreements are drafted.
 9 Unions can be in meetings only if they qualify in terms of
 10 the number of people that they represent to be in a
 11 meeting. That what defines you to be in a meeting is not
 12 because of the name you carry; it's the number of employees
 13 in that operation that you represent. I have not seen by a
 14 union that is recognised by the employer as for the
 15 agreement being denied that right. That's my answer.
 16 Sorry, Chairperson, the answer is no, I haven't seen that.
 17 MR MPOFU: Alright, honestly I don't know
 18 to which question that answer is, but once again to save –
 19 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, you wanted to
 20 know from me if I have ever seen a situation where a union
 21 is denied by the employer through collusion to be in a
 22 meeting where another union is sitting, and my answer is
 23 no.
 24 MR MPOFU: No, that was not my question.
 25 I said in your experience as a trade unionist, have you

Page 4711

1 never seen a situation where some of the conservative
 2 unions even participate in beatings in collusion with the
 3 employer. That was my question.
 4 MR ZOKWANA: The answer is no.
 5 MR MPOFU: You've never heard of this?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: My, because you need to
 7 understand, being in meetings with employers I said it is
 8 defined by the Labour Relations Act in as far as how unions
 9 are recognised in a company. You can only be in a meeting
 10 provided that you meet the required threshold of members
 11 you represent. It's not by any other definition.
 12 MR MPOFU: Okay, Mr Zokwana, I'll move
 13 on, but I'll really suggest that you listen to the question
 14 before you answer it.
 15 MR ZOKWANA: Apology.
 16 MR MPOFU: Thank you. Now moving on,
 17 maybe before I move on, let me do this, explain to you why
 18 I'm asking you these questions, which maybe I should have
 19 done before I asked the questions. You know that I
 20 represent the injured and arrested protesters?
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 22 MR MPOFU: You know, or you may not know,
 23 if you don't I'm telling you now that one of the issues
 24 that we have said we are going to argue at the end of the
 25 Commission is that the massacre was caused by what we

Page 4712

1 termed "toxic collusion" between primarily the State and
 2 capital. I'm sure you are aware of that. Are you aware of
 3 that?
 4 MR ZOKWANA: Unfortunately, Chairperson,
 5 I was not present when you presented your line, or what you
 6 intend to put forward. I can't comment on that. I was not
 7 around.
 8 MR MPOFU: And you never read about it
 9 anywhere?
 10 MR ZOKWANA: I can't remember that.
 11 MR MPOFU: Okay, fair enough.
 12 MR ZOKWANA: What I remember is only when
 13 you informed this Commission, when you were going to cross-
 14 examine Gcilitshana, was who you were representing. In as
 15 far as what your closing argument, or what you intend to
 16 prove, you didn't go there.
 17 MR MPOFU: Okay. And you are also aware
 18 that after a lot of questions were put to you, Mr Semenya
 19 said that – I might not be quoting him verbatim, but
 20 alluded to a collusion between yourselves as the union and
 21 Lonmin. Remember that?
 22 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, with due
 23 respect, I understood Mr Semenya's line of questioning,
 24 being that he wanted to establish whether the two parties
 25 did enough to negotiate such that the strike could be

Page 4713

1 averted, and our position as NUM was that it was impossible
 2 to negotiate under those circumstances of violence where
 3 there was no mandate. Chances of feed backing was
 4 impossible.
 5 MR MPOFU: In any event, our version is
 6 going to be that the collusion between the State,
 7 represented by SAPS, and capital, represented by Lonmin,
 8 was the primary cause, or the main cause of the massacre,
 9 and that the other collusion alluded to by Mr Semenya
 10 between yourselves as organised labour and Lonmin was a
 11 secondary cause, but that they were both causally connected
 12 to the massacre.
 13 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I don't think I
 14 have to respond to the question because it's what the
 15 counsel will present to this Commission, and I think it
 16 would be on the basis of evidence to prove that. I'm sure
 17 NUM has got views as to why do we think what is being
 18 proposed is not the truth, but that will come. I'm sure
 19 the Commission will call a number of witnesses who will
 20 mill through the evidence, and I don't think therefore that
 21 I have to answer whether I concurred what you are thinking,
 22 because I mean, I didn't instruct you to represent my views
 23 and you are putting forward a particular view of your own
 24 client.
 25 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Mpofo, the witness is

Page 4714

1 quite right. You haven't asked a question. You told him
 2 what your case was, which he listened to with interest, and
 3 now I expect you to ask questions based as it were on what
 4 you put to him.
 5 MR MPOFU: Yes, Chairperson, I did
 6 preface that by saying that I was just giving him context,
 7 so it was not intended to be a question. So I agree with
 8 you, Mr Zokwana, and I apologise that I didn't frame it as
 9 a question. Now you say you need evidence. I will deal
 10 with you – right now let's set aside the, what I called the
 11 main collusion, which does not involve you, between the
 12 State and capital, for the purposes of what I'm going to
 13 say to you now. You have heard the evidence that was given
 14 here that the NUM held twice-a-day meetings with the police
 15 and Lonmin regarding the strike, and other unions – sorry,
 16 to be fair.
 17 MR ZOKWANA: I understand those would
 18 mean the -
 19 MR TIP SC: Mr Chair, it must be put
 20 accurately. Mr Gcilitshana's evidence was that on occasion
 21 members of the SAPS would attend, but they were not there
 22 regularly and the principal purpose of the debriefings was
 23 for Lonmin security to advise the parties as to the state
 24 of security around the mine.
 25 MR MPOFU: That's correct. Actually you

Page 4715

1 can assume for the purposes of this that the police were
 2 never there. You've heard the evidence that says that the
 3 Lonmin and NUM and other unions met twice a day to discuss
 4 the strike?
 5 MR BURGER SC: Chair, may I just have
 6 clarity? What my learned friend is now putting is that's
 7 the factual basis for accusing Lonmin of being party to a
 8 toxic relationship?
 9 MR MPOFU: No, I haven't said anything of
 10 the sort.
 11 MR BURGER SC: Then I don't know what
 12 we're debating, Chair, then I'm losing the debate.
 13 MR MPOFU: Well, then you must listen.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: He's apparently going to
 15 ask questions – I've been waiting for about five minutes
 16 for him to start asking questions. I haven't seen a
 17 question mark for the last five minutes, but he's going to
 18 deal with what he calls a secondary cause of the shootings,
 19 which he says was the fault of the combined actions, or
 20 inactions, more accurately, of Lonmin and NUM. He's going
 21 to deal with that. The toxic collusion part only relates
 22 to the State and Lonmin, but he's not busy with the toxic
 23 part, he's busy with the non-toxic part of the cause. So
 24 let's wait for him to ask a question before you object.
 25 Carry on, Mr Mpofo.

Page 4716

1 [15:38] MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson. Now
 2 still dealing with the secondary cause, or the collusion
 3 alluded to by Mr Semenya, I was just asking you a question
 4 that whether you are aware of those twice-a-day meetings,
 5 and you confirmed that Mr Gcilitshana testified about them.
 6 Correct?
 7 MR ZOKWANA: I don't think such meetings
 8 will qualify as the theory of a collusion. What I know is
 9 that there were briefing sessions that the company would do
 10 at a time necessary to brief the people on what was
 11 happening around the mine, how many have reported to work,
 12 what is going to happen. I don't understand, I don't
 13 regard that as collusion.
 14 MR MPOFU: Mr Zokwana, two things.
 15 Firstly, do not answer a question that I have not asked.
 16 Secondly, don't allow yourself to be distracted by the
 17 sledging, as we call it in cricket, between counsel. I've
 18 asked you a simple question. Were you aware of these
 19 twice-a-day meetings, yes or no?
 20 MR ZOKWANA: Meetings [inaudible] Sir.
 21 MR MPOFU: Thank you.
 22 MR ZOKWANA: So but you mentioned the
 23 word "collusion" –
 24 MR MPOFU: No, in my question there was
 25 no word "collusion." I simply said were you aware of those

Page 4717

1 meetings, question mark, yes or no.
 2 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, I would be
 3 happy if these processes would happen in the way that – if
 4 I misunderstood the question, it is not a sign that I –
 5 that is a question -
 6 CHAIRPERSON: No, no, no, no –
 7 MR ZOKWANA: And I happen to understand –
 8 CHAIRPERSON: You thought he was
 9 suggesting collusion.
 10 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: He now assures us he's not.
 12 He simply asks you were you aware of the fact that
 13 debriefing meetings were taking place twice a day.
 14 MR ZOKWANA: I was aware that some
 15 meetings were taking place. I was aware.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: You've got an Oprah Winfrey
 17 answer, now carry on with the next question.
 18 MR MPOFU: Thank you.
 19 MR ZOKWANA: But again, Chairperson, I
 20 will not be able to say these meetings were twice a day,
 21 but I know that some meetings did take place for briefing.
 22 I wouldn't confirm whether twice or thrice.
 23 MR MPOFU: At a much higher level, were
 24 you party to other discussions with the senior leadership
 25 of Lonmin regarding the situation?

Page 4718

1 MR ZOKWANA: - to the first question Mr
 2 Mpofo raised this with Gcilitshana. The answer is no. If
 3 that refers to me as a person, no.
 4 MR MPOFU: Yes, it refers to you as a
 5 person. So you never had such discussions with the senior
 6 leadership of Lonmin?
 7 MR ZOKWANA: No.
 8 MR MPOFU: Do you know a person called Mr
 9 Cyril Ramaphosa?
 10 MR ZOKWANA: He's the former general
 11 secretary of NUM, former SG of the ANC, a businessperson,
 12 the current deputy president of the ANC.
 13 MR MPOFU: Mr Zokwana, do you know the
 14 person, yes or no?
 15 MR ZOKWANA: My answer is yes. I'm
 16 trying to tell you how I know him.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: I want to appeal to members
 18 of the public in the auditorium to try to restrain
 19 themselves, not laugh and make noises. It makes it
 20 difficult for us to hear the evidence. If it continues I
 21 shall have to consider clearing the auditorium, which is
 22 something I don't want to do. To put it simply, please try
 23 to keep quiet while the evidence is being given.
 24 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, I beg leave to
 25 hand out exhibit – I suspect it's BBB4.

Page 4719

1 CHAIRPERSON: How would one describe this
 2 exhibit?
 3 MR MPOFU: A set of emails exchanged
 4 between the senior leadership of Lonmin, or among -
 5 CHAIRPERSON: Among -
 6 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: - the senior membership,
 8 the senior leadership -
 9 MR MPOFU: Leadership of Lonmin.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: Of Lonmin. Thank you.
 11 I'll mark it accordingly.
 12 MR MPOFU: Is it BBB4, Ms Pillay?
 13 MS PILLAY: It is BBB4, Chair.
 14 MR MPOFU: Thank you.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: I'm not quite sure of the
 16 order in which these documents are stapled together.
 17 MR MPOFU: I've made an attempt, Chair,
 18 the one at the bottom of the page is number 1.
 19 CHAIRPERSON: Yes.
 20 MR MPOFU: And the next page is number 2,
 21 to 89B, and then if you go back to the front page it's
 22 number 3 at the top.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: - to me slowly. The one at
 24 the foot of the first page, that's -
 25 MR MPOFU: It's number 1.

Page 4720

1 CHAIRPERSON: - the one on 15 August at
 2 00 -
 3 MR MPOFU: 15th August, 00:47, that's -
 4 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, that's number 1.
 5 MR MPOFU: 1AM in the morning -
 6 CHAIRPERSON: Then the one above that, I
 7 take it we must appreciate is 3.
 8 MR MPOFU: 9th, the one above it is 3,
 9 yes.
 10 CHAIRPERSON: Then on page 2 -
 11 MR MPOFU: That's -
 12 CHAIRPERSON: - that's 2.
 13 MR MPOFU: "Hello Cyril," yes, that's
 14 number 3.
 15 CHAIRPERSON: Then page, and then the
 16 next one -
 17 MR MPOFU: 2.
 18 CHAIRPERSON: - is 289C -
 19 MR MPOFU: C, that's number 4.
 20 CHAIRPERSON: There's a whole lot. There
 21 -
 22 MR MPOFU: No, but I -
 23 CHAIRPERSON: There are a couple -
 24 MR MPOFU: I didn't go far enough.
 25 Number 4 is certainly the top one, Chair.

Page 4721

1 CHAIRPERSON: "Thank you, Cyril, I had a
 2 planned briefing." Is that 4?
 3 MR MPOFU: No, sorry, Chairman, I'm
 4 wrong. Number 4 is at the bottom, it's 12:18, and that
 5 would be 5 on top.
 6 CHAIRPERSON: That "Thank you for your
 7 email. I'm currently in Cape Town?"
 8 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 9 CHAIRPERSON: That's number 4.
 10 MR MPOFU: Number 4.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: And number 5 is -
 12 MR MPOFU: Number 5, "Thank you, Cyril."
 13 CHAIRPERSON: "I had a planned briefing."
 14 That's 5.
 15 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 16 CHAIRPERSON: And then the next one is
 17 289E -
 18 MR MPOFU: E, which is "Many thanks" -
 19 CHAIRPERSON: No, no -
 20 MR MPOFU: No, no, the -
 21 CHAIRPERSON: - 3:13, "I just had a
 22 discussion at 2:58." So presumably the one at the foot of
 23 the page -
 24 MR MPOFU: Number 6.
 25 CHAIRPERSON: - 289E is number 6, "I just

Page 4722

1 had a discussion," and then 7 is "Many thanks, Cyril."
 2 MR MPOFU: "Many thanks."
 3 CHAIRPERSON: Yes, okay, and then the
 4 following page, what's 8 then?
 5 MR MPOFU: No, the 7th page, sorry, that's
 6 repetition, Chair, sorry.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: I see, so we ignore that.
 8 MR MPOFU: Yes -
 9 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, okay. So now we
 10 know when you're referring to particular emails, we'll know
 11 which ones you're referring to.
 12 MR MPOFU: Yes.
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Mr Burger, you look as if
 14 you want to say something.
 15 MR MPOFU: But can you -
 16 MR BURGER SC: - to this witness, Chair.
 17 I don't have anything to say.
 18 MR ZOKWANA: Chairperson, can you help me
 19 again to, number 1 is 289A. Is it so?
 20 MR MPOFU: At the bottom.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 22 MR MPOFU: Yes, and number 3 is just the
 23 one above it, and number 2 is on the next page. So just
 24 write 3 next to the one above, the one that says, "Thanks,
 25 Cyril."

Page 4723

1 MR ZOKWANA: Yes. Oh yes, it's 3.
 2 MR MPOFU: Yes, and then number 2 is the
 3 one, "Hello, Cyril."
 4 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 5 MR MPOFU: And then on the next page at
 6 the top, "Thank you, Cyril," is number 5.
 7 MR ZOKWANA: Oh, yes.
 8 MR MPOFU: And the one below that, "Thank
 9 you for your email. I'm currently in Cape Town," is number
 10 4.
 11 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 12 MR MPOFU: And then on the next page,
 13 skip the next page, that's just the end of that number 4.
 14 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 15 MR MPOFU: Then on 289E at the top, "Many
 16 thanks, Cyril," is number 7.
 17 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 18 MR MPOFU: At bottom of that, "I've just
 19 had a discussion with Susan Shabangu," is number 6.
 20 MR ZOKWANA: Hold on. Oh, yes.
 21 MR MPOFU: Ja. Now sorry, maybe when you
 22 were giving the credentials, I stopped you maybe. So let
 23 me just ask you, do you also know that on top of all those
 24 things that Mr Ramaphosa is, or was at the time at least a
 25 director of Lonmin?

Page 4724

1 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 2 MR MPOFU: And did you know that he
 3 seemed in that short space of time to have been having
 4 quite a busy exchange of emails with various parties, which
 5 involve your name?
 6 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I'm mentioned on
 7 paragraph 2 on 22A, yes.
 8 MR MPOFU: Chairperson, for the sake of
 9 the record, what I will do is when we refer to a particular
 10 email I'll just read it out and then place the question.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: [Inaudible]
 12 MR MPOFU: Yes, for context, thank you.
 13 This one, number 1 says, it's sent in the early hours of
 14 the morning, 00:47. It's sent by Mr Ramaphosa to Roger
 15 Phillimore, who's also part of the senior leadership of
 16 Lonmin.
 17 MR ZOKWANA: Sorry, Chairperson,
 18 according to this it is from Roger Phillimore to –
 19 MR MPOFU: No, no, it's number 1, not
 20 number 2.
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Oh, alright.
 22 MR MPOFU: Not number 3, sorry.
 23 CHAIRPERSON: The way it works, Mr
 24 Zokwana, is obviously Mr Ramaphosa sent an email to Mr
 25 Phillimore. Mr Phillimore replied. So his reply then when

Page 4725

1 you print it out –
 2 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: - there's a letter he
 4 received, which is the first, or rather the bottom of the
 5 page.
 6 MR MPOFU: Correct.
 7 CHAIRPERSON: And his reply, which in
 8 fact I think is on the next page –
 9 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, yes. No, thanks,
 10 Chairperson.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: - that's 2, and then we
 12 have this one.
 13 MR ZOKWANA: I get that now. Thank you.
 14 CHAIRPERSON: It is technically the email
 15 sent by Phillimore –
 16 MR ZOKWANA: Yes.
 17 CHAIRPERSON: - but he's actually sending
 18 it back because he's replying to it.
 19 MR MPOFU: Thank you, and I'm reading the
 20 part that he's replying to. You see at the bottom 00:47?
 21 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I see that, yes, 15
 22 August.
 23 MR MPOFU: Ja, okay. It says the
 24 following, I'll read it quickly. "Dear Roger, thank you
 25 for your briefing note. I have had some interaction with

Page 4726

1 some of the role-players and pen hereunder some of the
 2 discussions I have had. 1, discussion with Minister Susan
 3 Shabangu. I called her and told her that her silence and
 4 inaction about what is happening at Lonmin was bad for her
 5 and the government. She said she was going to issue a
 6 statement. She was going to be in Cape Town to attend a
 7 joint parliamentary session and would be back in
 8 Johannesburg later today to attend to the Lonmin matter. I
 9 told her that I would also be in Cape Town and suggested
 10 that we should have a discussion and see what she needs to
 11 do. 2, I spoke to Senzeni Zokwana, president of the NUM.
 12 He said he and Frans Baleni wanted to meet me and former
 13 NUM president James Motlatsi to discuss what they should do
 14 as a union going forward. James and I will meet them on
 15 Friday and exchange some ideas. He told me that the NUM
 16 had held a successful meeting where some 500 to 700 workers
 17 had stated that they wanted to work. 3, I will be speaking
 18 to Gwede Mantashe, the ANC secretary general, and suggest
 19 that the ANC should intervene. 4, Mike Teke, the deputy
 20 chairman of the Chamber of Mines, said that the Chamber had
 21 discussed the matter yesterday. There should be contact
 22 with the Chamber of Mines. Maybe Albert would follow this
 23 up. I will keep you updated on progress. Cyril."
 24 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I see that. Yes, I saw
 25 that.

Page 4727

1 MR MPOFU: Yes. Thank you. Chairperson,
 2 I see that it's about 4. What I was proposing is one of
 3 two things. I don't want to deal with this in a piecemeal
 4 fashion, so if the chairperson still has a bit of time I
 5 can use that time to read in the other emails and then
 6 continue –
 7 CHAIRPERSON: I suggest you read in the
 8 other emails.
 9 MR MPOFU: Yes, and then -
 10 CHAIRPERSON: We'll then –
 11 MR MPOFU: - questions tomorrow.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: Members of the people in
 13 the auditorium will then know what it's all about, and then
 14 tomorrow morning starting at 9:30 - and by the way, I was
 15 going to announce at the end, I may as well announce it now
 16 that I've decided we will have a short lunch adjournment
 17 tomorrow, resuming at 1:30, and the same again on Thursday.
 18 The idea is that that way we'll make up for the hour which
 19 we unfortunately lost this morning.
 20 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson.
 21 CHAIRPERSON: So carry on as you suggest.
 22 [15:58] MR MPOFU: Thanks, Chairperson, I'll read
 23 fast. The next e-mail is at 09:42 on the 15th of August,
 24 number 2, Mr Zokwana?
 25 MR ZOKWANA: Yes, I see that.

Page 4728

1 MR MPOFU: It reads as follows, it is
 2 from Mr Jameson, Albert Jameson who is also a senior leader
 3 at Lonmin, to Mr Ramaphosa. "Hello Cyril, thank you for
 4 your help so far. Thankfully last night was relatively
 5 peaceful as is this morning, we have had approached from
 6 NUM Eastern Plat that they would like to return to work if
 7 the police can offer adequate protection. Two areas of
 8 concern," and he puts the first one, it is two bullets, the
 9 first bullet, "The Minister was on radio today saying she
 10 has been briefed that this was a wage dispute and
 11 management and unions should sit down and sort it out. Not
 12 so, have briefed her. We are waiting to talk to her,
 13 Roger, and although not too damaging, it is also not too
 14 helpful. I've had two discussions with the DG and in his
 15 case he has categorised this as not an industrial relation
 16 issue, but a civil unrest/destabilisation/criminal issue
 17 that could not be resolved without political intervention
 18 and he needs the situation stabilised by the police or
 19 army."
 20 I think on both occasions, sorry, I must read,
 21 police/army. "I think on both occasions he agreed with me
 22 and it reflected what was in our letter but now I'm not
 23 sure, I have a call to him this morning." The second
 24 bullet, "We are grateful that the police have now 800 on
 25 site." Oh yes, thank you, Chairperson. "We are grateful

Page 4729

1 that the police have about 800 on site. Our next challenge
 2 is sustaining this and ensuring that they remain and take
 3 appropriate action so that we can get people back to work.
 4 It would be good to have some independent
 5 confirmation, the police have plans to sustain a presence
 6 for at least at week and numbers don't wane by the weekend.
 7 If you can talk to the Minister, please could you influence
 8 these things with her and encourage her to make time to
 9 talk to Roger. I've gathered support from the CEOs and
 10 have a planned call with COM, Chamber of Mines to brief
 11 them. Many thanks, Albert Jameson, Chief Commercial
 12 Official Lonmin."
 13 Thank you, the next one is insignificant, I'll
 14 read it just for the record and then continue to read
 15 number 4. The next one is at 1:07 pm, 15th August, from
 16 Roger Philemon to Cyril Ramaphosa. "Thanks, Cyril, very
 17 much appreciated, I look forward to talking with you later
 18 when you have a moment. Best wishes, Roger," and if Mr
 19 Interpreter will allow me, can I move on to the next one
 20 just to save time?
 21 MR HANABE: Where exactly were you
 22 reading from?
 23 MR MPOFU: I'm reading number 3, sorry.
 24 MR HANABE: On page?
 25 MR MPOFU: On page 1, okay, well, you

Page 4730

1 might as well deal with it. Okay, I'll now deal with
 2 number 4, number 4 and important one. It is 12:18 pm on
 3 the same day, it is from Mr Ramaphosa to Albert Jameson,
 4 Bernard Mokoena, Tandigai Ncube and Roger Philemon. Its
 5 subject reads, "Security situation. Dear Albert, thank you
 6 for your e-mail, I'm currently in Cape Town and we'll have
 7 a discussion with her. I thank you for the consistent
 8 manner in which you are characterising the current
 9 difficulties we are going through. The terrible events
 10 that have unfolded cannot be described as a labour dispute.
 11 They are plainly dastardly criminals and must be
 12 characterised as such. In line with this characterisation
 13 there needs to be concomitant action to address this
 14 situation."
 15 The next page, "You are absolutely correct in
 16 insisting that the Minister and indeed all government
 17 officials need to understand that we are essentially
 18 dealing with a criminal act. I have said as much to the
 19 Minister of Safety and Security. I will trust that
 20 Minister Shabangu should have a discussion with Roger.
 21 Regards, Cyril." Alright, then I go to number 5, sent at
 22 2:58 pm on the same day, it is from, - no, sorry, okay, it
 23 looks like we, it is 1:18 or 1:13. 1:18, anyway, it
 24 doesn't matter.
 25 CHAIRPERSON: Yes.

Page 4731

1 MR MPOFU: Okay, and it is from Albert
 2 Jameson to Ramaphosa, Mokoena, Barnard - Ncube, Tandigai
 3 Ncube and Roger Philemon, subject, "Re security situation.
 4 Thank you, Cyril, I had a planned briefing with Bheki
 5 today," I'll suggest later to the commission that that's
 6 probably Mr Bheki Khumalo who is the spokesperson of the
 7 department, but putting that aside, "today and have also
 8 carried that message over which they 100% support. He will
 9 also convey this to the Minister tomorrow morning. He
 10 asked for a copy of our letter that I will e-mail him."
 11 MR ZOKWANA: Without me offering to know
 12 who this Bheki is, there is a Bheki Sibiyi, the Chamber of
 13 Mines CEO, but I don't know if he is -
 14 MR MPOFU: Sure enough, sure enough, I
 15 think that's a fair point, thank you, we'll have to
 16 establish it through somebody, thanks very much. Thank
 17 you, unfortunately I know both those Bheki's, so we'll
 18 establish which one. The next one is number 6 -
 19 CHAIRPERSON: Are you going to give
 20 evidence on the matter?
 21 MR MPOFU: Chair, well if the chair
 22 insists then there is nothing I can do. No, Chair, we'll
 23 establish through my attorneys, only if there is no cross-
 24 examination, Chair. Number 6 -
 25 CHAIRPERSON: - your colleagues of their

Page 4732

1 right in that regard.
 2 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chair. Number 6
 3 reads as follows, it is at 2:58 pm, the 15th August 2012,
 4 from Cyril Ramaphosa to Albert Jameson, Bernard Mokoena,
 5 Tandigai Ncube, Roger Philemon and Ian Farmer. The same
 6 subject, re the security situation. "Dear all, I have just
 7 had a discussion with Susan Shabangu in Cape Town. One,
 8 she agrees that what they are going through is not a labour
 9 dispute, but a criminal act. She will correct her
 10 characterisation of what we are experiencing. Two, she is
 11 going into cabinet and will brief the President as well and
 12 get the Minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa to act in a more
 13 pointed way. Three, she will be in Johannesburg by 5 pm
 14 and would be able to speak to Roger. Let us keep the
 15 pressure on them to act correctly."
 16 The next one, or before, I was just about to say,
 17 the last time but unfortunately, Chairperson, I have bad
 18 news, I think that last page which I thought was a
 19 repetition is not a repetition, so we have two more. It is
 20 just that one of the times looked the same. The one at the
 21 bottom is repetition, it is the one of 12:18 which is
 22 number 4, but the one on top which is sought is not, so we
 23 can call that number 4(B). I'm saying, if you can call old
 24 number 4, Chair, that old number 4, we call it 4(A).
 25 CHAIRPERSON: You're on 289(F)?

Page 4733

1 MR MPOFU: Yes, 289(F), yes. Can you
 2 call the one at the top -
 3 CHAIRPERSON: "Thank you, Cyril," what
 4 should that be called?
 5 MR MPOFU: Can we call it 4(B)?
 6 CHAIRPERSON: 4(B)?
 7 MR MPOFU: And then the one -
 8 CHAIRPERSON: 4 is 4(A)?
 9 MR MPOFU: The one that was 4 we call
 10 4(A), that will solve the problem.
 11 CHAIRPERSON: Alright.
 12 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chair.
 13 CHAIRPERSON: Are you going to read it in
 14 quickly before we adjourn?
 15 MR MPOFU: Yes, I might as well, the two
 16 are short, the question, thank you, Chair. Okay, I'll
 17 start with 7, it is quite a quick one. It is 3:22 pm on
 18 the 15th of August, basically to the same parties and it
 19 says, "Many thanks, Cyril, that is very helpful. I have a
 20 call into the DG, so we'll reinforce," and then the last
 21 one, excuse me, Mr Interpreter, which is the next page,
 22 4(B), the one on top.
 23 [16:18] MR ZOKWANA: 4(B) is 289(F)?
 24 MR MPOFU: Yes, the one on top, ignore
 25 the one at the bottom, it is a repetition, ja. That one is

Page 4734

1 1:18 pm from Albert Jameson. Oh, is it the same as 5? Oh,
 2 well, then I was right the first time, Chairperson.
 3 CHAIRPERSON: So this is actually 5?
 4 MR MPOFU: 5, yes, that's correct.
 5 CHAIRPERSON: Because the layout is
 6 different?
 7 MR MPOFU: The layout is different, even
 8 on the other one, so we revert 4 to 7, in other words the
 9 one that I've just read to you, Mr Zokwana, is number 7 and
 10 the last one, and we reinstate 4 as 4, and you interpret.
 11 Thank you, Chairperson, very much.
 12 CHAIRPERSON: Have you got the names of
 13 the gentlemen -
 14 MR MPOFU: Oh, yes -
 15 CHAIRPERSON: - whose subpoenas were
 16 extended in Chambers?
 17 MR MPOFU: Thank you, Chairperson, yes.
 18 They are Mr Fusi Mohale, Mr Mlambisa Gxokogxokwana, Mr
 19 Lungani Mabutyana, Sithembele Ntakana, Mr Lebogang Mokone
 20 and the last one is Thembinkosi Mtyho. Thank you,
 21 Chairperson.
 22 CHAIRPERSON: Alright, you confirm that
 23 that is correct, Mr Mahlangu, and they have been told that
 24 their subpoenas are extended until the 18th of February and
 25 they must be here at 09:30 on that morning.

1 MR MAHLANGU: I confirm the names, thank
2 you, Mr Chairman.
3 CHAIRPERSON: The commission will now
4 adjourn until 09:30 tomorrow morning.
5 [COMMISSION ADJOURNED]
6 .
7 .
8 .
9 .
10 .
11 .
12 .
13 .
14 .
15 .
16 .
17 .
18 .
19 .
20 .
21 .
22 .
23 .
24 .
25 .



<p>A</p> <p>abetted 4667:11</p> <p>ability 4695:10 4697:7</p> <p>able 4618:19 4629:7 4647:24 4648:5 4652:10,12 4657:6 4666:20,21 4667:8 4675:13 4678:9 4684:11 4685:1 4691:17 4693:14 4697:11 4700:1 4701:8 4705:13 4706:17 4717:20 4732:14</p> <p>absence 4652:7</p> <p>absolutely 4730:15</p> <p>accept 4684:13 4686:2 4688:10 4690:12 4694:2 4702:25 4705:18 4709:10</p> <p>Accepted 4687:8</p> <p>access 4633:2 4671:12 4674:9</p> <p>accidental 4683:23</p> <p>account 4690:24</p> <p>accurate 4657:15</p> <p>accurately 4714:20 4715:20</p> <p>accuse 4642:10 4644:6 4645:2 4659:24 4660:15</p> <p>accused 4655:6 4659:19 4660:20 4706:8</p> <p>accusing 4659:14,15 4715:7</p> <p>achieve 4661:15</p> <p>achieved 4661:14</p> <p>act 4634:5 4654:25 4694:12 4699:20 4700:9 4702:9 4705:23 4710:5 4711:8 4730:18 4732:9,12,15</p> <p>acting 4695:11</p> <p>action 4628:12 4671:2 4729:3 4730:13</p> <p>actions 4715:19</p> <p>acts 4654:25</p> <p>add 4631:14 4661:18 4661:20 4704:25</p> <p>address 4666:21 4671:16,20 4672:23 4675:20 4730:13</p> <p>addressed 4676:17 4677:15 4680:2</p> <p>addressing 4677:2</p> <p>adequate 4728:7</p> <p>adjourn 4675:1 4708:6 4733:14 4735:4</p> <p>ADJOURNED 4735:5</p> <p>adjournment 4674:23 4707:16,19,23 4727:16</p> <p>ADJOURNS 4675:2</p>	<p>4707:21</p> <p>admission 4652:16</p> <p>admitted 4651:15 4657:1</p> <p>admittedly 4657:24</p> <p>advantage 4618:15</p> <p>advice 4631:2</p> <p>advise 4714:23</p> <p>affiliation 4693:11</p> <p>affiliations 4702:21</p> <p>Africa 4689:20 4696:21 4696:22</p> <p>African 4688:13,15,20</p> <p>afternoon 4686:18,19</p> <p>agent 4677:20 4685:2</p> <p>agree 4619:20 4637:23 4643:11 4645:6 4648:20,22 4660:20 4667:16 4672:14,16 4672:20 4673:9,12 4689:12 4693:14 4695:6,7,13,24 4696:7,13,22 4699:13 4699:17 4700:7 4701:15,22 4702:11 4702:16,19 4703:1 4705:4 4709:1 4714:7</p> <p>agreed 4671:21 4672:2 4672:9 4677:19,20 4691:23 4692:2 4700:15 4704:24 4705:1 4728:21</p> <p>agreement 4619:6 4676:22,22 4677:12 4677:14,25 4678:3,6 4678:8 4700:23 4701:3 4705:9 4710:15</p> <p>agreements 4710:8,8</p> <p>agrees 4732:8</p> <p>ahead 4691:21</p> <p>aim 4646:10 4670:16 4685:14 4693:21</p> <p>Albert 4726:22 4728:2 4729:11 4730:3,5 4731:1 4732:4 4734:1</p> <p>alerted 4649:11</p> <p>allegation 4642:16,24 4643:1 4649:13 4652:19 4654:25 4663:22 4668:9</p> <p>allegations 4620:23 4630:16 4673:11</p> <p>alleged 4640:7 4662:12 4663:1 4665:1</p> <p>alleging 4645:11 4664:6</p> <p>alliance 4689:13 4695:19,20,21 4703:3 4703:6,7,8,9</p> <p>allow 4670:17 4671:25 4682:24 4685:14 4707:13 4716:16 4729:19</p> <p>allowed 4685:11 4707:8</p>	<p>allows 4684:25 4698:25</p> <p>alluded 4697:19 4712:20 4713:9 4716:3</p> <p>alluding 4704:23</p> <p>alright 4616:6 4617:17 4618:21 4621:4 4636:23 4650:13 4660:19 4664:20 4679:22 4680:22 4682:1 4694:1,18 4710:17 4722:9 4724:21 4730:21 4733:11 4734:22</p> <p>alter 4675:6 4679:4,5</p> <p>alternatively 4662:3</p> <p>ambit 4698:1 4699:25</p> <p>AMCU's 4661:21</p> <p>amending 4709:11</p> <p>amount 4668:2</p> <p>analysis 4668:3 4709:16</p> <p>anarchy 4627:3</p> <p>ANC 4688:2,6 4689:10 4689:14 4690:6 4695:20,21 4718:11 4718:12 4726:18,19</p> <p>angry 4667:22 4674:10</p> <p>announce 4727:15,15</p> <p>answer 4619:16 4620:22 4622:6,14,23 4622:25 4623:3,4 4625:22 4635:9,9 4639:3 4643:18 4648:5,14 4650:12 4658:4 4666:6,20 4668:4,7 4677:17 4689:5 4691:3 4694:16 4701:9,18 4702:4 4709:11,18 4710:15,16,18,22 4711:4,14 4713:21 4716:15 4717:17 4718:2,15</p> <p>answering 4668:1 4669:1,2 4694:6 4699:18</p> <p>answers 4641:9 4652:23 4676:2 4704:18</p> <p>antagonistic 4691:13</p> <p>anticipate 4660:18</p> <p>anti-workers 4694:9</p> <p>anybody 4630:20 4638:14 4646:8 4703:10</p> <p>anybody's 4674:17</p> <p>anyone's 4673:8</p> <p>anyway 4644:17 4648:18 4674:25 4676:15 4689:4 4690:11 4730:23</p> <p>apologise 4615:5 4714:8</p> <p>apology 4687:5,7,10 4711:15</p>	<p>apparently 4715:14</p> <p>appeal 4718:17</p> <p>appear 4620:23</p> <p>appeared 4629:11</p> <p>appearing 4651:14</p> <p>appears 4616:16 4662:21 4663:21,24 4674:11</p> <p>applauded 4677:9</p> <p>applies 4695:12</p> <p>apply 4690:25 4691:1 4697:10</p> <p>applying 4690:22</p> <p>appointed 4669:12</p> <p>appreciate 4675:13 4699:12 4720:7</p> <p>appreciated 4729:17</p> <p>approach 4636:19 4666:7 4672:15</p> <p>approached 4728:5</p> <p>appropriate 4674:21 4675:10 4686:1 4729:3</p> <p>approve 4702:4</p> <p>area 4647:16 4708:25</p> <p>areas 4728:7</p> <p>aren't 4704:3</p> <p>argue 4669:15,17 4683:5 4684:16 4711:24</p> <p>argument 4668:5 4712:15</p> <p>armed 4626:14,17 4677:19</p> <p>arms 4674:15 4683:2</p> <p>army 4728:19</p> <p>arose 4615:3</p> <p>arranged 4633:14</p> <p>arrangement 4707:23</p> <p>arrangements 4683:17</p> <p>arrested 4711:20</p> <p>arrival 4623:22 4673:12</p> <p>arrived 4622:7,22 4671:23 4673:5 4681:1</p> <p>article 4615:13,14,24 4616:2,15,19 4618:16 4619:16,19 4620:3,13 4620:23</p> <p>articles 4618:5 4620:10</p> <p>ascribe 4699:7</p> <p>aside 4714:10 4731:7</p> <p>asked 4618:12 4619:11 4621:10 4622:24 4623:12 4634:17,18 4635:1 4641:6,9 4644:6 4671:20 4681:2 4691:3 4707:18 4711:19 4714:1 4716:15,18 4731:10</p> <p>asking 4627:25 4641:12 4658:2 4664:1 4666:8 4684:6 4690:18,23 4699:9</p>	<p>4711:18 4715:16 4716:3</p> <p>asks 4686:6 4701:21 4717:12</p> <p>aspirations 4701:8</p> <p>assist 4624:9 4625:6 4627:11 4671:14 4678:1</p> <p>assistance 4639:14</p> <p>assisted 4667:11,23</p> <p>assisting 4631:25 4632:25 4633:1 4666:24</p> <p>assume 4715:1</p> <p>assure 4677:3</p> <p>assures 4717:11</p> <p>atmosphere 4678:4</p> <p>attempt 4621:17 4624:6,7 4637:20 4646:2 4662:11 4670:8,24 4683:12 4719:17</p> <p>attempting 4708:16</p> <p>attempts 4683:15</p> <p>attend 4714:21 4726:6 4726:8</p> <p>attention 4616:8 4617:15 4618:2 4637:18 4663:4</p> <p>attitude 4623:8 4630:10 4687:16,16</p> <p>attorneys 4633:11 4731:23</p> <p>audience 4654:8</p> <p>auditorium 4618:14 4653:6 4680:11 4718:18,21 4727:13</p> <p>August 4621:5,17 4623:7,16,25 4625:1 4628:19 4629:18 4630:9 4631:10 4632:7 4634:12 4635:5,16,18 4637:2 4638:4 4640:5,10 4641:23 4648:3 4649:10 4662:9 4664:11,13 4669:25 4676:17 4680:3,25 4683:7 4720:1,3 4725:22 4727:23 4729:15 4732:3 4733:18</p> <p>avail 4675:25 4683:17</p> <p>available 4630:20 4631:4 4678:19</p> <p>averted 4713:1</p> <p>avoid 4636:21</p> <p>avoiding 4636:12 4697:14</p> <p>aware 4620:4,8,22 4625:10 4628:14 4633:22 4636:20 4637:6,7,9,19 4644:8 4672:10 4682:22 4712:2,2,17 4716:4 4716:18,25 4717:12</p>
--	--	--	---	--

4717:14,15	best 4672:17 4674:22 4692:25 4729:18	cabinet 4732:11	catch 4640:6	choose 4676:1
B	better 4619:2 4651:19 4681:15	call 4627:6 4628:9,10 4645:24 4649:21 4652:6 4653:15 4657:20 4661:25 4662:2,4 4664:18,22 4670:16 4671:4 4675:10,24 4678:21 4681:5 4706:20 4713:19 4716:17 4728:23 4729:10 4732:23,23,24 4733:2 4733:5,9,20	categorised 4728:15	chose 4620:12
back 4621:4 4626:22 4634:1 4638:11 4656:14 4666:24 4667:11,24 4672:17 4676:23 4677:3 4687:15 4700:4 4719:21 4725:18 4726:7 4729:3	beyond 4657:6	called 4625:10 4640:12 4655:11 4658:1 4685:5 4714:10 4718:8 4726:3 4733:4	caucus 4672:1	chronologically 4633:15
background 4637:1 4670:14	Bheki 4731:4,6,12,12	caller 4640:24 4641:12 4642:11 4645:2,9,10 4645:18,19 4646:5 4662:16 4664:6,23	causing 4672:2	chronology 4634:20
backing 4713:3	Bheki's 4731:17	callers 4672:11	causally 4713:11	circumstances 4615:3 4713:2
backup 4625:9	big 4631:16 4705:12	calling 4621:21	cause 4713:8,8,11 4715:18,23 4716:2	citizens 4673:13
bad 4726:4 4732:17	bit 4650:7 4680:19 4703:14 4727:4	calls 4625:14 4715:18	caused 4697:16 4711:25	civil 4728:16
Baleni 4726:12	bold 4616:16 4617:4 4618:7 4619:20	campaign 4703:18	CCC1 4679:10	civilian 4637:12
bargaining 4701:3	Bongo 4621:16 4622:3 4622:8,17,18,21 4629:9 4640:12 4646:1 4662:10 4664:6	campaigned 4699:19	cemented 4695:4	claim 4696:14
Barnard 4731:2	Booi 4678:16,21 4679:2 4680:1,5,7	can't 4627:16,21 4650:4 4658:16 4667:3 4709:6 4712:6 4712:10	central 4689:9	claimed 4626:8 4646:11
Barnes's 4644:17 4668:6	bottom 4649:18 4719:18 4721:4 4722:20 4723:18 4725:4,20 4732:21 4733:25	capacity 4688:5 4706:7	CEO 4651:25 4731:13	clarify 4665:20 4707:2
base 4655:25,25	branch 4622:9,19 4623:21,21,23 4630:15,19,24 4631:4 4631:25	Cape 4721:7 4723:9 4726:6,9 4730:6 4732:7	CEOs 4729:9	clarity 4715:6
based 4623:4 4636:14 4651:12 4652:24 4654:2 4656:25 4709:16 4714:3	branch's 4630:10	capital 4690:20 4691:13,18 4692:12 4692:19 4694:4,25 4695:14 4696:5,24 4699:16 4700:4 4701:16,23 4702:1,5 4702:13,17 4704:24 4705:20 4712:2 4713:7 4714:12	certain 4697:11	clashing 4683:1
basic 4673:14	break 4646:17 4670:16 4684:19	capitalist 4692:5 4700:14,15	certainly 4634:7,24 4702:16 4720:25	class 4692:2,6,8,16,20 4694:24 4700:16
basically 4733:18	brief 4716:10 4729:10 4732:11	carbon 4655:10	chair 4615:9,18 4644:21 4652:21 4654:17 4655:18 4656:20 4659:10 4661:18 4674:19 4675:17,20 4679:12 4681:13 4685:16 4686:2 4714:19 4715:5,12 4719:13,17 4720:25 4722:6,16 4731:21,21,22,24 4732:2,24 4733:12,16	classes 4692:10 4693:7
basing 4627:17 4697:22 4698:8	briefed 4728:10,12	careful 4684:22	chairman 4721:3 4726:20 4735:2	clear 4631:17 4632:15 4634:1 4639:3 4655:22 4656:9 4661:4 4666:7 4671:1 4677:24 4684:1 4706:1
basis 4645:2 4647:13 4647:15 4680:13 4693:15 4713:16 4715:7	briefing 4628:15,20,22 4629:14 4716:9 4717:21 4721:2,13 4725:25 4731:4	carefully 4657:19	challenge 4696:15 4729:1	clearer 4683:21
bathroom 4707:13	bring 4663:3 4690:6	carnage 4624:22	Chamber 4726:20,20 4726:22 4729:10 4731:12	clearing 4718:21
BBB2 4615:18,20,21	broadcast 4647:23	Carol 4615:13,25 4616:2 4618:4	Chambers 4734:16	clearly 4632:12 4633:2 4633:24 4634:22 4645:8 4654:14 4655:17 4700:8 4708:23
BBB3 4679:12,16	brought 4635:20 4698:10	carried 4731:8	chance 4616:11 4617:25 4658:4 4672:17 4686:5 4699:16 4702:18 4703:2	client 4713:24
BBB4 4718:25 4719:12 4719:13	bullet 4728:9,24	carry 4676:15 4710:12 4715:25 4717:17 4727:21	challenge 4696:15 4729:1	climate 4696:15
bearing 4677:14	bullets 4728:8	carrying 4638:13 4674:15	chairman 4721:3 4726:20 4735:2	closed 4705:9 4706:18 4707:7
beatings 4710:2 4711:2	burdening 4694:20	cars 4650:23,24,25 4653:18,19,19	Chambers 4734:16	closing 4712:15
beg 4718:24	Burger 4643:22 4644:1 4661:18 4715:5,11 4722:13,16	case 4668:20 4669:17 4674:7 4684:2 4685:4 4692:11,24 4706:14 4706:23 4707:5 4708:23 4709:13 4714:2 4728:15	chance 4616:11 4617:25 4658:4 4672:17 4686:5 4699:16 4702:18 4703:2	coercion 4707:7
beginning 4617:2,3	burn 4639:9 4667:5,23 4683:12 4684:10	cases 4636:13	chance 4616:11 4617:25 4658:4 4672:17 4686:5 4699:16 4702:18 4703:2	colleague 4700:20
begins 4617:13	burned 4650:24		chance 4616:11 4617:25 4658:4 4672:17 4686:5 4699:16 4702:18 4703:2	colleagues 4731:25
behalf 4624:24 4625:12 4684:11	burning 4667:2		Chances 4713:3	collect 4669:12
behaviour 4694:10	burnt 4651:1 4653:19 4653:20		change 4693:5,8	collude 4694:4 4701:16 4701:23 4702:1,12,23 4703:9,22 4704:14 4705:6,15 4706:13 4707:4
behest 4660:25 4706:18	business 4615:14 4616:3 4699:15 4705:20		changed 4676:22	collusion 4702:8,16 4704:22,23 4705:1 4706:2 4707:1 4710:2 4710:21 4711:2 4712:1,20 4713:6,9 4714:11 4715:21 4716:2,8,13,23,25 4717:9
belief 4655:25,25 4695:5	businesses 4705:25		change 4693:5,8	COM 4729:10
beliefs 4673:15	businessperson 4718:11		channels 4698:25	combination 4696:5 4703:19
believe 4651:2 4653:21 4658:9 4659:6 4673:18 4694:12 4695:5 4703:5	busy 4658:20 4659:21 4659:22 4668:21 4715:22,23 4724:4		characterisation 4730:12 4732:10	combined 4715:19
believed 4655:23 4656:15 4684:2 4706:16			characterised 4730:12	come 4618:15 4624:5 4651:21 4655:12 4666:3 4670:19
believes 4631:14 4693:12			characterising 4730:8	
Bello 4651:25			check 4632:13 4634:1 4634:20 4635:1 4646:16 4665:10,14 4690:6	
belong 4693:11 4703:17 4705:10			checked 4620:14 4665:11	
bend 4701:8			checking 4639:3	
benefit 4680:11			chief 4695:20 4707:24 4729:11	
Bernard 4730:4 4732:4			China 4692:25 4696:8	
			Chinese 4696:9	
			choice 4624:20 4682:11 4695:18	
			choices 4695:18 4696:8	
	C			
	C 4720:19			

<p>4678:22 4684:19,22 4687:15 4696:22 4699:1,2 4703:20 4705:14 4706:15 4707:25 4708:18 4713:18 comes 4644:25 4693:22 coming 4644:24 4668:14 4695:4 4699:24 4700:25 commas 4663:10 commence 4615:4,6 4685:22 comment 4645:4,21 4676:20 4683:9 4684:20 4685:22 4706:7 4712:6 Commercial 4729:11 commission 4615:2 4636:14 4647:19 4648:2,5,6,15,17,23 4661:4 4665:20 4669:5,11,11 4672:25 4675:2,2,3 4678:17 4680:1 4682:21 4683:3,6 4687:20 4699:20 4703:5 4707:22 4708:19 4711:25 4712:13 4713:15,19 4731:5 4735:3,5 commissioner 4625:16 Commissioners 4675:20 4676:7 4678:19 4707:17 committee 4623:21,23 4630:15,19,24 4631:4 4631:25 4688:3 4689:9 Communist 4688:13,15 4688:20 companies 4696:10 company 4622:11 4625:4 4627:1,1 4639:8 4646:23 4663:13 4673:16 4697:2 4700:22 4701:2 4706:19,25 4707:9 4711:9 4716:9 compared 4618:8 comparison 4696:20 compelled 4622:20 complete 4687:22 complimented 4695:11 components 4695:14 4695:20 4696:21 4706:13 4709:16 comprehended 4627:16 comrade 4622:8,18 4640:12 concentrating 4659:1 concern 4624:14 4728:8 concerned 4615:5 4624:20 4630:22</p>	<p>4668:1 4692:1 4709:6 concerns 4629:25 conciliatory 4686:21 conclude 4652:1 4666:4 concluded 4658:9 conclusion 4684:22 concomitant 4730:13 concur 4692:21 4697:1 concurred 4713:21 concur 4620:17 condemning 4631:11 4632:7 conditions 4690:22,25 4691:1,16 4692:10 condone 4697:20 conduct 4656:8 conducted 4665:8,16 conference 4633:24 conferences 4633:23 confine 4699:9 4709:21 4709:24 confined 4710:4 confirm 4690:15 4717:22 4734:22 4735:1 confirmation 4729:5 confirmed 4637:22 4716:5 confirming 4629:25 confirms 4685:8,12 conforms 4685:4 confusion 4644:16,16 4658:22 connected 4713:11 conservative 4710:1 4711:1 consider 4718:21 consistent 4631:13 4634:2 4667:19 4730:7 consult 4628:7 contact 4726:21 contained 4618:4 4702:9 CONTD 4615:10,11 contention 4662:16 context 4650:6,11 4654:14 4661:20 4693:16 4695:12,19 4714:6 4724:12 continue 4662:6 4727:6 4729:14 continues 4708:8 4718:20 contradictions 4694:25 contrary 4639:10 4673:14 control 4625:6 conversation 4620:19 4627:20 4638:2 4643:12 4675:9,12 4676:3 convey 4731:9 copies 4615:22 copy 4681:9,11 4731:10</p>	<p>correct 4615:9 4617:7 4617:16 4618:6 4619:13 4621:19,20 4622:5 4623:16 4624:1 4625:2,16 4626:19 4628:19 4629:3,18,19,22 4631:2 4634:14,15 4635:6 4636:17 4641:23 4646:4,6 4647:21 4648:3 4649:12,22 4651:10 4656:18,19 4659:9,10 4662:13 4663:14,19 4664:4,9,14 4665:9 4665:17 4666:18 4669:6,8 4670:4,5,9 4671:21 4674:13 4688:4,22 4689:6 4690:20 4691:8,14,23 4692:2,8,17 4693:10 4695:16 4696:2,14 4704:11 4714:25 4716:6 4725:6 4730:15 4732:9 4734:4,23 corrected 4674:1 correctly 4642:21 4703:12 4732:15 COSATU 4689:10,14 4689:23 4693:10,16 4693:18 4694:13 4695:19,21,22 couldn't 4622:16 4623:11 4625:21 4629:9 4662:24 4663:4 could've 4673:24 4674:1 could've 4673:23 counsel 4622:24 4631:4 4660:14,16,19 4664:16,19,21 4666:4 4713:15 4716:17 counsellor 4693:15 4694:7 4709:15 count 4689:8 4690:5,10 4690:12 counting 4690:16 countries 4695:24 4696:17 country 4634:5 4674:16 4689:7 4690:23,25 4696:3 4697:2 4698:23 4700:4,18 4702:20 couple 4668:10 4720:23 course 4668:12 4681:25 covered 4617:14 create 4627:14 4685:15 created 4683:11 creating 4701:10 credentials 4723:22 cricket 4716:17</p>	<p>criminal 4730:18 4732:9 criminals 4730:11 criticising 4689:18 cross 4633:17 4654:1 4685:24 4712:13 4731:23 cross-examination 4615:11 4618:20 4643:19 4644:3,10 4675:5,6,21 4686:13 4686:16 4708:8 cross-examine 4675:7 4675:11,14,25 4676:4 4686:4 cross-examined 4648:25 4649:2 cross-examining 4615:8 4686:22 crowd 4625:5 crowds 4680:5 Cuba 4693:1 4696:11 4698:9 culminating 4699:21 current 4694:11,12 4718:12 4730:8 currently 4690:8 4705:11 4721:7 4723:9 4730:6 cut 4683:19,21 4696:1 4699:11 Cyril 4718:9 4720:13 4721:1,12 4722:1,25 4723:3,6,16 4726:23 4728:3 4729:16,16 4730:21 4731:4 4732:4 4733:3,19</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">D</p> <hr/> <p>Dali 4670:12 damaging 4728:13 dangerous 4636:20 dark 4671:16 dastardly 4730:11 date 4646:19 4681:10 dated 4620:3 4681:10 dates 4645:6 4647:3 4659:13 day 4615:14 4616:3 4621:12,25 4622:1 4623:22 4624:18 4625:15 4629:24 4633:23 4634:2 4635:22 4636:10 4637:8,10 4641:25 4652:12 4656:25 4658:15 4661:7 4664:22 4665:23 4667:20 4677:21 4683:18 4715:3 4717:13,20 4730:3,22 days 4634:1,13 4655:2 4658:19 deal 4619:22 4621:21 4621:22 4626:7 4628:9 4630:5</p>	<p>4656:12 4674:23 4675:14 4682:9,10,10 4686:10 4697:25 4705:6,15 4714:9 4715:18,21 4727:3 4730:1,1 dealing 4619:15 4636:13 4642:6 4645:13,13 4646:9 4672:20 4682:14 4701:1 4707:11 4716:2 4730:18 deals 4653:25 dealt 4633:20 4677:5 4682:25 Dear 4725:24 4730:5 4732:6 death 4652:20 deaths 4659:16,20 4664:25 4665:1 debatable 4696:6 debate 4644:23 4645:15 4651:14 4653:6 4694:21 4715:12 debated 4631:19 4643:23 debating 4645:23 4698:9,18 4715:12 debriefing 4717:13 debriefings 4714:22 December 4681:10 decent 4678:7 decide 4626:15 4671:3 4696:11 4703:9 decided 4675:6 4727:16 decision 4666:25 4667:12 decisions 4623:20 4636:21 defined 4700:8 4702:8 4710:7 4711:8 defines 4710:11 definitely 4696:2 definition 4711:11 defuse 4674:8 defusing 4665:4 demanding 4671:17 4681:3 demands 4646:22 4663:12 4676:23 4677:4,5 denied 4708:22 4710:15,21 dent 4692:11 deny 4644:6 4673:11 denying 4702:8 department 4731:7 depending 4686:5,6 4697:1 depends 4693:15 4695:17 4696:12 deputy 4718:12 4726:19 describe 4682:5 4719:1</p>
--	---	--	---	--

<p>described 4619:19 4626:14 4627:21 4730:10 description 4619:18 deserves 4698:22 desist 4672:12 despite 4622:2,2 detail 4621:25 4640:13 4664:6,15 4682:22 detailed 4629:5 4673:1 details 4621:18 4629:8 4635:19 4640:15,16 4641:22 4648:8 determine 4626:16 developments 4652:17 deviation 4706:2 DG 4728:14 4733:20 dictates 4671:3 didn't 4615:6 4626:6 4627:8,17 4628:8,25 4629:2,8,13,14 4631:10 4632:6 4639:6,11 4640:6,14 4644:4 4646:7,9 4656:10 4667:9 4671:10 4674:12 4677:24 4690:9 4694:15 4708:9 4712:16 4713:22 4714:8 4720:24 differ 4693:2 difference 4619:17 4679:3 differences 4654:11 different 4616:1 4618:9 4618:11 4623:18 4636:3 4659:7 4667:18 4669:1 4689:16,16 4702:21 4734:6,7 differential 4619:23 difficult 4630:13,17 4658:8 4672:5 4673:3 4673:4 4692:21 4694:16 4697:1 4718:20 difficulties 4730:9 difficulty 4660:3 4701:25 4703:21 dignity 4695:1 Dikolwana 4619:8 direct 4656:10,16 directed 4646:23 4663:12 direction 4644:24 4645:14 directly 4626:19 4668:14 director 4617:5 4618:24 4723:25 dirty 4707:12 disagree 4689:22 4692:23,24 4702:24 4706:5 disallow 4627:25 disallowing 4644:17</p>	<p>disarm 4672:12 4682:23 discomfort 4708:25 discovered 4668:10,11 4668:15,16,23 discredited 4684:6 discuss 4715:3 4726:13 discussed 4726:21 discussion 4644:18 4647:9 4657:4 4693:24 4698:11 4721:22 4722:1 4723:19 4726:2,10 4730:7,20 4732:7 discussions 4717:24 4718:5 4726:2 4728:14 dismiss 4697:5 dismissed 4697:4 4698:24 disperse 4677:19 displayed 4687:16 dispute 4641:21 4647:13,17 4652:11 4728:10 4730:10 4732:9 disputing 4641:25 disregard 4697:13 distracted 4716:16 distribute 4696:12 distributed 4679:2 divert 4697:12 Dlamini 4689:23 document 4618:8,8 4621:1 4634:25 4635:8,10 4637:20 4638:1,7,18 4690:6 documentation 4619:25 documents 4621:1 4719:16 doesn't 4643:16 4648:8 4649:5 4655:16 4658:15 4679:5 4690:10 4702:18 4706:11 4730:24 doing 4625:12 4635:2 4651:5 4653:25 4656:4 4672:3,24 4673:1 4696:20 4704:22 4707:9 don 4641:23 don't 4620:18 4627:13 4632:1,14 4634:20 4635:8 4637:15,24 4639:15 4642:18 4648:21 4649:1,6 4655:8 4661:1,6 4663:20 4666:3 4667:8 4669:12 4673:21 4675:25 4676:10 4678:12 4679:3 4684:8 4685:14 4686:3 4687:22 4689:2,17 4691:2 4700:12,23</p>	<p>4701:2,19 4702:19,23 4703:8,11,17 4706:3 4706:23 4710:17 4711:23 4713:13,20 4715:11 4716:7,12,12 4716:16 4718:22 4722:17 4727:3 4729:6 4731:13 doors 4685:13 doubt 4673:18 drafted 4710:8 draw 4616:7 drawing 4637:18 4656:11 drawn 4617:15 4618:2 4662:2 dream 4661:6 drill 4618:25 4619:23 drillers 4619:19 drive 4650:10 due 4615:3 4624:21 4669:10 4681:25 4697:18 4712:22 duel 4699:17 Dunn 4617:6 4618:2,24 4619:7 dwell 4700:17</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">E</p> <hr/> <p>E 4721:18 earlier 4641:3 4643:6 4645:25 4648:14 4685:22 early 4724:13 easier 4659:17 Eastern 4728:6 easy 4673:8 effect 4620:12 either 4617:13 4622:8 4643:2 4644:4 4669:19 4692:5,19 4703:13 elected 4623:19 4688:3 4688:6 electrical 4700:20 electricity 4693:18 email 4721:7 4723:9 4724:10,24 4725:14 emails 4719:3 4722:10 4724:4 4727:5,8 embark 4697:24 embarking 4631:15 4703:17 embedded 4694:24 employees 4710:12 employer 4685:10,13 4697:11 4705:6 4707:4 4708:11,14,22 4709:2,8,17,19,21 4710:2,7,14,21 4711:3 employers 4684:12 4697:7 4700:1,3,9 4701:8 4703:19 4705:14 4706:9 4711:7</p>	<p>empowering 4700:9 enable 4676:3 encountered 4708:10 encourage 4631:16 4636:6 4729:8 ends 4655:12 4707:1 Energy 4688:24 enforcers 4706:20 engage 4683:8 4684:12 4691:19 engaging 4678:4 4684:17 English 4704:12 enormous 4668:2 enquire 4630:20 ensure 4624:14 4665:3 4671:15 4672:12 ensuring 4729:2 entertain 4676:23 entitled 4704:17 environment 4678:4 4692:22 4693:1 era 4710:4,5 especially 4620:1 essentially 4730:17 establish 4624:6 4671:7 4678:9 4683:7 4712:24 4731:16,18 4731:23 established 4631:1 4635:23,24 4663:18 estimate 4627:12 evening 4629:24 event 4713:5 events 4621:5,11 4629:6 4634:14 4651:8,12 4730:9 everybody 4615:23 evidence 4633:19 4647:19,21 4648:1,20 4649:7,8,10,11 4651:7,9 4652:7 4656:14,16,16 4657:9 4658:9 4661:9 4668:20 4675:8 4678:16,22 4680:1 4684:15,17 4707:24 4708:10 4713:16,20 4714:9,13,20 4715:2 4718:20,23 4731:20 exactly 4627:23 4654:5 4729:21 examination 4633:18 4654:2 4685:25 4731:24 examine 4712:14 example 4705:13 4708:19 4709:7 4710:1 examples 4706:15 exchange 4619:25 4724:4 4726:15 exchanged 4719:3 excuse 4733:21 executive 4617:5 4618:24 4688:3</p>	<p>4689:9,10 executives 4651:24 4656:24 exhibit 4615:16 4634:17,18 4636:24 4639:13 4640:17,23 4646:12 4649:16 4678:23 4679:4,5 4694:20 4718:25 4719:2 exist 4694:15,25 expect 4714:3 expelled 4698:24 experience 4701:9 4709:5,23 4710:25 experienced 4708:12 4709:25 experimenting 4732:10 experts 4620:11 4621:2 explain 4621:10,21 4624:13 4636:25 4641:24 4701:21 4703:14,23 4711:17 explained 4622:18 explanation 4622:24 4623:9 exploits 4691:18 exposed 4697:13 extended 4687:10 4693:13 4707:24 4734:16,24 extent 4691:17 4693:6 e-mail 4727:23 4730:6 4731:10</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">F</p> <hr/> <p>facing 4697:6 fact 4621:22 4622:4 4627:2,17 4628:23 4630:14 4632:24 4640:13 4644:8 4647:8,10 4651:15 4653:9 4656:3,13,25 4657:1 4661:23 4662:17 4665:22 4668:18 4670:12 4673:21 4674:24 4677:15 4683:12 4692:24 4695:19 4707:18 4717:12 4725:8 facts 4624:6 4663:19 4668:24 4673:24 4683:7 factual 4715:7 failure 4662:2 fair 4618:13 4643:14 4644:15 4660:9 4712:11 4714:16 4731:15 fairly 4627:20 fairness 4618:16 4643:22 4650:3,8 false 4636:17 familiar 4704:10 families 4631:16</p>
---	--	---	---	---

<p>4698:20 far 4650:14 4657:22 4684:24 4691:11,25 4693:20 4696:15 4706:21 4707:3,12 4709:5 4710:6 4711:8 4712:15 4720:24 4728:4 farm 4701:5 Farmer 4732:5 fashion 4727:4 fast 4727:23 fault 4715:19 favour 4708:15 favours 4708:23 fears 4631:6 February 4615:1 4681:19,25 4734:24 Federation 4696:9 federations 4703:8 feed 4713:3 feel 4698:20 fickle 4693:20 fighting 4638:14 filled 4681:10 final 4619:6 find 4622:4 4623:7 4624:7 4629:21 4630:3,9 4633:19 4658:8 4662:24 4665:9 4666:1,17 4670:7 4683:8 4693:1 4698:17 4708:21 finding 4679:6 fine 4617:24 4664:18 finish 4685:25 4686:12 finished 4633:18 4657:21 4686:4 fire 4640:1 fired 4641:6 4643:9 4664:7 4667:15 4668:16 first 4618:1,12 4619:19 4621:24 4635:10 4640:8,13 4642:7,9 4642:25 4644:25 4646:15,18 4647:5 4663:22 4676:7 4678:23 4679:6 4699:6,6 4705:2 4718:1 4719:24 4725:4 4728:8,9 4734:2 Firstly 4656:1 4716:15 five 4655:11 4690:11 4715:15,17 flow 4647:4 flying 4621:1 focus 4617:22 focused 4644:20 follow 4618:19 4647:24 4654:8 4726:22 following 4616:17 4638:11 4641:10 4657:19 4661:7,20 4676:19 4677:21</p>	<p>4722:4 4725:24 follows 4619:7 4679:18 4728:1 4732:3 font 4618:10 4619:20 foot 4657:16 4719:24 4721:22 footprints 4658:13 force 4697:11 4698:2 4700:22 forces 4706:22 foresee 4700:3 forgive 4669:20 form 4629:14 4634:4 4693:21 4698:2 format 4693:21 formation 4696:13 4706:14 formed 4636:15 4693:5 4694:5,8,17 4699:21 4701:10 former 4718:10,11 4726:12 forming 4695:3 forms 4644:9 4707:6 forward 4652:13 4655:13 4673:14 4677:21 4697:6 4712:6 4713:23 4726:14 4729:17 found 4619:6 4667:14 4670:22 4679:8 4692:18 founding 4695:8 fourth 4682:14 frame 4714:8 framework 4695:10 4701:1,6 4705:24 Frans 4726:12 free 4705:11 fresh 4676:23 Friday 4620:9 4621:10 4621:16 4622:6 4623:18 4641:4 4643:8,24 4644:5,13 4644:15 4646:19,19 4649:19 4650:17,17 4653:12,12,16 4655:21 4656:2 4658:21 4659:3,4 4661:12 4665:12 4726:15 friend 4715:6 front 4679:23 4719:21 frustrate 4708:16 frustrated 4625:7 4627:2 frustrations 4625:9 full 4650:11 4654:1,11 fully 4703:13 function 4705:25 functions 4701:7 fundamentally 4692:15 further 4624:22 4643:10 4649:6 4658:3 4664:2,25 4669:17 4676:4</p>	<p>4685:17 4691:16 Fusi 4734:18</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">G</p> <hr/> <p>gain 4673:8 gathered 4729:9 Gathering 4674:16 Gcilitshana 4670:11 4686:23,24 4712:14 4716:5 4718:2 Gcilitshana's 4714:20 general 4638:3,10 4651:17 4669:25 4671:1,19 4687:11,13 4695:24 4696:23 4718:10 4726:18 Generally 4692:9 gentlemen 4734:13 genuine 4684:2 Germany 4674:5 getting 4627:24 give 4616:10,11 4620:21 4625:22 4627:9,11 4629:10 4634:19,24 4636:8 4647:4 4658:5 4669:13 4672:19 4675:24 4676:23 4677:22 4678:16,22 4680:1 4686:5,6 4687:21 4709:7 4731:19 given 4619:2,25 4620:18 4622:24 4623:3 4625:4,20 4626:12,16,20 4627:1 4628:14 4631:1 4636:9,12 4639:10 4647:19 4649:10 4651:9,20 4652:13,14 4660:22 4665:6 4666:22 4667:19 4682:19 4694:14 4714:13 4718:23 gives 4701:13 giving 4671:25 4714:6 4723:22 global 4696:15 go 4617:20 4621:4 4629:8 4632:1,13 4633:1,11,25 4638:17 4640:17,22 4642:18 4642:19 4645:14 4646:10,12,20 4648:8 4649:15 4650:5,16 4653:5,10 4657:5 4663:6 4664:23 4666:24 4667:11,24 4671:17,20 4672:1,6 4672:17 4673:14 4676:7,23 4677:21 4678:12 4680:8 4681:2,3 4682:4,8,17 4683:14 4685:11 4688:22 4694:14 4695:22 4696:8,11</p>	<p>4697:4 4700:2,4 4705:16 4707:13 4712:16 4719:21 4720:24 4730:21</p> <p>Goebbels 4674:4 goes 4646:20 going 4623:10,13 4624:6,18,23 4627:25 4628:8 4632:2,22 4634:21 4645:15 4651:23 4654:8 4665:3 4666:13 4667:8,23 4672:2 4673:4 4674:25 4675:24 4676:19 4677:3 4678:16,21 4680:1 4683:5,16 4687:17 4690:5 4694:18 4697:6 4698:7 4703:23 4711:24 4712:13 4713:6 4714:12 4715:14,17,20 4716:12 4726:5,6,14 4727:15 4730:9 4731:19 4732:8,11 4733:13 good 4615:12 4647:25 4673:13 4686:4,18 4729:4 gotten 4621:18 government 4695:21 4700:3 4705:14 4706:12 4707:4 4726:5 4730:16 grading 4619:4 grateful 4663:3 4668:6 4728:24,25 grievances 4672:20 ground 4638:25 group 4621:23 4637:4 4638:3 grouping 4705:10 grumpily 4680:20 grumpy 4680:19 guard 4653:11 guards 4648:3 4649:9 4649:20 4652:5,20 4655:21,24 4657:23 4662:23 guided 4661:7 guides 4691:10 guy 4631:24 guys 4628:23 4636:11 4649:21 4650:23 4653:10,13,14,18 4657:17,18,20 4686:22 Gwala 4640:16,23 4641:2,8,11 4643:3 4645:19,24 4650:17 4650:22 4651:1 4653:7,12,15,17,20 Gwede 4726:18 Gxokogxokwana 4734:18</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">H</p> <hr/> <p>hadn't 4669:15 4674:12 half 4675:1 halfway 4616:15 hallmarks 4710:6 HANABE 4729:21,24 hand 4615:23 4678:15 4681:24 4690:13 4718:25 handle 4678:13 hands 4679:11 4683:2 4689:9 4690:10 4707:12,13 happen 4670:17 4673:16 4677:11 4698:13 4702:24 4703:1 4716:12 4717:3,7 happened 4618:3 4622:1,4 4628:18 4629:1,2,21 4630:1 4636:24 4637:3,16,25 4641:7,9,13,23 4642:12 4643:9,23 4644:4,10,12,15 4645:13 4646:4,5 4651:21 4652:14 4653:8 4655:10 4656:6 4659:3,8 4665:9 4666:2 4668:9 4668:18,19,21 4669:7 4673:18 4685:3 4698:12 4708:3 4709:3 happening 4624:18 4627:3 4647:24 4651:19,20 4664:22 4716:11 4726:4 happens 4700:14 happy 4625:22 4660:12 4684:18,23 4685:3 4717:3 hard 4619:19 harm 4667:5 harshly 4705:7 hasn't 4645:17 hate 4673:6,7 haven't 4618:15 4632:19 4647:1 4690:15 4702:22 4706:2 4710:16 4714:1 4715:9,16 hear 4636:3 4638:24 4639:5,7,11 4642:8 4642:10 4643:1 4644:25 4718:20 heard 4635:2,5,16 4640:8 4641:12 4644:18 4651:2 4653:22 4663:9,14,22 4664:7 4665:1,11 4675:16 4709:17 4711:5 4714:13 4715:2</p>
---	---	--	---	---

held 4653:11 4655:4 4656:23,23 4658:12 4659:13 4669:24 4714:14 4726:16	4632:3,16 4674:15 4677:18 4697:24 imagine 4627:9 4679:9 immediately 4655:11 4701:20	industry 4619:4 4678:9 4678:11 4709:24 inference 4656:10,11 4656:13 Inferences 4662:1 inferred 4656:5 influence 4692:12 4729:7 influenced 4694:13 info 4637:15 inform 4629:13 information 4619:14 4620:1 4622:3 4627:10 4628:16,17 4636:8 4645:4 4664:5 4664:9 4665:6,21 4669:12 4671:14 4709:4 informed 4624:15 4629:5 4634:13 4655:4 4658:13 4661:25 4673:19 4683:23 4690:22 4691:1 4712:13 informs 4691:16 ingenuity 4617:1 inherent 4694:25 inherently 4691:13 initially 4653:7 injured 4667:16,16 4668:17 4711:20 injury 4695:9,9 innocent 4641:16 input 4695:23 inquiry 4647:19 4707:21,21 inside 4706:19 insight 4687:21 insignificant 4729:13 insinuations 4685:9 insisting 4730:16 insists 4731:22 instance 4693:17 instigated 4651:3 4653:23 4654:13 4656:2 4659:15 4662:22 instruct 4713:22 instructions 4676:8,9 4676:11,11 4685:24 instrument 4692:1,6,7 4693:8 4699:23 4700:16 intend 4661:25 4712:6 4712:15 intended 4660:2,7 4714:7 intending 4639:9 4659:24 intention 4692:11 interact 4667:7 interacting 4657:10 4667:1 interaction 4652:15 4655:5 4666:10 4684:25 4725:25	interactions 4655:8 interest 4624:12 4714:2 interested 4659:4 4684:17 interesting 4693:24 interpret 4618:18 4734:10 interpreted 4709:15 interpreter 4618:18 4729:19 4733:21 interrupt 4643:3,13 4678:25 interrupts 4653:16 intervene 4692:16 4726:19 intervened 4643:16 intervenes 4693:25 intervention 4728:17 interview 4629:17 4632:24 4637:22 4640:9,15,18,20 4642:9 4652:12 4660:23 4662:8 4672:9 interviews 4632:14 introduce 4637:20 4687:22 introducing 4615:13 invade 4621:18 4646:2 4662:11 invariably 4695:15 inverted 4663:10 investigated 4663:18 4667:13 4668:8,19 4674:13 investigating 4670:15 investigation 4665:9,17 4668:22 investigations 4664:2 investing 4697:8 invite 4706:6 involve 4714:11 4724:5 involved 4626:13 involvement 4661:21 irreconcilable 4691:23 isn't 4623:13,16 4631:2 4641:23 4646:4,6 4651:10 4656:16 4665:17 4669:7 4670:8 4674:13 4676:24 4681:10,14 4708:14 issue 4621:22 4623:12 4629:10 4630:18,21 4630:21 4631:10 4632:6 4642:5 4645:23 4646:9 4668:2 4675:21 4676:8 4677:11,12,13 4678:3 4693:18 4698:18 4704:12 4726:5 4728:16,16 issued 4620:13 4632:9 4633:5 4634:1 4663:19 4664:2 4669:15	issues 4629:13 4631:19 4636:7 4678:10 4682:10,24 4693:17 4697:25 4698:9 4701:2 4711:23 it's 4615:4,13,24 4616:1,14 4617:10 4618:4,17 4619:8 4627:9 4631:24 4637:11 4638:2 4645:7,18,19 4646:18 4647:8 4651:23 4655:8,22 4656:9 4657:4,5,21 4658:18 4659:1 4662:3,5 4663:7,8 4664:18 4666:15 4668:5 4670:18 4673:4,7,8 4674:19 4681:11,17 4681:23 4682:11 4683:23 4684:1 4690:7,11,11 4691:22 4692:5,6,7,21 4701:15,22,25 4707:1 4710:12 4711:11 4713:14 4718:25 4719:21,25 4721:4 4723:1 4724:13,14,19 4727:2,13 I'd 4615:12 4625:13,13 4634:16 4658:5 4663:3 4668:6 4678:15 4680:6 I'll 4680:22 4686:4,6 4705:18 4706:6 4709:10 4711:12,13 4719:11 4724:10 4725:24 4727:22 4729:13 4730:1 4731:5 4733:16 I'm 4675:19,24 4676:19 4678:24 4679:10 4680:4 4682:21 4685:7 4688:8,15,19,23 4689:1,18,19 4690:4 4690:6,14,18,18 4701:17 4702:10 4703:12,22 4704:15 4704:22 4705:2,12 4709:3,4 4711:18,23 4712:2 4713:16,18 4714:12 4715:12 4718:15 4719:15 4721:3,7 4723:9 4724:6 4725:19 4728:22 4729:23 4730:6 4732:23 I've 4666:9 4675:6,23 4677:13 4681:9 4703:21 4704:25 4709:18 4710:3,5 4715:15 4716:17 4719:17 4723:18 4727:16 4728:14 4729:9 4734:9
hiding 4622:9 4623:11 4623:24 4630:15 4631:6 4671:14 4683:14 high 4701:24 higher 4619:2 4717:23 highly 4694:13 hikes 4693:18 hindrance 4678:3 historian 4674:4 historical 4651:12 historically 4689:13,20 4694:22 history 4661:5 4694:21 4694:23,24 4695:2 hold 4678:12 4688:1,12 4688:13 4689:7 4690:19 4701:24 4723:20 home 4650:11 4690:22 4700:25 honest 4707:12 honestly 4710:17 honourable 4675:20 4676:6 hope 4655:14 4697:21 hoping 4661:3 hospital 4640:3 hour 4727:18 hours 4724:13	Impala 4616:16 4617:3 4617:4,5 4618:3,23 4618:23 4632:10 4651:5,12,21 4652:14 4653:24 4655:10 4656:4,6,7 4658:14 4706:16 4707:5 4708:20 4709:8,19 implement 4700:22 important 4633:19 4636:16 4666:1 4672:15 4680:13 4687:21 4688:1 4689:21 4730:2 impossible 4682:22 4706:10 4713:1,4 impress 4629:7 impression 4647:4 4677:8 improved 4694:13 inaccurate 4674:1 inaction 4726:4 inactions 4715:20 inaudible 4623:22 4624:20 4636:11 4655:13 4657:7,8 4660:17 4677:17 4678:5 4680:5 4689:15 4691:9 4702:4 4703:15 4707:5 4708:16,24 4716:20 4724:11 incident 4635:4,15,20 4635:25 4636:5,9 4637:1,3,5,6,10,15,18 4640:25 4644:9 4645:1,3 4646:16 4661:17 4662:10 4665:7 4667:14 incidents 4630:1 4658:13,20 4673:17 include 4706:12 including 4630:2,4 4636:11 4637:14 incomplete 4657:25 incorrect 4631:1 increase 4619:23 4622:12 4625:11 4629:7 4687:6 increment 4619:2 indebted 4702:11 independent 4729:4 indicate 4675:7 4685:23 indicated 4647:20 4648:19 4670:1 4675:23 indicates 4662:25 indistinct 4630:16 4670:13 industrial 4728:15	industrial 4728:15		
I				
Ian 4732:5 idea 4616:10 4686:4 4727:18 ideas 4699:2 4726:15 identical 4681:22 identified 4661:23 identify 4616:11 ideology 4691:12 ignorant 4680:14 ignore 4722:7 4733:24 illegal 4631:18 4632:1				

<p style="text-align: center;">J</p> <p>ja 4680:4 4686:17 4691:22 4703:25 4709:20 4723:21 4725:23 4733:25 James 4726:13,14 Jameson 4728:2,2 4729:11 4730:3 4731:2 4732:4 4734:1 job 4619:4,18 jobs 4619:2 Johannesburg 4726:8 4732:13 join 4705:11 joint 4726:7 Joseph 4674:4 juice 4669:21 junction 4696:23 June 4615:15 4620:4 4620:22 junior 4664:19 justice 4687:23</p>	<p>4699:22 knowing 4626:2 4666:5 knowledge 4656:10 4660:23 known 4652:16 4655:7 4657:11 4662:21 knows 4649:4 koppie 4651:16,16,18 4651:20 4657:9 4661:23 4665:25 4666:5,8,13,15 4670:2,4,19,21 4671:21,25 4672:2 4674:8 4676:18 4680:2 4684:16,18 4685:10,12 koppies 4678:11</p>	<p>leading 4652:17 4661:6 4671:8,17,18 learned 4715:6 learnt 4695:2 leave 4677:8 4681:5 4718:24 leaving 4619:5 Lebogang 4734:19 led 4620:1 4659:15,20 4661:2 4683:22 4693:21 4707:7 4709:4 left 4626:21 4634:11 4665:2,12 legal 4649:11 4651:9 4668:19,23 4698:22 4698:23 4701:1 legislations 4695:22 lemon 4669:22 Lenin 4691:15,22 4692:1 Leninist 4691:8 lesson 4696:8 letter 4725:3 4728:22 4731:10 let's 4621:4 4636:23 4650:13 4678:14 4679:5 4690:12 4699:13 4709:23 4714:10 4715:24 level 4626:10 4677:13 4697:23 4717:23 lie 4674:6,6 4682:13 lies 4641:16 4642:11 4644:7 4645:20 4674:8 life 4689:7 light 4678:23 likeliness 4651:20 limited 4683:18 4707:11 line 4637:2 4641:9 4643:4 4650:5 4653:3 4663:8 4712:5,23 4730:12 lines 4652:24 link 4666:21 linked 4657:12 linking 4688:9 lips 4663:25 listen 4618:15 4657:18 4677:16 4678:8 4684:9 4711:13 4715:13 listened 4714:2 listening 4707:17 little 4641:3 4643:6 4644:22 4681:6 lives 4622:10,13,20 4624:15 4630:22 4641:16 LLB 4672:9 local 4623:7 4628:21 4630:10 4631:25 4632:24 4634:12 4636:7 4667:6</p>	<p>4671:12,25 location 4642:4 lock 4708:23 logic 4695:3 logically 4678:22 long 4618:17 4627:6,15 4676:14 4684:25 4689:15 4697:12 4705:12 longer 4628:1,2 4630:20 Lonmin 4624:1,4,5 4628:18 4632:10 4634:11 4637:3 4651:21,24 4656:8,24 4661:20,22 4669:24 4678:6,7 4712:21 4713:7,10 4714:15,23 4715:3,7,20,22 4717:25 4718:6 4719:4,9,10 4723:25 4724:16 4726:4,8 4728:3 4729:12 look 4616:18 4617:25 4622:12 4630:13,18 4634:7 4636:23 4638:6 4657:5,6 4669:18 4673:25 4676:21 4678:14 4680:6 4684:3 4722:13 4729:17 looked 4618:5 4732:20 looking 4662:25 4684:3 looks 4730:23 loosely 4681:6 losing 4631:16 4700:5 4715:12 lost 4618:19 4622:11,13 4624:16,16 4630:22 4668:4 4683:13 4698:16 4727:19 lot 4618:14 4623:12 4668:7 4673:22 4712:18 4720:20 louder 4683:1 low 4682:4,8 LRA 4698:1 lunch 4674:23 4727:16 Lungani 4734:19 lying 4645:3 4674:9</p>	<p>4689:1 management 4618:25 4624:1,4,5,23 4628:21 4634:11 4653:10 4677:17 4678:7 4683:25 4706:16 4728:11 mandate 4676:24 4677:22 4678:1 4713:3 mandated 4624:24 Mangaung 4688:3 manner 4626:14 4682:21 4705:15 4730:8 Mantashe 4726:18 march 4641:4 4642:2,3 4643:7 4647:6,10 4651:3,25 4652:2,3 4652:17 4653:1,15,23 4654:13,13 4655:7,20 4655:21 4656:1 4657:3,13,21,24 4658:10,16,20 4659:4 4659:15,22 4660:24 4661:2,9 4662:17,22 marched 4640:14 4667:21,22 marchers 4640:2 4642:1 marches 4659:20 4661:5 marching 4621:23 4644:23 4645:12 4646:11,11 4663:1 4666:23 4668:11 Marikana 4629:24 4665:13 4697:14,16 4697:21 4698:11,13 4698:14 4699:6 mark 4715:17 4717:1 4719:11 Marx 4691:22 Marxist 4691:7 massacre 4697:16 4711:25 4713:8,12 material 4633:17 4676:1 Mathunjwa 4642:11 4644:12 4645:2,17,23 4646:16,18 4647:14 4647:18 4648:1,20,25 4649:2,5 4653:25 4663:7,8,15,25 4664:7 4665:2 matter 4624:12 4630:13 4647:5,6 4663:18 4668:5 4677:15 4683:8 4686:10 4693:19 4726:8,21 4730:24 4731:20 matters 4620:11 4621:3 4632:10 4693:13 mean 4625:22 4626:1</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">K</p> <p>keep 4718:23 4726:23 4732:14 kept 4615:5 4634:13 key 4664:24 4677:7 Khumalo 4731:6 kill 4673:6,7,21 killed 4627:4 4628:23 4628:24 4630:1,17 4631:7 4632:16 4634:3 4635:3,14,21 4636:4,10 4637:5,6,8 4637:10,14,23,24 4638:12,21 4639:2 4640:2 4649:21 4650:23 4652:2,5 4653:14,17 4655:22 4655:24 4657:3,20,23 4658:1 4659:14 4661:1 4662:13 4663:2,23 4665:22 4666:5,8,9,16 4667:16 4668:17 4673:25 4674:10 4698:15,19 killing 4630:4 4640:7 4646:24 4648:3 4649:9 4652:3 4655:6 4658:21 4659:22,25 4660:15 4661:2 4662:23 4663:13 4664:8 4674:17 4678:10 4684:7 4697:20 killings 4665:14 kin 4631:16 kind 4656:8 4678:6 4699:17 4703:17 knew 4632:25 4634:21 4635:24 4646:4 4662:22,23,25 4665:24 4670:2</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <p>labelled 4683:24 labour 4634:4 4690:20 4691:13 4693:17 4694:12 4695:1,14,15 4695:18 4696:3,23 4699:20 4700:8 4701:1,2,5,6,7 4702:9 4702:12,13,17,18,21 4703:2,6,15,16,20 4704:2,10,10 4705:1 4705:23 4707:4 4710:4 4711:8 4713:10 4730:10 4732:8 language 4704:9 lastly 4700:7 late 4622:8,17 4629:9 4640:12 4674:25 latest 4681:11,15,17,19 laugh 4718:19 law 4677:5 4695:11 4697:3,6,9,10,12,13 4697:17 4698:12 4699:25 4700:2 4701:12 4706:20 lawful 4698:25 laws 4694:10 lay 4697:2 layout 4734:5,7 lead 4691:19 leader 4620:1 4630:6 4657:8 4666:7 4670:18 4677:8 4682:5 4683:2 4684:13 4707:24 4728:2 leaders 4622:9 4623:7 4623:19,20 4629:25 4630:2 4667:7 4670:23 4671:5,5 4672:11 4673:22 4683:13,14 4684:8 leadership 4632:24 4636:7,8 4670:3 4671:12 4717:24 4718:6 4719:4,8,9 4724:15</p>	<p>leading 4652:17 4661:6 4671:8,17,18 learned 4715:6 learnt 4695:2 leave 4677:8 4681:5 4718:24 leaving 4619:5 Lebogang 4734:19 led 4620:1 4659:15,20 4661:2 4683:22 4693:21 4707:7 4709:4 left 4626:21 4634:11 4665:2,12 legal 4649:11 4651:9 4668:19,23 4698:22 4698:23 4701:1 legislations 4695:22 lemon 4669:22 Lenin 4691:15,22 4692:1 Leninist 4691:8 lesson 4696:8 letter 4725:3 4728:22 4731:10 let's 4621:4 4636:23 4650:13 4678:14 4679:5 4690:12 4699:13 4709:23 4714:10 4715:24 level 4626:10 4677:13 4697:23 4717:23 lie 4674:6,6 4682:13 lies 4641:16 4642:11 4644:7 4645:20 4674:8 life 4689:7 light 4678:23 likeliness 4651:20 limited 4683:18 4707:11 line 4637:2 4641:9 4643:4 4650:5 4653:3 4663:8 4712:5,23 4730:12 lines 4652:24 link 4666:21 linked 4657:12 linking 4688:9 lips 4663:25 listen 4618:15 4657:18 4677:16 4678:8 4684:9 4711:13 4715:13 listened 4714:2 listening 4707:17 little 4641:3 4643:6 4644:22 4681:6 lives 4622:10,13,20 4624:15 4630:22 4641:16 LLB 4672:9 local 4623:7 4628:21 4630:10 4631:25 4632:24 4634:12 4636:7 4667:6</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <p>Mabebe 4629:25 Mabutyana 4734:19 machine 4619:19 Madlanga 4707:24 4708:1 Madoda 4655:11 Mahlangu 4635:11 4639:20 4649:24 4734:23 4735:1 main 4713:8 4714:11 Majola 4690:2 making 4616:24 4642:1 4642:14,15 4650:9 4657:16 4683:16,17</p>	<p>management 4618:25 4624:1,4,5,23 4628:21 4634:11 4653:10 4677:17 4678:7 4683:25 4706:16 4728:11 mandate 4676:24 4677:22 4678:1 4713:3 mandated 4624:24 Mangaung 4688:3 manner 4626:14 4682:21 4705:15 4730:8 Mantashe 4726:18 march 4641:4 4642:2,3 4643:7 4647:6,10 4651:3,25 4652:2,3 4652:17 4653:1,15,23 4654:13,13 4655:7,20 4655:21 4656:1 4657:3,13,21,24 4658:10,16,20 4659:4 4659:15,22 4660:24 4661:2,9 4662:17,22 marched 4640:14 4667:21,22 marchers 4640:2 4642:1 marches 4659:20 4661:5 marching 4621:23 4644:23 4645:12 4646:11,11 4663:1 4666:23 4668:11 Marikana 4629:24 4665:13 4697:14,16 4697:21 4698:11,13 4698:14 4699:6 mark 4715:17 4717:1 4719:11 Marx 4691:22 Marxist 4691:7 massacre 4697:16 4711:25 4713:8,12 material 4633:17 4676:1 Mathunjwa 4642:11 4644:12 4645:2,17,23 4646:16,18 4647:14 4647:18 4648:1,20,25 4649:2,5 4653:25 4663:7,8,15,25 4664:7 4665:2 matter 4624:12 4630:13 4647:5,6 4663:18 4668:5 4677:15 4683:8 4686:10 4693:19 4726:8,21 4730:24 4731:20 matters 4620:11 4621:3 4632:10 4693:13 mean 4625:22 4626:1</p>

4626:13 4628:7 4665:11 4690:10 4704:11,13 4706:7 4707:10 4709:11 4713:22 4714:18 meaning 4677:19 4695:20 means 4682:7 4690:11 4692:24 4703:15,22 4704:2,2,18 4706:1 meant 4671:16 4685:15 4687:7 measure 4644:15 measures 4622:12 media 4639:17,18 meet 4623:14,15 4629:9 4631:4 4670:8 4670:24 4671:5 4711:10 4726:12,14 meeting 4624:1,3 4634:11 4652:10 4653:11 4655:5 4669:23,25 4671:4 4685:13 4710:11,11 4710:22 4711:9 4726:16 meetings 4678:12 4710:9 4711:7 4714:14 4716:4,7,19 4716:20 4717:1,13,15 4717:20,21 member 4688:2,6,14 4688:20 4693:11 4709:1 members 4623:21,23 4630:15,24 4651:1,17 4653:21 4666:15,16 4667:15 4670:1,3 4671:8 4674:9 4677:3 4677:16 4678:7 4685:1,12 4687:1 4689:13 4697:24 4704:3 4711:10 4714:21 4718:17 4727:12 membership 4719:7 men 4657:25 4658:21 mention 4621:24 4640:13 4666:25 4699:6,7 4700:18 mentioned 4642:9 4646:18 4647:5,7 4716:22 4724:6 message 4626:21 4687:12 4731:8 messed 4659:14 met 4651:17 4715:3 might've 4623:11 Mike 4726:19 mill 4713:20 mind 4627:10 4659:3 4660:17 4685:25 mine 4627:3 4638:11 4647:16 4664:23 4665:3 4683:13,16 4714:24 4716:11	Mines 4726:20,22 4729:10 4731:13 Mineworkers 4694:23 minimise 4691:17 mining 4678:11 4706:9 4709:24 minister 4626:3,18,23 4627:7,15 4628:4,14 4628:17,22,25 4629:5 4629:13 4674:5 4675:10,13 4676:3 4701:5 4726:2 4728:9 4729:7 4730:16,19,20 4731:9 4732:12 minutes 4627:14,17 4628:1 4715:15,17 mislead 4687:7 missed 4663:3 mistaken 4683:2 misunderstood 4648:13 4688:9 4717:4 mitigate 4693:6 4699:24 mitigated 4692:10 Mlambisa 4734:18 Mohale 4734:18 Mokoena 4730:4 4731:2 4732:4 Mokone 4734:19 moment 4629:17 4630:14,19 4645:15 4664:24 4666:6 4668:1 4675:19 4683:1 4729:18 Monday 4637:2 4638:3 4655:6 money 4681:3 4700:5 morning 4615:12,12 4663:25 4664:13 4665:12 4672:9 4697:5 4701:4 4720:5 4724:14 4727:14,19 4728:5,23 4731:9 4734:25 4735:4 Motlatsi 4726:13 Motlogeloa 4624:17 4625:8 4667:20 Motlogeloa's 4631:23 mountain 4651:16 4657:2 4687:17 mountains 4678:13 mouth 4659:2 4660:12 4665:2 move 4623:2 4661:15 4690:12 4696:18 4698:7 4711:12,17 4729:19 moving 4711:16 Mpembe 4638:3,10 4669:25 4671:1,19 4687:11,13 Mthethwa 4732:12 Mtyho 4734:20 murder 4630:2 4660:20	murdered 4630:16 murders 4636:11 4637:13 4657:13 <hr/> N <hr/> name 4710:12 4724:5 names 4670:22 4671:7 4708:1,2 4734:12 4735:1 narrow 4693:12 Nathi 4732:12 national 4636:7 4649:22 4652:6 4677:13 4688:2,15 4689:10 4694:23 NATO 4703:7 nature 4689:13 Ncube 4730:4 4731:2,3 4732:5 near 4638:22 4640:4 4670:19 necessary 4625:5 4628:15 4633:18 4662:3,5 4716:10 need 4626:17 4629:7 4633:25 4635:8 4642:3 4646:10 4711:6 4714:9 4730:17 needed 4671:2 needs 4616:20 4726:10 4728:18 4730:13 negative 4623:3,4 negotiate 4620:18 4676:24 4677:18 4712:25 4713:2 negotiating 4684:11 negotiation 4619:24 4620:2 negotiations 4618:3,23 4631:20 4684:1 4691:19 4698:25 neighbouring 4700:18 neighbours 4700:5 neutral 4692:5 never 4619:6,9,22 4620:16,25 4621:25 4624:24 4649:13 4652:2 4655:6 4657:2 4659:3 4677:8 4682:4 4691:16 4692:18 4697:19,19 4703:1 4705:19,19 4706:4 4708:10,12 4709:12 4709:24 4711:1,5 4712:8 4715:2 4718:5 nevertheless 4672:6 new 4618:8 4619:20 4679:7 4686:10 4701:5 4710:4 news 4648:8,8,17 4732:18 night 4630:1 4728:4 Nkosi 4675:11,15 4685:23 noises 4718:19	non 4631:25 4703:15 nonsense 4644:9 non-strikers 4667:24 non-toxic 4715:23 non-unionised 4704:11 non-violent 4633:3 normal 4704:12 note 4616:24 4686:21 4725:25 notwithstanding 4677:25 4683:15 no-one 4673:25 Ntakana 4734:19 number 4615:17 4620:10 4630:1 4631:6 4644:11 4645:8 4666:9 4667:21 4673:17 4679:5 4683:13 4695:22 4710:10,12 4713:19 4719:18,20 4719:22,25 4720:4,14 4720:19,25 4721:4,9 4721:10,11,12,24,25 4722:19,22,23 4723:2 4723:6,9,13,16,19 4724:13,19,20,22 4727:24 4729:15,23 4730:2,2,21 4731:18 4731:24 4732:2,22,23 4732:24,24 4734:9 numbers 4626:12 4631:14 4650:1 4729:6 NUM's 4619:8 4668:20 Nyala 4676:18 4681:7 Nyanaya 4681:5 4682:6 <hr/> O <hr/> oath 4615:7 4675:4 4708:7 obey 4697:17 object 4715:24 objection 4671:24 obliged 4656:21 observation 4630:6 observe 4627:18 obviously 4637:19 4648:13 4675:13 4678:21 4724:24 occasion 4714:20 occasions 4644:11 4728:20,21 occupying 4696:10 occurred 4621:12 4639:23 4665:7 occurrences 4632:4 occurs 4675:8 offended 4655:15 offer 4728:7 offering 4731:11 office 4621:12,23 4625:15 4626:20,21 4639:23 4640:1,25 4642:4,4 4645:1	4646:10 4662:11 4663:23 4667:23 4668:12,15 4683:12 officer 4626:9 officers 4622:18 offices 4621:18 4629:22 4635:4,15 4640:14 4641:5 4642:17,18 4643:8 4645:12 4646:3,8 4647:11 4649:20 4650:20 4653:11,14,16 4657:18 4662:10 4665:8 4667:2 4669:24 4671:24 4684:10 4701:24 4706:17 4707:7 4708:24 Official 4729:12 officials 4634:13 4661:19,22 4667:6 4730:17 Oh 4690:4 4723:1,7,20 4724:21 4728:25 4734:1,1,14 okay 4681:23 4686:14 4687:9,18 4690:17 4691:2,20 4693:23,23 4694:22 4696:18 4698:6 4699:5 4700:12 4701:14 4705:18 4706:4 4711:12 4712:11,17 4722:3,9 4725:23 4729:25 4730:1,22 4731:1 4733:16 old 4679:7 4732:23,24 older 4679:1 once 4670:15 4691:2,20 4696:18 4698:6 4699:5 4705:18 4710:18 ones 4722:11 OO2 4639:13 open 4684:1 opened 4640:1 operate 4706:19 4708:22 operated 4694:8 operates 4708:25 operation 4710:13 operations 4707:8 operators 4619:1,23 opportunity 4620:22 4634:25 4675:24 4686:7 4687:6 opposed 4684:3 4696:24 4703:18,18 oppress 4692:6 oppressed 4693:7 oppression 4692:2 Oprah 4717:16 order 4672:16 4674:24 4677:5 4683:8 4686:10 4719:16 organisation 4633:3
--	--	--	---	---

<p>4660:24 4682:9 organisations 4689:16 organised 4653:1,15 4654:13 4655:20 4657:20,24 4660:24 4661:2,9 4695:10 4697:6 4702:12,17,20 4703:5,15,19 4704:10 4705:1 4713:10 organises 4660:24 organising 4659:20 4707:6 outside 4703:7,8 o'clock 4681:1 o'clock 4674:20</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p>page 4616:14,15,16 4617:1 4621:6 4624:18 4631:23 4634:8 4635:7 4638:6 4638:17,22 4639:7,18 4639:20 4640:22,23 4643:3 4645:8 4646:13,20,21 4649:16,18,24 4650:2 4650:5,7,14 4651:23 4651:23 4652:5,25 4657:5,16 4663:6 4685:8 4719:18,20,21 4719:24 4720:10,15 4721:23 4722:4,5,23 4723:5,12,13 4725:5 4725:8 4729:24,25 4730:15 4732:18 4733:21 pages 4616:25 4649:25 paid 4706:25 painting 4700:10 paper 4620:20 4655:10 paragraph 4616:17,17 4617:1,3,10,11,12 4618:1,12,22 4619:7 4621:7,10,11 4631:23 4631:23 4634:8 4639:19 4663:11 4680:8,9,13,16,16 4681:20 4682:15 4724:7 paragraphs 4617:14,21 4617:23 parliamentary 4726:7 part 4629:14 4648:6,22 4655:8 4668:20 4670:3 4683:25,25 4695:19 4703:6 4715:21,23,23 4724:15 4725:20 participate 4711:2 participated 4710:1 particular 4616:7,24 4652:24 4655:1 4669:22 4690:19 4705:10 4713:23 4722:10 4724:9 parties 4678:17</p>	<p>4712:24 4714:23 4724:4 4733:18 partly 4696:16 party 4673:1,2 4688:4 4688:13,15,16,20 4689:14 4693:20 4695:21 4715:7 4717:24 passage 4616:7,24 4617:9 4618:17 4643:14 4650:4,6,9 4653:3 4654:1,20 4655:23 4662:24 4663:2 Paton 4615:13,25 4616:2 4618:5 Paul 4617:6 4618:2,24 pay 4619:4 4698:21 PB 4688:20,21 peace 4678:9 peaceful 4728:5 pen 4726:1 perfect 4678:5 4686:8 period 4630:8 4631:9 4632:7 4635:17 person 4625:12,24 4626:2,2,5 4628:13 4630:13 4638:20 4658:12 4659:12 4673:16 4677:11 4682:7 4706:24 4709:3 4718:3,5,8,14 personal 4688:5 Personally 4620:25 personnel 4626:7,8,10 4628:8 4637:8 4639:8 4666:23 4667:1 persuade 4672:12 persuading 4672:17 phase 4694:8 phenomenon 4689:18 Philemon 4729:16 4730:4 4731:3 4732:5 Phillimore 4724:15,18 4724:25,25 4725:15 phone 4621:17 4622:21 4625:1,14 4629:10 phoned 4625:15 4626:18 4630:24 4640:24 4644:13 photographs 4686:25 phrase 4652:25 pick 4669:22 picked 4648:7 piecemeal 4727:3 Pillay 4615:17,18,20 4678:20 4679:9,12,16 4679:19 4719:12,13 place 4623:20 4629:17 4634:14 4635:4,15 4638:2 4640:9 4695:3 4717:13,15,21 4724:10 placed 4651:19 places 4633:2 4698:10 plainly 4730:11</p>	<p>planned 4721:2,13 4729:10 4731:4 planning 4657:12 4684:4,5,10 plans 4729:5 Plat 4728:6 play 4632:25 4665:3 4706:20 pleading 4697:24 please 4635:12 4643:19 4655:18 4656:18 4676:15,20 4680:9,16 4691:2 4699:9 4707:14 4718:22 4729:7 plus 4637:12 pm 4729:15 4730:2,22 4732:3,13 4733:17 4734:1 point 4631:5 4633:5,8 4642:15,15,23 4644:7 4645:7,11 4647:12 4650:9,10 4651:13 4654:5,6,8,19 4655:15,17,19 4657:15 4660:21 4661:15 4667:7,21 4668:6 4669:14,16,19 4677:16,23 4678:25 4679:3 4684:5 4693:16 4698:18 4699:1,14 4703:21 4707:6,16 4709:15 4731:15 pointed 4732:13 police 4622:12 4625:1,9 4625:11 4626:3,19,24 4629:7 4630:4 4637:4 4637:7 4681:4 4682:17,24 4684:19 4684:23 4685:6 4698:4 4699:2,7 4714:14 4715:1 4728:7,18,24 4729:1 4729:5 4732:12 policemen 4637:5,23 police/army 4728:21 policy 4674:16 Politburo 4688:18 4689:10 political 4689:7 4695:18 4696:8 4728:17 poor 4657:8 posing 4705:14 position 4626:16 4628:9 4631:12 4632:12,23 4641:21 4669:6 4688:2,13 4689:8 4696:10,24 4707:10 4713:1 positions 4689:15 possession 4678:17 possibility 4624:16 4664:1 possible 4615:4</p>	<p>4670:18 4700:11 4706:3,6 4707:12 possibly 4669:21 4676:2 power 4662:4,5 4696:20 4697:7 powers 4696:4,17 precise 4651:16 predict 4698:4 preface 4714:6 prefers 4616:12 preoccupied 4630:3 prepare 4633:8 prepared 4634:22 4656:14 4672:6 prescribed 4691:15 presence 4622:12 4625:5 4629:8 4729:5 present 4623:23 4636:7 4636:10 4644:10 4647:20,22 4658:16 4670:11 4696:23 4705:16 4712:5 4713:15 presented 4620:2 4647:4 4665:19 4668:20 4712:5 president 4629:11 4635:20 4640:16 4641:25 4645:10 4651:3,15 4652:8,10 4653:22 4657:1,9,10 4660:22 4681:1,5,6 4682:4,6 4687:23 4688:6 4689:23 4698:14 4700:19 4706:8 4718:12 4726:11,13 4732:11 press 4631:10 4632:6 4633:23,24 pressing 4622:10 pressure 4700:1,2,9 4732:15 presumably 4633:13 4633:14 4644:19 4659:1,2 4661:22 4663:17 4665:16 4669:17 4678:22 4701:20 4721:22 prevail 4624:20 4672:4 prevent 4672:3 previous 4621:12,24 4622:1 4646:2 pre-empt 4632:22 pre-emptive 4619:5 price 4698:20 primarily 4712:1 primary 4713:8 principal 4714:22 principle 4695:9 principles 4691:1 4695:8 print 4725:1 printed 4694:22 privately 4670:8,24 pro 4706:24</p>	<p>probably 4650:5 4679:10 4703:20 4731:6 problem 4659:23 4683:11 4733:10 proceed 4623:4 4643:19 4644:19 4669:3 4675:5 4680:12 proceedings 4615:1 4648:14 4676:14 4677:20 process 4619:24 4647:23 4658:9,12 4661:4 processes 4631:19 4678:13 4697:3 4717:3 produce 4658:8 productivity 4696:12 Professor 4699:21 programme 4658:23 progress 4726:23 promulgated 4701:5 pronounced 4682:6 Propaganda 4674:5 proper 4675:19 properly 4682:7 property 4627:4 proposal 4618:25 4619:12,13,22 4620:5 4620:7,7,15,16 4671:24 proposals 4619:25 4620:20 proposed 4713:18 proposing 4668:25 4707:15 4727:2 proposition 4654:11 protection 4728:7 protects 4698:23 protesters 4711:20 prove 4658:11,17 4668:3 4686:25 4712:16 4713:16 provided 4677:21 4678:4 4711:10 provincial 4619:9,11 4620:6 4625:16 public 4632:12 4718:18 published 4615:14 4616:3 pulled 4650:25 4653:19 purpose 4714:22 purposes 4714:12 4715:1 put 4618:25 4620:19 4632:12 4633:5 4635:21 4645:1 4647:1,5,12,16 4648:1,19 4649:5 4650:11 4652:12 4655:15,17 4656:3,9 4656:22 4657:15 4659:2 4660:14,21 4662:10 4668:5,24</p>
---	---	---	---	--

<p>4669:1,4 4672:15 4675:12 4676:1,20 4677:17 4681:15 4683:4 4685:2,6,23 4700:1,9,13 4703:24 4705:1,3 4708:2 4712:6,18 4714:4,19 4718:22 puts 4728:8 putting 4660:11 4693:16 4697:21 4698:18 4699:1 4700:2 4703:21 4713:23 4715:6 4731:7 puzzled 4680:12</p>	<p>rank 4625:23 4626:1 RDO 4630:10 RDOs 4623:8 4630:25 reached 4700:23 4701:3 read 4616:11,16 4617:21 4618:11,17 4618:18,21 4619:18 4624:17 4625:7 4632:23 4645:7 4650:6,13 4653:2,4 4654:7,21 4655:23 4667:10,21 4674:4 4680:9,10,15,17,18 4680:20,20,22 4682:3 4682:16 4685:7 4694:19 4712:8 4724:10 4725:24 4727:5,7,22 4728:20 4729:14,14 4733:13 4734:9 reading 4618:16 4662:20,21 4685:11 4725:19 4729:22,23 readings 4693:3 reads 4619:7 4728:1 4730:5 4732:3 ready 4617:18 real 4637:15 really 4616:14 4630:21 4637:15 4659:5 4666:8 4701:17 4711:13 reason 4619:24 4621:21 4625:10 4627:25 4632:11 4638:13 4644:16 4659:18 4666:22 4667:4,9,9,22 4669:11,18 4671:11 4672:1,8 4690:18 4706:6 reasons 4639:9,10 4665:19 4666:21 4672:1 4694:5 recall 4621:9 recalled 4633:20 received 4619:14 4622:3 4628:18 4629:15 4646:21 4725:4 receiving 4630:14 recognised 4619:3 4681:8 4699:22 4710:14 4711:9 recognition 4710:8 recommendations 4699:22 record 4618:22 4627:9 4648:6 4680:9,11,17 4680:23 4684:25 4694:20 4708:2 4709:20 4724:9 4729:14 recording 4647:3 4657:7</p>	<p>recourse 4706:1 recourses 4706:1 reduce 4620:19 4624:22 refer 4621:6 4640:20 4694:7 4724:9 reference 4616:23 4618:2 4621:11 4639:22 4661:19 4700:24 referred 4621:9 4636:9 4647:8 4651:13 4655:1 4673:20 4684:15 4709:17 referring 4624:10 4628:7 4631:5 4647:10 4722:10,11 refers 4640:24 4646:16 4718:3,4 reflected 4728:22 reformists 4693:5 reformulate 4654:21 refused 4684:10 refusing 4683:25 4685:14 4700:2 regain 4701:3 regard 4652:25 4654:12 4682:7 4685:2 4695:23 4701:24 4716:13 4732:1 regarding 4714:15 4717:25 regards 4619:21 4730:21 regime 4694:11 4710:4 registered 4705:24 regularly 4714:22 reinforce 4733:20 reinstate 4734:10 rejected 4619:8 4620:6 relates 4715:21 relating 4676:2 relation 4618:23 4661:17 4669:7 4675:9,12 4676:2 4701:6 4728:15 relations 4634:4 4694:12 4699:20 4700:8 4701:1 4702:9 4705:23 4710:5 4711:8 relationship 4688:7 4690:19 4691:12,23 4715:8 relatively 4728:4 relay 4687:12 release 4639:17 relevance 4650:10 4701:20 relevant 4616:20 4618:22 4624:14 4633:16 4682:25 rely 4646:7 relying 4639:7 remain 4693:5 4729:2</p>	<p>remark 4636:15 remember 4621:13,14 4625:21 4626:1,2 4686:20 4687:1 4712:10,12,21 renege 4701:4 repeat 4622:7 4625:25 4629:4 4648:12 4651:11 4659:12 4671:10 4700:25 repeated 4635:12 4704:18 repeatedly 4674:6 4706:8 repetition 4656:8 4722:6 4732:19,19,21 4733:25 replied 4724:25 reply 4724:25 4725:7 replying 4725:18,20 report 4626:8,25 4646:21 reported 4619:10 4716:11 reporter 4643:5 4644:14 reporters 4641:4 4643:7 reporting 4636:22 4643:4 4663:8 reports 4629:23 4630:14 4637:13 represent 4624:21 4673:2 4684:12 4685:5 4710:10,13 4711:11,20 4713:22 representatives 4649:11 4651:10 represented 4713:7,7 representing 4712:14 request 4639:14 4676:5 requested 4653:10 4707:16 required 4626:11 4711:10 requirements 4628:10 requires 4697:3 resigning 4619:2 resolve 4685:1 resolved 4691:16 4728:17 respect 4624:21 4654:10 4669:10 4697:18 4712:23 respond 4620:13 4647:6 4713:14 responded 4620:9 responding 4704:20 4707:2 response 4620:18 4621:15 4626:4 4645:19 4685:7 responsible 4648:2 4649:8 4651:8 4652:7 4652:20 4654:25 4659:25</p>	<p>rest 4619:3 restrain 4718:18 result 4635:3,15 4637:4 resume 4674:23 resumes 4615:2 4675:2 4675:3 4707:21,22 resuming 4727:17 retained 4677:6 retract 4652:18,19 4654:24 retraction 4687:4,6 return 4728:6 revert 4734:8 revised 4679:1 rid 4709:8 ridiculing 4682:12 Riekert 4699:21 right 4618:10 4640:19 4643:2 4674:2,18 4679:19 4687:14 4688:17 4690:17 4691:21 4694:14,15 4697:10 4698:5 4699:3 4700:10 4701:13 4710:15 4714:1,10 4732:1 4734:2 rights 4702:8 4707:11 risk 4619:1 4622:10 rock 4618:25 4619:23 Roger 4724:14,18 4725:24 4728:13 4729:9,16,18 4730:4 4730:20 4731:3 4732:5,14 role 4632:25 4665:4 4692:10 4694:13 4706:20 roles 4689:16 role-players 4726:1 room 4687:4 rounds 4635:3 route 4662:17 ruling 4688:4 4693:7 4700:16 rumour 4635:2,5,14,17 4636:4 rumours 4636:13,13,17 4636:19,22 run 4622:20 4631:7 4696:7 4705:25 running 4691:21</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Q</p>				
<p>QQ 4634:17,20 4636:24 qualified 4698:2 qualify 4650:7 4710:9 4716:8 qualifying 4651:13 questioned 4670:12 questioning 4617:19 4712:23 questions 4632:22 4634:22 4648:5 4680:12 4685:17 4699:9,12 4707:11 4711:18,19 4712:18 4714:3 4715:15,16 4727:11 quibble 4709:22 quick 4733:17 quickly 4616:11 4725:24 4733:14 quiet 4718:23 quite 4654:13 4689:7 4691:21 4703:22 4704:11 4714:1 4719:15 4724:4 4733:17 quote 4674:4 quoting 4662:15 4712:19</p>				
<p style="text-align: center;">R</p>				
<p>racist 4694:9 radio 4649:22 4652:6 4658:22 4664:12 4728:9 railway 4637:2 raise 4624:24 4633:17 raised 4622:21 4629:12 4630:6 4631:13 4670:13 4718:2 raises 4708:24 raising 4630:21 4682:25 4685:7 4706:15 Ramaphosa 4718:9 4723:24 4724:14,24 4728:3 4729:16 4730:3 4731:2 4732:4</p>				
<p style="text-align: center;">S</p>				
				<p>SABC 4629:12 4663:25 SACP 4689:11 safety 4676:18 4730:19 SAfm 4629:16 4632:11 4640:9 4643:5 4644:14 4662:8 sake 4658:14 4724:8 sang 4673:22 SAPS 4625:5 4713:7 4714:21 satisfied 4628:11 satisfy 4646:17</p>

<p>Saturday 4629:22 4635:4,16 4638:11 4644:1,5,11 4663:2 4668:9 4673:25 save 4668:7 4709:10 4710:18 4729:20 saw 4620:25 4648:7,16 4650:24 4653:19 4726:24 saying 4620:6,15,16,17 4622:17 4631:22 4632:23 4633:25 4639:5,7 4645:10,10 4646:5 4647:7,14,17 4651:13,25 4655:9 4657:6,10 4660:25 4661:1 4663:21,24 4664:7 4665:25 4666:14,16 4667:18 4670:20,21 4677:18 4682:23 4685:5,6,9 4688:11 4689:19 4690:7 4693:20 4697:25 4698:2,3,11 4698:19 4699:2,3,12 4699:15 4701:25 4706:13,21 4707:3 4710:6 4714:6 4728:9 4732:23 says 4617:6 4618:24 4619:7,9 4627:14 4638:10,20 4639:25 4641:2,4 4642:17 4643:5,7 4646:19,21 4649:5 4650:22 4651:1 4653:7,8,9,20 4653:21 4660:21 4663:9 4667:4 4668:8 4680:7 4685:3 4687:10 4692:1 4694:23 4715:2,19 4722:24 4724:13 4725:23 4733:19 SC 4643:22 4644:1 4652:21,23 4654:3,6 4654:10,17 4661:18 4675:18 4676:5,12 4687:12 4714:19 4715:5,11 4722:16 scarcely 4673:7 scenario 4656:25 4699:24 4705:8 4708:21 4709:6 scene 4622:7,19 4626:8 scheduled 4615:6 second 4639:18,19 4658:21 4662:12 4667:5 4703:20 4728:23 secondary 4713:11 4715:18 4716:2 secondly 4656:2 4716:16 secretary 4619:9,11 4620:15 4651:17 4696:9 4718:11</p>	<p>4726:18 section 4670:16 4674:20 sector 4706:9 security 4624:17 4625:8 4626:9,15 4628:23 4631:24 4636:10 4638:11 4639:8 4648:3 4649:9 4649:20,21 4652:5,20 4653:10,13,14 4655:21,24 4657:17 4657:18,19,23,25 4658:21 4662:23 4666:23 4667:1 4683:16 4714:23,24 4730:5,19 4731:3 4732:6 see 4616:15,19,25 4617:17 4618:1,9 4633:6,10 4638:15,16 4638:22 4640:23 4641:7,13,14,18 4651:5,6 4663:4,10 4669:2,18 4674:19 4678:2 4681:7,23 4685:3 4686:15 4722:7 4725:20,21 4726:10,24 4727:2,25 seeing 4679:10 seeks 4697:20 seen 4620:4 4632:19 4695:10 4702:22 4703:1 4705:19,19,20 4706:2,4 4709:12,12 4709:18,25 4710:13 4710:16,20 4711:1 4715:16 Semenya 4687:10,12 4712:18 4713:9 4716:3 Semenya's 4712:23 sending 4725:17 senior 4628:8 4631:3 4651:24 4660:14,16 4661:22 4696:10 4717:24 4718:5 4719:4,7,8 4724:15 4728:2 sense 4665:16 sent 4724:13,14,24 4725:15 4730:21 sentence 4618:11 4657:5,21,22 4663:11 4682:15,16 Senzeni 4615:10 4681:1 4726:11 sequence 4675:6 series 4699:12 serious 4619:13 seriously 4619:9 4620:8 session 4726:7 sessions 4716:9 set 4661:15 4714:10 4719:3</p>	<p>setting 4669:6 severe 4697:13 SG 4718:11 Shabangu 4723:19 4726:3 4730:20 4732:7 shaft 4650:25 4653:20 she's 4627:24 4644:17 4659:5,7 4660:16 4675:15 4679:6 shootings 4715:18 shop 4623:15,19 4624:19 4628:21 4697:23 4705:9 4708:25 short 4627:20,21,22 4682:20 4696:1 4699:11 4724:3 4727:16 4733:16 shortcut 4677:9 shorten 4676:14 shot 4638:12,21 4646:22 4663:11 4666:16 shots 4667:14 4668:15 should've 4624:4,7 show 4623:17 4632:19 4648:7 showed 4623:18 showing 4642:2 shown 4656:24 4666:9 4667:6 4672:25 4686:25 shows 4632:2 4633:2 4684:17 4701:6 Sibiya 4731:12 side 4669:16 4692:16 siding 4692:19 Sidumo 4689:23 Sidwell 4619:8 sign 4717:4 signed 4677:14 4678:6 silence 4726:3 similar 4618:4 Simphiwe 4678:16 simple 4632:5 4658:19 4677:23 4691:3 4716:18 simply 4617:22 4689:19 4701:14 4716:25 4717:12 4718:22 singing 4673:6 4683:1 sir 4620:3 4623:15 4625:14 4630:23 4631:21 4632:5,19 4634:6,25 4635:24 4638:1,24 4642:7 4645:17,25 4646:13 4647:12 4648:18 4649:7 4652:4,18 4661:8 4663:7 4666:12 4673:23 4674:11 4680:17 4716:20 sit 4658:15 4689:9</p>	<p>4696:11 4728:11 SITA 4688:24 site 4728:25 4729:1 Sithembele 4734:19 sits 4689:20,23 4690:6 sitting 4678:11 4685:10 4689:14 4690:8 4710:22 situation 4625:20 4626:7 4627:3,16 4629:5 4631:8 4665:4 4666:15 4670:15,18 4671:13 4672:3,6 4673:8 4692:12,25 4694:11,16 4699:15 4700:10,14,25 4701:10 4702:22 4705:12,17,20 4708:10,12,20 4709:25 4710:20 4711:1 4717:25 4728:18 4730:5,14 4731:3 4732:6 situations 4697:14 skilled 4619:1,21 skills 4625:5 skip 4723:13 sledging 4716:17 sleep 4661:6 slowly 4616:12 4719:23 smacks 4658:13 smaller 4682:7 snippets 4648:8,17 social 4692:7 solid 4656:13 solidarity 4695:5 solution 4624:7 4683:8 solve 4659:23 4733:10 somebody 4626:21 4731:16 song 4673:22 songs 4683:24 soon 4665:11 4666:1 sooner 4671:15 sorry 4624:8 4627:13 4633:14 4634:19 4641:11 4643:3,13 4648:11 4650:17 4654:16 4660:8 4664:16 4672:10 4674:3 4678:24 4682:4 4688:8 4704:8 4704:21 4705:7 4707:10 4710:16 4714:15 4721:3 4722:5,6 4723:21 4724:17,22 4728:20 4729:23 4730:22 sort 4650:11 4679:5 4715:10 4728:11 sorts 4698:10 sought 4732:22 sounded 4660:1 South 4688:13,14,19 4689:19 4696:21,22 so-and-so 4706:24</p>	<p>so-called 4681:6 space 4706:23 4724:3 speak 4625:19 4696:3 4698:21 4700:21 4732:14 speaking 4638:10 4649:19 4663:8 4681:7 4707:2 4726:17 specific 4676:8 4707:5 specifically 4706:16 speed 4616:12 spend 4662:24 spending 4623:12 spent 4622:11 4668:2 spoke 4625:21,21,24 4626:2 4628:12 4641:3 4643:5,6 4644:14,14 4646:1 4647:9 4661:24 4669:25 4726:11 spokesperson 4731:6 spot 4640:2 springboard 4668:24 stabbed 4650:24 4653:18 stabilised 4728:18 stadium 4642:2,5,17,19 4643:15 4645:12 4646:8 4653:12 4668:12 stadiums 4678:12 stage 4662:7,8,25 4663:5,17 4664:9,10 4666:1 4674:12 4675:1,19,22 4686:1 4686:17 4687:17 4706:12 stages 4694:7 stance 4634:2 stand 4632:2 4633:3 4647:8 4702:18 4703:2 standing 4673:19 stands 4697:2 stapled 4719:16 start 4615:12 4617:19 4673:5 4674:25 4686:21 4715:16 4733:17 started 4635:14 4669:5 starting 4727:14 state 4690:20 4691:25 4692:1,5,5,7,12,19 4693:6,8,13 4694:3,9 4695:14 4696:4,24 4699:15 4700:14,15 4700:15 4701:15,22 4702:1,6,7,17 4703:19 4704:24 4712:1 4713:6 4714:12,23 4715:22 stated 4726:17 statement 4621:6 4624:17 4625:7,17 4631:11,13,24 4632:6</p>
--	---	--	--	---

<p>4632:19 4633:10 4634:8 4637:22 4639:18,19 4640:7 4651:24 4652:19 4656:1,15 4657:24,25 4658:2,17 4661:11,13 4663:19 4664:2 4667:1,10,20,21 4669:6,13,15 4670:12 4671:22 4678:15,18 4678:18 4679:1,2,23 4679:25 4680:8 4681:12,25 4682:3,12 4683:11 4685:8,11,15 4697:20,22 4698:9 4709:11 4726:6 statements 4632:9,13 4633:5,14,15 4669:10 4673:19 4684:22 states 4654:14 stayed 4634:12 step 4619:3 steps 4622:4 4623:6 4624:14 4628:15 4629:21 4666:17 4683:6 steward 4624:19 4708:25 stewards 4623:15,19 4628:21 4671:4,25 4697:23 stood 4632:15 stop 4619:5 4654:11 4661:17 4664:25 4672:23 4693:23 4697:8 stopped 4653:3 4723:22 straight 4673:24 strength 4695:2,4 strictly 4657:15 strike 4623:8 4630:10 4632:1,3 4655:12 4660:21 4670:3,23 4671:9,18 4674:15 4677:18 4684:19,25 4694:14 4697:10,25 4698:16,22,25 4700:10,22 4701:13 4705:16 4712:25 4714:15 4715:4 striker 4639:10 strikers 4632:1 4637:5 4637:10 4639:2,5,9 4642:1 4646:22 4652:15 4655:6,11 4663:1 4664:24 4665:25 4666:10,22 4666:25 4667:4,7,15 4667:19,24 4670:16 4671:6,16,20 4672:12 strikes 4631:18 4632:17 4684:4 4685:1 4694:11 striking 4637:4 4638:3 4638:10 4663:9</p>	<p>strong 4691:18 4692:11 stronger 4696:4 structure 4669:13 structured 4705:23 structures 4623:18 4628:7 4682:25 4689:21 4699:25 struggle 4694:24,24 struggling 4701:18 stuck 4693:17 studies 4693:3 studio 4664:12 4665:2 studios 4663:25 4665:13 study 4633:15 style 4651:4 4653:23 4656:3 subject 4644:10 4730:5 4731:3 4732:6 submission 4665:19 subpoenaed 4707:25 subpoenas 4707:25 4734:15,24 subsequently 4637:19 success 4699:17 successful 4726:16 sufficed 4691:7 suggest 4648:24 4678:21 4679:20 4696:2 4711:13 4726:18 4727:7,21 4731:5 suggested 4624:4 4726:9 suggesting 4666:13 4717:9 suggestion 4619:6 4644:13 4660:6 4685:23 4686:2,22 summarise 4664:5 Sunday 4634:11 4646:1 4649:9 4655:22 4658:22 4659:1,5,8 4659:22,25 4661:13 4662:24 sung 4683:24 support 4651:22 4692:7 4729:9 4731:8 supports 4656:16 suppose 4692:7 supposed 4645:14 4647:11 4662:17 4665:12 4669:13 4671:13 4683:20 4698:21 4706:20 supposing 4666:4 sure 4624:22 4627:15 4627:23,24 4628:14 4632:18 4634:22 4637:11 4644:16 4660:17 4664:23 4670:13 4672:16,25 4675:19 4682:21 4683:16,17 4688:8 4689:1 4690:19 4703:12,22 4705:2</p>	<p>4709:3,4 4712:2 4713:16,18 4719:15 4728:23 4731:14,14 surely 4624:3,7 4630:23 4641:20 4665:6 4670:6 surprise 4708:5 surprised 4646:24 4663:13 survival 4695:1 Susan 4723:19 4726:2 4732:7 suspect 4718:25 suspension 4700:21 sustain 4729:5 sustaining 4729:2 sweetheart 4708:13,15 system 4683:25 4693:9</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">T</p> <p>table 4618:25 4619:10 4620:8 tabled 4620:17 take 4623:20 4628:15 4632:3 4634:7,16,25 4635:10 4636:20,24 4639:12 4645:14 4649:6 4650:4 4660:1 4662:18 4666:17 4675:15 4687:5 4690:24 4695:5 4707:15,19 4717:21 4720:7 4729:2 taken 4624:15 4628:12 4640:3 4671:18 4695:18 4706:25 takes 4643:10 4669:17 talk 4664:24 4683:20 4686:1 4728:12 4729:7,9 talked 4640:24 talking 4635:17 4644:9 4645:9 4663:4 4666:12 4682:20 4729:17 talks 4618:24 4644:12 Tandigai 4730:4 4731:2 4732:5 tea 4707:16,19,23 team 4668:19,23 technically 4725:14 Teke 4726:19 telephoned 4643:4 television 4647:23 4648:15 tell 4616:20 4625:8,14 4628:25 4641:16 4645:20 4648:18 4653:8 4661:21 4662:19 4676:10 4689:2 4703:13 4718:16 telling 4625:6 4641:12 4641:18 4642:11 4644:7 4645:8,19 4646:8 4647:9 4653:9</p>	<p>4711:23 tells 4673:22 tend 4620:11 tenet 4673:15 tension 4692:15 termed 4712:1 terms 4625:4 4626:14 4637:25 4642:25 4643:15 4691:12 4694:10,10 4697:7 4710:9 terrible 4730:9 terribly 4668:3 test 4617:1 testified 4716:5 thank 4615:21 4616:6 4634:6 4644:21 4654:17 4656:19 4675:17 4676:12 4685:16,18,19,21 4686:17 4687:14 4689:4,4,17 4691:6 4692:14 4702:10,15 4707:20 4711:16 4716:1,21 4717:18 4719:10,14 4721:1,6 4721:12 4723:6,8 4724:12 4725:13,19 4725:24 4727:1,20 4728:3,25 4729:13 4730:5,7 4731:4,15 4731:16 4732:2 4733:3,12,16 4734:11 4734:17,20 4735:1 Thankfully 4728:4 thanks 4665:18 4677:1 4686:14 4704:7 4705:22 4721:18 4722:1,2,24 4723:16 4725:9 4727:22 4729:11,16 4731:16 4733:19 that's 4615:9 4616:25 4617:16 4618:10 4627:4 4628:22 4633:17,19 4640:19 4642:17,23 4643:2,10 4644:7 4649:1 4650:17 4654:1 4657:14 4658:1 4659:6 4660:7,7 4664:8 4668:18,24 4679:13,17,19,20 4680:13 4686:3 4687:15 4701:4 4703:20 4704:15 4707:9 4710:15 4714:25 4715:6 4719:24 4720:3,4,11 4720:12,13,19 4721:9 4721:14 4722:5 4723:13 4725:11 4731:5,15 4734:4 Thembinkosi 4734:20 theory 4716:8 thereof 4640:15</p>	<p>thereon 4704:25 there's 4616:19 4633:10,16 4639:22 4644:23 4652:14 4661:16 4663:10 4666:25 4669:19 4670:17 4675:11 4676:21 4688:7 4692:4 4700:8 4701:12 4702:16 4705:5 4706:1 4720:20 4725:3 they'd 4623:24 4630:25 4631:1 4656:3 they're 4616:25 4644:8 4656:4 4666:23 4672:24 4680:13 4710:7 they've 4653:23 4661:23 4668:19,20 thing 4618:9 4651:4 4653:4,24 4656:4 4662:12 4667:5 4672:11 4682:3 4692:4 4699:13 4704:25 things 4620:19 4639:15 4655:25 4660:24 4662:9 4668:10 4671:2 4672:18 4673:10 4677:7 4680:19 4697:11 4698:12,12 4705:9 4706:15 4716:14 4723:24 4727:3 4729:8 think 4615:7 4616:21 4618:13,16,17 4619:15 4620:17 4623:2,9 4624:19 4626:11 4627:19 4628:9 4636:14,19 4637:21 4641:17 4644:7 4646:25 4647:2 4649:1 4650:3 4650:4 4651:23 4652:7,11 4656:12 4658:25 4660:20 4661:13 4669:9 4670:10 4674:22 4679:3,10 4680:10,19 4682:2 4683:20 4686:3,12 4687:4,5 4687:22 4690:1 4696:13,14 4700:23 4701:7 4703:11,15,20 4704:2,14 4706:3,14 4708:2,4 4713:13,15 4713:17,20 4716:7 4725:8 4728:20,21 4731:15 4732:18 thinking 4713:21 third 4617:1 4682:15 Thomas 4675:11,15,18 4676:5,12 4685:23 thought 4626:15</p>
---	---	--	---	---

<p>4643:14 4648:9 4656:7 4662:22 4669:20 4671:23 4679:18 4701:24 4704:9 4707:1 4717:8 4732:18 threat 4627:4 threatened 4633:1 4677:6 three 4637:5,9,11 4668:24 4677:12 4689:20 4695:14 4696:21 4702:23 4706:13 4709:16 4732:13 threshold 4711:10 thrice 4717:22 Thursday 4727:17 till 4617:8 4675:1 time 4615:6 4619:20 4620:5 4622:10,11 4623:12 4633:16 4634:19 4640:8,14 4641:21 4642:8,9,25 4642:25 4644:25 4645:18 4646:5,15,18 4647:5 4659:13 4662:24 4663:22 4668:2,7,22 4671:18 4674:21 4678:10 4682:20 4698:7 4705:2 4708:20 4709:10 4716:10 4723:24 4724:3 4727:4,5 4729:8,20 4732:17 4734:2 times 4647:3 4732:20 Tip 4652:21,22,23 4654:3,6,10,17 4687:22 4714:19 today 4694:22 4726:8 4728:9 4731:5,7 told 4621:16 4627:1,5 4630:25 4643:17 4645:25 4674:6,6,8 4677:10 4680:4 4685:12 4693:4 4714:1 4726:3,9,15 4734:23 tollgates 4693:19 Tom 4708:13,15 tomorrow 4727:11,14 4727:17 4731:9 4735:4 top 4638:22 4640:23 4650:7,14 4652:4,25 4719:22 4720:25 4721:5 4723:6,15,23 4732:22 4733:2,22,24 touch 4634:12 Town 4721:7 4723:9 4726:6,9 4730:6 4732:7 toxic 4712:1 4715:8,21 4715:22 trade 4624:5 4677:2</p>	<p>4691:18 4692:11,15 4693:4,12 4695:3,8 4696:11 4697:8 4699:22 4705:5,11 4709:23 4710:25 trained 4682:9 training 4626:16 4693:4 transcript 4638:2 4640:19 4644:22 4646:17 4662:20,21 4663:7 transferred 4709:3 transit 4684:16 translated 4681:6 tried 4623:17 4676:13 tripartite 4702:16 triple 4615:19 4679:15 true 4636:20 4642:18 4647:23 4657:21 4672:23 4676:24 4701:11 trust 4672:19,24 4673:5,8,10 4730:19 trusted 4628:13 trusts 4673:17 truth 4636:14 4641:18 4645:9 4647:10 4653:8,9 4661:4 4665:21 4674:6,7,12 4674:14,18 4677:9 4684:24 4713:18 try 4655:15,17 4664:15 4672:6,18,18,18,19 4673:4 4718:18,22 trying 4622:11 4630:3 4659:5,7 4661:12 4666:19 4670:11 4689:5 4699:10 4700:22 4704:15 4718:16 Tuesday 4640:4 turn 4627:4 turned 4621:2 4678:23 TV 4648:10 Twala 4636:12 twice 4715:3 4717:13 4717:20,22 twice-a-day 4714:14 4716:4,19 two 4617:14,21,23 4624:15 4626:7 4628:23 4630:4 4635:3,14,21 4636:4 4636:10 4637:5,7,12 4637:23 4638:13,21 4639:2 4649:9,21 4652:5,20,24 4653:14 4655:25 4657:18,19 4657:22 4658:19,19 4659:20 4662:9 4665:22 4667:15 4668:16,17 4672:18 4672:19 4673:10 4677:12 4688:7,9 4696:5 4708:12</p>	<p>4712:24 4716:14 4727:3 4728:7,8,14 4732:10,19 4733:15 two-year 4676:21 4677:25 4678:3 typically 4694:2,3 T-shirts 4640:1</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">U</p> <hr/> <p>un 4650:10 unable 4631:7 Uncle 4708:13,15 undermine 4634:4 understand 4622:16 4624:9 4631:8 4633:9 4642:4,15,21 4650:9 4651:19 4652:9 4653:6 4656:1 4659:24 4663:20 4664:21 4665:5 4667:3 4668:6 4680:3 4687:20 4701:18,19 4702:23 4703:8,13,14 4704:2 4705:3,5 4708:9 4711:7 4714:17 4716:12 4717:7 4730:17 understanding 4643:17 4656:6 4677:10 4692:22 4703:12 understood 4705:2 4712:23 undesirable 4699:14 4701:15,22,25 4702:12 4704:24 unemployed 4705:7 unfinished 4657:6 unfolded 4730:10 unforeseeable 4615:3 unfortunate 4698:15 unfortunately 4620:12 4627:8 4632:21 4639:6 4640:6 4712:4 4727:19 4731:17 4732:17 unfounded 4631:6 union 4631:8,14,15 4632:10 4636:18,21 4652:8,14 4655:12 4657:8 4673:15,16,21 4677:2 4682:5 4693:4 4694:23 4703:17 4704:4,5 4705:10,21 4705:21 4706:22,22 4708:11,13,15,17 4709:2,7,18,19,21 4710:7,14,20,22 4712:20 4726:14 unionised 4703:16 unionist 4704:8 4709:23 4710:25 unions 4624:5,9,11,19 4624:19,23 4625:12 4677:2 4682:11 4691:18 4692:11,15 4693:4,12 4695:3,8</p>	<p>4696:11 4697:8 4699:19,22 4705:5,6 4705:11,14,24 4708:13 4710:1,9 4711:2,8 4714:15 4715:3 4728:11 unique 4687:21 4689:7 4692:13 unity 4695:2 unnumbered 4616:25 4617:1 unorganised 4702:13 4702:17,22 4703:2 4704:2,10 4705:7 unrest/destabilisatio... 4728:16 unsatisfactory 4626:5 unsigned 4681:11 untrue 4663:24 4685:2 unusual 4707:6 un-NUM 4684:16 updated 4726:23 urgency 4665:16 4671:14 urgent 4671:2 use 4662:5 4727:5 uses 4703:21 4707:6,7</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">V</p> <hr/> <p>valves 4697:9 various 4724:4 venture 4690:15 verbatim 4712:19 verify 4636:8 4665:13 4665:14,21 4667:8 version 4623:15 4642:10,12 4645:3,22 4667:19 4679:1,7 4713:5 versions 4667:18 very-very 4698:15 Viaan 4699:21 videos 4673:1 4682:22 view 4620:15 4625:3 4627:14 4642:1 4645:22 4651:12,21 4652:13 4655:4 4656:12,22,23,24 4658:12 4659:13,19 4660:23 4667:3 4675:8 4685:3,15 4690:19,21,23 4691:4 4691:7 4693:2,12,19 4693:19 4694:3 4697:15,21 4699:14 4707:18 4713:23 views 4633:24 4652:13 4713:17,22 violence 4631:11,15,18 4632:8,15 4634:3 4655:1 4672:13 4677:6 4678:10 4706:22 4708:22 4713:2 vis-à-vis 4642:5 voice 4681:8</p>	<p>volatile 4666:15 vulnerable 4695:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <hr/> <p>wage 4618:3,23 4676:22 4700:22 4728:10 wages 4701:5 wait 4715:24 waiting 4615:6 4715:15 4728:12 walked 4670:21 walking 4642:16 wane 4729:6 want 4616:18 4617:9 4617:20,21 4627:14 4639:3 4650:10 4654:5 4655:16 4658:3 4660:13 4661:16 4665:10,13 4666:3 4667:9 4673:21 4674:17 4675:5 4676:20 4677:9 4681:3 4682:17 4684:8 4685:22 4698:7 4706:24 4707:2 4708:9 4709:1,22 4718:17,22 4722:14 4727:3 wanted 4667:11 4678:25 4687:5,19 4710:19 4712:24 4726:12,17 wants 4627:19 4633:10 4656:12 4685:24 4698:3,4 warned 4689:3,5 wash 4707:13 wasn't 4622:21 4643:17 4645:13 4657:21 4660:1,2 4665:25 4707:17 waste 4698:7 watched 4648:10,14 Water 4688:24 way 4617:13 4619:6 4626:17 4642:17 4643:15 4644:20 4647:3 4660:7 4668:12 4669:19 4670:17 4672:19,20 4676:14 4678:7 4679:13 4685:4 4691:10,17 4695:11 4700:24 4705:6 4708:15 4717:3 4724:23 4727:14,18 4732:13 ways 4617:14 4677:2 weaker 4696:24 weakest 4695:15,23,25 weapons 4638:14 wearing 4640:1 website 4633:6,11,13 4634:7 4694:19,22</p>
--	--	---	---	--

<p>Wednesday 4629:18 week 4618:5 4619:18 4619:22 4634:18 4635:2,13 4683:6 4729:6 weekend 4665:7 4729:6 went 4621:25 4624:21 4632:11 4641:5 4643:8,16 4647:11 4661:23 4683:1 weren't 4623:10 4637:9,17 4659:24 we'd 4681:14 we'll 4615:23 4629:17 4634:6 4644:22 4676:14 4679:21 4687:12 4689:6 4691:11 4707:19 4708:7 4722:10 4727:10,18 4730:6 4731:15,17,22 4733:20 we're 4634:2,3,3 4658:20 4659:21,22 4676:7 4683:5,23 4715:12 we've 4635:23,24 4661:24 4679:13 4681:18 4685:1 what's 4651:19 4656:9 4722:4 whichever 4616:12 who's 4724:15 willing 4667:4 4677:16 4678:8 win 4672:18 4673:5,10 Winfrey 4717:16 wish 4615:5 4633:15 4654:4 wished 4673:17 wishes 4675:12 4686:9 4729:18 withdraw 4643:18 4655:9,13 4656:14 4658:17 4659:5,7,19 4660:8,25 4661:3,12 4700:24 withdrawing 4660:3,4 withdrawn 4661:11 4664:17 withdrew 4661:11 witness 4625:8 4641:3 4643:6,23 4644:4,18 4652:21,23 4654:22 4658:4,5 4675:9 4676:2 4678:19 4679:14 4680:15 4686:24 4687:21 4701:12 4704:14 4713:25 4722:16 witnesses 4662:3 4665:20 4673:19 4707:25 4713:19 witness's 4616:7 4617:15 woke 4673:20</p>	<p>won't 4618:19 4660:17 4661:17 4662:5 4685:25 4709:22 word 4616:16 4617:4 4703:22 4716:23,25 words 4646:3 4657:19 4659:2 4660:11,14 4672:20 4692:14 4703:16 4734:8 work 4623:20 4633:1,2 4666:24 4667:12,24 4672:17 4676:23 4677:4 4681:2,4,4 4682:17,18,24 4690:25 4691:10 4693:8 4695:3 4698:16,17 4700:2,4 4702:7 4716:11 4726:17 4728:6 4729:3 worker 4697:4,5 workers 4637:4 4638:3 4638:10 4640:2 4644:23 4657:11 4661:6,6 4663:9 4664:8 4666:22 4670:13 4671:12 4673:25 4676:17 4677:24 4680:7 4682:11,20 4685:15 4694:4,14,14 4695:1 4695:10 4696:4,9,16 4696:20,23 4697:3,5 4697:9 4698:17,21,23 4699:14 4700:1,9,20 4701:6,13,16,23 4702:2,8,22 4703:16 4704:3,12 4705:7,16 4726:16 working 4692:6,8,16 4692:19 4699:25 4710:7 works 4724:23 world 4658:10 4692:25 4696:3 worse 4705:17 wouldn't 4636:17 4682:8 4689:12 4690:14 4703:2,4 4717:22 would've 4631:1 4634:2 4651:9 4663:18 4668:15,16 4668:23 would've 4630:17,25 wounded 4640:3 write 4722:24 writing 4619:25 written 4620:10 wrong 4643:18 4645:7 4646:20 4656:18 4662:20 4674:17 4678:9 4682:13 4685:9 4689:18 4698:5 4700:18 4721:4</p>	<p>wrongly 4709:17</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">X</p> <hr/> <p>Xolani 4640:16 4662:15</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Y</p> <hr/> <p>year 4616:4 years 4673:15 4677:12 4677:12,14 4683:22 yesterday 4615:3 4684:21 4708:1 4726:21 you'd 4621:18 4628:17 4663:14 4668:7 4672:20 4673:24 4680:10 4683:19 you'll 4618:1 4621:9 4669:20 4672:16 you're 4615:7,7 4617:18 4647:7 4650:9 4654:8 4660:8 4660:12 4663:4 4667:25 4669:2 4675:4 4676:11 4679:6 4686:4 4687:5 4688:17 4690:22 4691:7,21 4701:10 4703:11 4708:7 4722:10,11 4732:25 you've 4617:14 4620:4 4622:24 4623:3 4633:18 4650:8,11 4651:18 4656:17 4661:12,14 4669:20 4702:25 4705:19,19 4706:4 4707:18 4708:4 4711:5 4715:2 4717:16</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Z</p> <hr/> <p>Zimbabwe 4695:24 4700:6 Zimbabwean 4700:19 4700:20 Zimbabweans 4700:13</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">0</p> <hr/> <p>00 4720:2 00:47 4720:3 4724:14 4725:20 000 4626:13,13 4698:17 09:30 4734:25 4735:4 09:42 4727:23</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <hr/> <p>1 4631:23 4674:20 4698:17 4719:18,25 4720:4 4722:19 4724:13,19 4726:2 4729:25 1AM 4720:5 1:07 4729:15 1:13 4730:23 1:18 4730:23,23 4734:1 1:30 4674:24 4727:17</p>	<p>10 4627:14 4628:1 4641:16 10th 4643:24 100% 4731:8 11 4638:18 11th 4621:5,22 4629:1 4629:2,8,11,14,22 4630:5 4635:5,16 4641:23 4644:1 4669:7 11:02 4615:2 11:22 4624:25 11:42 4634:10 12 4621:7 12th 4621:5,17 4622:4 4622:8 4623:7,16,25 4625:1 4628:18 4629:6,20 4630:9 4631:10 4632:7 4634:11 4635:17 4636:2 4640:12 4645:7 4646:1 4648:3 4649:9 4661:24 12:02 4645:5 12:18 4721:4 4730:2 4732:21 12:22 4656:21 12:42 4667:17 13 4640:22 4643:3 4645:8 4649:16,18,24 4650:2 4657:16 13th 4637:2 4638:4 13:42 4675:3 14 4650:5,7,14 4652:5 4652:25 4657:5 14th 4615:15 4616:4 4620:4 4640:4 14:02 4684:14 14:22 4693:3 14:42 4700:7 15 4634:8 4645:8 4720:1 4725:21 15th 4629:11,18,18,20 4630:5,9 4631:10 4632:7,11 4635:18 4636:2 4637:23 4640:10 4662:8 4664:1,11,13 4665:15 4669:24 4676:17 4678:15 4680:2,7,25 4720:3 4727:23 4729:15 4732:3 4733:18 15:18 4707:22 15:38 4716:1 15:58 4727:22 16 4646:13 16th 4633:23 4683:7 16:18 4733:23 17 4646:21 4650:5 4663:7 18th 4734:24</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <hr/> <p>2 4626:13 4639:20 4719:20 4720:10,12</p>	<p>4720:17 4722:23 4723:2 4724:7,20 4725:11 4726:11 4727:24 2:58 4721:22 4730:22 4732:3 20 4627:14,16 4650:1 2000 4687:24 2005 4678:5 2011 4618:3,23 2012 4615:15 4616:5 4620:4,23 4621:5 4676:17 4680:3,25 4681:10 4732:3 2013 4615:1 4681:20,25 22A 4724:7 25 4650:1 289A 4722:19 289C 4720:18 289E 4721:17,25 4723:15 289(F) 4732:25 4733:1 4733:23</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <hr/> <p>3 4616:14,16 4621:6 4626:13 4643:4 4719:22 4720:7,8,14 4722:22,24 4723:1 4724:22 4726:17 4729:23 3:13 4721:21 3:22 4733:17 30 4627:17 36 4680:8,16 39 4685:8</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <hr/> <p>4 4634:8 4720:19,25 4721:2,4,9,10 4723:10,13 4726:19 4727:2 4729:15 4730:2,2 4732:22,24 4732:24 4733:8,9 4734:8,10,10 4(A) 4732:24 4733:8,10 4(B) 4732:23 4733:5,6 4733:22,23</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <hr/> <p>5 4615:1 4667:21 4721:5,11,12,14 4723:6 4730:21 4732:13 4734:1,3,4 50 4697:9 500 4726:16</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <hr/> <p>6 4681:1 4721:24,25 4723:19 4731:18,24 4732:2</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <hr/> <p>7 4663:8 4722:1 4723:16 4733:17 4734:8,9</p>
--	--	--	---	---

7th 4722:5
700 4726:16

8

8 4722:4
80 4651:23
800 4728:24 4729:1
82 4694:9
84 4631:23 4639:8
89B 4719:21

9

9 4638:6 4641:9
9th 4683:7 4720:8
9:30 4727:14
94 4624:18

