

**IN THE HIGH COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA
GAUTENG DIVISION**

Case number: 2019/448

In the matter of:

REOPENED INQUEST: LATE NEIL HUDSON AGGETT

AFFIDAVIT OF RONALD KASRILS

I, the undersigned

RONALD KASRILS

do hereby make oath and state that:

- 1 I am an adult male born on 15 November 1938 in Yeoville, Johannesburg. I am currently retired and I live in Johannesburg
- 2 Unless the context indicates otherwise, the facts contained in this affidavit are within my personal knowledge and are, to the best of my belief, both true and correct.

BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

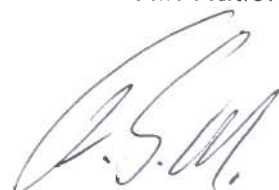
- 3 I matriculated at King Edward VII School, Johannesburg in 1957. After school I worked in a legal office and then as a script writer for a Johannesburg film





studio and then for Lever Brothers, as Television and Film Director for their advertising division in Durban, until 1962.

- 4 The Sharpeville massacre in 1960 prompted me to join the ANC-aligned Congress of Democrats ("**CoD**") and I served as the secretary of the Natal branch until it was banned in 1962. I was arrested at work for a contravention of the Pondoland Emergency Regulations. I stood trial in Pondoland with the state losing their case. In 1961 I joined the South African Communist Party ("**SACP**"). At the inception of Umkhonto we Sizwe ("**MK**") I became a member of the Natal Regional Command and subsequently its commander. While in MK we formed units and we carried out numerous sabotage operations in which I participated.
- 5 My political activities led to me being banned from gatherings and various forms of employment, and I was restricted to the city boundaries of Durban. In 1963 I registered to study a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Natal but my plans were cut short when the security police sought to arrest me but I evaded arrest and began operating underground.
- 6 My fiancé, Eleanor Logan was detained in Durban. She feigned a nervous breakdown and was transferred to Fort Napier. Eleanor informed me that, while in detention, she saw several comrades who were badly injured from prolonged torture. She later escaped from Fort Napier.
- 7 Eleanor and I were instructed to leave South Africa and we fled to Dar es Salaam in September 1963. We both worked at the African National Congress



RK.

("ANC") offices in Dar es Salaam. I was sent to the Soviet Union for military training and I completed a general military course and a military engineering specialist course, graduating from the Odessa Military College at the end of 1964. I later went on to complete a specialist course in intelligence and a general officers course at Brigadier level in 1983.

- 8 In 1965 Eleanor and I were deployed to London and we worked for the SACP and ANC in London. While in London, from 1966 I worked with Yusuf Dadoo, Joe Slovo and Jack Hodgson and we established a special committee to develop underground activities in South Africa from the United Kingdom. During this time, we trained various people including Ahmed Timol, Raymond Suttner, Jeremy Cronin, Alex Moumbaris, Tim Jenkins and Dave and Sue Rabkin. Our aim was to create underground propaganda units in South Africa. While working for the ANC I was also posted to Luanda, Maputo, Swaziland, Botswana, Lusaka and Harare between 1977 to 1990.
- 9 In those years I became a member of MK's High Command and was appointed as Chief of MK Intelligence in 1983. I also served on the ANC's Politico-Military Council from 1985 to 1989 in Lusaka. I was a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) from 1987 and served on the SACP's Central Committee from 1985. I worked underground for the ANC in South Africa during Operation Vula from 1990 to 1991. I went on to head the newly unbanned ANC's Campaign section from 1991 to 1994.
- 10 During South Africa's political transition, I was a member of the Transitional Executive Council's (TEC) Sub-Council on Defence. Following the advent of



democracy in 1994 I served as Deputy Minister of Defence until 1999 when I became the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry from 1999 to 2004. Between 2004 and 2008 I served as the Minister of Intelligence Services.

INKULULEKO FREEDOM NO. 2

- 11 I have been shown the document titled "*Inkululeko Freedom, no 2, February 1972*", a copy of which is annexed hereto marked "**RK1**". The publication was one of the journals of the underground South African Communist Party (SACP). Although it was of necessity produced and distributed clandestinely inside South Africa it was an educational and agitational public document meant for public consumption to make people aware of the SACP's views, policy and objectives.
- 12 I am advised that on 24 February 1982 Captain Carel Jacobus Adriaan Victor (**Victor**), the investigating officer into the death of Neil Aggett, made out an affidavit in which he says he located and certified *Inkululeko Freedom No 2 February 1972* which was retrieved from the files of the Security Branch (**SB**), Johannesburg (Victor Affidavit, p 12, Aggett record, exhibit B1.4, para 13(4)). A copy of Victor's affidavit is annexed hereto marked "**RK2**".
- 13 I also gave evidence in the Reopened Inquest of the late Ahmed Timol in 2017 in relation to this document and other matters. In the original Timol Inquest held in 1972 the magistrate relied on the document in his judgment to bolster the false contention that Timol committed suicide because of an ideological dictate.



- 14 On the last page of the document on page 7 at the bottom of the page under the heading "STAND FIRM" appears the following:

"Harass your enemy by going on hunger strikes, act insane, lodge complaints, whether true or false, resort to civil and criminal actions in courts as often as possible, make sure your complaints and actions the suppressors get the utmost publicity. [sic] **Rather commit suicide than to betray the organisation**". "Issued by the Communist Party of South Africa." (Emphasis added).

- 15 I am advised that in the first Timol Inquest, "*Inkululeko – Freedom, February 1972, no 2*" was never handed up as an exhibit in open court but the police nonetheless brought it to the attention of the Magistrate. If it had been formally entered as an exhibit, counsel for the family could have cross examined the police witness who found the document for purposes of interrogating the authenticity of the publication.
- 16 I should add that the senior public prosecutor in the first Timol Inquest, senior, PAJ Kotze, became the magistrate in the first Aggett Inquest.
- 17 The Magistrate in *Timol* found that Timol was aware of the instruction as he had distributed the document and had followed the instruction; even though the document was published in February 1972, some three months after Timol's death.



- 18 I am advised that on 22 June 1982 the magistrate in *Aggett* gave a judgment on the admissibility of various documents and ruled that the Inkululeko document was excluded because it was not relevant and there was no proof of its authenticity (p96 of the Summary of the Record and p716 of the Record).
- 19 I suspect that Magistrate Kotze was aware of the dubious nature of the document since he was the prosecutor in the Timol Inquest. Nonetheless, in my view, the fact that SB members attempted to introduce Inkululeko into the Aggett Inquest speaks volumes about their *modus operandi* and their total lack of *bona fides*. It strongly suggests that they were covering up something, most likely the fact that their brutality against Aggett led to his suicide; or to cover up their direct involvement in his death.

Analysis of Inkululeko Freedom No. 2

- 20 Bar the last 5 paragraphs under the heading "Stand Firm" on the last page, the document is authentic. I know this because I wrote most of it. I can say unequivocally that the last five paragraphs on the last page are a complete fabrication and forgery. I do so for the following reasons:

- 20.1 Suicide has never been a policy of the SACP. It was not in our ethos. In fact, at that time, a lengthy prison sentence was widely seen as a "*badge of honour*." The instruction to our members was to keep alive, keep up morale, study if the opportunity arose, so as to enhance their ability to contribute to building the new South Africa when freedom came as it surely would.



- 20.2 We would never have written the words "*act insane*" or publicly instruct our recruits to lodge complaints, whether true or false, knowing that the document would most certainly fall into the hands of our enemies, including the SB. The aim, as indicated above at paragraph 11, was the public dissemination of the document including sending it to the media. Even if it was an actual instruction, which it was not, it would have been illogical to provide such operational instruction to our clandestine activists in a public document. Such advice or instruction would have been conveyed in another manner entirely for their eyes only.
- 20.3 The use of the English language is poor. The language is crass, odd and prescriptive. We wrote literature and we could write well. The sentence "*rather than to betray*" does not make grammatical sense. Grammatically it should read "*rather than betray*".
- 20.4 The words "*paid for their lives*" is an 'Afrikanerism'. An English speaker would say "*paid with their lives*".
- 20.5 Rowley Arenstein was expelled from the SACP in 1964 and he certainly would not have been described in those terms in the 1970s as though he was still viewed as faithful to the SACP. In any event we would never have referred to persons living and working in South Africa such as George Bizos et al, which would have placed them in immediate danger, by exposing them as taking orders from an illegal organisation.
- 20.6 The last line of the document states that it was "*issued by the Communist Party of South Africa.*" In fact, the name of the party was changed in 1953 from the old Communist Party of South Africa, (CPSA) outlawed in

A.G.M.

RK.

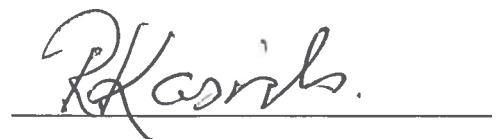
1950, to the new South African Communist Party (SACP) by which title it was strictly referred. This is not a mistake we would make some 18 years later.

20.7 It was a well-known tactic of the of the SB to alter and fabricate documents to further their nefarious ends.

21 It is no coincidence that the reference to suicide appears at the bottom of the last pages of the document. This allowed the police to make easy insertions without having to adjust the original layout of the document.

22 I can say with total confidence that these five paragraphs in *Inkululeko Freedom, no 2* are obvious forgeries manufactured by the SB to promote their agenda against the SACP and ANC. More specifically the SB fabricated these paragraphs in order to cover up the torture and murder of comrades in detention.

23 Given that the document featured in both the Timol and Aggett Inquests and probably others, it seems that it was the SB's 'go-to' document to explain suicides in detention.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'R. Kasrils', is written over a horizontal line.

RONALD KASRILS

A faint, handwritten signature in dark ink, possibly reading 'J. G. M.', is visible at the bottom of the page.

The Deponent has acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit, which was signed and affirmed before me at Pretoria on this the 22 day of February 2020, the regulations contained in Government Notice No R1258 of 21 July 1972, as amended, and Government Notice No R1648 of 19 August 1977, as amended, having been complied with.



[Signature]
COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

FULL NAMES: [Signature]

DESIGNATION: [Signature]

ADDRESS: [Signature]
2193

INKULULEKO FREEDOM

"RK 1"

FEBRUARY 1972

EDITORIAL

NO 2

At the beginning of 1972 the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party greets all our oppressed people and rededicates itself to spare no effort to bring the day nearer when white supremacy will be wiped out from our land forever. We dip our flag for all the heroes of the liberation army who have already given their lives in battle with the enemy. We salute the leaders of the people, Communists and non-Communists alike, who are prisoners in Vorster's jails. We pay tribute to all our members active illegally. Their style of work, courage and unflagging activity in the face of police terror, has aroused the working people and stood up against the attacks of the enemy.

Our message and that of the African National Congress and the whole liberation movement has been reaching every corner of our land on an increasing scale. That is why the head of BOSS warned that the liberation movement is "as tough as leather" and that the white regime must look forward to a protracted and intensified struggle.

The growing effectiveness of the liberation movement's underground activities shown, amongst other things, by well-organised and regular propaganda drives, has rattled the enemy and pushed him into indiscriminate retaliation against all who speak up against apartheid.

The torture and killings continue. Ahmed Timol is the latest people's martyr. His death and that of all our other dead will be avenged.

The enemy is not continuing to have it all his own way. The unprecedented wave of protests which swept the country when comrade Timol was murdered is testimony to the growing revulsion of ordinary people against police terrorism. It is also proof that voices are being raised on a growing scale despite the terror.

We salute the militant stand of the Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) people against the Smith regime and the attempted British Tory sell-out.

The magnificent strike of the Ovambo workers in Namibia is another illustration of workers' power and the ability of the working class, despite conditions of terror, to use its organised strength against a ruthless enemy. Our working class has a long tradition of militant struggle and when it acts as one there is no force on earth which can prevent it from smashing the whole apartheid system which feeds on cheap black labour.

In the schools and universities a new mood of militancy is emerging amongst the Black student - a mood which rejects all aspects of white domination and dependence and which accepts nothing less than majority rule.

The fraud of the Bantustans is daily becoming more evident. Vorster's attempt to "sell" 13% of the country to his appointed servants can fool no-one. Every single corner of the land is ours. Our forefathers fought for it and we will continue to fight for it whatever the sacrifice.

Amongst the Coloured and Indian people new forces are growing which reject the government's dummy institution and which see the future of all the oppressed people as indivisibly part of one struggle to smash white supremacy. The move to reactivate the national organisations of the Indian people, the growing militancy amongst the coloured people - one example of which was the impressive bus resistance - are important signs of these new stirrings.

The road to freedom will not be easy. The enemy we face is strong and is backed by its powerful imperialist friends. We know that freedom will not come from any change of heart on the part of the oppressor but from the combined strength of the mass of the Black people rising up in a revolutionary struggle. Our country was conquered by force and is ruled by force. It can only be won back by force.

The freedom fighter with the gun, the exploited workers in the factories, the starving people on the land, our youth and our women all have a part to play. The new mood of challenge to white supremacy will lead to freedom if it takes root even more firmly and is organised at every level into acts of defiance and without sacrifices. To fight successfully for the life of our people, we must develop a contempt for sacrifice and death.

Let 1972 become the year in which the people's struggle takes giant strides forward. Organisation is the key to victory. In the factories, on the land, in the schools and universities, and in the ghettos, the message of freedom must be spread more and more. Militants, wherever they are, must organise those

around/.....

RK.

around them so that no act of oppression goes unchallenged and so that more and more of the oppressed masses act for liberation. The enemy is vulnerable. With careful preparation its police and paid agents cannot prevent the growing resurgence of resistance and struggle.

DOWN WITH WHITE MINORITY DICTATORSHIP !

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER !

BANTUSTANS A GRAND DECEPTION

The Bantustan partition scheme has been dreamed up by white supremacists to perpetuate black enslavement. The prime concern of the government in South Africa is, and always has been, the ruthless oppression and exploitation of black people. In the face of changing conditions and growing contradictions the rulers are always searching for new ways to refine and strengthen, sometimes even change, their methods of control.

Vorster's attempts to speed up the establishment of the Bantustans is a result of South Africa's international isolation and the difficulties of keeping South Africa's indigenous masses a subject people. Vorster hopes to deal with these problems at a stroke. By projecting the Bantustans as sovereign states "as free Ghana or Nigeria" he hopes to divert the aspiration of the African people from the goal of true national liberation for the whole of South Africa, as well as convincing the outside world of the credibility of his policies.

The Bantustans are thus an attempt to entrench white rule, in a hostile, changing world, by creating small, vassal "states" which will act as a buffer against the tide of revolution and gain for South Africa respectability within the world community of nations. Vorster sees in the Bantustan leaders of the calibre of Banda, Jonathan and Boigny; men who will be apologists for South Africa's colonialist policies; a group of black officials through whom the whites will more easily govern the African people.

A small minority of the African middle class has benefitted from the Bantustans. This minority has been able to get shops and property whilst a section of the Black intelligentsia has also managed to get administrative and judicial posts under white supervision. From a material point of view, this has meant promotion and improvement for this tiny group. This is the group that Radio South Africa and other fascist propaganda parade in order to justify the so-called success of the Bantustans.

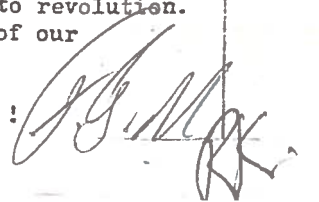
But one fact remains as clear as crystal; namely the position of the bulk of the Black population remains unchanged. Police harassment, starvation wages, influx control, malnutrition and tuberculosis remain and general living conditions of the oppressed are deteriorating. Thousands of Africans are endorsed out of urban areas thousands are evicted from town and farms to concentration camps nicknamed "Resettlement Areas". Bus fares are up and the rising of fares hits the Black community which uses public transport more than the white community does.

It is thus clear that the ruling white minority clique is determined to monopolise both political and economic power. Bantustans are devices to strengthen this grip and consolidate white domination. The intention of the whites is to make the Africans forget the African National Congress and its leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Oliver Tambo and others. Instead the fascists want to create a leadership of chiefs which they expect to manipulate. The constant harassment of patriotic force is intended to make young people forget the liberation movement and its history of resistance. The grand finale - so the Nationalist hope - will be the acceptance of "ethnic consciousness".

We must not only reaffirm our total opposition to the Bantustans but also organise vigorously for the seizure of political power and economic emancipation. A massive campaign of mobilisation to expose the futility of Bantustans must be mounted. This campaign must involve the masses who must refuse to entrust their fate to a few spokesmen who are not accountable to them. The whites are using terror to keep the Blacks a subject people; people in Bantustans must be made to realise that the land can only be recaptured through an armed revolution under the leadership of the liberation movement. There are no short cuts to liberation and Bantustans must not be allowed to divert us. Patriotic elements in the Bantustans as well as patriotic chiefs must realise this. The chiefs must not allow themselves to be used against the people. The chiefs will only realise the treachery of accepting Bantustans if the rural people themselves oppose the implementation of this nefarious scheme and join in a massive and solid struggle in alliance with their working class comrades and the revolutionary intelligentsia. Fascist terror can only be liquidated through mass resistance leading to revolution. The Africans will never abdicate their legitimate claims to the whole of our country and not just patches of arid land.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE !

FORWARD TO A FREE AND UNITED SOUTH AFRICAN HOMELAND FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE !



NAMIBIA STRIKES AGAINST SLAVE LABOUR

3

The great strike of Ovambo workers which began on December 13, 1971, represents the greatest upsurge of the African working class in Southern Africa since the African mineworkers' strike of 1946. Within days up to 20,000 workers had downed tools. Work on the mines, factories, farms, building sites, railways and docks came to a standstill.

The strike was called in protest against the infamous contract labour system which imprisons all the workers of Namibia. No African worker can leave his "homeland" in Namibia unless he has signed a contract with the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA). The contract ties him down to a particular job with a particular employer at a stipulated wage for a period of 12 to 18 months. It is a criminal offence for the worker to leave his job or try to find a better job during the period of contract. When the contract is completed the worker is compelled to return to his "homeland" before seeking another job. There are no trade unions and strikes are illegal. The result of this system of slave labour is that Africans are forced to be separated from their families throughout their working life and get paid an average of between R6 and R8 a month. Only some workers on the mines and in office jobs get a little more.

The whole system is the foundation stone of white supremacy.

The white schoolboys who were called in as scabs during the strike were paid R109 a month - the pay of an unskilled white labourer. A white shift boss gets over R300 a month, a white mine captain over R400 a month. Africans are not allowed to train for these skilled jobs.

THE BOSSES BENEFIT

Those who benefit most from this slave labour are the bosses - the white bosses in Namibia, the white investors from South Africa like Anglo-American

who control the diamond mines, the American bosses who control Tsumeb, the British, West German, French, Canadian and other foreign bosses who fall over themselves to invest in Namibia because they get a higher profit there than they can get anywhere else in the world. Over one third of all the wealth produced in Namibia every year flows overseas into the bank accounts of these foreign bosses.

Since 1966 the United Nations has been calling for South Africa to get out of Namibia (South West Africa). But nothing has been done because Western imperialist governments want to preserve the profits of the bosses and help the South African government to keep the Namibian people in slavery. In June 1971 the World Court once again showed that South Africa had no legal right to remain in Namibia, but once again nothing has been done. The Vorster government builds huge military bases in the caprivi strip and elsewhere to threaten the independence of Zambia and other independent African countries.

It is not only Ovambos who are against slave labour in Namibia. All other groups support the Ovambo - the Okavango, the Herero, the Rehobothers, the Nama, the Damara and all others. The strikers have been mainly Ovambo because the Ovambo are more than half the population, and are the vast majority of all contract workers, up to 90 per cent on the mines. But all Namibians are united in wanting South Africa to get out.

In 1965 Namibian guerrilla fighters launched their first offensive against the South African forces, and since then South African casualties have grown steadily. Vorster tried to terrorise the Namibian people by laying waste to the countryside on the borders, by throwing the people's leaders into jail under the Terrorism Act. But the anger of the Namibian people has grown steadily.

Now the great strike has shown the power of the people. By withdrawing the power of their labour, the Ovambo workers have struck a mortal blow against the Vorster regime and the Ba.tustan policies.

The lesson of the Ovambo strike is that unity and organisation, the people can defeat the South African government, despite all its soldiers, security laws and policemen. The chiefs and headmen and informers who work for the South African government have been discredited for all time.

STAND BY NAMIBIA

The workers and freedom-loving people of South Africa stand one hundred per cent with their brothers in Namibia.

We demand that the South African government should unconditionally quit Namibia/.....

AK

Namibia and allow the Namibian people to govern themselves.

The best way to help our fellow workers is to fight together with them against white domination and for freedom.

Contract labour and migratory labour are part of the same system which we suffer from. The Ovambo workers have shown the way.

Workers, let us learn from our brothers in Namibia. Let us join together to fight slave labour, Bantustans and white minority rule.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA :

ZIMBABWE FIGHTS SELL-OUT

Last November, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Foreign Secretary, travelled to Salisbury for talks with Ian Smith, the head of the illegal Rhodesian regime, which Britain does not recognise.

The subject of their talks was a new constitution for Zimbabwe.

Smith was pressed by the British to agree to concessions which would enable both sides to pretend to world opinion that "one day" the 5 million Africans of Zimbabwe would share political power "equally" with 230,000 whites. In return Britain would recognise Rhodesian "independence" and ask the United Nations to drop their sanctions.

Of course, it is absurd for two white racials to have the cheek to draw up a constitution for an African country. As one would expect it is a thoroughly racist document which would leave power in the hands of the whites for at least the next thirty years. Anyone who knows the first thing about the behaviour of white minorities in Southern Africa knows perfectly well that they would never willingly transfer political power to the African majority.

One of the "conditions" of the Home-Smith agreement is - a sop to British and world opinion - that it should be "acceptable" to the people of the country including the Blacks. To make sure it will be found "acceptable" Britain appointed a commission under Lord Pearce, composed exclusively of white ex-colonial officials.

Just like South Africa, Smith's "Rhodesia" is a police state. A permanent "state of emergency" exists. The main political leaders, including Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, are locked up in internment camps and prisons.

Yet the African people of Zimbabwe have loudly and courageously said NO to the sellout Salisbury Agreement. Impressive demonstrations have been held in many parts of the country.

Smith's reply has been to order his police to open fire on the Africans, killing and wounding many of them. More African leaders have been arrested including Mr. Josiah Chinamano, National Treasurer of the newly formed African National Council, and wife Ruth, former Prime Minister Todd and his daughter.

Smith's regime is hated by the Africans of Zimbabwe. It is only able to stay in power by brute terror backed up by Vorster's security forces.

The joint struggle by the people of both countries will defeat the Vorster-Smith anti-African alliance.

THE MURDER AND TORTURE SQUAD

The tragic death of Ahmed Timol is the latest in a chain of savage murders committed by the Special Branch. Since the introduction of Vorster's torture laws in 1963, twenty persons have died in solitary confinement. The crude attempts by the police to cover-up these foul deeds are rejected by all decent human beings. The motive of the criminals responsible for these deaths is quite clear. White rule in South Africa is based on vicious repression, and the task of the Special Branch is to terrorise those who oppose the police state. The white voters and the all-white Parliament have given the Special Branch a license to detain without charge or trial anyone they please at any time on any pretext with one purpose in mind - to extract information from the detainees by any method they deem fit. This is tantamount to a license for torture, and the Special Branch have become as adept at the "art" of physical torture and mind-breaking as Hitler's Gestapo. Efforts by the Nationalist press to white-wash the Special Branch sadists are a sick joke. One of their heroes is the psychopath Swanepoel, who the whole/.....

whole world equates with the notorious Nazi criminals, Himmler and Eichman. What a fitting hero Major Swanepoel makes for white South Africa!

Like the Gestapo, the Special Branch will fail, and will pay for their ghastly crimes. Torture and bestiality is the last weapon in the racist armoury. It is only by torture and brutality that the minority regime can remain in power. Torture and brutality is the answer of the white supremacists to the demand of the oppressed masses for freedom and justice.

Time and again Vorster has boasted that he has broken the back of the liberation movement. Time and again the liberation movement has proved him wrong. Thousands have been imprisoned and tortured, and many individuals have been executed or "broken", but Vorster is being made to learn that he cannot break a people's will to struggle for freedom. For every man or woman jailed or murdered scores more fill their places and become freedom fighters. For every individual "broken" under interrogation there are dozens more who demonstrate the most outstanding courage and devotion to the people, and refuse to break. Vorster no longer talks about breaking the liberation movement's back. One of his Ministers has even told the whites that they have to learn to live with underground activity which is on the increase. The Special Branch are becoming more and more frustrated and dispirited as they find themselves fighting a losing battle. They cannot comprehend why devoted freedom fighters refuse to give them information even under terrible torture and intimidation, why heroes Vuyisile Mini prefer to go to the gallows rather than inform on their comrades. The Special Branch like the Gestapo, base their methods on race doctrines, and attempt to reduce their opponents to grovelling inferiority; but the heroes of the struggle have demonstrated, in the torturer's den itself, the superiority of the ideas of liberation. The special branch are frustrated because they deluded themselves into thinking that they could keep the tide of the freedom struggle from rising.

We call on the people of South Africa; Refuse to be intimidated by the terror tactics of the white racists. They are brutal because they are afraid, because they feel insecure, because they have no confidence in the future.

It is YOU, the people of South Africa, that Vorster and his gang are afraid. It is YOU, the people of South Africa, to whom the future belongs. The fear and terror which Vorster unleashes today is the darkness of the night before the dawn.

Stand firm. Fight Back. You have nothing but oppression and police terror to lose. You have all South Africa to gain. The whole world is behind you in your struggle. When your brothers and sisters are suffering in jail, when brave men like Tinol, Mini and Mayekiso, Looksmart Solvandle, Alpheus Madiba and Babla Saloojee, sacrifice their lives. it is a crime to stay silent, to do nothing. No amount of Special Branch thugs, nor their informer tools without which they cannot operate, can halt a people's determined struggle to resist.

The day will come when Vorster and his professional torturers and murderers will be made to answer and pay for their crimes.

BANGLADESH —

VICTORY FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

All freedom-loving South Africans will rejoice at the victory scored by the people of Bangladesh under the leadership of the Awami League.

When British imperialism was compelled to concede political independence to India, it nevertheless succeeded in imposing a partition scheme on religious lines, in accordance with the traditional imperial doctrine of "divide and rule". No one suffered more from this plan than the Bengali people of what was at that time called "East Pakistan". In addition to the poverty and backwardness which they inherited from many years of colonial misrule, they were subjected to new and intolerable forms of national oppression. Although they were separated geographically by 1,100 miles from West Pakistan, they were subjected to the suppression of their political and language rights by the West Pakistan military dictatorship in the interests of the wealth capitalist and landlord class of West Pakistan who subjected them to brutal dictatorship.

When at last mass pressure compelled the ruling military clique of Yahya Khan to hold popular election, the people showed their true feelings

by giving/.....

PK

by giving an overwhelming victory to the National Awami League, headed by Shaikh Mujibar Rahman, which stood up for the national rights and self-determination of the people of Bangladesh.

The reply of the West Pakistan dictatorship was to arrest Shaikh Mujib and launch an all-out genocidal war against the Bengali people. Mass terror was unleashed by the West Pakistani army on a scale only paralleled by the United States in Vietnam. Millions were massacred or forced to flee with their families across the border into India to escape terror, murder and death.

When Mrs. Gandhi and the Indian government protested, the only reply was a series of border provocations launched by the Pakistan authorities, confident that they would have the collective backing of the United States and their other allies in the anti-Communist SEATO Pact.

The brave guerrilla fighters of Bangladesh and the Indian army struck back. In a brief two-week campaign they inflicted a crushing military defeat on the Pakistani army, and liberated Bangladesh. In this they were helped greatly by firm political and practical assistance of the socialist Soviet Union.

These events had far-reaching international implications whose lessons will be studied all over the world. The United States of America, acting its role of 'world policeman' tried its best to preserve the terrorist dictatorship in Bangladesh. The U.S. Seventh Fleet was sent into the Bay of Bengal in an attempt to intimidate the Government of India. This attempt failed miserably: a crushing defeat for the Nixon government. Also, to its shame, in the first appearance at the United Nations, the government of the People's Republic of China, sided with the oppressors of West Pakistan and vetoed the correct Soviet proposal designed to end the war by granting freedom and self-determination to Bangladesh. This action has shown the people of the world, particularly those of Africa and Asia, that the anti-Soviet obsession of the present Chinese leaders has brought them to a position which has nothing in common with Communism or national liberation.

Enormous problems now face the new nation of Bangladesh, of rebuilding their society and recovering from enormous destruction of human and natural resources by the Pakistani army. In tackling these problems they will enjoy the support and practical assistance of the freedom-loving people of the entire world.

CHANGE THE WORLD

THIS IS THE FIRST OF A SERIES WHICH
WILL DEAL WITH SOME OF THE MORE
IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES OF MARXIST-
LENINISM AS APPLIED TO OUR COUNTRY

In our country, there are millions of people - poor, needy, oppressed - all crying out for the world about them to be changed. Everywhere around them they can see that the world changes; their grand-fathers' wooden plough have given way to motorised tractors; travel on dockey-back to cars and planes; production of food and clothing has passed from the farmer's own home to the mechanised factory. Everywhere around them are new ways, new methods - new discoveries, new knowledge. The products of our factories flow out, and more numerous, faster than ever before. And yet poverty remains. Misery, need, oppression remain. This part of life does not change, even while all else about us changes and advances.

The cry for change, then, does not make things change. We all know what changes we need to give us comfort, security and happiness. An end to pass laws; freedom from police interferences; more land; the right to vote; better schooling; better wages; skilled jobs; better homes. Each of us can draw for ourselves the better world we need and want to live in. But how are we to get it? How do we break the chains of poverty and oppression?

To this question, people give various answers. Some say: 'Pray! And the Lord will set you free.' Others say: 'Be charitable and forgive your oppressors; they will be moved to lighten your load.' There are those who say: 'Suffer without protest, and you will get your reward in the life hereafter.' And those who say: 'Grab whatever riches and power you can for yourself, regardless of who you injure or destroy to get them.'

We Communists have a different answer to the question. We do not believe our ways of living, our society, is made by gods. It is made by men. If there are many poor and only a few rich, if there are many oppressed and only a few ruling over them in freedom, our society has been made

that way/.....

RK

that way by men. It has been made that way by the rich and the ruling men because it suits them. It is THEIR society, made to serve THEIR interests. We are not poorer than they because we are lazier or because we are born with less ability or brain. What then is the secret power which makes them rich and us poor? Them rulers and us ruled?

Communists look for the answer to this question not in the mysterious decisions of gods, but in our own lives. We see that we, the ruled and the poor, are those who work, while they - the rich and powerful - are those who employ others to work for them. But how does this division come about? It comes from the fact that THEY own all the productive resources of our country - the land, the mines, the factories and machines; while WE own only the hands, muscles and brains which they can hire.

This is how we see our society. It is a capitalist society, split in two - two classes, employers and workers, masters and servants. The one must remain poor, owning nothing but its strength to work, in order that the other remain rich. The one must remain oppressed in order that the other keeps the power to uphold this class division. It is a society of two classes with opposite needs and desires - our to smash the chains of the social order, theirs to strengthen them.

We Communists are revolutionaries. We want to build the new society in which the working people live better lives they seek but cannot hope to have in this society. We know that new society CAN be built. But the starting point is the smashing of the chains of the old one. The starting point is the overthrow of the ruling class. Yes! We are for better wages, better homes, better schools. Yes! We are for civil liberties and votes, for brotherhood of men and tolerance towards others. Yes! We struggle for all these things, here and now. But above all, we are for revolutionary change.

In our country, South Africa, a person's whole life is decided by the colour of his skin and whether he is of African, Coloured, Indian or European descent. The whites get everything of the best - the best land, the best jobs, the right to vote, move about freely, get decent homes and education. The rest of us spend our lives in hard toil and starvation.

We must smash this colour bar society before we can hope to build a better South Africa. But to smash it we must understand it. White domination serves the interests of the rich ruling class who own the mines, farms and factories. They have made their fortune out of cheap African labour. Pass laws, the seizure of African land, police terror, all these things help them to make big profits, to force us to slave for them at starvation wages. As long as they control the power we will remain poor and oppressed.

We Communists are for the seizure of power from the hands of the ruling class and its transfer to the hands of the working people - so that WE can shape our society the way we want it.

All history teaches us that, while power remains with those who own the resources of our society, our way of life will be that which suits THEIR interests, not ours. The new and better life we seek will remain a dream.

But we Communists are not dreamers! We are builders. We believe a new society can be made; we devote our lives to building towards it. We work for it. We teach, we explain, but above all we organise the working people to win for themselves. We organise, for revolution, for a seizing of power from the hands of the ruling class, and for placing power in the hands of the working people.

This is what Communism is about.

STAND FIRM

The fight is on and you must now expect increased arrests, detentions, torture and brutality from Vorster's dogs. You must not expect any mercy from your

Facists interrogators. Prepare yourself to withstand the onslaught and be prepared to sacrifice.

Do not fear arrests, be on your guard not to divulge any information to the enemy, do not be misled by kind words and good treatment; be on the offensive, counter every question with another question or accusation.

Remember Mandela and Sisulu.

Harass your enemy by going on hunger strikes, act insane, lodge complaints whether true or false, resort to civil and criminal actions in courts as often as possible. Make sure your complaints and actions against the suppressors get the utmost publicity. Rather commit suicide than to betray the organisation.

Remember our brave comrades who have paid for their lives and suffered at the hands of the Special Branch thugs.

Vorster and his professional murderers will not halt our people when we have comrades like Rowley Arenstein, Vernon Berrangé, Issy Maisels, M.D. Naidoo, George Bizos, Soggot and others who have been fighting with us since the days of Rivonia.

We march forward to Freedom.

Issued by the Communist Party of South Africa.

[Handwritten signature] RK

1.

Ek is 'n Kaptein in die S.A. Polisie en gestasioneer te John Vorsterplein, Johannesburg.

2.

Ek is die ondersoekbeampte in hierdie geregtelike na-doodse ondersoek.

3.

Op Vrydag 1982-02-05 omstreeks 03h15 het ek 'n telefoniese oproep van luit.kol. Scholtz van die Veiligheidstak, Johannesburg ontvang wie my meegedeel het dat my teenwoordigheid te John Vorsterplein Aanklagtekantoor benodig word ten opsigte van 'n onnatuurlike sterfgeval. Ek was die offisier aan diens.

4.

Op dieselfde oggend omstreeks 03h40 het ek by die aanklagtekantoor aangekom en onder andere vir Kol. H.C. Muller en genoemde lt.kol. Scholtz aldaar aangetref. Kol. Muller het my versoek om na Selno. 209 te gaan.

5.

By my aankoms te Selnommer 209 het ek kapt. Struwig, luit. Whitehead en sersant Agenbag aldaar aangetref.

6.

Binne in die sel het ek gevind dat die liggaam van 'n witman, wie aan my geïdentifiseer is as dr. Neil Hudson Aggett, aan 'n stuk materiaal, aan sy nek, aan die tralies naby die hoofdeur van die sel, gehang het. Ek het aan die arm van dr. Aggett gevoel en die arm was reeds koud. Dit was vir my duidelik dat hy alreeds dood was.

7.

Langs die selmatte wat in die sel was, het ek twee boeke aangetref wat oop daarnaas gelê het nl. (1) "Go Down, Moses" oop op bladsye 196-197 en (2) "Zorba The Greek" oop op bladsye 246-247.

8.

'n Paar minute later het die amptelike fotograaf s/a/o Lambrecht opgedaag en net daarna brigadier Swanepoel.

9.

Die oorledene was geklee in 'n donkerblou hemp, donkerblou trui, blou paar jeans, grys sokkies en 'n paar blou pantoffels.

10.

Ek het sekere punte aan s/a/o Lambrecht uitgewys waarvan hy foto's geneem het asook vingerafdrukke gelig het.

11.

Brig. Swanepoel het my opdrag gegee om 'n inventaris van die sel te maak. Ek het na die Misdadbeheerkantoor te John Vorsterplein gegaan waar ek s/a/o J.C. Pretorius gaan haal het om my behulpzaam te wees met die opstel van die inventaris. Met ons aankoms by die selle, was die liggaam alreeds verwyder.

.../12

12.

• ON: (1) Ek het beslag gelê op die volgende eet- en drinkware:-

- (1) 1 Pakkie Romary Creams beskuitjies.
- (2) 1 Pakkie Bakers volkoring happies.
- (3) 1 Nestlé Bacon dosie bevattende een porsie kaas en stukkie beskuitjies.
- (4) 1 Plastiese sakkie bevattende 'n klein stukkie biltong.
- (5) 1 "Poly" bakkie.
- (6) 1 Poly bakkie bevattende kerrie- en-rys.
- (7) 1 Botteltjie Safari suiwer heuning.
- (8) 1 Blik Clifton kits Koejawel poeier.
- (9) 1 Pakkie Springbok gemengde vrugteskyffies lekkers.
- (10) 2 Pakkies bruin toebroodjies.
- (11) 1 Pakkie Chesterfield sigarette.
- (12) 1 Pakkie rosyntjies.
- (13) 8 toffielekkers.

Bovermelde items is op 22-02-05 per hand na die Forensiese Laboratorium, Pretoria geneem vir ontleding. Die items was verseël met amptelike Polisie-seël No. 118.

13.

Ek het ook fotostatiese afdrukke van die volgende dokumente gemaak en dit gesertifiseer:

- (1) Die selregister gehou by die selle te John Vorsterplein;
- (2) Die Voorvalleboek gehou by die selle te John Vorsterplein;
- (3) 'n Onoffisiële register bygehou deur die Veiligheidspolisie by die selle te John Vorsterplein.
- (4) "Inkululeko Freedom" February 1972 No. 2" uit die lêers van die Veiligheidspolisie, Johannesburg.
- (5) Kwitansies van artikels ontvang deur die oorledene sowel as deur hom teruggegee aan ander persone.

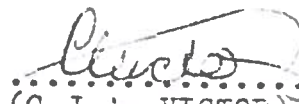
14.

Ek het verklarings van die betrokkenes in hierdie saak verkry en die geval ondersoek.

15.

Die bewysstukke is ingehandig in John Vorsterplein SAP. 13B 63/2/82.

JOHANNESBURG
1982-02-24


(C.J.A. VICTOR)KAPTEIN

 RL

1. Ek sertifiseer dat voordat ek die voorgeskrewe eed bevestiging afgeneem het, ek die volgende vrae aan die verklaarder gestel en sy/haar antwoorde in sy/haar teenwoordigheid neergeskryf het: (1) Is u vertroud met die inhoud van bostaande verklaring en begryp u dit? Antwoord JA (2) Het u enige beswaar teen die afneem van die voorgeskrewe eed? Antwoord NEE (3) Beskou u die voorgeskrewe eed as bindend vir u gewete? Antwoord JA 2. Ek sertifiseer dat die verklaarder erken dat hy/zy vertroud is met die inhoud van die verklaring en dit begryp. Hierdie verklaring is bevestig deur my en verklaarder se handtekening/duimafdruk/merk is in my teenwoordigheid daarop aangebring.	1. I certify that before administering the oath/affirmation I asked the deponent the following questions and wrote down his/her answers in his/her presence: (1) Do you know and understand the contents of the declaration? Answer (2) Do you have any objection to taking the prescribed oath? Answer (3) Do you consider the prescribed oath to be binding on your conscience? Answer 2. I certify that the deponent has acknowledged that he/she knows and understands the contents of this declaration which was sworn to/affirmed before me and the deponent's signature/number is placed thereon in my presence. <i>W. B. van Dijk</i> 593716 Sers. Vrederegter/Justice of the Peace Kommissaris van Ede/Commissioner of Oaths Ampt (Rang) Sersant Republiek en Suidwes-Afrika Designation (Rank) Sersant Ex Officio Republic and South-West Africa Datum 82-02-24 Place Johannesburg
---	--

WILLEM BENJAMIN VAN DIJK
SER SANT
AFDELINGSHOOFKWARTIER
COMMISSIONER STRAAT 1.
JOHANNESBURG.

W. B. van Dijk
RK.