

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

Case number: 101/ 2017

In the matter of:

REOPENED INQUEST: LATE AHMED TIMOL

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 as a script writer for a Johannesburg film studio and then for Lever

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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. In 1961 I was arrested at work for a contravention of the Pondoland Emergency Regulations. In 1961 I joined the South African Communist Party ("**SACP**"). I later became the regional Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe ("**MK**") in Natal. While in the MK we formed units and we carried out numerous sabotage operations.
- 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 I moved to Dar es Salaam in September 1963. Eleanor joined me in October 1963. We both worked at the African National Congress ("**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 reunited in 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.
- 9 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 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

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became the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry. Between 2004 and 2008 I served as the Minister of Intelligence Services.

TRAINING AND DEPLOYMENT OF RECRUITS

- 11 Our work entailed helping reorganise the SACP and ANC underground in South Africa. The 4 person committee that mobilised this work was comprised of Yusuf Dadoo (Chairperson), Joe Slovo ("**Slovo**"), Jack Hodgson ("**Hodgson**") and myself. Dadoo, Slovo and Hodgson were the same generation as Mandela. Hodgson had served in the army in North Africa during World War II. We would carry out clandestine activities such as recruitment and training. We would send literature to South Africa for distribution by those we trained. We recruited both South Africans and foreigners for this purpose. I sent many young foreigners (known as "**the London Recruits**") on holiday trips to South Africa in order to secretly distribute propaganda for the liberation movements. This proved to be highly successful and tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed by way of bucket bombs and postings.

- 12 One of our South African recruits was Ahmed Timol. I personally never met Timol. Our recruits in South Africa were trained in the setting up of underground cells and networks in South Africa, counter surveillance as well as how to cope with arrest and or interrogation. We trained them to be vigilant, notice whether someone was following them, or whether suspicious people were continuously around them.

- 13 All of the training would essentially be the same, whether a recruit was trained by me, Slovo or Hodgson. Timol was trained by the late Jack Hodgson. Due to the nature of our work, all operations were carried out on a "need to know" basis.
- 14 Timol would have been trained by Hodgson to receive literature on cigarette paper or a photograph negative and he would have been taught to reproduce and distribute it. He would have been trained in leaflet bombing and in communicating via code.

Training on how to deal with interrogation

- 15 We would instruct our recruits that in the event that they were arrested, they should try to hold out for a minimum of 24 (twenty four) to 48 (forty eight) hours, and not give information about their comrades for at least that period. This would allow their comrades time to escape or hide and get the message to headquarters so that we could take whatever action we could.
- 16 Further instructions included denying the claims interrogators put to them; and providing the Security Branch ("**the SB**") with non-damaging information or information already known to them. We advised them to expect to be assaulted and to try withstand the assaults for as long as they could.
- 17 There was never any instruction to commit suicide. It was never part of our doctrine and philosophy. We never issued any cyanide capsules or the like. We took a humane approach and never expected our recruits to hold out

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indefinitely or never to break under torture. The recruits were advised to accept prison as an option, even if the sentences were long, since they could study. We provided them with inspirational literature such as *Notes from the Gallows* by Julius Fuchik who wrote about his experiences at the hands of the Gestapo.

Interrogation of Timol

- 18 In respect of Timol it seems that the Security Branch suspected him of being behind the multiple leaflet bombing and banner unfurling campaigns in 5 cities throughout South Africa in 1970 and 1971. These campaigns made a big impact and were widely covered in the press. At the time the police did not have a clue who was behind the actions and they were enormously embarrassed. The police were likely instructed by the Nationalist regime to stop the campaigns at all costs and find out who was responsible, no matter what it took.
- 19 In fact the campaigns were carried out by the London Recruits. Timol was not involved. Nonetheless it seems that the police believed he was the mastermind and as a result it appears that they performed the most brutal torture on him, to the point of no return. The SB would have known that they had a window of approximately 24 to 72 hours break to break Timol (and Salim Essop), in order to get the names of others before they could escape or hide. They must have gone all out to break Timol and Essop in this short period.

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AUTHENTICITY OF PUBLICATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO THE SACP

The Frelimo Document

- 20 I have been shown the document titled "*Frelimo Memorandum*". I am advised that it was handed up by the police as an exhibit in the first Timol Inquest. I have never seen this document before. It purports to describe the experiences of Frelimo members with police interrogation in Mozambique.
- 21 It looks like an authentic document and it has the essence of what we would put in literature. However the reference to suicide is at variance with the SACP's policy and philosophy. The statement jars and does not flow with the rest of the document. There is no further elaboration of the statement. Moreover, it was never our practice to sign off a document with a name, as is the case with this document.
- 22 I am of the opinion that the statement regarding suicide was surreptitiously inserted. The SB often seized typewriters used by comrades and could have easily have made insertions to suit their ends.
- 23 Even if the reference to suicide is authentic, which I doubt very much, it represents the opinion of one person, not the organisation.

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Inkululeko Freedom No. 1

24 I have been shown the document titled "*Inkululeko Freedom, no 1, July 1971*". I am advised that it was handed up by the police as an exhibit in the first Timol Inquest. I regard this document as authentic.

Inkululeko Freedom No. 2

25 I have been shown the document titled "*Inkululeko Freedom, no 2, February 1972*". I am advised that it was not introduced as an exhibit in the first Timol Inquest but it was nonetheless supplied to the Inquest Magistrate who relied on it when making his finding that Timol committed suicide.

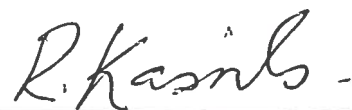
26 Bar the last 5 paragraphs under the heading "Stand Firm" on the last page, this is an authentic document. I know this because I wrote most of it. I can say unequivocally that the last five paragraphs on the last page are a complete fabrication and forgery. I do so for the following reasons:

26.1 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 fall into the hands of our enemies, including the SB.

26.2 The use of the English language is poor. 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*".

26.3 The words "*paid for their lives*" is an 'Afrikanerism'. An English speaker would say "*paid with their lives*".

- 26.4 Rowley Arenstein was expelled from the SACP in 1964 and he certainly would not have been described in those terms in the 1970s.
- 26.5 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 to the new South African Communist Party. This is not a mistake we would make some 18 years later.
- 27 It is no coincidence that both references to suicide in the *Frelimo Memorandum* and the *Inkululeko Freedom, no 2* appear at the bottom of the last pages of both documents. This allowed the police to make easy insertions without having to adjust the original layouts of the documents.
- 28 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.



RONALD KASRILS



The Deponent has acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit, which was signed and affirmed before me at ^{22 Upper Woburn Place, London WC1H 0HW} on this the 21st day of July 2017, 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.

NB I cannot confirm compliance with the above regulations and notice of contents and effect unknown to me or I am an English Solicitor

**Stephen Sasto
Freemans Solicitors
22 Upper Woburn Place
London WC1H 0HW**



Solicitor
COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

FULL NAMES:

DESIGNATION:

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IN THE HIGH COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA
GAUTENG DIVISION

Case number: I 01/ 2017

In the matter of:

REOPENED INQUEST: LATE AHMED TIMOL

AFFIDAVIT OF ESSOP GOOLAM PAHAD

I, the undersigned

ESSOP GOOLAM PAHAD

do hereby make oath and state that:

- 1 I am an adult male born on 21 June 1939 in the North West province. I currently reside 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.

EARLY LIFE AND INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS

- 3 I grew up in an environment very engaged in political activity because both my parents were politically active and largely influenced by Dr Yusuf Dadoo ("Dr Dadoo"). My involvement in politics was a natural progression. My mother



was arrested twice, first in 1946 (when my youngest brother was a year old) and then again in 1952. My father was a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress ("TIC"), which was under the umbrella of the South African Indian Congress.

- 4 My first official involvement with politics was during the Defiance Campaign of 1952. I was in primary school and 13 years old at the time. When I was 18, I was elected to the executive of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress ("TIYC") and served in this structure from 1958 to 1963. In 1962 I was arrested for organising an illegal strike, following the banning of the African National Congress ("ANC").
- 5 My brother, Aziz Pahad ("**Aziz**"), and I were banned in January 1964. We were called to Grays Building (the Special Branch headquarters in Johannesburg) to be read the banning order. We were not allowed talk to each other. We had to be given temporary permission by the Chief Magistrate until the Minister of Justice gave us permission to communicate, but we were not allowed to continue our studies at the University of Witwatersrand.
- 6 Aziz and I left South Africa by way of an exit permit in December 1964 to go to England. We left South Africa on the advice of the ANC. Thabo Mbeki, I and others started the ANC Youth and Student Movement in the United Kingdom and mobilised students in England and other parts of Europe in support of the ANC and the broader anti-apartheid movement.



MY INVOLVEMENT IN THE SACP AND ANC

- 7 In 1966 I was asked to join the South African Communist Party ("**the SACP**"). In those days, one could only join the SACP by recruitment and it was a great honour to be recruited into the SACP. The SACP was small in number and acted on the basis of recruiting those they considered to be the best cadres in the movement.
- 8 I was based in the SACP's London unit. The London unit was an underground unit and only members of the unit itself knew of its existence. That is how I became involved in the work of the ANC and SACP.
- 9 I was subsequently a member of the leadership of both organisations. I represented the SACP on the editorial council of the World Marxist Review from 1975 to 1985. While in London from 1985, I served as a member of the ANC's Regional, Political and Military Council.
- 10 I was elected a member of the Central Committee of the SACP in the 1980s. I was also member of the ANC's National Executive Committee from December 1994 until 2007.
- 11 After I returned to South Africa I served as a Member of Parliament and as a Minister in the Presidency of Thabo Mbeki. I have been the Chairman of the Boards of the South Africa/Mali Timbuktu Manuscripts Trust and the South African Democracy Education Trust.



RELATIONSHIP WITH AHMED TIMOL

- 12 Ahmed was one of my best friends. Our grandfathers came from the same village in India and our parents were friends. We had known each other for a very long time but we became closer when Ahmed came to study to be a school teacher in Fordsburg, Johannesburg. When I was banned, Ahmed gave me money for personal expenses and when I eventually left South Africa, Ahmed bought me an overcoat to wear in London.
- 13 Ahmed arrived in London and he shared a flat with Aziz and I. He decided to stay in England to study towards his A-levels and whilst in London, he found a teaching job. Ahmed saw me as a friend and a mentor and we had numerous political discussions. Ahmed went to the Lenin Party School in Moscow with Thabo Mbeki. It was Dr Dadoo who recruited Ahmed into the underground unit and that it was Dadoo who sent Ahmed back to South Africa, after he had been trained by Jack Hodgson.
- 14 While working underground in South Africa, Ahmed was involved in the reproduction and distribution of materials that were sent to him from London. In addition, Ahmed would have been tasked with mobilising people within the Indian community.

SACP STRATEGY ON INTERROGATION AND TIMOL'S DEATH

- 15 When Ahmed left for South Africa, I was the last person to talk to him before he left for the airport from our flat in North End House, West Kensington. I



discussed with him what would happen if he got arrested. We agreed that there was a high likelihood that he may get arrested as the Security Branch were infiltrating our units. We discussed how he should respond.

- 15.1 The first thing he should do is provide a name and an address. This advice came from Ahmed Kathrada ("Kathrada") after the ANC was banned in 1960. He was our leader in the TIYC.
- 15.2 Secondly he should know that breaking under torture is not an act of treachery and may be unavoidable. It is likely to happen, but he should try his best not to give away the names of others, and in the event that he did, he should try to limit the number of names.
- 15.3 He should give names as gradually as possible to allow implicated comrades time to leave the country or hide. In other words, he must hold out for as long as possible after his arrest to allow comrades to take the necessary steps to protect themselves from arrest.
- 15.4 Other advice was that if they found incriminating evidence against you, accept that it is yours and let them charge you. This was done by Kathrada in the Rivonia Trial. You could even agree to give evidence against others to stop the torture, but in Court you should then testify about the torture you sustained and then refuse to give evidence against any comrade that is charged.



- 16 Committing suicide was not and has never been the policy of the SACP or the ANC. There was never any such protocol nor was any such instruction issued. It was a common understanding in the movement that there is a limit to human endurance. Abdulhay Jassat and Laloo Chiba withstood torture of high magnitude and never spoke but we fully understood that others may not have been able to do so. In our last discussions, we had agreed that Ahmed should not commit suicide.
- 17 While in England, Ahmed met Ruth Longoni ("**Ruth**"). It saddened Ahmed to have to leave Ruth behind when he came back to South Africa. It was always his intention to come back to Ruth. This is another reason why I can never agree with the claim that he committed suicide.
- 18 Furthermore, Islam prohibits suicide by its adherents. Ahmed was Muslim. It is my understanding that if Muslim people commit suicide they cannot be buried in a Muslim burial ground. In my view, Ahmed would not have committed suicide for this reason, amongst others. He may have given information but he would have refused to give evidence against others and would have rather been imprisoned. Indeed he would have welcomed going to the prison in the cause of resisting the vicious system of Apartheid.
- 19 I did not work on "*Inkululeko*", I worked on different publications called "*African communist*" and "*Umsebenzi*". A lot of the material was written outside and sent into the country. In relation to *Inkululeko No. 2* (February 1972) the exhortation to suicide is, in my considered view, a police fabrication for the reasons I have set out above. Secondly, the listing of names on page 7 of the

document is further evidence of an inept fabrication since the SACP in those days never referred to anyone by name in its publications, with the exception of a few of those serving on Robben Island and in leadership positions.



ESSOP GOOLAM PAHAD

The Deponent has acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit, which was signed and affirmed before me at Johannesburg on this the 18th day of July 2017, 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.



COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

FULL NAMES:

DESIGNATION:

ADDRESS:

Petrus Hendrik Botha

Commissioner of Oaths
Practising Attorney SA
ENSafrica 150 West Street
Sandown Sandton 2196



IN THE HIGH COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA
GAUTENG DIVISION

Case number: I01/2017

In the matter of:

REOPENED INQUEST: LATE AHMED TIMOL

AFFIDAVIT OF STEPHANIE KEMP

I, the undersigned,

STEPHANIE KEMP

do hereby make oath and say that:

1. I am an adult female retired and currently residing in Kensington, Johannesburg. I was born on 25 June 1941 in Steynsburg in the Karoo, between Colesberg and Cradock. I am 76 years of age.. I attended an Afrikaans medium school in Malmesbury and high school in Port Elizabeth in English medium. While in Cape Town I volunteered at the Defence and Aid Fund where I worked with Dora Alexander, Ray Edwards (Albie Sachs' mother), Sarah Carneson and others.
2. Save where appears from the context, the facts contained in this affidavit are within my personal knowledge. To the best of my knowledge and belief they are both true and correct.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

3. I attended an Afrikaans primary school in Malmesbury and high school in Port Elizabeth, where I learnt English. From an early age I became aware and sensitive to the inequalities suffered by black people in South Africa. In 1960 I went to the University of Cape Town to study towards a diploma in physiotherapy. In 1962 I volunteered at the Defence and Aid Fund I was recruited into the South African Communist Party (SACP). I completed my Diploma in 1963 and I worked at Conradie Hospital for a few months. While in Cape Town I supported the Defence and Aid Fund where I worked with Dora Alexander, Ray Edwards (Albie Sachs' mother) and others.
4. On campus, I was recruited into the Armed Resistance Movement (ARM) and I was involved in certain acts of sabotage (e.g. blowing up railway lines). I was arrested on 11 July 1964 in Cape Town in connection with my ARM activities. During my arrest I had my head pounded on the floor until I lost consciousness. I was detained for three months. My trial ran for 6 weeks. I entered into a plea bargain. I pleaded guilty to being a member of an illegal organisation (ARM) rather than sabotage. Consequently I was sentenced to five years in prison, of which three years were suspended. While I was in detention my lawyers filed a lawsuit against the Minister of Justice and a member of the security branch for assault. Two years later after my release from prison, the case was settled out of court as the government paid out a settlement without admitting liability.
5. I was released in December 1965 after spending a year and half in prison. My release followed the intervention of my father who petitioned B.J Vorster for my early release. After my release from Prison, I joined my parents in East London and started working for Firestone.
6. While in East London, I was arrested and taken to SAP's Compol Building in Pretoria where I was interrogated by Van den Bergh (then head of SB) about my membership of SACP. I denied it. I was released after one day, but was then listed as a communist. I wrote to Van den Bergh and asked him why I was listed, because I thought he accepted what I had told him. I was subsequently unlisted.

Exile in London

7. As I was closely watched by the SB and very isolated from any political contacts, I decided to follow Albie Sachs and left for London in 1966. I applied for a passport which was denied. I then applied for a one-way exit permit and I took a one way ticket out of the country. I was allowed entry into the United Kingdom on the condition that I had a job, so I arranged for a job at Guys' Hospital. Albie and I got married three weeks after my arrival in London.
8. In London I became integrated into the SACP in exile, under the leadership of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo. The SACP was run along clandestine lines. I was asked to post the African Communist into South Africa. I worked with a group of about 10 people who included Aziz Pahad (Aziz).
9. I spent all the 24 years of my exile involved in underground work for the SACP and ANC. During this time I worked for the British Anti-Apartheid Movement for three years. This work involved the distribution of Party materials to South Africa. This included the African Communist. The Africa Communist was distributed before the setting up of the Dadoo Operational Unit. Toward the end of the 1960s an operation unit was set up chaired by Dr Dadoo. When I left the AAM in 1970, my work for the SACP and ANC became full-time.
10. In posting the African Communist and other material into South Africa we used clandestine methods that included renting three different typewriters for one posting to ensure that the font was different. We used different types of envelopes and we drove to different places to post the materials into South Africa.
11. About 1968 the SACP set up an operational group that was chaired by Dr Dadoo that met weekly. Albie and I lived on the ground floor of a Victorian house and we had 2 children. Jack Hodgson sealed off a section of the house to create a secret alcove for document production and also to protect the children from the chemicals I was using. Jack also created secret compartments for hiding documents, such as making false bottoms under tables; the hollowing out the top of the Victorian doors (which were very thick). The hiding places worked out very well. To the best of my knowledge were never compromised.

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12. Incoming secret chemical messages were given to me, and I treated these chemically to make them legible..
13. I returned from exile in 1990 and worked as a community physiotherapist in Alexandra for about 7 years before moving to Durban where I worked as a lecturer at the University of Durban Westville. I am currently retired.

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14. 14. By 1968 I was in the underground operational unit in London, chaired by Yusuf Dadoo and including leaders like Joe Slovo and Reg September. Ronnie Kasrils and Aziz Pahad and others also operated in this unit. Our main aim was to assist in restarting the organization underground in South Africa which had been decimated by the Rivonia arrests and trial.
15. Different people recruited both South Africans and non- South Africans. To my knowledge Ahmed Timol was the first South African to be recruited in London, followed by the Rabkins and Jeremy Cronin, Steve Lee and Tim Jenkin, and Raymond Suttner.
16. Once recruited and trained we would keep a check on how the recruits were doing. Timol and the others were all accountable to the SACP leadership in London. We had to be sure that we kept them instructed on tasks and maintained security protocols by using secret communication methods and pre-arranged codes. Importantly we were constantly on the alert for signs that a Unit had been compromised.
17. Each South African unit operated separately and independently from the other South African units. Once they were settled back in South Africa the recruit was expected to build an underground cell by recruiting others.
18. We focused on distributing underground liberation literature to mobilise different interest groups e.g. women, youth and church people. Apart from distributing the

material by post we also trained the recruits in robust ways of pamphlet distribution such as using bucket bombs. Leaflets were placed in a plastic bucket with a small explosive charge which when detonated propelled pamphlets high into the sky in crowded places. We were successful in using bucket bombs to distribute pamphlets in all the cities of South Africa. We often used non-South Africans for dramatic distribution of literature. Over time, some of the non-South Africans became involved in more dangerous work.

19. I never met Timol. I knew he was close to the Pahads and stayed with them in London. He met Dr Dadoo when they went to Haj.
20. In our weekly meetings Timol's name came up. If I recall correctly, his code name was 'Stephen'. I needed to find a person who could write friendly letters to Timol that I could use for secret messages. My former next door neighbour Stephanie Segal agreed to do this. I would use other people to communicate with other recruits.
21. From the friendly address I would receive the letters from Timol, develop the secret message, type it out and give it to Dadoo or Slovo. There was however a gap in communications of about 2 months from May 1971. Timol missed out on acknowledging 2 letters. It was very important to acknowledge a letter. He should have sent postcards to acknowledge letters. When Timol eventually did write to us he said he had some family problems. He also engaged in a few security lapses in which he mentioned certain names and in one letter he signed with his own name.

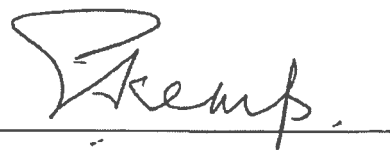
QUESTION OF SUICIDE

22. Our recruits underwent training on what to do under interrogation should they be arrested. They were encouraged to stall their interrogators and to hold on to allow others time to escape. Anyone instructing them to commit suicide was highly unlikely. Our trainers were seasoned Party members and suicide was not in line with the ethos of the SACP.

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Inkululeko Freedom Publications

23. In respect of Inkululeko Freedom No.1 (July 1971), we would have sent the original printed copy to Timol and he reproduced it on a stencil to roneo for bulk posting. To my knowledge this edition looks authentic in terms of its production and language. I am very familiar with the language used in such documents and the language looks authentic to me.
24. In respect of Inkululeko Free No.2 (February 1972, the paragraphs under the head "Stand Firm" on page 7 looked inauthentic and forged.
- 24.1 It is written in a language that was not used by the SACP..
- 24.2 It is simply inconceivable that we would list people in an illegal document to be distributed in South Africa because this would immediately place them in danger.
- 24.3 The instructions in these paragraphs make little sense to me, such as. "*Rather commit suicide than to betray the organisation*". As mentioned, suicide was not in our ethos. The use of phrases such as "*stand firm*", "*harass your enemy*", "*and act insane*" strikes me as crass, odd and prescriptive.
- 24.4 To compound the clumsy fabrication, the last line of the document states that it was "*issued by the Communist Party of South Africa.*" In fact, some 18 years earlier, at the 1953 national conference of the party it was decided that the name South African Communist Party (SACP) would replace the old Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).
25. I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that this portion of the document was a ham-fisted creation by the Security Branch in order to construct a basis for their claims of suicides in detention. This was done in order to cover up their brutal crimes committed against detainees.



STEPHANIE KEMP